

necklacing as they were seen as vulnerable for recruitment as police spies.

279 The responsibility for burning and necklace killings can be attributed to a number of individuals and groups. The nature of the responsibility ranges from failure to condemn, to verbal encouragement to the commission of the act itself.

280 The following statistics reflect the extent of reported deaths related to political violence and those resulting from burning and necklace killings for the years 1984 to 1989. The figures in brackets are the numbers captured on the Commission database.

Deaths related to political violence and to necklace/burnings¹⁰

Year	Total political violence deaths	Necklace/burning
1984	175 (164)	3 (3)
1985	922 (636)	67 (28)
1986	1352 (834)	306 (84)
1987	706 (361)	19 (35)
1988	1149 (401)	10 (20)
1989	1403 (474)	(21)
TOTAL	5 707 (2 870)	+/- 700 (191)

281 The table indicates that, except in 1986, the number of people whose deaths were associated with burning is far lower than the total number of people who died in each year between 1984 and 1989. Despite higher figures of burning and necklacing in 1987 (35) and 1988 (20) reflected on the Commission's database compared to figures from secondary sources (19 and 20 respectively), the trend is similar. Thus, it seems that incidents of burnings and necklace reached a peak in 1986. The database suggests, however, that the number rose again in 1990.

282 During the Pondoland revolt, at least eight chiefs and their councillors were killed and their huts were burned. Some people burned to death inside their houses. The headmen and chiefs were seen to be collaborating with the government in implementing new government policies, high taxation and conservation measures. They were often suspected of being involved in corruption such as bribery.

283 In the 1980s, people serving in institutions of government were labelled as 'collaborators', especially if they did not heed the call to resign. Community councillors and security forces fell into this category.

¹⁰ Sources include: Indicator Project of South Africa (Ipsa), South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), figures by the minister of Law and Order and SAP files. Not all figures from secondary sources are accurate. The highest figures have been taken in each instance and calculations have been made based on information from a combination of sources.