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## War in Worcester:

Pamela Reynolds

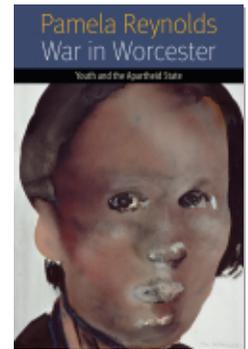
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## **Appendixes**



**Worcester**

Worcester is the largest of the Boland towns that include Ceres, Montagu, Robertson, and Tulbagh. The 1991 census gave a population of 243,550 in the Boland, 7.1 percent of the population of the Western Cape. The major products of the area include wine, table grapes, apricots, and peaches. Worcester is the most industrialized of the towns; it lies 110 kilometers northeast of Cape Town. The Boland towns were divided strictly according to apartheid criteria, with areas set aside for Africans set a short distance outside the town. Zwelethemba is four kilometers from the town center of Worcester. Unemployment in the region in the 1980s and 1990s was high, often over 50 percent. Many people were, and are, seasonally employed for only four months of the year. Worcester had, at the time of writing, a provincial hospital and a state-run clinic but no provision for state mental health services.

The Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture in Cape Town published a book, *Apartheid's Violent Legacy: a Report on Trauma in the West-*

*ern Cape*, written and edited by Donald Skinner (1998). Its aim was to record the problems experienced by victims of violence in greater Cape Town and in the Boland. It gives a survey of conditions in the 1980s and early 1990s. I draw here on the findings for Zwelethemba (Skinner 1998, 184–188). Sixty households were surveyed, of which forty-two reported having experienced political violence; forty-five questionnaires were completed; and nine in-depth interviews with people directly affected by violence were conducted. The *Report* states that opposition to the apartheid state began among Africans before the 1950s, and some people were detained and arrested in the 1960s and 1970s. Violence peaked in Zwelethemba in the 1980s. The 1984 to 1986 period appeared to be the worst, characterized by many arrests and detentions. There were seventy-one ex-detainees and eighteen ex-political prisoners. Most had been between the ages of eighteen and thirty years at the time of trauma. Twenty percent of the ex-detainees were women. It should be noted that the study reports only those who experienced detention periods of longer than forty-eight hours. There were regular street battles between the security forces when the latter entered the area. According to the survey data, thirteen deaths occurred between 1983 and 1987. School pupils and their Student Representative Councils (SRCs) were the main victims of the repressive violence. Details of the violence are given in the report, and subsequent medical and psychological problems are described, as are the respondents' expressed needs.

**The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission:  
A 1996 explanatory note from the TRC for the public**

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been established by an Act of Parliament: *The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, number 34*. It was passed into law on 27th July, 1995. The preamble of the Act states that,

. . . it is deemed necessary to establish the truth in relation to past events as well as the motives for and circumstances in which gross violations of human rights have occurred and to make the findings known in order to prevent a repetition of such events in the future.

*(Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, number 34 of 1995:2)*

In addition, the Act states that the aim of the Commission will be reconciliation, based on,

a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not retaliation, a need for *ubuntu* but not for victimization.

*(ibid.)*

Finally, the Act makes provision for the granting of amnesty “in respect of acts, omissions and offenses associated with political objectives committed in the course of the conflicts of the past” (ibid.).

### *Background to the Formation of the Commission*

The Interim Constitution marked the end of the *Apartheid* government’s rule in South Africa and it guarantees provision for the granting of amnesty to perpetrators of human rights violations. The Commission was developed through a process of consultation with civil society. It was decided that amnesty should be accompanied by a process in which victims and their families would be able to tell their experiences of human rights violation, and that mechanisms through which reparation and rehabilitation could be implemented would be established. The process is aimed at acknowledging people’s experiences of gross violations of human rights and at restoring what the Act calls people’s “civil and human dignity.”

Additional impetus was given to the formation of the Commission by the two investigations into alleged abuses in the ANC training camps conducted in 1992 and 1993 (Motsuenyane, 1993; Skweyiya, 1992).

Conferences mooting the notion of such a Commission were held (see Boraine, Levy and Scheffer, 1994; Boraine and Levy, 1995) and opinions were sought from national and international scholars.

The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Justice was tasked with finalising the bill to appear before Parliament. After several changes, the bill was debated and passed in Parliament in May 1995.

The Act provides for seventeen Commissioners to be appointed by the President. The head of the Amnesty Committee is required by the Act to be a judge. The President decided to create a more democratic process and appointed a selection panel. The panel held public interviews with candidates proposed by political parties and civil society. A short-list was compiled and presented to the President, who, in consultation with his Cabinet, made the final selection. Not all of the Commissioners finally selected, nor all of those who are tasked with facilitating amnesty, were on the short-list presented to the President. Commissioners were required to have sound human rights records and were not allowed to occupy high political posts.

### *Aims and Objectives*

The Commission aims to create a human rights culture in South Africa, and to promote reconciliation.

The objectives of the Commission are:

- to establish as complete a picture as possible of the human rights violations which occurred within and beyond South Africa between 1st March 1960 and the cut-off date (presently 5th December, 1993);
- to facilitate the granting of amnesty for those who make full disclosure of human rights violations;
- to establish the fate or whereabouts of victims and to restore the dignity of such victims by granting them the opportunity to relate their experiences of violation;
- to make recommendations regarding reparation and rehabilitation; and
- to compile a comprehensive report of findings and recommendations to prevent future violations.

The Commission has a statutory life of 18 months, which expires in June 1997. The Act provides for a further extension of six months. After the completion of its work, the Commission has three months to prepare a final report which will be presented to the President and thence Parliament.

### *Structure of the Commission*

The Act provides for three committees. They are: the Committee on Human Rights Violations, the Committee on Amnesty and the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation. Commissioners are supported by additional Committee members, professional and administrative staff and an Investigative Unit, which is headed by one of the Commissioners. The Unit, with its 48 investigators, is required to investigate any matter falling within the scope of the Commission. This includes verification of testimonies made by perpetrators and victims. The Unit has extensive powers of subpoena, search and seizure and entry, and will also make use of a database. It can institute strong penalties for those who fail to comply with it. A limited witness protection programme is also included in the functions of the Commission. A

research department has the task of conducting research on the cases presented to the Commission, and writing the final report.

South Africa has been divided into four regions for the purposes of the Commission. Each region has a central office, and the head-office of the Commission is in Cape Town.

#### COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

The Committee aims to investigate gross violations of human rights; to find out who was responsible for them; and to determine how and why human rights violations happened.

The definition of Gross Violations of Human Rights that informs the work of this committee is laid down in the Act:

- (a) killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment of any person, or
- (b) any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit an act referred to in paragraph (a), which emanated from conflicts of the past and which was committed during the period 1st March 1960 and the cut-off date [presently 5 December 1993] within or outside the Republic, and the commission of which was advised, planned, directed, commanded or ordered, by any person acting with a political motive.

The Committee has invited people to make submissions before it in the language of their choice. Written statements are taken from victims and from eyewitnesses. A sample of those making statements is selected for public hearings. The criteria on which the sample is selected have to do with presenting the public with as broad a range as possible of victims, violations and perpetrators. Victims, defined as either the person who suffered the violation or their family members or dependents, are referred to the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation. Victims are to be treated with respect and compassion and without discrimination. The Commission must protect their privacy and ensure the safety of both witness and the family.

Public hearings are held throughout the country and are televised, broadcast and recorded in the print media. The hearings focus on individual experiences and on events that affected whole communities (such as the youth uprisings of Soweto in 1976). Provision is also made for political parties

to present context papers which describe the context within which parties acted.

#### AMNESTY COMMITTEE

The Amnesty committee is required to hear applications for amnesty from those who committed crimes with a political motive. Amnesty shall be granted where full disclosure is made. Names of those granted amnesty will be published in the Government Gazette. Applications for amnesty have to be made before the 15th December 1996.

The Amnesty clause of the Commission has come under considerable scrutiny and criticism. Some critics hold that the amnesty provisions contravene international law. International law finds that governments are responsible for the prosecution of those who committed human rights violations except in cases of "public emergency." Proponents of the Commission argue that a provision for amnesty was a prerequisite to the ending of conflict in South Africa. The amnesty clause was tested in the Constitutional Court recently. A case was brought against the Commission by relatives of victims who claimed that the amnesty provision violated their right to civil and criminal redress, and was therefore unconstitutional. The Constitutional Court found that the facilitating of the granting of amnesty was a provision of the Interim Constitution, and found against the plaintiffs.

At the time of writing there have been approximately 2 000 applications for amnesty. The Commission is required by the Act to attend to those applicants who are currently serving prison sentences for the crimes for which they are requesting amnesty. More than 1 600 of the applicants fall into this category. There have been indications that a number of high ranking officials of the *Apartheid* government will apply for amnesty.

#### COMMITTEE ON REPARATION AND REHABILITATION

The function of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee is to make recommendations to the President regarding reparation for victims and measures to restore their human and civil dignity. Additionally, it is required to make recommendations regarding urgent interim relief for victims.

This committee is also responsible for the psychological briefing and debriefing of witnesses appearing before the human rights violations committee.

### *Unique Features of the Commission*

There are a number of features which make the Commission unique among the commissions held to date.

- **Promulgation**  
The Commission has been established through an Act of Parliament, passed after Parliamentary debate. It is the first Commission of its kind to have been put in place by a democratically-elected government.
- **Selection**  
A committee of seven people, representing the major political parties in the Government of National Unity, Labour and the Churches, was appointed by the President to select 25 people from whom the President would appoint the final 17 commissioners. Commissioners were required to have a sound human rights record and were not to have high political profiles. Further appointments were made by the President without a public selection process.
- **Powers**  
The Commission has been invested with powers of search and seizure and subpoena. The Commission has its own investigation unit.
- **Amnesty**  
While the amnesty clause has been hotly contested, the amnesty that is offered is not blanket. In other words, individuals must apply for amnesty, and, in order to qualify, must make full disclosure of the acts committed. Applications for amnesty are screened by a panel which is headed by a judge of the Supreme Court (the highest court in the land). Amnesty is granted according to the Norgaard Principles (established in brokering the peace in Namibia). Included in these principles are notions of proportionality; that is, the act, omission or offense must have been proportional to the political end for which it was committed. In addition, motives, the nature of the act and its objective are taken into account. Amnesty is therefore not automatically granted. Applications for amnesty must be made by 15th December 1996.

- Public Hearings

A proportion of the submissions, both of those testifying about human rights violations and those applying for amnesty, are held in public.

- Publication of names

The South African Commission is required to promulgate the names of those who receive amnesty in a Government Gazette. Most other truth commissions, notably those of Latin America, have published only the names of those who experienced human rights violations, and not the names of perpetrators.



## The Boland Hearings

At the hearings held from June 24–26, 1996, in Sohnge College, Worcester, twenty-four accounts of the past were heard. Twenty were given by men and four by women, of which two-thirds were by or about people who were under thirty years of age when they had been violated and of whom seven were under eighteen. All but one were later declared to be victims, and their names appear in volume 7 of the Commission's *Report*. Half of the accounts were about people from Worcester (six of whom were young activists), and they included testimony from Amos Dyantyi (spelled Dyanty by the Commission staff), Xolile Dyabooi, Zandisile Ntsomi, and Pringle (Ntando) Mrubata. I had worked with Amos during a previous study, and the other three worked with me on this project.

Of the testimonies, seventeen were delivered by the person affected (thirteen men and four women) and seven close relatives (two fathers about their sons, one man about his father, two mothers about their sons, and two women about their husbands). One man's wife and son spoke about him, and

another man's mother and wife testified on his behalf. The accounts were about deep violation and great pain. Five were about a kinsman who had been shot dead, and one was of a kinsman who had died as a consequence of torture and detention, under suspicious circumstances. The range in age was from the very young (a boy aged eleven) to the elderly. A variety of persons was represented, including innocents caught in crossfire, a long-term Robben Island political prisoner, and one who had been accused of being an *impimpi* (spying for the security forces). Among them nine were detained and tortured, five shot and seriously injured (of whom two were also tortured), and four severely beaten. Of the perpetrators, eighteen were said to have been members of the security forces, one was a municipal policeman, five were vigilantes, one was a civilian, and one was a political activist. Mention was made of two houses that had been burned down.

The three days of hearings reflected the complexities of community relations under oppression and in the face of revolt. The themes that emerged include betrayal, death, extremities of pain, torture, cruel treatment of children, the failure of medical personnel, and sexual abuse. The list of consequences included mental breakdown, physical harm (paralysis, loss of a leg, an eye, hearing), and loss of education, jobs, houses, and the ability to work. It was a sampler of the devastation apartheid wreaked and of the targeting of the young.

**The Commission's Findings on Violence in the Western Cape:  
An excerpt from Fiona Ross (2003, 103–106) with her  
generous permission**

The Cape Town office of the Commission received 1 780 statements that represent 8.4 per cent of the total number of statements received by the Commission. The statements reported on 4 267 violations, of which 3 122 constituted gross violations of human rights and 1 145 were “associated violations” (violations that did not fit the categories as established in the Act and elaborated in the Commission’s work. See Volume Three: 3, note 1. It is not clear what these were: no reference is made to “associated violations” in the section of the Report dealing with definitions or in the Act). The statements identified 2 350 victims; on average 1.3 victims were identified in each statement and each victim suffered 1.8 violations. (Volume Three: 3). In other words, a large number of those who testified in the Western Cape, as elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> described more than one event of violation and identified more than one victim in each instance. Most deponents in the Cape were young men. More than one-third of statements concerned violations committed in 1985 and young men between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four were the primary victims (Volume Three: 393).

For the period 1983–1989, 53 percent of violations reported in the Cape concerned severe ill treatment; sixteen percent concerned torture; fourteen percent concerned killings and twelve percent described associated violations. Three percent of statements concerned attempted killing and one percent of statements concerned abduction (Volume Three: 393). Age and gender analyses of the data by year and by sub-region are not provided in the Report. It is therefore not possible to describe local variations or particularities in patterns of violation or reporting or consequences.

Seventy-seven residents of Zwelethemba made statements to the Commission. Twenty-six women (representing approximately one-third of Zwelethemba deponents) made statements. As far as I have been able to ascertain,<sup>2</sup> nine of the women made statements concerning their own experiences of violation.

In addition to numeric data about violence, the Report provides a narrative description of events in each region. Describing events in the Cape in the 1980s, the period on which my research in Zwelethemba focused, it states:

The political revolt unfolding in the rest of the country reached the western Cape in 1985. The first six months of 1985 saw extensive unrest in the rural areas of the southern Cape, Karoo, Boland and the northern Cape . . .

With some notable exceptions, the high levels of open street confrontation seen in 1985–86 generally subsided during 1986. The countrywide state of emergency imposed in June 1986 [*sic*] led to large-scale detentions in both rural and urban areas . . .

The period 1983–89 generated the highest peak of violations in this region, in both the urban and rural areas (Volume Three: 419).

In a section dealing with rural violence (Volume Three: 428–30), the Report describes violence in Zwelethemba in 1985:

During 1985, protest meetings were often broken up violently by security forces and street protests became more militant. Many towns saw at least one or two deaths of youth activists during 1985, which served to propel the townships into wider protest and attacks on those seen as collaborators . . . .

*Worcester*

In Worcester [Zwelethemba], the spark was provided by the killing of Mr Nkosana Nation Bahume, after which a cycle of deaths and injuries took place until the end of the year.

On 16th August 1985, student activist Nkosana Nation Bahume (CT00547),<sup>3</sup> aged twenty-one, was shot dead by the security forces. On 30th August, the local magistrate issued restriction orders on the funeral of Bahume, who was to be buried the following day.<sup>4</sup> At the funeral, police fired on mourners, killing Mr Mbulelo [Nondatsu] Kenneth Mazula (CT00528), aged twenty. An eyewitness testified that “police dragged his body to the vehicle and took him to the mortuary.” People were assaulted, shot and detained by security forces in the uproar.

Mbulelo Mazula was buried on 8 September without incident. However, on 21 September 1985 Mr Andile Feni (CT08402) and two others were shot and injured by a policeman in Zwelethemba after a crowd had thrown a petrol bomb at a police officer’s house after a mass meeting that had resolved to chase all police from the area following the killings.

On 1 October 1985, Mr Thomas Kolo (CT08400), aged 18, was shot dead by security forces. He was buried on 11 October and the funeral was restricted by the magistrate. The following day, security forces shot Mr Zandesile Ntsomi (CT00320). Ntsomi’s leg was amputated and he was discharged from hospital back into police custody the following day . . . .

On 13 October, Douglas Ndzima (CT00821) was shot twice by police in Zwelethemba. That day Ms Martha Nomathamsanqa Mooi’s house (CT03026) in Zwelethemba was petrol-bombed by UDF members. Mr Mpazamo Bethwell Mbani (Yiko) (CT03026), her brother-in-law, was shot dead and his body set alight.

On 2 November 1985, Mr Cecil Roos Tamsanqa van Staden (CT00132) was shot by police and died two days later. The following day, Mr William Dyasi (CT00823) was shot dead by police in Zwelethemba. An inquest was held and Constable Michael Phillip Luff was found responsible for the murder but he was not prosecuted. At the intervention of the Commission the case was reopened, following which Luff applied to the Commission for amnesty (AM3814/96).<sup>5</sup>

On 9 November, at the night vigil of one of the victims, Mr Buzile Fadana (CT00131) was shot dead after the police arrived and an ‘armed encounter’ resulted. His death marked an end to this cycle of killings and injuries that year.

By November 1985, an extreme environment [*sic*] of repression existed in Zwelethemba, which was declared out of bounds to all except residents. Roadblocks were set up and residents were only allowed to go to their homes on producing identity documents. There were twenty-four hour foot patrols, and searchlights swept the streets at night. Residents reported a heavy presence of Zulu speaking policemen.<sup>6</sup> Funerals of unrest victims were restricted to only fifty people and the family of the deceased. In one instance, forty young people were detained whilst participating in a funeral vigil.

The Report adds: “The Commission finds that the killing by police of Mr Nkosana Nation Bahume on 16 August 1985 triggered a sequence of violence in which numerous residents of Worcester were killed or injured by police and a number of persons or buildings were attacked in retaliation. The draconian response of the authorities, including curfews, roadblocks and sweeping detentions, only aggravated the situation.”

The Report’s description of Zwelethemba offers a litany of death, interspersed with accounts of injury and torture. Police killed six young men, one man was burnt to death, five men were injured by police fire and several people were assaulted, shot and detained. One woman’s house was burnt. There is no mention of the attack on Yvonne Khutwane’s house. The police and legal authorities imposed curfews, roadblocks, detentions, restrictions and surveillance mechanisms.

The Report says little about the conditions of resistance or the contexts of violence in Zwelethemba. It stipulates that violence was triggered by the death of Nkosana Bahume. In fact, Bahume’s death occurred after fierce protest in Zwelethemba against the Black Local Authorities (“councillors,” as they are locally known) began in 1983 and reached its zenith in 1985. Bahume’s death followed in the wake of at least two school boycotts; one in recognition of the deaths of the “Craddock Four” and the other in support of children and youths in detention. There had been a heavy police presence in Zwelethemba since 1981 and a large number of young people had been detained or arrested on political charges between 1980 and Bahume’s death. According to research notes compiled by members of the Commis-

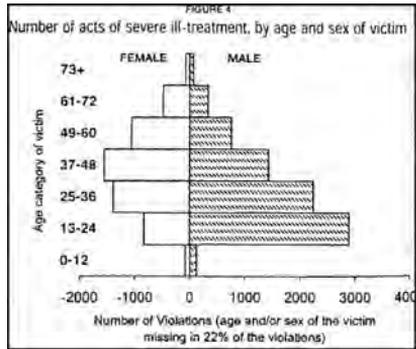
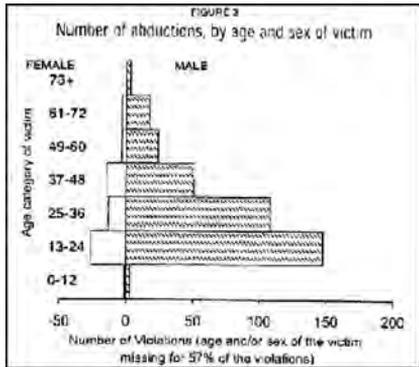
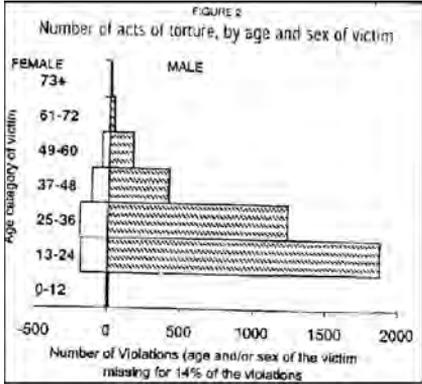
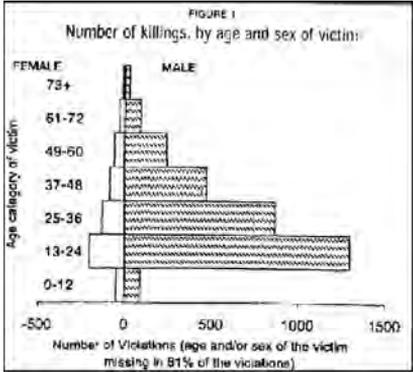
sion and issued to the media during the Worcester Hearing, fifty-two people had been detained and charged with public violence on 10th August 1985, a week before Bahume's death. Twenty-five of them were under eighteen years old.

Other research findings suggest that violence was more widespread than the Commission Report implies.



APPENDIX 5

**Four Figures from the TRC Report**



**The TRC's Findings on Children and Youth  
(1998, 5:254–256)**

*Children and youth*

159. The Commission endorses the international position that children and youth under the age of eighteen are entitled to special protection from government and society. As the Commission's statistics have shown, the greatest proportion of victims of gross violations of human rights were youth, many of them under eighteen.

160. With regard to children and youth the Commission finds that:

THE STATE, IN THE FORM OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE CIVIL SERVICES, WAS, IN THE PERIOD 1960–94, THE PRIMARY PERPETRATOR OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE POLICY OF APARTHEID RESULTED IN THE DELIVERY OF INFERIOR, INADEQUATE EDUCATION TO BLACK CHILDREN AND DEPRIVED THEM OF THE

RIGHT TO DEVELOP IN MIND AND BODY. THIS DEPRIVATION CONSTITUTES A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE BANNING BY THE GOVERNMENT OF STUDENT AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS DENIED YOUNG PEOPLE AN AVENUE FOR DISCUSSION AND PROTEST AND RESULTED IN THE CRIMINALIZATION OF LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ACTIVITY, THUS ENCOURAGING YOUTH TO TURN TO VIOLENT FORMS OF PROTEST. THE STATE IS FURTHER ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE POLITICAL REPRESSION WHICH FORCED YOUNG PEOPLE TO GO INTO EXILE, LEAVING THEIR FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES. EXILE DISTORTED THE NORMAL SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH AND NORMAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.

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

BLACK CHILDREN AND YOUTH WERE DEMONIZED AS THE 'ENEMY' BY THE SECURITY FORCES IN PARTICULAR AND, MORE GENERALLY, THROUGH THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF YOUTH AND CHILDREN AS PART OF 'A COMMUNIST ONSLAUGHT', THUS FACILITATING AND LEGITIMATING THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND FORCE AGAINST THEM. THE COMMISSION HAS FOUND THAT THE SECURITY FORCES UNNECESSARILY RESORTED TO LETHAL FORCE IN PUBLIC ORDER POLICING, WHERE ALTERNATIVE MECHANISMS OF CROWD CONTROL WOULD HAVE BEEN ADEQUATE TO CONTROL MARCHES, PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS. THE USE OF LETHAL FORCE AGAINST CHILDREN AND YOUTH IS PARTICULARLY SINGLED OUT AND CONDEMNED.

THE STATE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL AND TORTURE, INCLUDING SOLITARY CONFINEMENT, OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN. SUCH DETENTION INCLUDED DETENTION IN TERMS OF SECURITY LEGISLATION AS WELL AS THE ABDUCTION OF YOUTH AND THEIR FORCIBLE REMOVAL TO PLACES WHERE THEY WERE DETAINED ILLEGALLY AND TORTURED. THE STATE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT IN CUSTODY OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN, IN THE FORM OF HARASSMENT AND THE DELIBERATE WITH HOLDING OF MEDICAL ATTENTION, FOOD, AND WATER.

THE STATE, THROUGH ITS SECURITY FORCES, EXPLOITED AND MANIPULATED DIVISIONS IN SOCIETY AND ENGAGED IN THE INFORMAL REPRESSION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH BY IDENTIFYING YOUTH LEADERS, ISOLATING THEM AND, THROUGH VIOLENCE OR FINANCIAL INDUCEMENT, INDUCING THEM TO ACT AS INFORMERS OR VIGILANTES.

IN CERTAIN CASES, PROACTIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE SECURITY FORCES DURING THE 1980s INCLUDED INFILTRATING YOUTH AND STUDENT STRUCTURES, POSING AS MEMBERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, RECRUITING YOUNG PEOPLE FOR MILITARY TRAINING AND THEN KILLING THEM.

THE STATE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MILITARISATION OF YOUNG WHITE MALES THROUGH CONSCRIPTION.

THE MASS AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS MOBILISED AND, IN THE CASE OF THE LATTER, ARMED AND TRAINED CHILDREN AND YOUTH AS PART OF THEIR ARMED FORMATIONS. THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THE IFP ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR RECRUITING YOUTH INTO THE SDUS AND SPUS IN THE 1980s AND TRAINING THEM TO KILL, THUS DEHUMANISING AND DESENSITISING THEM.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE ANC AND IFP DISPLACED LARGE NUMBERS OF YOUTH, LEAVING THEM HOMELESS. IN THIS RESPECT, THE STATE, THE ANC, AND THE IFP ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE FAILURE BY THE ANC AND THE IFP AFTER 1994 TO REINTEGRATE YOUTH TO ENABLE THEM TO BECOME VALID MEMBERS OF SOCIETY AND TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF SELF-ESTEEM, HAS LED TO THEIR CRIMINALISATION AND CREATED THE POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.



**The TRC's Recommendations on Children and Youth  
(1998, 5:321)**

*Children and youth*

45. The Commission recommends that:

CHILD LABOUR IN ALL FORMS BE ELIMINATED THROUGH APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION.

PROVISION BE MADE FOR ADEQUATE HOUSING AND EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN;<sup>1</sup> TAX INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESSES AND INDIVIDUALS CONTRIBUTING TO BURSARY FUNDS BE INCREASED.

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

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

