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# Independent Board of Inquiry

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## **REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT BOARD OF INQUIRY FOR THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1993**

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## I. INTRODUCTION:

A taxi protest brought Johannesburg to a standstill in early February. Taxi operators blockaded the streets and pitched battles were waged between drivers and officials. The taxi protest in Johannesburg is the latest in a long line of disputes surrounding the beleaguered taxi industry.

Political violence in February showed a marked decline in the PWV. Soweto, one of South Africa's largest townships has experienced no incidents of political conflict since the beginning of the year. The police, independent monitors and a number of political organisations attribute this to the success of the National Peace Accord especially the role played by the local dispute resolution committees. In an attempt to strengthen the National Peace Accord (NPA) the Government has recommended that political parties or movements which contravene the NPA should be punished.

A second contributory factor to the decline in political violence have been the recent peace initiatives in the hostels. Inmates from at least 24 Johannesburg hostels have signed a declaration of intent for peace and have resolved to initiate dialogue with other hostel residents. The hostels

have agreed on a programme of action that will comprise of a code of conduct to deal with potential conflict among hostel residents timeously.

However, the same cannot be said for Natal - where the violence continues and peace initiatives seem to have failed.

Despite the decline in political violence in the PWV - February saw an increase in the number of racially motivated incidents. In the Western Transvaal town of Swartdruggens an eleven month old baby girl, Boipelo More was hit on the head with a stone thrown by a white youth from the back of a van. A 17-year-old youth was subsequently arrested for the incident and was released into the custody of his school principal. The youth has been charged with attempted murder and the case was postponed to March 11. In a second racially motivated attack a man and a 13 year old girl were seriously injured in separate incidents after several white men opened fire randomly at black pedestrians at Hartebeespoortdam, Pretoria. Police are currently investigating. In the Orange Free State, Douglas Makwale was forced into a vehicle by two white men. Later the car stopped near an open piece of land and Makwale was used as a human target. He was shot three

times in the legs, the right thumb and elbow and the left side of his chest. He was then left for dead and the men drove away. Makwale is currently in the Tygerberg Hospital in a critical condition.

In the Northern Transvaal town of Potgietersrus, six men have been arrested after an incident where they allegedly set fire to a local doctor's house and car after the doctor had treated black patients at the town's "White" Voortrekker Hospital.

Racially motivated attacks are increasingly coming to the fore in South Africa and are often hidden due to the high incidence of politically motivated attacks.

## II. STATE INSTITUTIONS

### 2.1 The South African Defence Force (SADF)

Troops from the controversial 32 Battalion have been patrolling the Transkei and Ciskei borders over the past month despite a government decision almost a year ago to disband the unit. A spokesperson for the Eastern Province Command, Colonel Johan Engelbrecht, confirmed that the

battalion of former Angolan troops had been based in Komga for about a month, and had undertaken patrols from there.

Battalion 32 was "deployed as a normal infantry unit" in "trouble spots where we think it's necessary", he said.

After intense public pressure last year following the units attack on the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand and criticism from the Goldstone Commission, the government announced the disbandment of the unit.

A spokesperson for the ministry of defence said that according to a Cabinet decision, the battalion would not be deployed in the townships, but could be used in a border protection role. "The battalion will not be disbanded piecemeal, but will have a ceremonial disbandment. We are busy with the administration of placing the members into new units and the process should be completed soon." (Citizen 10/02/1993).

## 2.2 The Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB)

A police docket on the Civil-Co-operation Bureau's (CCB) controversial and unauthorised "Project Goldie" - featuring a plan to hang a monkey foetus outside Archbishop Desmond Tutu's home - has been handed to the Attorney General in the Cape. A court case could also follow efforts by the SADF to track down missing files on 10 other unauthorised internal operations of the CCB which cost more than R577 000.

The R82 000 Project Goldie was one of 11 secret projects hatched by the sinister and now defunct, SADF unit. All 11 projects were internal operations. This meant that, in terms of the CCB's legitimate task for operations outside the country, they were all unauthorised. The above information on the status of investigations into secret projects was gleaned from replies to the parliamentary committee from the Department of State Expenditure. The report further states that progress in the investigation of the 10 projects - on which files have gone missing - has been hampered by the fact that certain members require indemnity before revealing information".



Steps taken to trace the missing files include "further inquiries with members with whom contact can be made" and the serving of a summons to the manager of the projects. "The legal department of the SADF is of the opinion that this step might lead to a court case," the report says.

### 2.3 The South African Police (SAP)

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel informed parliament in late February that the State had paid at least R668 319 in legal fees to former police forensic expert Lt-general Lothar Neethling for his civil defamation action against the Weekly Mail and the Vrye Weekblad, an action which he lost. Kriel said Neethling had not repaid any of the money thus far. The Government would only decide whether he had forfeited State protection in terms of Treasury instruction after the Appeal Court has passed judgment.

#### 2.3.1 The Bethuel Maphumulo Inquest

The finding in the Maphumulo inquest, that Lt Henry Beukes of the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit strangled Bethuel Maphumulo, has laid to rest many of the criticisms levelled

at pathologist Dr Jonathon Gluckman who late last year alleged that over 90% of the 200 cell deaths he had investigated had been people killed in police custody. The above finding was reached by magistrate C de Lange who said that Maphumulo had died of "manual strangulation" - not drowning as the police had said - and that his death was caused by the criminal conduct of Captain Beukes now with the Firearm Recovery Unit. The docket has been sent to the Attorney-General for a decision. A spokesperson for the SAP said that Buekes would not be suspended until the AG had decided what steps should follow the finding.

Maphumulo (31) accompanied by an advocate, handed himself over to the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit on December 11 1990 after being informed that he was being sought in connection with a robbery. He was taken out on investigation and allegedly assaulted at Louis Trichardt and again at Diepkloof. He was returned to Protea Police Station and was reported dead on December 13 1990 with the police explanation that he had fallen into a swimming pool and drowned while trying to escape.

His mother Margaret Maphumulo gave evidence at the inquest and alleged that she too was tortured by the police when they came to fetch her at her home in Venda.

State pathologist Dr Michelle Vorster testified that it was unlikely that Maphumulo drowned in police custody. She said the most likely cause of death was multiple injuries. Vorster catalogued numerous abrasions and injuries, including eight broken ribs and neck marks, on Maphumulo's body. She said these "were probably caused by manual strangulation". She said the fractures on his neck and haemorrhages on his skin appeared to have been caused by "extensive, substantial force".

Earlier, police Captain Beukes said he was attacked by Maphumulo at the poolside after he escaped during interrogation at the Protea police station on December 13 1990. Buekes said the injuries in Maphumulo's body could have been caused by the "uneven paving" on which they struggled before they both fell into the swimming pool.

Dr Gluckman who was present during the post-mortem performed by Dr Vorster said that Maphumulo had died as a result of "manual strangulation". During the hearing Dr Gluckman said he could not explain the discrepancies between his report and that of Dr Vorster's. Gluckman said he was convinced his findings were correct despite the discrepancies pointed out by police counsel Ettiene Du Toit.

### III. ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS

Two ANC members were shot dead in a pre-dawn attack on their Mdanstane house. The dead are Mlungiseleli Venkile and Zwelinjani Tshandu.

According to neighbours, people who introduced themselves as police ordered the occupants of the house to open the door, after which shots were fired. Four people were then seen leaving the house.

ANC Border media officer, Mcebisi Bata, regards the attack as being a mistakenly directed attack of political motivation in that Mfundo Nazo - an Umkhonto we Sizwe member - stayed in that particular house when he returned from exile in 1991. Ciskei police have launched a search for the four killers.

#### IV. NATAL

A decline in political violence on the Reef generally seems to coincide with an upsurge in violent conflict in the Natal area. This is particularly true of February where more than 120 people lost their lives in the region. Faction fighting in Bhambayi squatter settlement in Inanda left at least ten people dead. The violence in the settlement - an ANC stronghold - was over access to resources and muti.

The alleged killing of four young men by the police in KwaSokhulu, Empangeni has left the area deserted. Locals have allegedly left the area as they fear further attacks. The killings apparently took place while local residents marched on the KwaMbonambi Police Station in protest against police brutality in the area. The four - Mzwandile Ndwangu Cele, Ziba Ndlela, Bongani Mokoena, and Zwelihle Mnguni were allegedly gunned down outside a bottle store. According to a survivor Richard Mthethwa, the four were not part of the march and were sitting outside the bottle store drinking when members of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) came from a nearby forest and opened fire without provocation.

SAP spokesperson Captain Bala Naidoo said members of the ISU of Newcastle were on patrol when they were fired upon by five black men armed with AK-47 rifles. "A handgrenade was hurled ... and detonated 20 metres from the police vehicle. The policemen opened fire and the suspects fled into the bushes where the shooting continued. On investigation it was discovered that four men were killed and one had fled the scene." Naidoo says the police found three AK 47 rifles next to three of the deceased and one F1 handgrenade near the bottle store.

Residents in the area believe that they are being harassed by the police due to the jailing of a former policeman W/O Hendrik Steyn who was sentenced to 18 years for the murder of two ANC activists Simon Msweli and Michael Mthethwa in the area. For more details on the Steyn case see the Board's December-January 1993 report.

The ANC Northern Natal region has asked Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate the incident.

#### 4.1 Mpushini/Folweni

Senior southern Natal ANC regional committee members are facing 22 charges of murder following the brutal massacre at Mpushini an IFP stronghold in October last year. The kraal of the Sabelo family was attacked during a cultural feast which was celebrating Sabelo's daughters graduation as a sangoma.

Among those charged are ANC Folweni branch chairperson Elias Mkhize, south coast organiser S'bu Darlington Magwanyane, Folweni branch committee member Elias Dlamini, Lucas Mzingeli Ngubane, Morris Hlatshwayo, Mlungisi Alfred Nzama, Mduduzi Ngobese, and S'fiso Eugene Mthombeni

The attackers were allegedly dressed in security force uniforms at the time of the incident. The case is shrouded in controversy. At the time of the incident both the ANC and the IFP were engaged in a heated wrangle over which organisations the victims belonged to.

The attorney acting for the accused, Bheka Shezi, has said that he intends filing assault charges against members of the KZP who arrested the suspects with the help of SAP detectives.

Shezi has alleged that his clients were assaulted and tortured while in police custody.

The case continues.

#### 4.2 Pietermaritzburg

Two Imbali councillors and a youth were acquitted of murdering ANC Natal Midlands leader S'Khumbuzo Ngwenya, who was gunned down as he left a Pietermaritzburg restaurant in February last year.

Imbali mayor Phikelela Ndlovu 56, his deputy Abdul Awetha 54, and a youth 16, were acquitted in the Maritzburg Supreme Court by Judge JH Combrink, who found ballistics evidence insufficient to link guns owned by the councillors to the murder.



## V. REEF VIOLENCE

### 5.1 Taxi violence

The explosion of taxi-centred conflict into Johannesburg took the authorities by surprise. It should not, however, have done so because a forewarning was provided by similar incidents in Pretoria in January.

The mayhem in Johannesburg began when taxi drivers placed barricades consisting of taxis and dustbins on suburban feeder routes. The CBD became paralysed as traffic backed up for miles and as teargas, rocks and bullets were used in confrontations between the police and the drivers.

Apparently being organised after a meeting the previous afternoon, the protest was ostensibly the result of grievances over:

1. Lack of state subsidies
2. Imposition of heavy fines and "victimisation" by traffic authorities
3. Inadequate facilities

The protesting drivers barricaded all major routes into the city and as traffic officials struggled to clear certain routes, blockades were erected elsewhere, effectively grinding traffic to a halt.

In addition to blocking access to places of work, the taxi operators disrupted normal operations by refusing to transport commuters to and from Johannesburg. Thousands of people were thus stranded miles from the workplace.

In a classic example of police over-enthusiasm, numerous members of the uniformed branch and the Internal Stability Unit of the SAP were deployed, shots were fired, vehicles were impounded and arrests were made. Confrontations over the four day period left two dead and several people - including policemen, traffic officials and taxi operators - injured.

As tensions between authorities and drivers mounted, urgent calls were made for talks with the relevant authorities. After the first day's conflict, a concession was made in terms of which Johannesburg's Traffic Chief, Mike Davis, announced that traffic offenders would not be charged and that impounded vehicles would be returned.

The enlightened concession made by Davis - on the grounds of defusing an extremely volatile scenario - was later criticised by Witwatersrand Attorney General, Klaus von Lieres, who rebuked Davis for going beyond his authority and of "taking the law into his own hands".

According to Paul Asherson (Jhb city council transport and utilities chair), however, the release of offenders and vehicles was within the council's jurisdiction and was conducted "in a careful negotiation process involving senior members of the SAP". Asherson has lashed out at von Lieres for the fact that von Lieres' intransigent attitude resulted in the conflict gaining momentum as taxi drivers' demands were escalated to include the release of the 37 arrestees and 217 impounded vehicles.

The shooting of a taxi driver by the SAP on the second day of the conflict changed the tone of the protest, rendering it more militant. As the gravity of the protest was perceived, the South African Police replaced traffic officials and Johannesburg was declared an unrest area.

According to the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, the declaration of Johannesburg as an unrest area and the continuing skirmishes between SATDU (South African Taxi Drivers' Union) and officials, have resulted in a 50% drop in retail sales. Approximately 80% of the city's workers did not go to work on the second and third days of the strife. Putco has recorded over R1 million in damages as a result of the protests - Putco buses have been stoned and set alight, and in some instances services have been suspended.

On the second and third days of the conflict the ANC and COSATU were called into negotiations with the traffic department, SAP, City Councillors and SATDU as the situation became increasingly politicised. The perception among the taxi drivers was that the police were significantly exacerbating the situation by being overly reactive, and also by setting bail at R5 000 and R10 000.

On the fourth day of conflict, it was announced that all taxi operations would be suspended for three days pending talks with the Johannesburg City Council. Later it emerged that during the actual protests the Johannesburg City Council Management Committee had elected to go on a "bosberaad",

despite the gravity of the situation. In what Paul Asherson has called a "serious dereliction of duty", only a councillor and traffic inspector were left behind to monitor the unrest. This appears to be the reason for the weeks delay in procuring a meeting.

Once the meeting was held, the taxi operators were able to secure a number of concessions. Namely:

1. a multi-party forum is to be convened by the Johannesburg Local Dispute Resolution Committee to address taxi related issues
2. traffic officers will no longer stop more than one vehicle at a time, and will assist drivers in off-loading and loading passengers where there were no facilities
3. drivers will not be stopped to display documentation during peak hours, and would in future be allowed to use the Booyens bus lane

While the achievement of the concessions was an important victory for taxi drivers and their new union, it should be noted that the real issues have not been addressed. Both issues of subsidisation (taxis cater for 44% of black

commuters and taxi operators receive no subsidies; whereas bus and rail together cater for 40% and receive about R1,5 billion a year in subsidies) and the misuse of power as regards fraudulent permit allocation seem to have been forgotten in the excitement of having made any gains at all.

As regards permit-allocation fraud, it appears as though only the tip of the iceberg has been uncovered. Prior to the talk with the City Council, an incling of the underlying causes of the conflict was revealed when it was announced that Johannesburg Local Road Transportation Board officials had been suspended following a corruption probe into the issuing of permits.

False permit allocation is a fundamental problem in the taxi industry, where already there is a glut of taxi operators. According to National Peace Secretariat member, Piroshaw Camay, LRTB officials selling fake permits to taxi owners have "swelled the number of vehicles fighting for space at overcrowded city taxi ranks".

The police are at present involved in investigating a possible taxi permit scam involving at least six

administrative employees of the Jhb LRTB, who were suspended last month for the alleged selling of fake taxi permits.

Two other areas which contribute (on a national level) to the violence related to the taxi industry - and which were not addressed in the meetings - are that of traffic officers who own taxis and that of traffic officials who accept bribes from taxi drivers.

In this respect the scoring of several concessions by taxi drivers has been described by City Councillor, Cecil Long, as showing an "ineptitude" and a "serious lack of understanding". The taxi industry has been left without significant resolve, and without a generalised overhaul, it seems unlikely that localised remedies will suffice in an industry which is "about to implode on itself" (Jane Barrett of the Transport and General Workers Union).

## 5.2 Train Violence

During 1992 a total of 216 people died as a result of violence on trains. This month saw at least ten train attacks which left six people dead and four injured.

Attacks continue on the East Rand line - at least two bodies were found on the tracks in the area.

Despite the countless number of attacks on train commuters, what is believed to be the first murder conviction was handed down this month to an IFP-supporter, for the "cruel and callous" murder of a fellow commuter.

Xolani Mnguni was convicted of murdering Matsosale William Aphane by stabbing him and then forcing him under the wheels of a Naledi-Cleveland train on November 29 last year.

In delivering his judgement, Judge Coetzee commended the bravery of the witness who testified against Mnguni, and without whom the conviction could not have been made.

### 5.3 East Rand

#### 5.3.1 Daveyton

A group calling themselves the South African Republican Army (SARA), which last year claimed responsibility for the killing of ANC midlands deputy chair, Reggie Hadebe, this



month claimed responsibility for the killing of six people at Chris Hani Squatter camp in Daveyton.

A man identifying himself as Douglas Ndlovu said that SARA carried out the attack because those killed were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and had been involved in the torture of exiles. According to Ndlovu, SARA consists of returned exiles who are opposed to the ANC.

SARA also claimed to have taken an APLA man, codenamed Painter, into custody. Painter is allegedly responsible for among other attacks, last year's King William's Town Golf Club shooting.

In addition, targets for future assassination by SARA were identified. Targets include ANC leaders nation-wide, but particularly in Alexandra, in an operation called "Cut Red Roses".

SARA's existence is currently the subject of a police investigation.

The six people mentioned in the SARA communique were shot dead in several incidents at Chris Hani squatter camp in Daveyton on Sunday February 7. The ANC PWV region said it believed that the attack was not politically motivated and urged witnesses to come forward. Tokyo Sexwale, chairperson of the ANC PWV region said that none of the victims were members of political groups or parties. The ANC Daveyton representative Sithembiso Myaluza, said there had been indications of disputes in the area recently - a shack had been burnt down and one or two people had been killed in isolated incidents. The police are currently investigating.

In what appears to be a racially motivated attack two young Daveyton schoolboys were shot by white men at the Etwatwa squatter camp. Fannie Mlambo (10) had to undergo an emergency operation to his left leg after it was shattered by a bullet. The condition of his friend Solly Mailula (13) who was shot in the back in the attack on Saturday February 20th is in a satisfactory condition.

Mlambo's grandmother says that Fannie had told her that they were on the way to the sports field when they were approached by two white men in car. The men allegedly then called the two boys to the car. The two youngsters then ran away towards

the sports field. The men followed and shot them.

The police are currently investigating a charge of attempted murder.

#### 5.3.2 Thokoza

Several members of the so-called Khumalo gang were arrested during February. For details on the gangs alleged activities see the Board's December-January 1993 report.

On Friday February 5 - Mzwakhe Khumalo the son of Mbhekiseni Khumalo the alleged leader of the gang and Peter Sibeko were ambushed in Thokoza by unidentified gunmen. Both men were injured in the attack. On February 12 1993, Paul Ngubeni who has been assisting the police with information which has led to the arrest of several Khumalo gang members was arrested for the above shooting. He along with 52 other youths were subsequently charged with the incident on Monday February 15 and the case against Ngubeni was postponed until March 16 and the case against the youths was postponed to March 26.

One of the youths who Paul Ngubeni identified as Sam Ngobani

was badly assaulted and when he appeared in Court on Monday February 15 he was remanded to Modderbee prison.

Several Khumalo gang members were also arrested on the weekend of February 12. They were subsequently granted bail of R4 000 each. Residents of Thokoza have since complained that they were forced to contribute R20 towards the bail for the Khumalo gang members.

On Monday February 22, 1993 - Mbhekiseni and Mzwakhe Khumalo were arrested on a charge of possession. They subsequently appeared in court in connection with the possession of three AK 47s and Mbhekiseni Khumalo was granted R2 000 bail.

On Wednesday February 24, the Board received a call from the Thokoza Civic Association regarding the arrest of Justice Mzamo Malinga on Tuesday February 23. The Board was informed that Malinga had been assaulted. A Board researcher saw Malinga at the Katlehong Police Station on Wednesday and noted that Malinga had been assaulted. He then informed the Board that he had been assaulted by members of the SADF based at Steenpunt in Thokoza. Malinga subsequently appeared in the

Alberton Court on Thursday February 25 on a charge of possession. He was not granted bail. He was allegedly found with an AK 47 and this gun has been sent for ballistic tests. The attorneys acting for Malinga have indicated that they will apply for bail once the results of the ballistic tests are known.

Four Thokoza Civic Association leaders accused of the murder of Prince Mhlambi and four others on October 10 last year had their charges withdrawn on February 25. The Four - Reverend Jerry Motsieloa, Gideon Letlothlo, Philemon Mapatje and Abraham Motaung have indicated that they intend to sue the Minister of Law and Order for false arrest and malicious prosecution.

Two youths - Joshua "Yster" Mchunu and Paul Mokoena also appeared on the above charges. The case against them was postponed to March 25 for a Supreme Court date.

#### 5.4 West Rand

##### 5.4.1 Swanieville

Five men accused of the Swanieville massacre in May 1991 in which 28 people were killed were acquitted in the Rand Supreme Court this month.

Judge CJ Botha acquitted the men and criticised the police for failing to take action more promptly to identify the killers. There were allegations at the time of the massacre of collusion between police and the attackers. Six Kagiso hostel residents and a seventh from Wattville hostel in Benoni were brought to trial. Two of them, Sizwe Majola, and Bhekowakhe Mdlalose were acquitted during the trial after Judge Botha found that the State had failed to make a case against them.

Aquitting the remaining five, Botha said it was a "scandal" that so few people were brought to trial. He said if the first police on the scene had mobilised the video unit immediately when they had encountered the group of hostel residents, there would have been a strong case against

hundreds of people, if only for public violence. Instead they had only a doubtful case against the seven. It was not strange, the judge added, that the actions of the police had led to criticism and speculation.

In reaction to Judge Botha's criticisms of the police investigation a spokesperson for the SAP said the judgment would be studied to decide what steps should be taken to avoid recurrences "of this nature". Police pointed out that the Swanieville massacre happened before the Boipatong killings and steps had subsequently been taken to improve policing, including:

- \* Contingency planning covering a wide range of unrest scenarios;
- \* A review of management structures of the internal stability division; and
- \* The deployment of an additional 900 policemen in the area.

But the SAP said it would require the wholehearted support of the community and the total involvement of all political leaders to stamp out the violence.

### 5.5 Tigane/Hartebeesfontein

The conflict between the IFP and the ANC in Tigane near Klerksdorp in the Western Transvaal claimed several victims this month.

A member of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was shot dead in his hospital bed on Monday February 15 - two days after he had survived another attack in which local IFP Youth Brigade leader Andries Khoza was killed.

Koos Seokolo (19) was killed in Tshepong Hospital near Klerksdorp. His death was followed by the fatal shooting of ANC member Oupa Kraai. Kraai had been accused of being involved in the murder of Seokolo and Khoza.

Seokolo and Khoza were walking home through Tigane when four men allegedly opened fire with AK 47s. In hospital, Seokolo allegedly told the SAP that he could identify two of his attackers and that one was Kraai. Seokolo was killed when four hooded men allegedly entered the hospital grounds by cutting through a fence. Three of the men went into Seokolo's ward shot him four times and left. Police claim that following on from the information they got from Seokolo, they went to



Tigane to arrest Kraai. They claim he tried to run away and that is when they shot him.

ANC regional chairperson Solly Rasmeni denied that Kraai ran away from the police, he said Kraai was shot without warning while walking through the township with his girlfriend.

On February 27, when Seakolo and Khoza were buried shots were fired during the funeral which left at least one woman dead and three people injured. Simon Lebetho an ANC branch executive member identified the dead woman as Angelina Jwily, a supporter of the ANC. The three people injured were all members of Oupa Kraai's family who was allegedly killed by the SAP earlier in the month. According to the SAP several shots were fired at Tigane residents apparently from within the ranks of the mourners. After the burial the area was cordoned off and all mourners were searched for weapons but none were found.

## 5.6 Vaal

### 5.6.1 Boipatong

Boipatong, the scene of a brutal massacre in June last year where over 40 people were killed is tense following the distribution of inflammatory pamphlets warning residents of a "revenge attack". According to local monitoring group Peace Action the pamphlets follow the kidnap and killing of an unidentified hostel inmate allegedly by Boipatong residents. According to Peace Action the man was accosted in broad day light and set alight.

The pamphlet is thought to emanate from the notorious Kwa Madala hostel. The pamphlet says : "We thank you Boipatong residents for our colleague you've necklaced. We don't know if you will like our retaliation because a person who sends a message must expect a reply. You can expect our reply any time now. We pity the children, the aged, cats and dogs because they will be unable to defend themselves." The pamphlet has put all local defence structures on alert and the youth are patrolling the township for any sign of attack.

The pamphlet follows a decision on the trial of 64 Kwa Madala hostel inmates who were allegedly involved in the Boipatong massacre on June 17 last year. The trial is scheduled to begin in the Delmas Circuit Court on April 13. All accused are out on bail of a R 1000 each.

## VI. EASTERN CAPE

### 6.1 Fort Beaufort

Fighting broke out between ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) supporters in Fort Beaufort in late February leaving at least three people dead. The clashes apparently erupted after members of the local civic association, aligned to the ANC, expelled PAC-supporting teachers from a local school. The teachers were accused of promoting pupils to higher standards in an attempt to form a Pan Africanist Students' Organisation.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Despite relative calm descending on the PWV, the conflict in Natal continues to escalate. As far as Natal is concerned

there does not seem to be a peaceful solution in sight and monitors countrywide believe that violence in the area could increase tenfold once electioneering for the various political parties gets off the ground. Members of the two main political parties in Natal namely the IFP and ANC are intolerant and there is no free political activity in many of their strongholds.

As mentioned elsewhere in the report the increase in the number of reported acts of racial violence is disturbing and we expect them to increase as part of a crude backlash against the "reforms" implemented by the government. The Board also expects these type of attacks to increase during the run up to elections.

The Supreme Court finding in the Swanieville massacre once again questions the police investigation of politically motivated violence. In January this year the Board put out a special report on police investigation of politically motivated violence which went further than the Waddington report which highlighted the SAP's basic incompetence by concluding that the SAP lacked the necessary "will" to investigate crimes of this nature.

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