Independent Board of Inquiry
Into Informal Repression


1. Violence in the Reef townships.

1.1. Introduction

The month of August saw a number of violent clashes between Inkatha supporters, mostly hostel dwellers, and township residents on the Rand, many of whom are ANC supporters. More than 500 people have died and many hundreds more have been injured in the violence.

The first major incident occurred on Sunday 22/7/90 when violence broke out at the hostels in Sebokeng near Vereeniging, following an Inkatha rally at the Sebokeng stadium. According to statements taken from residents by the IBIIR, Inkatha members armed with assegais, pangas, knobkieries and other weapons attacked the hostels when coming back from the rally. Police vehicles accompanied the marchers, but no attempt was apparently made to disarm them.
The ensuing violence left 21 people dead and approximately 50 people injured. Police had been forewarned of a possible Inkatha attack by attorneys of Cosatu and the IBIIR.

On the morning of Thursday 2/8/90 the police conducted a massive search operation in the hostels, the object being to seize weapons. The IBIIR is in possession of a number of statements of township residents accusing the police of various unlawful acts including destruction of property, theft and assault.

On Sunday 12/8/90, 9 people were shot dead in their rooms at the Sebokeng hostel by unknown gunmen.

Shortly after the initial outbreak of violence in Sebokeng, Soweto commuters were attacked on their trains by armed men alleged to have been Inkatha supporters, who attacked chanting the Zulu war cry, "usuthu". These attacks took place on the evening of Wednesday 24/7/90 and the morning of Thursday 25/7/90.
Again, the police had been forewarned by attorneys of the IBIR and Cosatu. There is substantial correspondence to verify this. Victims claimed that members of the South African Police had done nothing to intervene.

The third major violent incident occurred in Kagiso township on 5/8/90. Fighting broke out in the township between Inkatha members and hostel dwellers following an Inkatha rally in Soweto. The fighting left at least 10 people dead. Reports were received that fighting broke out after Inkatha supporters had returned from the rally and had refused entry to non Inkatha members to the Kagiso hostel. Hostel residents claimed that early in the day a large contingent of Inkatha members armed with knobkieries, pangas, and assegais had marched through Orlando in full view of the South African Police. This claim was later denied by the police.

The violence spread to the East Rand and to Soweto. By 20th August 1990, a total of 203 people had been killed in Thokoza.
In Soweto, at least 78 people had been killed and more than 400 had been injured.

1. 2. **THE EAST RAND.**

The residents of the Crossroads squatter camp in Katlehong on the East Rand alleged that Inkatha members moved through the squatter camp on Sunday 12/8/90 asking residents whether they belonged to Inkatha or to the A N C. The same men returned that evening and shot some camp dwellers and burnt down some of the shacks. (Daily Mail 16/8/90).

It appears from information received from residents of the area that Inkatha memr mainly hostel dwellers, embarked on an aggressive recruitment campaign in the Katlehong area. This campaign was also conducted in Thokoza where, as a result of the campaign, certain hostel dwellers who did not support Inkatha were forced to leave the hostel and to settle in the Phola Park squatter camp.
This political conflict manifested itself by taking on an ethnic flavour, namely between Zulus and Xhosas.

On Sunday 12th August, according to Mr Wellington Nkosi, a resident of the Phola Park squatter camp, there was a fight between a Zulu and Xhosa man, as a result of which the Xhosa speaking person was killed. What happened subsequently is not entirely clear, but residents told Radio 702 news reporter Des Latham that two Phola Park residents described as "comrades" were killed by Zulu speaking hostel dwellers. On Monday 13th August, the squatters from Phola Park took revenge and attacked certain hostel residents. Violence between hostel dwellers and Phola Park squatters escalated, leaving more than 150 people dead over the next two days.
1. 3. **TUESDAY 14TH AUGUST 1990.**

1. 3. 1. **Katlehong.**

Zulu speaking men came to the Crossroads squatter camp and warned that they would return to attack the camp the next day. (The Star 15/8/90).

1. 3. 2. **Thokoza.**

Armed men, apparently Inkatha supporting residents of the Khalanyoni hostel, attacked the Phola Park squatters camp at about 15:00. Five men were killed in this attack. The attackers, identified as Inkatha supporters by their red headbands, were armed with firearms, pangas, spears and axes. At about 18:00 another attack was launched on the squatter camp and a number of shooting incidents occurred.
The police claim they used teargas and birdshot in an attempt to keep the warring factions apart. That evening approximately 1000 residents of the squatter camp went to the Catholic church for shelter. Armed Zulus remained behind. (Beeld 15/8/90).

A Beeld reporter claimed that shots were fired in Phola Park squatter camp while police, parked in Caspirs about 200 metres away, failed to take any action. He also claimed that the police failed to disarm Inkatha supporters who were openly marching down the street armed with pangas, knobkieries and other homemade weapons. According to the reporter, it was possible to separate the hostel residents from the Phola Park residents, but the police failed to do so.
A radio journalist arrived in Thokoza at about 10:00 when she saw about 100 Inkatha members with red headbands armed with an assortment of home-made weapons marching down the street, escorted by police vehicles on either side. They arrived at the hostel, where the police allowed the Inkatha members to file into the hostel. Then the police left, according to the reporter. More Inkatha members gathered at the hostel. The number of Inkatha supporters swelled to about 2000, most of whom were armed with pangas, knives and axes. They were dancing and threatening to kill Xhosas in the hostel. They smashed windows and went inside, but it appeared that the residents of the hostel had fled. Members of Inkatha threatened the media and told reporters that they would be killed if they did not leave the area.
After about an hour, the police arrived again and escorted the Inkatha members further down the road.

1. 4. WEDNESDAY 15TH AUGUST 1990.

1. 4. 1. Katlehong.

According to a Katlehong resident, a group of more than 200 Zulus attacked the Crossroads squatter camp before dawn. They were armed with guns, assegais, knives, pangas and hatchets.

Following the previous day’s warning, the residents of the camp had tried to arm themselves in self defence by hostel dwellers, who appeared to be speaking Inkatha supporters, were stronger. The police came to the scene of the attack, but did not disarm the Inkatha supporters. (Star 15/8/90).
Christina Bonisani, who lives in the camp, stated that men armed with guns pulled her out of her shack and asked her whether she was a Zulu or Xhosa. She lied and said that she was a Zulu, and the men left her alone. Eunice Madikwa, another camp resident, alleges that the police stood by and watched the attack. After the Zulus had moved through the camp the police fired rubber bullets and tear-gas at the remaining residents and ordered them to move out. (Daily Mail 16/8/90).

Radio 702 reporter Des Latham saw the police disarming people who described themselves as "comrades" at Katlehong stadium on Wednesday. He does not know whether other people were disarmed as well, but said that he saw armed men moving about later the same day.
Heavy fighting began at 0400 when Zulu speakers were raided at the Khalanyoni hostel by Xhosa speaking men from the Phola Park squatter camp. By 1400 the Xhosa speakers who had participated in the attack had been disarmed by the South African Police. Members of the group said that they had attacked the hostel in an attempt to pre-empt another Zulu raid on the squatter camp. Phillip Morabe, a hostel dweller, said that it seemed to him that the police were on Inkatha's side. (Daily Mail 16/8/90).

Reporters on the scene said that people on both sides were disarmed only after the attacks had taken place. According to a Beeld reporter, Phola Park residents were forcefully disarmed and the doors to their shacks were kicked in by police.
He did not see policemen opening locked doors at the hostel, and when he visited the hostel at about 1700 on the same day, he saw four men moving about armed with pangas, axes and knobkieries.

Vosloorus.

Themba Mahlanga, who lives in the Vosloorus hostel, says the hostel was attacked by a large impi of Zulus, armed with sticks and assegais. (The Star 15/8/90).

The attack was apparently aimed at ANC supporters and they were forced to flee the hostels. Sipho Mtshali, hostel resident, said that the Inkatha supporters would not allow a repeat of what had happened in Sebokeng. Later that day, after an Inkatha delegation had left the Vosloorus police station after talks with the SAP, Business Day reporter Linden Birns saw a constable Buthelezi shouting at Inkatha supporters,
"your King was a warrior, so why don’t you wipe out all the traitors".

(Business Day 16/8/90).

When Birns arrived in Vosloorus on Wednesday, he found about 1000 Xhosas camped next to the police station across the road from the hostel. A spokesman told him that they had left the hostel after they were attacked by members and forced out of the hostel the previous night. An Inkatha spokesman confirmed this and told him that they would not allow Xhosas back into the hostel and that they wanted revenge for what had happened in Sebokeng.

1. 5. THURSDAY 16TH AUGUST 1990.

1. 5. 1. Soweto.

The violence spread to Soweto when commuters at Inhlazane station were attacked, allegedly by Inkatha supporters from nearby Jabulani hostel, at 04:30.
Five people died at the station and a fifth was killed at the Johannesburg station.

Captain N J Ngobeni of the Soweto police confirmed the incident and said that ninety seven people were left injured. (Sowetan 17/8/90).

Fighting broke out between Morafe hostel dwellers and Mpheleta township residents at about 0700. A witness at the scene said police opened fire at residents "who were defending themselves against the hostel inmates". Mr Lehapisa Maleho of Mpheleta said, "I saw police arresting a resident after throwing tear-gas at us. These people are siding with the inmates." (Sowetan 17/8/90). A policeman spokesman denied that they were taking sides.

Schooling came to a standstill in the township when parents fetched their children from schools as rumours of a "Zulu onslaught"
spread through the township. A group of about 200 hostel dwellers armed with an assortment of weapons assembled outside Morafe hostel after burning tyres were used to barricade roads leaving the hostel. Armed men wearing red headbands, indicating Inkatha membership, began to gather at a bridge outside Nancefield hostel at about 1300. A municipal policeman ordered journalists from the scene. Residents accused the police of not stopping the men from leaving the hostel. (Sowetan 17/8/90).

Witnesses near Jabulani hostel said fighting broke out in the morning when hostel dwellers attacked and stopped residents from going to work. Angry residents barricaded the roads and demanded that Zulu speaking hostel dwellers be moved out of the area. (Sowetan 17/8/90).

Seventeen people were killed in the Soweto violence throughout the day. (The Star 17/8/90).
An emergency meeting was held between ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. They agreed to establish a "Peace Forum" to end the escalating violence. Earlier, Mandela had met with President F W de Klerk in Pretoria.

The peace forum would be made up of representatives of the Police, the ANC and possibly of Inkatha.

Thokoza.

A Thokoza Civic Association (TCA) rally aimed at ending the violence in Thokoza ended when about half of an estimated 15 000 strong crowd walked out in protest while the Chairman of the TCA, Sam Ntuli, was speaking. The dissatisfaction was caused by Ntuli’s suggestion that police help be sought to retrieve belongings of hostel dwellers who left during the fighting.
Previous speakers had called on police to remove Inkatha supporters so other inmates could take their belongings in peace or at least be allowed to arm themselves for their safety when entering the hostel. (The Star 17/8/90).

Refugees from Thokoza and Katlehong spent the night in the veld. (The Star 17/8/90). A Catholic priest, Father Peter Hortop, again criticized the police for allegedly failing to disarm Inkatha supporters. He said he saw a band of armed Inkatha supporters marching down the street under police protection. He said there was a Caspir travelling on either side of a group of Inkatha supporters. (Business Day 17/8/90).
even Zulu speaking township residents have fallen victim to attacks from hostel dwellers. According to Sun Star reporter Jon Qwelane, the impis from the hostel, recognised by their scarlet headbands, do not ask for ethnic origin when they attack. "They are Zulus, the victims may or may not be." (Sunday Star 19/8/90). Members of the impi gangs carry an assortment of weapons which include assagais, pangas, axes and machetes, sharpened pieces of iron, knobkerries and shamboks. Many are known to possess firearms, as the shooting on the Phola Park squatter camp demonstrated.

"It has been the open flaunting of the impi's fearsome weapons, in the presence of the police, which has prompted victims of the violence, in this case non hostel dwellers, to accuse the police of being very soft with the impis." (Sunday Star 19/8/90).
1. 6. Soweto.

At least 78 people were killed and more than 400 injured in violence in Soweto over the weekend.

The warring factions were identified as pro Inkatha hostel dwellers and township residents (Saturday Star 18/8/90). A police spokesman said "the one faction is, Inkatha and the other is difficult to identify, whether residents or ANC".

A clash between armed Zulu speaking hostel dwellers of Morafe hostel and a group of residents was avoided when Sgt. Raubenheimer of the SAP persuaded the sides to disarm themselves. (Saturday Star 19/8/90).

Although the impi perceived to be the attackers were all Zulu speaking,
The police have been accused by residents of not disarming Inkatha members, while firing tear-gas at the residents on the other hand.

"The residents' charge against the police had a ring of truth to it. Throughout the violence, tear-gas canisters seemed to land only in township streets and nowhere near the hostels." Qwelane describes an attack by Merafe hostel dwellers on township residents in Soweto. "A rain of tear-gas canisters descended on the township group, sending them scattering in all directions and scampering over fences. The canisters were fired into the streets where they fled, and beyond. None of the many local and foreign newsmen present throughout saw a single canister being fired at the marauding impi." (Sunday Star 19/8/90).
1. 6. 2. Thokoza.

Sporadic fighting continued in Thokoza over the weekend, and 28 people were killed, bringing the death toll in Thokoza to a total of 203.

The Khalanyoni hostel, from where Inkatha supporters had allegedly launched the first attack on residents on 14/8/90, was gutted when township residents set fire to it over the weekend. (Sowetan 20/8/90; Business Day 20/8/90).

1. 6. 1. 3. KwaThema (Springs).

The violence spread to KwaThema township near Springs on the East Rand, where 6 people were killed over the weekend.
1. 6. 1. 4. Daveyton.

Two people were killed when clashes occurred in Daveyton.
(Business Day 20/8/90).

1. 7. MONDAY 20TH AUGUST 1990.

1. KwaThema.

The death toll on the Reef climbed to 383 after 56 people died in battles between residents and hostel dwellers in KwaThema near Springs.

By Monday, 117 people had been killed in Thokoza and 94 in Soweto. Deaths .. also reported from Daveyton, Thembisa and Katlehong. (Business Day 21/8/90).

2. Peace Talks.

Officials of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa),
decided to send 30 senior chiefs from Natal, the Ciskei and the Transkei to hostels on the Witwatersrand to stop the current violence turning into a Xhosa/Zulu ethnic war. The Delegation will be led by the Prince of the Zulu royal family, Mcwayizeni Zulu, and the head of Transkei Council of Leaders, Chief Nonkonyane. (Daily Mail 21/8/90).

Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa would hold talks with Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss allegations that Transkei citizens have been victimized by Inkatha warriors and the police in the fighting. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and foreign Minister Pik Botha would be present. State President F W DE Klerk was to meet Buthelezi in a separate meeting later in the day. (Daily Mail 21/8/90).

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe,
announced that rewards would be paid for information concerning unlawful firearms. The police would pay R1 000 for an machine gun, R600 for a rifle, R300 for a pistol or revolver, R200 for each kilogram of explosives and R1 for every bullet confiscated. (Beeld 21/8/90).

1. 8.

TUESDAY 21ST AUGUST 1990.

1. Talks between Holomisa and Buthelezi.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, who is also head of Inkatha, and Transkei’s Major General Bantu Holomisa met in Pretoria to plead for peace between the warring factions in the Reef Townships. However, Holomisa accused Inkatha impis of being responsible for the violence, while Buthelezi rejected these allegations.
Holomisa said that ethnicity was being used as a calculated ploy to disguise political motives and that he had information that the South African Police had aligned themselves with Inkatha impis. After objections by Minister of Law & Order Adriaan Vlok, Holomisa provided the Minister with the names of four people who had alleged collusion between the South African Police and Inkatha.

2. Continuing Violence

The death toll in the Witwatersrand townships rose to 405 in continued fighting.

Alternate accommodation for hostel dwellers who left the KwaThema hostel on Monday after weekend fighting left at least 58 dead, was organised by the local Civic Association. Township residents were demanding that the KwaThema hostel should be demolished.
By Tuesday, 39 people had died in Tembisa, 120 in Thokoza, 42 in Katlehong, 14 in Daveton and 115 in Soweto.

The KwaThema violence, which began on Saturday, reportedly involved repeated attacks on Xhosa speaking hostel dwellers by Inkatha members. In the worst attack on Sunday night, 21 people were killed, most of them while they lay in bed. (Daily Mail 22/8/90).

Daniel Vumani claimed in a statement that the South African Police are assisting Inkatha and that the police were firing tear-gas at township residents, but not at the Inkatha impis. Vumani said in his statement that he preferred the army to stay but not the police, as the army was perceived to be impartial.
Cyril Jantjies, a member of the PWV convening committee of the African National Congress, said in a statement that he went to the KwaThema police station on Monday 20/8/90 to see Brigadier Strauss. Strauss was not in, but a Sgt Niemand phoned at his home. Jantjies spoke to him and told him that the police needed reinforcements in the area. Strauss referred him to Lt. Vosloo who was on the scene. Jantjies then went to see Lt Vosloo but he was busy with a gathering of Zulus outside the hostel, according to Jantjies. Jantjies then spoke to Captain Legodi who told him that they were unable to get into the hostel because non Inkatha hostel dwellers were hostile towards the police who were carrying arms. A delegation headed by Jantjies then spoke to the hostel dwellers. The hostel dwellers told the delegation that "Their problem was not the Zulus, it was the police."
The residents told Jantjies that policemen had shot four people dead. At that point, they were shot at and had to flee.

1. 9. WEDNESDAY 22ND AUGUST 1990.

The death toll in the township violence topped the 500 mark after 10 days of fighting between Inkatha supporting hostel dwellers and residents. Newspaper reporters pointed out that the death rate of over 50 a day dwarfs the Natal violence toll, which has averaged 3 deaths a day over the last 4 years. The Natal war has claimed more lives that both the Lebanese and the Irish conflicts.

Claims of police collusion with Inkatha impis surfaced once again, and there were reports of running battles between Security Force patrols and enraged residents in Kagiso. The clashes in Kagiso claimed at least 27 lives, while 39 people died in Vosloorus.
A widow in Kagiso told lawyers representing the IBIIR how the impi that killed her husband had been brought to the house in a police van.

Widow Elizabeth Mashaba said; "There was confusion around here. The youth dispersed because there was a rumour that Inkatha was advancing." She said that her husband Michael, a 60 year old pensioner, then went out to lock the gate.

"I looked out of the window and saw the police van outside the house. About 40 Inkatha impis got out of the van. They had red ropes around their legs and red bands around their heads. One man had a whole bag of guns, others had spears and battle axes. They were chasing another man who jumped over our fence and they mistook my husband for him. My husband tried to say it was not him they wanted, but they chased him inside the house and speared him to death."
Captain Eugene Opperman of the South African Police responded that police were used to these allegations being made - in fact, he said, they were becoming bored with them. (Daily Mail 23/8/90).

In another statement collected by the IBIIR’s lawyers, Christina Nzondo, a cousin of Aaron Ngxekwa, a migrant worker from Transkei who was killed in Kagiso, alleged that Ngxekwa was gunned down by police. Nzondo showed the lawyers the bullet ridden blanket which he had been wearing at the time.

1. 10. THURSDAY 23RD AUGUST 1990.

As a Peace Accord was reached between residents and Inkatha hostel dwellers in Kagiso, and the police agreed to cordon off the Lewisham hostel from where Inkatha launched attacks over the last days, more evidence of police collusion with Inkatha emerged.
A hostel dweller who was forced to join Inkatha told the Weekly Mail (24/8/90) he:
Inkatha leaders organised attacks, use secret codes and have covert links with passing police patrols.

The Zulu speaking Soweto hostel dweller says that he was forced to join Inkatha — otherwise he would be killed. He has been wearing the red headband indicating Inkatha membership ever since. He says that even non Zulu speaking hostel residents have been forced to join Inkatha. "Either you join or you leave," he says.

He says that Inkatha is being aided by white policemen and while this continues the fighting will not stop. "The police are based at the hostel, and have been there since last Thursday. There are about 10 of them who patrol outside the hostel during the day. Then at night — at about 12 or 1 a.m when everyone is sleeping — they go out in Casspirs and police vans with a few Inkatha guys ... those that they trust."
"Then they wait in the vehicle on the corner and some of the Inkatha men get out. The others stay inside. When they get out they approach people in the streets - they usually go for well built men."

"They call to them and wait to see from their response if they are comrades: 'Amandla!' they call.... then they wait for the answer ...... 'Awetu' (power ... to the people), "Then: 'Izwe' ...... 'Elethu' (the country ...is ours) "Then: 'Songoba' ...... 'Simunye' (we will defeat ... as a group).

"If the men respond to these call with the correct answers they are close to death. But there is one final test - a secret Inkatha code. If the man can reply to this call he is saved, If not, he is dead," he says, running a finger across his neck.

"They call: 'Wenzani uShenge?' (What is Buthelezi doing?). If the person responds with 'Uggobhitshe' (He is boring a hole into the rock) ... they will leave him alone."

The rock symbolises the ANC, he explains.
Another eyewitness account, received from the Human Rights Commission, is also attached hereto.

1. 11. FRIDAY 24TH AUGUST – SUNDAY 26TH 1990

The Minister of Law and Order declared most Reef townships as "unrest areas" under the Public Safety Act on Friday 24th August. The declaration gives the police sweeping powers to crack down on the violence. The Dangerous Weapons Amendment Act was also widened to make as an offence to carry, among other dangerous weapons, pangas, axes, spears, knobkieries, assegais, battle-axes, metal rods, daggers, petrol bombs and garden forks.

After a tour of the violence ridden townships, traditional leaders from Transkei, Ciskei and KwaZulu called for peace in these areas. Chief Nwelo Nonkonyana,
the Chairman of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) called on the police to form joint monitoring groups with the warring parties and to act impartially. Contralesa alleged collaboration between the police and Inkatha supporters in thwarting the negotiation process.

1.12. **CONCLUSION.**

Exactly what took place in the Reef townships over the last 3 weeks that led to the death of more than 400 people and in what order it took place is not easy to establish. The IBIIIR is of the opinion that the violence appears to have been precipitated by a brutal and aggressive recruitment campaign initiated by Inkatha which compelled certain hostel dwellers to leave the hostel and join the community with whom the hostel already had strained relations. Thereafter the conflict escalated along political and ethnic lines and eventually into a battle between Zulu and Xhosa.
According to Lloyd Vogelman, Director of The Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand, the explanation for the current violence can only be found in the combination of political conflict and material conditions which overlays and feeds the issues of ethnic identity in the lives of these protagonists.

The ANC appears to have little to gain from the current conflict, Vogelman says. On the contrary, the violence has some potential for undermining some of its grassroots support, particularly as many ANC supporters in the affected areas feel themselves to be under threat and unprotected at a time when their organisation has committed itself to cessation of the armed struggle.

The appalling conditions in both the single-sex hostels and the squatter camps lend themselves to the potential outbreak of violence, Vogelman says.
"The hostels have become the flash-point of bloody confrontations. Isolated and often prison-like, they are the breeding grounds for an aggressive and machismo culture unrestrained by the stabilizing presence of families. Living in a hostel helps foster a group identity, firstly because hostels have historically been run along ethnic lines. Secondly, for the hostel residents there is a shared daily experience, all of which makes it extremely amenable to being organised."

"As a result, particular hostels often become strongholds of particular organisations. This helps to explain some of the organised nature of the current violence centred around the hostels. The violence we are witnessing is not a spontaneous outbreak of ethnic conflict. It is organised, orchestrated and planned."

Vogelman mentions the example of the hostels being used by the Inkatha residents as a military establishment from where attacks are planned and initiated.
"Ultimately, what we are witnessing is the importation of political conflicts from the Natal hinterland to the Transvaal townships. If we are to see the hand that lies behind the violence, we need to understand which organised political interest are being served by it." (Sunday Star 19/8/90).

It is clear from statements of residents that the violence on the Reef started soon after the re-launch of Inkatha as a national wide political party on July 14.

As shown above, the current violence was sparked off by alleged Inkatha attacks on hostels in Sebokeng on July 22. In the ensuing violence across the Reef, one faction was consistently identified by the red head bands indicating Inkatha membership.

According to a survey of black political attitudes done by Market Research Africa last month, Inkatha enjoyed the support of only 2% living outside Natal, while 84% supported the ANC and its allies.
Even the National Party, at 7%, enjoyed significantly more support than Inkatha.

A survey that was done by McCann advertising agency recently, came up with similar findings. The survey also found that Inkatha was viewed with resentment by many blacks and was even seen as a greater danger than many white Rightwing movements.

The theory that the current violence was precipitated by a forced recruitment campaign by Inkatha in a hostile environment, is backed up by the Natal precedent.

The head of the Midlands Crisis Committee, Professor John Aicheson of the University of Natal, who has monitored the Natal violence for the past three years, says that a massive forced recruitment campaign in the Pietermartizburg area in September 1987 was a big factor in escalating the violence in Natal.
Township residents interviewed by the IBIIIR claim that Zulu hostel dwellers were also threatened by Inkata that they would face the consequences if they did not join the movement. Shortly afterwards, violence erupted in the hostels, forcing non Inkatha members to leave the hostels and later manifesting itself in open warfare between the remaining hostel dwellers and township residents. Inevitably, the violence took on an ethnic flavour in some cases, where Zulu impis were pitted against Xhosa migrant workers.

A report received from Board member Judy Chalmers in Port Elizabeth on Wednesday 22nd August, indicates that the same pattern could be establishing itself in the Eastern Cape. Two municipal policemen were seen recruiting an elderly hostel dweller for Inkatha in the township outside Port Elizabeth.

It is also clear that the ANC, which has been accused by Buthelezi of stirring up the violence, has very little to gain from the conflict.
Activists interviewed by the IBIIR reason that Buthelezi, on the other hand, is abusing the current violence in order to force a high level meeting with Nelson Mandela at a stage where his own stature is waning and he is successfully being isolated, especially in the Transvaal.

It is not immediately clear why the South African Police would align themselves with Inkatha, if indeed these allegations are true. One possibility that has been mooted, is that it is in the interests of Rightwing elements in the Police force that black on black violence should continue, thus driving whites further to the right.

From statements obtained by the IBIIR, it appears that other rightwing elements might also be joining in the fray.

On Thursday 16th August, Andries Bongi Zuma was walking along the street in Meadowlands, Soweto with a friend when a red car stopped in front of them and reversed.
They saw large guns pointing out of the window and started running away. Shots were fired and Zuma was shot dead. His friend, Calvin Malungone claims that four white men were in the car from which the shots were fired. A statement by Malungone is in possession of the Board.

Rightwing elements have also being accused of the shooting incident in Sebokeng on Saturday 11/8/90, in which 9 people were killed. Although some residents accused the police, the indiscriminate firing at politically unenvolved black people through the windows of a room seem to be indicative of the random methods of attack characterized by the rightwing, as manifested in the recent bomb blasts at taxi ranks frequented by black commuters in Johannesburg and Pretoria.
2. **Annexures.**

Numerous photographs of Inkata supporters, in most cases identified by red headbands, moving around in the townships with an assortment of weapons, are attached hereto. In some cases, people are moving about with arms in full view of the police. The photographs were taken from all the newspapers published in Johannesburg. Statements from residents and eyewitness accounts from journalists are also annexed hereto, as well as correspondence between attorneys and the Minister of Law & Order and the Commissioner of police.

2. **Other IBIIR activities.**

Representatives of the IBIIR collected statements from victims and eye-witnesses of the violence in Sebokeng and other townships.
A memorandum on the Reef violence was prepared by the IBIIR for use in the discussions between ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and State President F W De Klerk and Minister of Law & Order Adriaan Vlok on Thursday 16th August 1990.

An IBIIR Researcher attended a meeting in Klerksdorp in the Western Transvaal on Saturday 11th August, where a monitoring group was established to monitor informal repression in the South Western Transvaal. (See separate report annexed hereto).

3. Rightwing Incidents.

On Saturday 11th August 1990, 16 people were injured when a bomb exploded at a fast-food outlet next to a taxi rank frequented by black commuters in Pretoria. Commercial explosives were used and Rightwing elements are suspected of being responsible for the blast. (Beeld 13/8/90, Sowetan 13/8/90).
While Mr Sulaiman Patel (64) was in hospital in Potgietersrus, an arrow with a note purporting to come from the Wit Wolve was fired at his home in Akasia, Potgietersrus. The note threatened all Indians to get out of so called white areas.

On Thursday 16th August, a meeting that was addressed by President F W De Klerk was disrupted by about 200 Rightwingers and 2 tear-gas canisters were thrown into the hall by rightwingers.

An organisation calling itself The Organisation for Truth in South Africa (OTSA) claimed responsibility for the incident.

On Saturday 18/8/90, Christiaan Oosthuizen (16) was wounded in the arm by a crossbow arrow. Oosthuizen was taking part in a march through the streets of Welkom by about 3000 residents of the Thabong and Bronville townships.
AWB members, armed with rifles, pistols, batons and crossbows lined the streets of the city. (Daily Mail 20/8/90 - The Star 20/8/90).

The Conservative Party decided at its conference that "home guard" units should be formed to "protect white property". Conservative Party Deputy Leader Ferdie Hartzenberg condemned the Peace Agreement agreed to in the Pretoria Minute by the Government and the ANC. (The Star 20/8/90).

4. Other Incidents.

4. 1. On 1st August 1990, Clement Msomi (37), a shop steward of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) was shot at Doornfontein station by unknown gunners driving a blue Toyota Cressida. (Daily Mail 3/8/90).
4. 2. The offices of the African National Congress in Tongart were vandalised and windows were broken on 1st August 1990. (Beeld 3/8/90).

4. 3. Early on the morning of Tuesday 21/8/90, a bomb made of commercial explosives detonated outside a Mayfair, Johannesburg hotel reported to be frequented by ANC supporters. Windows of nearby buildings were shattered but no one was injured. The bomb, apparently placed in a Peugeot station wagon, exploded outside the Norstell Royal residential hotel, where several ANC and SA Communist Party supporters were staying, according to residents. (The Star 21/8/90).

4. 4. An unknown gunman fired a shot through the bedroom window of the Natal president of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), Mzwandile Nhlanzi, in Klaarwater.

4. 5. A South African manufactured M26 hand grenade was flung over a wall at the Roodepoort station on Saturday 25 August. Gilbert Aiking (25) was killed in the attack, and Jane Kobela and Margaret Leefo were wounded.
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