RIOTS & DISTURBANCES – GAUTENG

- 1995
**NEWS**

**BY LEE-ANN ALFREDS**

At first glance, nothing seems to have changed on Tokoza's infamous Khumalo Street. Barricades still line the road and young armed men still demand identification and search vehicles and occupants.

But a closer inspection reveals barricades made of bags instead of tyres and drums, young men dressed in camouflage uniforms rather than tattered clothes and shining rifles cradled confidently instead of AK-47s pointing menacingly at Khumalo Street, once one of the greatest divides in South African politics, has become a symbol of hope and reconciliation.

Residents now walk fearlessly down the dusty street — thanks to the election and a permanent roadblock.

Occasions of the hundreds of minibus taxis and vehicles which enter and leave the township also willingly disembark at the permanent roadblock despite the inconvenience.

For peace in the embattled township has been hard won — and one can't give it up without a fight.

Not the police who, aided by the army, traffic department and other parties, embarked on Operation Jumba at the beginning of the year to fight crime and restore law and order.

Nor the residents who have come out in open support of the police operation which will entail being subjected to random spot checks at eight permanent roadblocks to be set up in the Katorus area (Kathlang, Tokoza and Vosloorus) and moving road patrols.

"We instituted Operation Jumba on January 3 at the request of the residents and we will mainly try to stop the flow of illegal weapons, cars, immigrants and other things into and out of the area," SA National Defence Force spokesman Colonel Chris du Toit said.

He said that 41 people had already been arrested at the permanent roadblocks so far.

"The operation would remain in force until effective policing was visible in the township," Du Toit said.

"We are going to move out of the township someday, but no definite date has been set yet. When the police up-sides, we will down-sides," he said.

But the residents are in no hurry to see the security forces pull out.

"I am very happy that they are here to uphold law and order," a woman who did not want to be named said.

---

**Industrial court calendar ‘hopelessly overloaded’**

**BY JOVIAL RANTAO**

The industrial court calendar is becoming hopelessly overloaded.

There is an 18-month backlog in the National industrial court and in the former Transvaal — where 19 new courts were put into operation earlier this year. The delay is now 12 months, says an industrial relations expert.

Pierre Wolmarans said the conciliation board system provided for in SA labour legislation was not effective and often served only to increase tension between employers and employees.

"When a dispute takes place or an employee is dismissed, a dispute is declared and a conciliation board is appointed to try and settle the matter.

"That's so heavy but in practice, the conciliation board system has no real authority; parties are not obliged or compelled to attend the meeting, nor are they expected to make any effort to settle," he said in a statement.

As a result, an increasing number of disputes which should reasonably be settled by a conciliation board are finding their way on to the industrial court roll.

Wolmarans said that many cases on the industrial court calendar were settled 'virtually on the steps of the court' once the disputing parties realised the costs involved.

"However, this does not ease the load on the court as the time for the hearing has already been allocated," he said.

He suggested that mediation should be made compulsory before litigation can be embarked upon.

"Parties who do not arrive for mediation or fail to make any sincere effort to settle the matter at this level, should be barred from proceeding to litigation.

"In addition, conciliation board mediators should not be government officials but independent consultants with expertise in dispute resolution who provide their services at a set fee to be paid by both parties.

"If conciliation boards are not made more effective and given real power, disputing parties will be less likely to threaten industrial court action in an effort either to squeeze more money from the settlement, or save some," he said.
Suburb of filth and heartache

WEEKENDSTAR reporter TOMMY MAKOKE grew up in Meadowlands Zone 1, Soweto, one of the early hotspots of violence between township residents and hostel dwellers. He went back this week and found a sad, almost deserted street.

WALKING along the street dividing Meadowlands Zone 1 and the Meadowlands hostel — a road once bustling with activity — the road effects of what residents call "the war" are obvious.

A thoroughfare once as busy as most in any other metropolitan area has turned into bush, complete with running water and long grass. Big rats are the main inhabitants.

The houses lining the road have been gutted through arson and violence — mostly deserted by their owners when bitter fighting between residents and nearby hostel dwellers hit its peak in 1992.

The houses are mere shells, bare walls without roofs, doors and windows. Paint is fading and peeling from rain and relentless sun.

Remaining with the rats are the flies feeding in the lavatories.

Floors once buffed to a high polish are now all that remains.

Entering one of the decrepit houses to the bumbling of flies, the stench was found to be overwhelming.

Half have fled

But the greater discomfort was in coming to the place where I grew up to find it rotting like a dead dog in the sun.

As a boy I played football on that very street. I went to school in the area and knew most of the children. There are few people to know now, as more than half the residents have fled.

Anyone wanting to return would find it difficult, because nothing is being done to restore the houses — two years after the end of the "war".

A few have bought new houses in other suburbs, some stay in squatter camps and others have moved in with relatives.

Said Abe Rapoo, a resident who stayed on: "At one point my sewerage system was so plied up that waste products started coming out of my wash basin."

"It was nearly impossible to eat in my own house and I lived with that for more than six months."

"Our local municipality responded after the mess in my house started affecting other houses in the street," said Rapoo.

"I don't know much about the RDP, All I know is that it is supposed to improve our lives. But there is no progress.

"Now my wife, who was traumatised by the violence, is divorcing me because I cannot afford to buy a house of our own," he said with a sad shake of his head.

The few returnees have no choice but to repair the houses out of their own pockets. Abu Sipho, who came back last year, said: "I have no money to buy a new house because I am unemployed and a widow. So I chose to use my last money to repair my house.

"You should have seen how it was when I returned to the area, there was no roof.

"I had to make repairs because I grew tired of the Government, who keep on promising but do nothing."

Francinah Ngakane, who had R3 000 worth of precious furniture stolen during the violence, said: "I have lost confidence in our premier Tokyo Sexwane because he has never visited our area to see the destruction.

Ones to suffer

"He has hardly given us any financial help. He is concentrating on the East Rand, but we were the first ones to suffer."

Mentioning Meadowlands, being the first victim of the war in 1976, describes the attention given to other townships now.

Asked to comment on the non-repair of the Meadowlands houses, Councillor Spokesman Chris Vick said: "The responsibility for repairing the houses lies with the local council. We suggest that residents approach the council to ask that they repair their homes.

"If this fails, the provincial government may be in a position to access national RDP funding, as we do sympathise with their situation.

"But this would require that residents approach the provincial government. Council has a business plan which caters for such a need."

The provincial government would then be able to assist in requesting funds from the national RDP office, which is providing funds to repair houses in Katorus.

"It is important to remember that the Katorus project is a presidential project, and the funds are allocated from that office," he said.

"The provincial role is to oversee the repair of houses but the funds come from the national president's budget."

The local council, despite repeated attempts, was unavailable for comment.
GREAT DIVIDE: A street deserted after 'war' between hostel dwellers and residents.

PHOTOGRAPHS MYKEL NICOLAU

EMPTY SHELLS: Arson and violence have left hastily abandoned houses only a bitter memory of the homes they once were.
GREAT DIVIDE: A street deserted after 'war' between hostel dwellers and residents.

PHOTOGRAPHER: MIKEY NICOLAU

EMPTY SHELLS: Arson and violence have left hastily abandoned houses only a bitter memory of the homes they once were.

'War zone' rots in sun

Suburb of filth and heartache

WEEKENDSTAR reporter

TOMMY MAKOE grew up in Meadowlands Zone 1, Soweto, one of the early hotspots of violence between

"Our local municipality responded after the mess in my house started affecting other houses in the street," said Thabo.

"I don't know much about the ANC. All I know is that it is supposed to improve our lives, but there is no awareness."
WEEKENDSTAR reporter TOMMY MAKOE grew up in Meadowlands Zone 1, Soweto, one of the early hotspots of violence between township residents and hostel dwellers. He went back this week and found a sad, almost deserted street.

"Our local municipality responded after the mess in my house started affecting other houses in the street," said Rapoo.

"I don’t know much about the RDP. All I know is that it is supposed to improve our lives. But there is no progress.

"Now my wife, who was traumatised by the violence, is divorcing me because I cannot afford to buy a house elsewhere," he said with a sad shake of his head.

"The few returnees have no choice but to repair the houses of their own pockets. Mariam Montato, who came back later last year, said: ‘I have no money to buy a new house because I am unemployed and a widow. So I choose to use my last money to repair my home.

"You should have seen how it was when I returned to the area, there was no roof.

"I had to make repairs because I grew tired of the Government, who keep on promising but nothing." Franscina Ngakane, who had R3 000 worth of precious furniture stolen during the violence, said: ‘I have lost confidence in our premier Tokyo Sexwane because he has never visited our area to see the destruction.

Ones to suffer

"He has hardly given us any financial help. He is concentrating on the East Rand, but we were the first ones to suffer, "In fact Meadowlands, being the first victim of the war in 1976, deserves the attention given to other townships now,"

"Asked to comment on the non-repair of the Meadowlands houses, Gauteng spokesman Chris Vick said: ‘The responsibility for repairing the houses lies with the local council. We suggest that residents approach the council to ask that they repair their homes.

"If this fails, the provincial government may be in a position to access national RDP funding, as we do sympathise with their situation. "But this would require that residents approach the provincial government directly with a business plan outlining how much money is needed to repair their homes," said Vick.

"The provincial government would then be able to assist in requesting funds from the national RDP office, which is providing funds to repair houses in Katorus.

"It is important to remember that the Katorus project is a presidential project, and the funds are allocated from that office," he said.

"The province’s role is to oversee the repair of houses but the funds come from the presidential projects budget.

The local council, despite repeated attempts, was unavailable for comment.

WALKING along the street dividing Meadowlands Zone 1 and the Meadowlands hostel — a road once bustling with activity — the real effects of what residents call "the war" are inescapable.

A thoroughfare once as busy as most in any other metropolitan area has turned into bush, complete with running water and long grass.

Big rats are the main inhabitants.

The houses lining the road have been gutted through arson and violence — mostly deserted by their owners when bitter fighting between residents and nearby hostel dwellers hit its peak in 1992.

The houses are mere shells, bare walls without roofs, doors and windows. Paint chips and peeling from rain and relentless heat.

Remnants with the rats are the flies feeding in the lavatories.

Floor tiles and to a high polish are soiled by hoboes and stray dogs.

Entering one of the derelict houses to the buzzing of flies, the stench was found to be overwhelming.

Half have fled

But the greater discomfort was coming to the place where I grew up to find it rolling like a dead dog in the sun.

As a boy I played football on that very street. I went to school in the area and knew most of the children.

There are few people to know now, as more than half the residents have fled.

Anyone wanting to return would find it difficult, because nothing is being done to restore the houses — two years after the end of the "war.

A few have bought new houses in other suburbs, some stay in squatter camps and others have moved in with relatives.

Said Abe Rapoo, a resident who stayed on: "At one point my sewerage system was so piled up that waste products started coming from my wash basin.

"It was nearly impossible to eat in my own house and I lived with that for more than six months."

"But now I am without a full job," said Rapoo.

"I have a wife and children to support and I fear for the future because of this."
E Rand terrorised by
former SDU members

Residents of the East Rand townships of Tembisa, Kaledoeng and Tokozla live in constant fear of marauding former self-defence unit (SDU) members who have allegedly committed a string of robberies and rapes since December.

Tokozla resident Maphisa Cebechulu says residents feared that the October local government elections could be disrupted if the rate of criminal acts by these youngsters continued.

Cebechulu said: "There are areas which have become no-go zones again at night, this time not because of fighting between the ANC and IFP, but because people who walk there at night are robbed almost nightly.

"We can't even send our daughters to the shops at night. We want the ANC to know that the youngsters they authorised to protect us are now making life a nightmare."

In Tokozla, a reporter of The Star was threatened with violence by a group of youngsters in Khumalo Street for asking "too many questions".

Moses Tau, of Tembisa, said local gangsters, who had been SDU members not so long ago, had been robbing residents of their vehicles at gunpoint since May last year.

"They wake you up at night and demand car keys before driving away. They also raid shebeens," said Tau.

Rosemary Moseia, of Tokozla, said some former SDU members were not from the township, which made it difficult to identify them and report them to the police.

Edna Mashiloane, of Tembisa, said the robberies and rapes occurred sporadically and moved from one section of the township to another. Residents were afraid to go to the police for fear of reprisals.

Gauteng ANC head of safety and security Robert McBride said he was aware of groups of gangsters committing criminal acts in Kaledoeng, but he said the situation was under control.

McBride said the people who were committing the acts were doing them as individuals and not as members of the ANC.

Residents' dumped garbage picked up

Diepkloof administration offices, the scene of a protest by angry residents who dumped their uncollected refuse on the municipal grounds, were cleaned up early yesterday morning.

"However, on the township's street corners, rubbish continued to pile up. Some residents were seen dumping filled bins on the streets. Other bins were placed on the pavement, awaiting removal."

A spokesman at the Diepkloof office, who refused to be named, said facilities were not adequate to serve the entire area properly and there was minimal refuse removal in the township.

He said only 40 percent of the residents were paying for services.

The Soweto Civic Association said it had not taken part in the dumping on Saturday and had no idea who was involved in it.

— City Reporter.
NEWS Security force call-up for four provinces • Deputy President’s car stoned

New order to
deploy troops

By Thembu Molefe
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has ordered the immediate deployment of extra security forces in four provinces, including KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, as political violence and lawlessness threaten to envelop the country.

The Human Rights Commission, which monitors violence countrywide, last week released figures showing that political killings claimed 106 lives in KwaZulu-Natal in January.

This toll was the highest recorded in the province since last April’s elections and represented 77 percent of the national total of political fatalities, said the HRC.

According to his office, Mandela took the decision after an urgent meeting in Pretoria yesterday at which he was briefed by the country’s top security men.

Deputy President FW de Klerk also attended the meeting as well as Defence Minister Joe Modise, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Provincial and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer.

Deputy ministers Joe Nhlanhla, Ronnie Kasrils, and Valli Moosa were also present as well as police Commissioner George Fivies and defence chief George Meiring.

Extra police and soldiers would also be deployed in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces.
Residents claim they are being intimidated by IFP

Troubled times revisit East Rand

BATTLE lines have been drawn on the East Rand where at least 400 residents of Zonk’Zizwe have been driven from their homes to a neighbouring squatter camp, allegedly by members of the Inkatha Freedom Party who are demanding that they produce IFP membership cards or pay a R100 “protection fee.”

The refugees flooding into the Zama Zama squatter camp claim former members of the IFP’s self-protection units — some of whom have been integrated into the police force — are conducting daytime terror raids in an apparent membership drive.

According to a police source, Zonk’Zizwe SAPS station commander Werner-Oliver Johan de Graaff was informed in mid-February that Indians had held a meeting at which they told residents of their sections of the township that every household would be required to produce an IFP membership card on demand.

The cards, said to cost R10 for every member of the household over three years of age, would have to be acquired by February 28. According to the source, no action was taken by either the commander or de Graaff.

Malikyathisi Dyeza, an Indian in Zonk’Zizwe, told WeekendStar he had never heard of the IFP’s membership cards and had personally never seen evidence of the existence of the cards in the township.

“I don’t know what cards they are talking about, they say they cost R10,” said Dyeza. “They could cost R10, R50 or R100, I don’t know. I’ve never seen them.”

When WeekendStar asked to check his wallet for an IFP membership card, Dyeza refused to produce it, saying any political affiliations were acceptable in their “peaceful community.”

WeekendStar asked if the ANC was welcome in Zonk’Zizwe, and whether ANC membership in another way.

TENSIONS, ostensibly between Inkatha and ANC supporters, are high yet again on the East Rand this time in the Zonk’Zizwe squatter camp.

TRACY EDMONDS visited the area and spoke to officials and residents about the state of affairs.

While several trucks moved the belongings of former residents into the neighbouring squatter camp, one displaced resident at Zama Zama produced an IFP membership card. “I don’t want to stay here,” he said. “I am in the ANC, but I want my life, so I get a card and then I leave that place.”

He asked not to be named or photographed, saying, “The Indians will have me killed.”

He said he had lived in Zonk’Zizwe before and had escaped a R100 protection fee levied on him. “During the night, someone comes for money and to check for cards,” he added.

Many Section 9 residents refuse to take part in the IFP membership drive. They also say they will not move to the neighbouring camp because Zonk’Zizwe is a municipality with services.

A police source claimed IFP members, some of whom are former SPU members, lived in peace with illegal immigrants until they refused to pay the R100 “protection fee.”

One witness to an arrest of a Maputo man, a long-time resident of Zonk’Zizwe, said Inkatha members turned him over to police as an illegal immigrant as he was moving his shock to Zama Zama after refusing to pay R100, a fee levied by community leader Victor Zungu, among others.

According to the police, if police on the scene did not protect the arrested man’s belongings as they are required to do by law, all his belongings, including electrical equipment, furniture, clothing and his shack, were stolen, the source claimed.

De Graaff said he had asked for reinforcements from the Internal Stability Unit and the SAPS to allay any suspicion that police were helping those who say they are driven out by Inkatha supporters.

He refuses to escort residents leaving Zonk’Zizwe for the adjacent Zama Zama for fear of being seen as anti-Inkatha.

“They will say we are against them if we help the residents out and then they will attack the police station. We can’t win,” he said.

“I am not allowed to say if it’s former SPU members who are involved in the harassment. The people won’t give statements. They won’t lay charges. I have to open a case if I am to investigate,” said de Graaff.

Simmering

The source said: “Prevention of trouble is the best policy.” All 24 members of the former SPU live in Zonk’Zizwe while the 28 members of the township live in other areas and are often unaware of night-time activities.

Another police source who asked not to be named said the station commander “does not give a damn about the violence” simmering between the two factions.

“He could prevent problems by listening to his black policemen who told him long ago what was happening.”
nes. He should also try to address some of those weaknesses, including women's rights to land in our policy positions.

Mrs S M CAMERER: Mr Speaker, further arising from the Minister's reply, is it perhaps the position that these husbands are applying for the land because women do not have the right to acquire the land, and unless the husbands defend their right, as the Beijing Conference report indicates, this would be confiscated by the tribal authorities? Does the Minister not think that perhaps the picture is being distorted, because women do not have the right to acquire land, and the husbands have to do it for them?

THE MINISTER OF LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, under this programme women do have the right to acquire land unambiguously, but of course there will be communities acquiring the land. The programme does not dictate to communities how they should arrange their internal matters.

Dr E A SCHOEMan: Mr Speaker, further arising from the Minister's reply, is the Minister aware of the dissatisfaction within the portfolio committee on Land Affairs in that they were not consulted beforehand as far as these pilot projects are concerned, and what is he going to do to ensure that this committee will in future be consulted for the sake of transparency?

THE MINISTER OF LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, the answer to the question is no, I am not aware that the portfolio committee is dissatisfied; this has not been communicated to me. I would appreciate if that matter could be formalised, and then we can address that problem.

I should say that I believe my relationship with the portfolio committee is a very good one, certainly with its chairperson. We have had a series of discussions lined up, including some about the pilot projects.

I believe a comprehensive briefing on the pilot programme was given to the portfolio committee for the second time today. We have various other topics identified to members, on which if people identified to me or requested by hon members will be consulted. Briefings will take place, and discussions will be held with members of the portfolio committee. We appreciate the valuable inputs from members of the portfolio committee.

Dr E A SCHOEMan: Mr Speaker, further arising from the Minister's reply, will he ensure that the portfolio committee is briefed beforehand, and that they do not hear of pilot projects being announced in the press, after which they are then briefed in the portfolio committee?

THE MINISTER OF LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I think a longer discussion will be necessary, involving myself and others about the respective roles of Ministers, the executive and the legislature. It is clear that the primary source of consultation and involvement was with the MECS, who then took this to their provincial cabinets. It is not always clear to me, nor to other Ministers, exactly where one draws the line with regard to implementation of one's programmes, the execution of one's work, and the legislative functions of Parliament.

Funding of SA delegation to World Conference on Women

5. Mrs S M CAMERER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether his Department is responsible for sending all or part of the South African delegation to the World Conference on Women in Beijing from 4 to 5 September 1995; if not, why not; if so, (a) what amount has been set aside for funding this delegation and (b) how large will the delegation be;

(2) whether the said delegation will be fully representative of political parties across the political spectrum; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

N295E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AF:

FAIRS:

All visits abroad by Ministers and/or Deputy Ministers require the approval of the Office of the President, acting on the recommendation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to international practice, only the Minister of Foreign Affairs may issue credentials in respect of official delegations representing the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

The Fourth World Conference on the Status of Women to be held in Beijing in September 1995 is of a multidisciplinary nature since it concerns all aspects of the empowerment of women. A Ministerial Meeting on 30 May 1994 transferred overall domestic responsibility in respect of the empowerment of women to the Office of the Minister Without Portfolio. The Deputy Minister for Welfare has been appointed Chairperson of the National Preparatory Committee in respect of preparations for the Beijing Conference.

Nominations on the part of Ministries/departments/administrations and political parties in respect of representatives to be considered for inclusion in the delegation to the Beijing Conference should be directed to the Chairperson of the National Preparatory Committee.

1. (a) In terms of State Expenditure Rulings, departments may only accept financial responsibility for their own line-function activities. Read together with Treasury Regulations K3.12.6, K3.12.9, U2.1.2 and U2.1.3, which, inter alia, determine that all subsistence and other expenses incurred by delegates to these international conferences shall be met from the Vote from which that delegate's salary is paid, it is clear that the Department of Foreign Affairs can only fund its own officials.

Ministries/departments/administrations/political parties wishing to nominate delegates for inclusion in delegations to international conferences remain responsible for all costs relating to such attendances.

2. The Department of Foreign Affairs is of the opinion that the Fourth World Conference on the Status of Women should be fully representative of political parties and NGOs in South Africa. The Department would like to use this opportunity to encourage political parties to submit nominations for consideration in the delegation to the Beijing Conference to the National Preparatory Committee, which is chaired by the Deputy Minister for Welfare.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! May I just ask from the Chair whether men would be eligible to form part of this delegation? [Laughter.]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AF:

FAIRS: Mr Speaker, the gender issue is also of concern to men, and therefore you can send your name in to the chairperson. [Laughter.]

Transfer of MMVF to Minister of Finance

6. Mr P J WEIGEMOED asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether it is intended to transfer the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents Fund to the Minister of Finance; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, when;

(2) whether this fund currently has an actuarial deficit; if so,

(3) whether he or his Department has established whether the Minister of Finance will underwrite this deficit; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

N290E

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR (on behalf of the Minister of Transport):

(1) No. The question whether the MMVF should fall under the political control of the Minister of Finance or not will be addressed together with various other important fundamental policy issues regarding the workings of the Third Party Insurance Scheme by the Board of the MMVF in conjunction with the Department of Finance.

(2) Yes.

(3) As indicated under (1), various fundamental policy issues are presently being dealt with by the Board of the MMVF including the state guarantee for the outstanding claims amount not actuarially formed to consider this issue of a state guarantee.

Problems experienced by school feeding scheme in Gauteng

7. Dr W A ODENDAAL asked the Minister for Health:

(1) Whether, with reference to certain media reports, the school feeding scheme in Gauteng is experiencing problems resulting in large numbers of children not receiving any bread every day; if so, (a) what is causing these problems and (b) what steps are being taken to resolve the problems;

(2) whether problems with the school feeding scheme are also being experienced in other provinces; if so, in which provinces?

N231E
The MINISTER FOR HEALTH:

(1) Yes.

(a) Gauteng province is experiencing a number of problems with the delivery of food under the tender system. On 13 March 1995, the driver of a bread delivery van was attacked and no deliveries were made to 18 project schools on that day. This affected about 7 983 pupils. Delivery of bread was, however, resumed the following day.

(b) The Gauteng province is gradually phasing out the tender system and replacing it with a quotation system, which is the preferred system for procurement. School project committees can purchase food directly from local suppliers in the quotation system.

The province has also introduced a system of weekly reporting on monitoring of deliveries. Project committees are required to submit weekly reports to the provincial office on time of delivery, quantity of food delivered, and quality of food delivered. The suppliers are also expected to submit weekly reports to the provincial office. The two sets of reports are compared by the Provincial Technical Task Team. Where disparities are found in the reports, the Technical Task Team takes the matter up with the suppliers.

These two steps have resulted in a marked improvement in the delivery of food to schools. About 88% to 93% of all project schools are receiving food. It is believed that complete change from the tender to the quotation system will improve the delivery situation.

(2) Yes. The other province where problems with deliveries are encountered is the North-West. Food is delivered late to some of the project schools. The North-West province also operates on the tender system.

Mr A S BEYERS: Mr Speaker, arising from the report of the Minister's reply, it is clear from the report that the Government and the ANC, inter alia promised our poor children peanut butter sandwiches. I specifically want to know from the hon the Minister when our poor children can expect those promised peanut butter sandwiches. They never received their black cats from the ANC's fat cats.

Is the Minister aware of the fact that, according to the official report, she often feeds our children in the Gauteng province rotten sandwiches? Those sandwiches are often delivered unpacked from the back of a delivery truck. Is the Minister aware of the fact that the only positive feature of her school-feeding scheme is that the rotten sandwiches are normally delivered too late every day, after the hungry children have already left for home?

Is the Minister aware of the fact that, according to that official report, the situation is even deteriorating?

The MINISTER FOR HEALTH: Mr Speaker, the report that I received from the Gauteng province is the one I have given to the hon member.

I also want to say that their school-feeding scheme is operated by the GNU in the province and not by the "fat cats" or by the ANC. If it had been done by the ANC, it would probably have been even more efficient. [Applause.]

†Dr W A OENDAAL: Mr Speaker, I should like to ask a follow-up question arising out of the hon the Minister's reply. I want to . . . [Interjections.]

Prof D C DU TOIT: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Is it in order for members on this side of the House to be compared to animals such as cats? [Laughter.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Generally it would be unparliamentary to compare an hon member to an animal, but I think the expression "fat cat" has rather different connotations. [Laughter.]

†Dr W A OENDAAL: Mr Speaker, with reference to the reply of the hon the Minister to the follow-up question of the hon member Mr Beyers, which was a little derivative, I should like to point out that the hon Minister, according to newspaper reports at my disposal, misled the House slightly by trying to indicate that it really was not going that badly.

This report, as Mr Beyers in fact pointed out, says, inter alia: "In the report headmasters also complain that children become malnourished precisely because of the scheme." My question is simply whether the hon the Minister can give this House the absolute assurance that the measures she took to prevent this obvious waste of tax-payers' money will be implemented, and that we are not going to see this happen again in future.

The MINISTER FOR HEALTH: Mr Speaker, I would like to say that if the hon member is genuinely concerned, he should not generalise. He should say that there is a problem at school A, B, C or D. He is making a sweeping statement which is incorrect. Secondly, the school feeding scheme is failing in places where children are poor, and it is trying to provide them with at least a meal at school.

To say that children are not fed because of the scheme is absolutely incorrect. I have given him the facts and the date on which there was a problem at particular schools. If he is genuinely concerned, he must tell us exactly where the problem is. However, to come with sweeping statements that children are not fed because of the scheme and that the sandwiches are rotten is a complete misrepresentation of what we are trying to do to make political capital. In addition, it comes from somebody who actually has been responsible for the starvation of those children over all these years! [Applause.]

Mr A S BEYERS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon Minister's reply, I would like to know whether he is aware of the fact that, in this instance, the ANC is treating Black children as if they are just as unwanted in the new South Africa as White Afrikaner males. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER FOR HEALTH: Mr Speaker, I do not think the ANC is going to accept lectures from people who over years have starved the children, have not allowed them to go to school, have treated them like slaves. We are not going to allow those kinds of lectures, and I think that it does not do the hon member any good to try to let us. [Applause.]

†Dr W A OENDAAL: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask the hon the Minister something. The hon the Minister asks me to be more specific about existing problems, and I shall make sure that I send her the newspaper report I have with me. I just want to point out to her that a certain Mr Johan Dladla, a member of the project committee controlling the scheme, referred in the report to the poor way in which the feeding scheme was managed in the Gautong province. He said that, although this report had been compiled last October, matters had only deteriorated. The date of this report is . . .

†THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! What is your follow-up question?

†Dr W A OENDAAL: My follow-up question to the hon the Minister concerns the fact that we on this side of the House are serious about making sure that this feeding scheme runs in an orderly fashion and that the children who need this food do in fact get it. It is in the interests of the health of the children of this country that they be fed by way of preventative measures—and this is a preventative measure—to ensure that we have fewer problems in the hospitals and clinics. Now the Minister is making harsh allegations . . .

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Please put the question.

†Dr W A OENDAAL: My question is: Is she now satisfied that what she tried to put to the House this afternoon, namely that everything is going well with this scheme, is in fact not so? There are ugry things happening below the surface in the name of this scheme. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER FOR HEALTH: Mr Speaker, I am pleased to say that if I have achieved nothing else in this House, I have at least taught Dr Oendaaal that children do need to be fed and that preventative measures are important. I think he should thank us for what we have taught him something. [Applause.]

†THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! That concludes question time. The time allotted for questions has expired. Outstanding replies will be printed in Hansard.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 199 (3) of the Standing Rules for the National Assembly.
Peace team set up to fight violence on East Rand

A PEACE monitoring committee was set up yesterday in KwaThema on the East Rand to help quash violence, allegedly between members of the Congress of South African Students and the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation.

Gauteng MEC for safety and security Mrs Jessie Duarte had earlier in the day held lengthy talks with both organisations and community groups, reports Sapa.

At least 11 people have been killed and many seriously injured since December in fighting between people claiming to be members of the two organisations.

Duarte said all parties had agreed the problem was not party-political, but that criminality had arisen under the guise of political rivalry.

The KwaThema Peace Monitoring Committee, made up of two people from each of several bodies in the township, is to meet on Monday to discuss ending the conflict.

"We have made tremendous progress and what we are trying to achieve now is to move towards each party putting down its exact grievances," Duarte said.

Pamela Dube reports that policemen at the meeting also supported claims criminal elements were fuelling the rivalry between the two organisations, but said the community was also criminals.

"Sometimes when we arrest a youth for a criminal act the parties involved always accuse us of arresting their members," a policeman said.
Youths flee ongoing violence

By Mokgadi Pela

Scores of youths on the East Rand have fled their homes after bloody clashes between two factions of self-defence units in Kaledon.

At least four people have been killed and many more injured since fighting broke out early in March between the leading SDUs - both aligned to the Afrikaner National Congress.

One of the victims of the conflict, Mr. Zakhele Mshinza (21), who was shot dead last Sunday, will be buried at the Bokseldam Cemetery tomorrow.

Commander of the SDUs, Mr. Brutla Nikosi, told a media briefing in nearby Innibus Section that several attempts to resolve the conflict had failed.

"He accused the local branch of the ANC of siding with their rivals. "How can we then expect the Kaledon branch of the ANC to mediate? They consider us to be aggressors," Nikosi said.

Other victims of the conflict were Khove Hlumi, who died on March 26; Lucky Nkutha, who was killed on April 1; and a man, known only as "Thabo."

A number of the rival SDUs accused Nikosi and his comrades of kidnapping people in Tvase Section and possessing a hit list of people in the rival faction.

Nikosi said they would hold an urgent meeting with Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security, Mrs. Jesse Duarte, to resolve the conflict.

Radio station probe

A probe into the illegal Radit Donkerhoek would continue after a tense stand-off between police and supporters of the station on Wednesday night, police said.

Angry supporters of the station jeered police as they withdrew from their positions around the station about 2.30am on Friday.

About 80 policemen had surrounded the station earlier in the day to back up Post Office officials who had been ordered to confiscate the station's transmitters. Police spokesman Capt. Dave Harrington said he was not able to confirm that.

"Bokswell," who was shot on April 2.

Teachers to fight on

Teachers have vowed to continue their fight for better salaries after expressing dissatisfaction at the Government's latest offer of a five percent salary increase.

The recent proposal, put to the bargaining unit of the Education Labour Relations Council this week, is for the state to reduce its contributions to teachers' pension funds so as to up their salaries by five percent from July 1. The suggestion is not a fixed offer but merely a suggestion for the two teacher unions, Sadtu and Naptosa, to consider and is identical to a suggestion made by the two unions previously when they met with teachers in Cape Town earlier this year.

The original Government offer was an increase of 14 percent, which was rejected by teacher unions who are fighting for an increase of 18.4 percent. Naptosa president Mr. Lephe Tumanele expressed his disappointment at the suggestion and slammed the Ministry of Education for raising teachers' hopes for a better offer after a public announcement on Monday.

A few comments in this issue by Audrey Horne. Newsline, advertising and technical by Bo Mokgadi
'KwaThema on the brink of war'

By Dan Fuphe

The situation at KwaThema on the East Rand was described as "tense and on the brink of war" after the killing of a man alleged to belong to the Azanian People's Liberation Army at a funeral at the weekend.

However, the Reverend Sehoka Mokete, vice-chairman of the peace and reconciliation committee formed in the township to bring about peace between the Pan Africanist Students Organisation and the Congress of South African Students, said the killing would in no way scuttle the peace initiatives brokered by his group and other parties.

The killing, which occurred during the funeral service of PASO member Mr. Dada Khotso, came barely two days after various delegates attending a peace initiative meeting on Thursday night had expressed despair and anger at escalating killings.

People at the meeting condemned PASO and Cosas for violating peace agreed upon at a meeting attended by Gauteng MEC for safety and security Mrs. Jesse Duarte and the Pan Africanist Congress' general secretary Mr. Maxwell Nemadzivhani.

In another development, the PAC said it would withdraw from the peace talks because of the killing.

Meanwhile, Cosas deputy chairman Mr. Peter Masilela said allegations attributed to a senior PAC member on SABC TV news at the weekend that Cosas was responsible for the killing were "mischievous and calculated to perpetrate misrepresentation in the interest..."
violence

East Rand peace drives collapse

for increased police, army presence:

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

Attempts to halt violence in Kwa Thema on the East Rand have failed, Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security Mrs Jessie Duarte said yesterday.

She said the peace monitoring committee set up on April 27 had fallen apart.

The committee was established after fighting in the township between members of the Congress of South African Students and the Pan African Students Organisation.

To date, 24 people — members of both organisations — have been killed.

Despite the declaration of a moratorium on violence last month, Duarte yesterday announced that the monitoring committee had "failed to bring Cosas and Paso to the table. The killings have continued".

Four murders were recorded in Kwa Thema at the weekend. A member of the Pan Africanist Congress was shot dead on Saturday while inspecting security arrangements for the burial of Paso member Kobesi Duda.

Mourners were also shot at on their way from the cemetery. An elderly woman was injured.

The PAC blamed Cosas for the attack and decided to pull out of the peace process.

The same day, two policemen who were assisting a raped woman were shot dead. The woman was wounded.

Duarte said she had requested an increase of police and army personnel in the township.

In the Highlands area of Kwa Theme, where the majority of killings had taken place, there would be at least eight security personnel vehicles patrolling the streets.

Already, security at the seven high schools in the township has been reinforced, with two policemen assigned to each school daily.

Duarte said her department had established a community safety plan, in which "we would have visible policing in Gauteng".

The plan is to have South African Police Services, South African National Defence Force and private security companies working together to patrol the streets in an effort to curb crime.

"We, as a government and the communities, have to work together to end crime," Duarte said.
ANC factions in township 'war'

By TEFO MOTHIBELA

ANC-aligned factions are locked in a bloody feud for control of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) project in Dobsonville's Doornkop squatter camp. Residents and community leaders claim the conflict is getting uglier by the day.

Community leaders and residents alleged that the squatter-camp had been torn apart by two armed groups, both of which claim to represent the ANC.

Residents claim about 200 people from Tladi in Soweto took advantage of the vacuum and imposed themselves as the interim leadership of the squatters after "Mickey Mouse elections".

It is believed that the ANC is losing members to the PAC because of the clashes in the area and some detectors have paid dearly for their actions.

PAC secretary-general Maxwell Nemedzivhakani, who has been involved in trying to stop the killings, accused the ANC and the provincial safety and security ministry of not showing commitment to resolving the matter.

Safety and security MEC Jessie Duarte in turn accused the PAC of not showing commitment to resolving the matter, but of being more concerned with electioneering.
Row over
Shell House
admission

IFP ‘appalled’ by Mandela’s statement

Political Correspondent

A MAJOR row has erupted over
President Nelson Mandela’s
admission of his shoot-to-kill
order at Shell House.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, whose
marchers were gunned down in the
incident in March last year, said par-
liament should appoint a judicial
inquiry into the shootings if the police
inquiry did not produce results.

They have called on the president to
make his statement to police investigat-
ing the shootings.

The National Party has asked whether
Mr Mandela will give evidence to the
Truth and Reconciliation Commission
about his involvement in the shootings.

The IFP was “appalled” by Mr Mande-
la’s statement in the senate yesterday
that he had told ANC security guards to
defend the building even if it meant kill-
ing people.

IFP spokesman on safety and security,
Philip Powell, said his party questioned
why Mr Mandela had taken so long to
talk about his involvement.

Mr Mandela’s role would explain his
personal intervention in delaying pro-
gress of the investigation, Mr Powell said.

The president had made himself part of
the investigation and should make his
statement, Mr Powell said.

In the light of Mr Mandela’s statement
implying himself in the events leading
up to the Shell House shootings the IFP
questioned Mr Mandela’s recent accusa-
tions that his leader, Mangosuthu Buthe-
lezi, was personally involved in violence
in KwaZulu-Natal.

In the debate on safety and security
today, National Party senator
Gerhard Koornhof asked whether Mr
Mandela would appear before the Truth
and Reconciliation Commission.

The Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar,
had said everyone who had taken part in
murder or given orders to murder should
appear before the commission, Mr Koorn-
hof said.

He asked how a political leader could
have given such an order while not “on
the ground” in the situation.

Mr Koornhof challenged Safety and
Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, who
has taken personal charge of investiga-
tions into killings before and during the
Shell House march, to produce results.

Democratic Party spokesman on safety
and security, Douglas Gibson, asked why
Mr Mandela had remained silent until
now.

Conceding information on as vital a
point as this can only be deplored.”

Mr Gibson said Mr Mandela’s attack on
the DP as “right-wing” because the party
concentrated on the Shell House deaths,
was a smokescreen.

“The president must know his state-
ment is untrue. The DP repeatedly has
called attention to all other tragic deaths
and has done so in parliament, in the
press and in private discussions with the
president.”

Mr Gibson said Mr Mandela should not
try to distract attention from his own
failure and that of the ANC to co-operate
fully with the police.

“Mr Mufamadi has accepted personal
responsibility for the further conduct of
the investigation.

“I intend holding him to that promise,”
Mr Gibson said.

Chief Buthelezi also owed South Afri-
can an explanation.

His party had failed or refused to co-
operate with police, and extravagant
statements by the IFP casting the ANC
were a smokescreen.

The matter would not go away until
there had been a proper police investiga-
tion, a comprehensive dossier handed to
the attorney-general for possible prosecu-
tion, and the accused had been brought to
trial, he said.
Shell House crisis: ‘Charge Mandela’
Carolus defends ANC over IFP deaths

Johannesburg. — An order to protect a building and African National Congress leadership was not the same as an order to kill, said ANC deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus yesterday.

Ms Carolus, leading the "damage-control unit," was addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg a day after President Mandela admitted to the Senate that he had ordered police to protect Shell House building and its tenants, even if it meant "to kill people" on March 26, last year.

At least 55 people were killed in Johannesburg that day when Inkatha Freedom Party supporters held protest marches in the city. Nine IFP supporters were killed outside the ANC's headquarters.

"Ms Carolus said, 'President Mandela was not there that day and I think it would be unfair to link him with the order to fire.'"

She declined to comment on who actually gave the order to shoot, citing a current court case about the matter.

The killings on March 26 should not be dubbed the 'Shell House Massacre,' because it cheapened the 46 lives lost in other areas of the city, added Ms Carolus.

The leader asked people to believe it was only the nine IFP lives that were lost outside of the Shell House that mattered — not the 46 lost in other areas, she said.

Ms Carolus submitted documents from the ANC's lawyers indicating the attempts made to co-operate with police about the killings.

She said that, on March 28, police fled the Shell House scene, fevered for their lives. They originally said they would protect the grounds and monitor the situation, according to Ms Carolus.

"I can say the ANC is not happy with the way the police have carried out the investigation," she said.

The ANC had given police 146 weapons out of 200 for ballistic tests — further proof the ANC was willing to co-operate.

She added that the IFP had not yet come forward to co-operate with the investigation.

Yesterday, IFP spokesman Velaphi Ndlolvo said Mr Mandela should be charged with murder and called on Police Commissioner George Fivaz to order an immediate investigation.

Ms Carolus said that Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Fivaz had met.

President Mandela has called for a snap debate on the Shell House incident next Wednesday, a spokesman for his office said. Joel Netshitenzi said Mr Mandela would take part in the debate.

The row has done undeniable damage to Mr Mandela's image, and follows increasingly hardline statements that he would not stand by with arms folded while IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi made calls to resist the central government.

Lawyers for Human Rights have expressed concern at Mr Mandela's acceptance of responsibility for the massacre.

"It is most unfortunate that this statement has been made at a time when our country continues to be racked by constant violence especially in KwaZulu-Natal," LHR said.

IFP MP Velaphi Ndlolvo said the president's announcement in the Senate of his role in the shootings made him "the first candidate to be interviewed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as an accomplice to murder."

Ironically, for this to be possible, demands of parties (including the IFP) to move the cut-off for amnesty to May 10 last year — the date of Mr Mandela's presidential inauguration — would have to be met.

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called for charges to be brought against President Mandela after he admitted he told Shell House security guards to kill IFP marchers if necessary to protect the building.

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

SHOCK revelations of President Mandela's role in the Shell House shootings and a fresh confrontation over KwaZulu-Natal are rock in the government of national unity to its foundations.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has said Mr Mandela should be charged as an accomplice to murder after he admitted he told Shell House security guards to kill IFP marchers if necessary to protect the building.

National police commissioner George Fivaz may take a statement from Mr Mandela in relation to the matter.

The IFP has called for Mr Mandela to be charged with murder for issuing the order and said the president should be held personally liable for civil damages claims totalling more than R10 million arising from the massacre on March 26 last year.

The IFP is to hold a special national council meeting on Saturday to discuss the issue — just days after the cabinet meets in special session to discuss the situation in KwaZulu-Natal.

And both parties have dashed out at the third partners in the GNU, the National Party, for having a hand in the violence in the province.

FACING THE PRESS: Cheryl Carolus at the Press conference.

- The acting Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand said yesterday President Mandela's admission that he personally had given ANC security officials orders to defend Shell House even if it meant killing, would be put into the scales and evaluated alongside all other evidence to determine its relevance.

Sapa.
At present, the commission’s amnesty committee may deal with cases only up December 5, 1993.

Further signs this week of the tension between the IFP and ANC included Inkatha’s call for the defence force to be withdrawn from KwaZulu-Natal townships.

There were rogue elements in the defence forces and they should be replaced by the police internal stability until the IFP said.

In its statement, the IFP caucus said Mr. Mandela had headed Umkhonto weSizwe, which allegedly had killed “more black people in its so-called armed struggle than the troops of the enemy if it was supposed to be fighting.”

Mr. Ndlovu said Mr. Mandela had said instructions had been given to protect Shell House, even if it meant killing people.

“Neither protected nor killed people.”

In the senate yesterday, Gerhard Koornhof of the NP withdrew a question whether Mr. Mandela would appear before the Truth Commission, after an ANC senator objected that Mr. Koornhof’s question had linked Mr. Mandela to murder.

Dennis Bloom (ANC) said Mr. Mandela’s statement showed the president was not afraid to speak the truth in public.
Shell killing
Minister sp

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE MINISTER of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, is unlikely to bow to pressure from Inkatha to hold a meeting with President Mandela over the Shell House killings which claimed the lives of eight Inkatha members in March last year.

Mufamadi has also shot down suggestions that his ministry is "dragging its feet in an attempt to cover up" Mandela's alleged involvement in the killings.

Meanwhile, Mandela has called for a parliamentary debate on the issue. Mandela's spokesman, Joel Netshitenze, said that Mandela would take part in the national assembly debate, due to be held on Wednesday.

Mandela this week precipitated a major political controversy by claiming that he had ordered the ANC's security guards to protect the party's headquarters at Shell House in Johannesburg, even if lives were lost.

Addressing the Senate, Mandela said that when Inkatha members were holding a meeting in central Johannesburg, the ANC had heard that 32 people had been killed in Soweto by Inkatha.

"By the time we reached the spot where they were supposed to have their meeting, we knew," Mandela said. "I gave instructions to our security that if they attacked the house, please, they must protect that house even if they were to kill people."

This statement has earned Mandela wide condemnation.

Inkatha has also called for his former cipher clerk, Brian Molefe, to be charged as an "accomplice to commit murder, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice." Any attempt to remove Molefe will intensify the conflict.

The National and Democratic Parties have also accused Mandela and Mufamadi of "inaction.

The National Party and the South African National Party have also accused the government of "inaction.

"The central question is whether the ANC's involvement in the investigation and whether the ANC and the Inkatha were attempting a cover-up," the DP spokesman said.

The DFP spokesman on safety and security, Douglas Gibson, asked why the police investigation had not previously brought Mandela's involvement to light.

As the storm raged, Mufamadi said he had asked SA Police Commissioner, General George Fivaz, to look "into everything pertaining to the events of March 28 during which 53 people were killed.

The minister said he had "no idea" to whom he was referring when he mentioned 53 people.

Mandela's position on the issue is unclear. Inkatha leaders have demanded that the ANC official be held responsible for the killings.

The minister's position is to give the ANC an opportunity to investigate the matter.

Inkatha's leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has repeatedly threatened to withdraw his support from the government if Mandela's involvement is not clarified.

The government was also under pressure to investigate further.

"There is no question of commissioning a report to the commission of inquiry on the events of March 28," Fivaz said.

The opposition had also called for an independent report into the matter.

The ANC's legal service said it would not hold a meeting with Mandela this week.

"We have decided not to hold any meeting with Mandela," the service said.

The government has also rejected the idea of a commission of inquiry.

"We have decided not to hold any meeting with Mandela," the service said.

The government has also rejected the idea of a commission of inquiry.

"We have decided not to hold any meeting with Mandela," the service said.

The government has also rejected the idea of a commission of inquiry.
Victims' families ‘to charge Mandela’

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Families of the victims of the Shell House shootings would bring charges against President Nelson Mandela as an ‘accomplice to murder’, the Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday.

Inkatha MP and deputy Gauteng leader Thembu Khosa said a second charge of “defeating the ends of justice” would also be brought against the ANC president.

He said the families had instructed their lawyers to proceed with the charges after Mandela’s “confession” in the Senate last week that he had told guards to shoot to kill outside ANC headquarters during a Zulu march in Johannesburg on March 28 last year.

The families had also brought civil claims for damages of more than R10m against Mandela.

ANC guards killed at least eight Zulu marchers on the day, claiming they acted in self-defence after the marchers stormed the ANC headquarters. Inkatha claimed the death toll was 11, and denied that the building was attacked.

Khosa said the families’ lawyers were investigating the possibility of “altering” the civil claims case to include the criminal charges, so as to expedite proceedings.

He said the accomplice to murder charge resulted from the fact that Mandela “planned with those who killed at Shell House”.

The criminal charge of defeating the ends of justice was linked to Mandela’s role in the denial of police access to the ANC head office after the incident.

Meanwhile, Mandela’s office said yesterday it was unaware that a meeting had been scheduled between National Police Commissioner George Fivaz and Mandela to discuss the president’s remarks in Parliament last Thursday.

Fivaz’s spokesman Joseph Ngobeni confirmed reports that the police commissioner said he planned to meet Mandela.

President spokesman Parks Mankahla said: “As far as I know there is no meeting planned.”

Another spokesman, Joel Netschimtha, referred queries to the ANC.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa, in turn, said it was Mandela’s prerogative to speak out on any such meeting.

Mamoepa said the ANC hoped that the snap debate in Parliament tomorrow would “finally clear up any misunderstandings” on the issue.

Biehl murder judgment scheduled today

CAPE TOWN — The Supreme Court in Cape Town is to pass judgment today on Nonelkihe Biehl, 19, accused of murdering US exchange student Amy Biehl in Guguletu in 1993.

He has pleaded not guilty to murdering her by striking her head with a brick, although he admits having been among a group of people shouting “One settler, one bullet” shortly before she was killed.

In closing argument yesterday state ad

‘Apartheid’ army officer arrested

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — A senior SA National Defence Force (SANDF) officer was arrested yesterday on 13 charges of murder, alternatively conspiracy to murder, by a special high-speed investigation unit under Police Commissioner George Fivaz said.

More arrests, believed to be connected to hit squad activities in KwaZulu-Natal, could be expected.

Brig John More, formerly a senior staff officer in Military Intelligence’s directorate of special tasks, was arrested at his Pretoria home early yesterday morning. He is currently on secondment to Armscor as director of marketing for Denel.

The murders in which More is implicated took place in KwaMakhutha in KwaZulu-Natal in 1997, and further arrests could be expected, Fivaz said.

More is the second high-ranking security force officer arrested in connection with the KwaMakhutha killings. Last week, former Durban security branch policeman Col Louis Botha appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court in connection with 13 murders. He was released on R10,000 bail. In January 1987, 13 members of the Botha family, including seven children, were massacred in KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti.

Following Botha’s arrest, detectives of the investigating task unit probing hit squads, under the command of Col Frank Dutton, raided the Pretoria offices of Military Intelligence on Thursday night in search of a file believed to contain vital evidence of murder and conspiracy to murder. The file was not found.

Death penalty judgment to be delivered

Susan Russell

MORE than 300 death row prisoners, some of them there since the 1300 moratorium on capital punishment, will know their fate when the Constitutional Court hands down its long-awaited judgment today.

The constitutionality of the death penalty was the first case heard by the new court after its inauguration in February.

The 11 member court, headed by its president Judge Arthur Chaskalson, reserved judgment after hearing two and a half days of argument.

Argument in favour of scrapping capital punishment on the grounds that it was unconstitutional was led by counsel representing two murderers sentenced to death for the slaying of four people during an armed robbery.

The State, represented by Adv George Bizos SC, also argued for the scrapping of the death penalty on constitutional grounds.

Argument in favour of retaining capital punishment was submitted on behalf of the two prisoners gener

al by Witwatersrand attorney-general Klaus von Lieres, who announced his retirement recently.

Central to the argument for scrapping capital punishment was the submission that the death penalty violated section nine of the constitution which guaranteed the right to life.

It was also argued that capital punishment was contrary to those sections which guaranteed the right to dignity and protection from cruel and inhuman treatment.

The court was asked to consider to what extent the limitation clause in section 33 of the constitution could accommodate the retention of the death penalty.

The case was provided for the reasonable and justifiable limitation of a right as long as the limitation “does not negate the essential content of that right.”

There were 335 people on death row when the case was argued in February.
ANC fights back over Shell House

Continued from Page 1

neighb on the day of the shootings and the ANC had been the only party to cooperate with the police inquiry.

Inkatha agreed to bring forward its witnesses, but had not done so. Inkatha had already been rebuked by the Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi's request for a meeting. The ANC had fewer reservations about the investigation after Fivaz had given an assurance that it would be more inclusive, looking into "all the events of the day".

On the shootings themselves, Carolus said the first shots had been fired by the marchers. She declined to say whether ANC personnel had been ordered to return fire, citing pending legal action.

Carolus lambasted the NP government and the police for failing to act on ANC warnings that an attack on Shell House was planned. Witwatersrand police commissioner Gen Koos Callie had undertaken to erect roadblocks around the city and to disarm marchers, but had failed to do so.

With minimal security force protection, the ANC had been "on its own".

The fact that the 10 security force members outside Shell House had fled before the marchers indicated that they judged it a "life-threatening situation", she said.
ANThony Johnson
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE instruction to ANC security guards last year to repel an attack by the Inkatha Freedom Party "even if they had to kill people" was "a statement of the common law right to self-defence," President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He said the ANC regretted the deaths of eight IFP marchers on March 28 last year, but he stood by his shoot-to-kill instruction if the ANC headquarters came under attack. But the ANC was alone in its defence of what the IFP branded "cold-blooded slaughter" in one of the most fierce debates in Parliament since the election.

The 150-minute battle saw all parties, including the PAC, rounding on Mr Mandela and the ANC.

At one point during Mr Mandela's opening address, MPs in the Nationalist benches bayed "Shame, shame, shame..." after ANC supporters in the gallery cheered Mr Mandela when he again defended his instruction as "absolutely necessary".

Opposition MPs accused the ANC of sanctioning "an armed ambush" of a mass demonstration, attempting to subvert justice, presiding over a cover-up and attempting to side-track police investigations.

The NP flatly rejected the President's self-defence claim and demanded that a judicial commission of inquiry with international participation be established.

PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu questioned why the President was bent on hampering the police investigation.

He said the ANC had to explain why its members and also PAC members had taken part in mass marches to John Vorster Square, Parliament and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange without the police opening fire on them.

A bitter ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa accused the PAC leader of "betraying the liberation struggle".

Mr Mandela accused the opposition parties of a well-planned vendetta "to get at the ANC" by obscuring the fact that 47 other people had died on the day in incidents related to the IFP march.

He said the Shell House "incident" was not a bolt from the blue, saying there was in February and March 1994 an intense campaign by forces bent on sabotaging the elections, to murder their way to this objective.

Mr Mandela told MPs that 128 people had died in political violence in the week before the shootings and the ANC had received reports that over 30 people had been killed by IFP marchers before they reached Shell House.

The police and the NP government had failed to heed warnings and left the building unprotected.

"What would have happened... if indeed Shell House had been invaded, documents destroyed and the ANC leaders killed?" Mr Mandela asked.
Police would be asked to hold off action against Richard Musendu Dlamini, who publicly threatened to murder 1,000 people a day if President Mandela was not jailed this week, to allow the IFP Youth Brigade to investigate the threat. The Gauteng Safety and Security Ministry announced this yesterday after MEC Jesse Duarte met a delegation led by Thabane Dlamini, provincial leader of the IFP Youth Brigade.

They struck a deal whereby the brigade would get time to investigate the matter and Dlamini would be disciplined if he was found to be a card-carrying member of the organisation. — Political Staff.

The backlog of cases before the Industrial Council had risen to a record 5,083 in October 1994, the National Manpower Commission said in its last annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Some 2,000 more cases were received in 1994 than the previous year, and although more cases were heard, the backlog had also increased to 5,083 by October 31 1994. — Sapa.

President Mandela's public association with Cosatu mass action this week had cast a dark cloud over the negotiation process for a new labour dispensation, Deputy President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Repeating to debate on his budget vote, he said: "With one TV appearance he apparently draws a line through what the Cabinet had decided. Mr Mandela's intentions may have been different, but the perception was that he had chosen sides." — Sapa.

Two people have been arrested and released on bail in connection with the fraud which has cost the KwaZulu-Natal nutrition scheme R8-million, Health MEC Zweli Mkhize said in the provincial legislature on Wednesday. — Staff Reporter.
Johannesburg: Gauteng Safety and Security Minister Ms Jesse Duarte yesterday said security forces would be deployed at taxi ranks, bus terminals and stations in the province from today to curb violence threatened earlier this week by the IFP.

Ms Duarte said Gauteng Premier Mr Tokelo Xasa and the IFP provincial leaders today.

She said people would be protected in residential areas, city centres and industrial areas.

Earlier yesterday, the Gauteng branch of the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade said it would investigate and take action against members who threatened to render the province "ungovernable".

The brigade's Gauteng chairman Mr Ahmad Dlamini was reacting to reports that the Vaal Triangle and West Rand regions of the brigade had announced plans of mass action, including a stayaway on Saturday.

Mr Dlamini said the regions did not have a mandate from the provincial leadership to release such statements.

He said provincial officials would hold a meeting with regional executives today to find those responsible for the statements and drastic measures would be taken. "The IFP Youth Brigade is fully committed to peace and stability in our province and the rest of the country and we cannot afford to be seen as perpetrating violence," he said.
Sexwale, IPP leader, agree on 42 forestry mavericks
IFP leaders enlisted to heal Gauteng rift

BY MONDRI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The IFP’s national leadership has been called in to heal a rift in the party’s Gauteng leadership, which has resulted in threats of violence by sections of the IFP Youth Brigade.

IFP leaders have spent the past week trying to smooth tensions resulting from the battle for control of the party’s second biggest provincial support base.

The Star understands that a section of the youth brigade based on the West Rand was behind the threats to kill “1 000 people a day” and to make Gauteng ungovernable if President Mandela was not arrested over last year’s shootings outside the ANC’s headquarters in central Johannesburg.

They are opposed to what they see as weak regional leadership under provincial secretary Musa Myeni and provincial chairman Dieter Lang.

According to IFP insiders, this group is close to parliamentarian Tombo Khoza and Gauteng MPL and former West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlou, who are at loggerheads with Myeni.

The Myeni faction wants to increase IFP support among township residents and move the organisation away from its hostel support base.

And it has been angered by the bellicose statements emanating from the organisation in the past two weeks.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and secretary-general Dr Ziba Jiyane have been kept abreast of the tussle for the soul of the organisation and have issued instructions that it be sorted out as speedily as possible.

Myeni has refused to comment on the rift and said the IFP would not be commenting publicly on the recent threats of violence by its members until it had sorted out its internal politics.

“We are discussing the matter with the president and the secretary-general. We are handling this internally and, pending a full investigation, we are not going to issue any more statements on the matter,” said Myeni.

Khoza and Ndlou could not be reached for comment.
DBSA report fails to shed sufficient light

The Development Bank of South Africa's transformation report is likely to add more uncertainty to an organisation tainted by history and in-fighting among staff and the board, writes SVEN LUNSCHE.

In the financial year to end-March the bank improved its level of disbursements to development projects by 35% to R11.15-billion and it is budgeting for further allocations of R13-billion this year. Its total development portfolio of just under R38-billion supports over 1 700 projects which have a clear development focus. It is therefore difficult to see the "powerful synergy between infrastructure and industry" that the task group says is one of the major reasons for proposing a joint holding company for the DBSA and the IDC. The latter supports clearly defined, private sector and capital-intensive industrial projects. The Development Bank on the other hand does not try "its hand at projects which are not related to the provision of infrastructure or development projects."

While the task group does see the need for the bank to expand its brief to larger infrastructural projects at national and infra-regional level, even in this area it is difficult to envisage the contribution the IDC can make. The task force, headed by current DBSA chairman Wiseman Nkuhlu, also stresses that the combined asset base of the two institutions (currently R121-billion) will enable the holding company to raise larger borrowings thus, "minimising the need for future capitalisation by the fiscus."

Mr Nkuhlu says the DBSA can support a growth in funding of 15% a year, but would need to seek additional funds if it were to support large scale infrastructure projects. However, according to figures provided by the task force, the group's net borrowing requirements will increase from R300-million to R8.4-billion by the end of the decade. At the same time its total assets will almost double to R12-billion, sufficient to support the envisaged borrowing levels. The task group failed to address one of the bank's most pressing issues — the appointment of a chief executive.

While the task force team will act as the bank's board during the transition the appointment of a respectable chief executive would have done wonders for staff morale.
ANC probes hostel violence

SEBOKENG: Police used tear gas and rubber bullets to rescue a man at the Sebokeng hostel complex yesterday as violence in the area continued, even while an ANC delegation visited to probe the reasons for the flare-up which has claimed at least 15 lives since Saturday.

ANC Gauteng secretary-general Mr Paul Mashatile said the aim of the visit was to start setting up structures to deal with violence. He denied ethnic hatred was the cause.

Mr Mashatile said “some elements” had stopped co-operating with the hostel peace structure after police arrested a number of inmates on murder charges.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Piet van Deventer said 22 people would appear in court today in connection with the killings over the weekend. — Sapa (27.8)
Violence flares again after 15 die in weekend fighting

Army sent into Sebokeng

MANY treated for gunshot wounds after faction clashes erupt at Vaal Triangle hostel

BY NORMAN CHANDLER, PATRICK PHOSA, and PATRICK WADULU

The army was sent into Sebokeng as violence flared again yesterday after 15 people died in weekend faction fighting.

The clashes, between Xhosa hostel dwellers and Basotho, Amabhaca and Amapondo hostel dwellers, are believed to have been sparked by the deaths of a Basotho couple at the Sebokeng hostel, and another at the hands of Xhosa workers.

Soldiers were sent to the Vaal Triangle township to help police maintain order.

The security action follows two days of violence at the township’s hostel complex. Most of the trouble has been in and around hostel No 6.

Official statistics are that 15 people have been killed and 11 injured. Most of the dead had severe slash wounds. Many people who were shot have received treatment from Vaal Triangle hospitals.

One man, Alfred Mhloka, died yesterday after being discharged from the Sebokeng hospital —— he had been treated for treatment during weekend violence.

A delegation of the ANC Co-ordinating Council, hostel dwellers yesterday, but renewed violence broke out shortly before the meeting.

Screaming was heard from a section of the hostel that “Amabhaca are stealing our belongings”. Xhosa, armed with spears and knobkerries, rushed over and were seen chasing apparently Amabhaca hostel dwellers.

Police shot rubber bullets and fired teargas at the Xhosa to keep the fighting factions apart.

At least one man was injured when he was hit on the head by a rubber bullet.

Gauteng ANC secretary-gen

Keeping the peace... soldiers and police patrol the streets of Sebokeng in the vicinity of the Sebokeng Hostel. Soldiers were deployed yesterday to assist police in preventing further clashes between feuding factions.
Military is sent into Sebokeng

From Page 1

General Paul Mashatile, speaking after he visited the No 2 hostel at the complex, said residents welcomed the army's presence and expected it to protect them.

ANC deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela said some residents had even asked for a wall to be built between the two hostels.

Gauteng Premier Tshwane Sekwela, who was briefed on the situation last night, is expected to announce measures to improve the situation at the Sebokeng complex.

Colonel Piet Vosloo, officer commanding Group 17, SA Army, told the Star at Vereeniging yesterday that the military and police would remain on full alert, and that it had been agreed at a joint operational meeting to barricade the six hostels with razor wire in a further effort to end the violence in the area.

Police confiscated hundreds of weapons.

Vosloo said there would be an increase in the number of troop deployed this weekend.

In Sebokeng, the tension was palpable as army foot patrols secured the area near the hostels yesterday.

Police lobbed teargas at one stage in the afternoon as an IFP official appealed with a loud hailer for people 'to respect the presence of the army'.

Earlier, Vosloo told the Star that the violence had apparently been building up since December last year.

The reasons were difficult to pinpoint, he added, but in anticipation of possible trouble, the police and army had held discussions two months ago.

He also said that troops from 21 Battalion had been deployed at Beikketel, north of Sebokeng, as part of the overall peacekeeping operation.

Twenty-two people are expected to appear in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court today in connection with the violence, police said.
Help police find killers.
Tokyo tells hostel crowd

BY PATRICK PHOSA

Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale yesterday won over a hostile crowd at the Sebokeng Hostel and obtained a promise from hostel residents that they would co-operate with the police in investigations into the violence at the hostel.

Sexwale was initially shouted down by hostel residents when he addressed them after visiting the buildings, where 15 people died in faction fighting at the weekend.

He told hostel dwellers that their complaints about police complicity in the violence would be investigated, but added that police could not do their job without help from residents.

Sexwale, who was accompanied by Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security Jessie Duarte and provincial Police Commissioner Sharna Maharaj, said hostel dwellers who had accused members of the police force of siding with factions should come forward with information so that the claims could be investigated.

He said it was only through the help of the residents that the police could combat violence at the hostel.

"In the past we said that you should not co-operate with the police, but now we call on you to co-operate with us. You should become the eyes of President Nelson Mandela's government," Sexwale said.

While he was speaking, residents shouted that they did not want the police because "they are the ones who are killing us."

Sebokeng hostel chairman Mogoswana Guqa, who spoke before Sexwale, said the police were "shooting people" and that residents wanted soldiers to keep peace at the hostel.

Sexwale said the senseless violence was chasing investors away from Gauteng because they could not guarantee the safety of their workers.

Meanwhile, 22 people appeared in the Sebokeng Regional Court in Witbank on charges of murder. The case was postponed to Monday and the accused were remanded in custody.

"From Page 1"
ANC-aligned self-defense units of taking the law into their own hands.

Resident Sy Mogani, claimed 'unit' members were demanding R88 from each household to buy guns and ammunition. Sothos lived in fear of being targeted if they did not pay up. Their hard-earned money, he said, was used by "looters" for food and other luxuries.

Xhosa resident Simphiwe Ndamase said the money was not to buy guns, but a "donation" to cover transport expenses in case of death or emergencies.

Hostel chairman Nogwana Guqa called for an independent inquiry, saying there were political motives behind the killings. He claimed residents demanded police to withdraw from the hostel because they believed police had played a part in the shootings. Residents preferred army protection, he said, adding that residents

had apprehended an off-duty policeman after a shooting incident on Monday.

In a stern address, Sexwale told hostel residents, "to identify the policemen involved so that appropriate action could be taken against them. He called for a stop to the violence, saying the residents' actions would drive away investors and disrupt local government elections. They had to fight poverty and fight for education, clinics and housing, he said. Plans to develop the hostels could not be implemented in a climate of violence.

Housing ministry spokesman Stephen Lauder said that of the 179 public sector hostels in SA, 15 had been upgraded while 27 were still being upgraded. Of the R426m

allocated for hostel renovations since October 1993, R255m had been spent.

It was estimated that about 84% of hostels had established local negotiating groups to discuss needs. These groups included hostel owners, residents and representatives of surrounding communities.

Meanwhile, negotiations between Scaw Metals management and worker representatives continued yesterday on the closure of the company's Germiston hostel after months of violent clashes.

Scaw's Germiston plant was operating with about 50% of its personnel. An independent operation reported a total staff stayaway in protest against management's refusal to close the hostel immediately.
Hostel residents want unemployed sent home
Chiefs act on Vaal hostel violence

By Russel Moiefe

TRADITIONAL leaders from the Eastern Cape and Free State yesterday appealed to residents at the troubled KwaMashu Hostel in the Vaal Triangle to end tribal clashes which have claimed many lives since the endemic violence erupted in 1992.

Led by Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa president Chief Phakile Holomisa, the chiefs made the plea during a peace rally attended by about 6,000 people.

Leaders at the hostel also agreed that residents be disarmed by a proposed hostel committee that will safeguard peace in the complex.

Holomisa said afterwards that the committee would comprise traditional leaders and hostel leaders.

"These weapons were bought for your protection before last year's April elections. Now that they have served their purpose they should be returned, otherwise they will continue to cause violence among the hostel residents," he said.

Holomisa told the hostel residents that the traditional leaders had agreed with representatives of the warring factions that a commission of inquiry, chaired by a judge, be established to investigate the causes of the violence.

He said the decision for the establishment of the commission was followed by allegations that some senior policemen were behind the violence.

"We have been sent by those who remain at home (in the rural areas) to come and appeal to you to stop fighting. Those at home are also severely affected by the fighting," said Holomisa.

The rally was also attended by Mrs Winnie Mandela, who said "this violent means that the ANC has not yet begun to rule effectively".

"It was disturbing to see people who had put up a brave fight against the "evil forces of apartheid" being killed at a time when they should be enjoying the fruits of their struggle, she said.

The rally, which started much later than had been scheduled, nearly turned ugly when a section of the crowd threatened to leave.

They were stopped by Chief Mwilow Nontanyana, who appealed to them not to give the perpetrators of violence an excuse to operate.

"You have crossed rivers to come here to work for your children who are at home. I will not help at all and should you do it immediately," he said.

Another rally is to be held on September 18.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

It’s a tussle for the ball between Phili Tsotetsi of Orlando Pirates, who scored an own goal, and Mumba Ngandu of Wits, who grabbed the equaliser in the thrilling 5-minute 2-all draw at Milpark Stadium in Johannesburg yesterday. See backpage.
Hostel leaders heed disarmament call

BY HOPEWELL RADEBE

Sebokeng hostel leaders have volunteered to be disarmed by a proposed hostel committee which will safeguard peace in the complex, the scene of endemic violence since 1992.

King Phatokkie Holomisa, head of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralese), made the announcement to about 6000 hostel dwellers at a soccer field near LeaMashina hostel in Sebokeng yesterday.

He said that after discussions with leaders of the fighting groups in the hostel during a closed meeting on Saturday and early yesterday, he and 10 other traditional leaders — all members of Contralese — had resolved to encourage people to hand over their weapons.

"These weapons were bought for protection before last April's elections. Now that they have served their purpose they should be returned, otherwise they will continue to cause violence among the hostel residents."

Holomisa said they had also resolved to call for the establishment of a commission of inquiry into Sebokeng violence. The probe should be led by a judge and two assessors who would be taken from Contralese's ranks.

He urged the community to work closely with the peace committee, the police and the SANDF, who would still monitor the situation. He also promised that steps would be taken to root out "the bad elements" within the police force.

Before his speech, three factions sang together in the hostel and performed traditional dances. They then moved around the hostel, breaking the tension in places which used to be no-go areas.

Women and children danced and sang after three leaders — Elliot Gcandi of the amaBhaca, Jeffrey Ndamase of the amaMpondwano and NqoyoZwane Guza of the amaXhosa — shook hands to signal an end to the violence.

MP Winnie Mandela told the crowd: "This violence means that the ANC has not yet begun to rule effectively."

It was disturbing to see people who had put up a brave fight against the "evil forces of apartheid" being killed at the time when they should be enjoying the fruits of their struggle.

Mandela said hostel dwellers should agree with her plea to develop the hostels and turn them into family units. People would be able to live with their families in a respectable and dignified way, rather than continuing a process that was meant to destroy families and treat men like "animals in a kraal."
Workers challenge hostel closure in Industrial Court

Renee Grawitzky

MORE than 400 workers yesterday challenged Scaw Metals' decision to close its Germiston hostel following the acceleration of violence in recent weeks.

The workers have refused to move out of the hostel and yesterday applied for an industrial court interdict.

The Industrial Court will give its judgment today.

Workers applied for the interdict on the basis that it was inhumane to force residents to leave the hostel immediately.

They also claimed the move to close the hostel constituted an unfair labour practice because the removal of the hostel accommodation would constitute a unilateral change in conditions of employment, as workers regard hostel accommodation as a condition of employment.

Scaw Metals intends applying for an eviction order today.

During the past six months the company had said continued violence at the hostel would result in its closure.

In addition, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) had requested the hostel be closed because of the high level of violence and the number of deaths at the hostel.

Numsa general secretary Enoch Godongwana said the majority of residents had found accommodation in the surrounding townships.

The company had granted workers R1 600 to assist them in finding alternative accommodation.

Godongwana said the primary objective of the closure was to reduce the level of violence and thereafter debate could begin on the broader question of housing and other options available for the future.
Hostel residents' arms pact

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Sebelele hostel leaders have volunteered to be disarmed by a proposed hostel committee which will safeguard peace in the complex, the scene of endemic violence since 1992.

King Pharekile Holomisa of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) made the announcement to about 6,000 hostel dwellers yesterday.

"These weapons were bought for protection before last year's elections. Now that they have served their purpose they should be returned," he said.

He said hostel leaders had also resolved to call for the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the violence. To be led by a judge and two assessors from Contralesa's ranks.
Suspend ‘hit squad leader’, police demand with sit-in

By WALLY MBHELE

VAAL Triangle police this week held a dramatic sit-in in the offices of their District Commissioner demanding that Evaton Branch Commander warrant officer Piet Choew be suspended because they allege he is the leader of a “hit squad” which has murdered several people, including policemen.

Two Evaton police station officers, accompanied by three officials of the Police Prisons and Civil Rights Union began a sit-in at General Len van Tonder’s offices in Vereeniging on Friday.

Two of the five policemen who staged the sit-in made sworn statements to the Witwatersrand Police Reporting Officer, Advocate Jan Munnik last year, but no action was taken.

Yesterday Munnik confirmed he took statements from the policemen City Press spoke to.

He said the Transvaal Attorney General, Jan D’Olivera, had decided to investigate.

Police spokesman Colonel Piet van Deventer yesterday said the policemen who staged the sit-in left after a compromise was reached that investigations would be launched to look into their claims.

Choew is also accused of dismissing two female colleagues last week after they refused to make “false” statements against one of their colleagues who knows about the commander’s alleged shady past.

Choew is accused by colleagues of personally instigating and engineering Third Force violence against Vaal residents.

Some of the allegations made against Choew – who was allegedly a commander of police hit squad known as “Codesa” – include:

- The kidnapping and cold blooded shooting of three Sebokeng youths on the night of June 17, 1992 – the night of the Boipatong massacre – after allegedly witnessing a hit squad petrol bomb attack on a house.
- Complicity in the disappearance of a woman who witnessed the assassination of a policeman suspected of leaking hit-squad information.
- She was allegedly handed to Choew and a Sergeant Van Gryn to give a statement. She was never seen again.

Leading attacks against other members of the police services and systematically harassing and intimidating cops who gave information to the Witwatersrand Police Reporting Officer, Advocate Jan Munnik.

City Press was told that to date close to 10 Popcra members have been forced to leave Evaton police station because of victimisation.

One policeman who participated in the sit-in is one of a group of black policemen who had made sworn affidavits to Munnik, implicating Choew as the man behind Third Force violence in the Vaal townships.

Since then, this police officer alleges, he and his colleagues have been targets of systematic harassment.

He claimed they had notified Munnik and the regional commissioner about the growing tension within the ranks of the Evaton police station, but nothing tangible had been done.

[Turn to page 4]
Katorus families are moving back

BY BONGIWE MLANGENI
HOUSING REPORTER

Today will be a day to remember for Peter Mashau and his family when they receive the keys to the house they evacuated after violence tore Katlehong apart two years ago, and left thousands of residents homeless.

Katorus Special Presidential Project manager Thamba Mahuleke will officially hand back the keys to the Mashau family of Mjoli section - the first family to move back to a revamped house in the neighbourhood.

Unlike the days of terror which Mashau so desperately wished to forget, the family hopes to live a quiet and peaceful life from now on.

About 10 other families will join Mashau. His house is the first of about 1,500 which are in the process of being repaired in the Katorus area.

Mahuleke said prevailing stability in the area had prompted homeowners to move back to their homes. “The area is now safer than before and has been quiet for some time now,” he said.

The project has been progressing successfully in Katlehong and more than 100 houses are in the process of being repaired. The houses have been repaired in blocks so that several families can take occupation simultaneously. “This was done to bring a sense of security to the neighbourhood,” said Mahuleke.

He said satellite police stations had been introduced in the area to conduct regular police patrols.
Troops invade hostel

By Joshua Raboroko

Security forces moved into Sebokeng Hostel in the Vaal Triangle yesterday after four people were killed and 40 wounded during clashes between groups of Xhosan and Sotho at the weekend.

Twice yesterday police arrived further bloodshed by separating the armed groups when they challenged each other to an open battle outside the hostel in the morning and afternoon.

Police spokesman Colonel Thwala said yesterday that police were summoned to the scene after faction fighting erupted at the hostel. Five people were wounded but he could not confirm the number of deaths.

It is understood the fight broke out on Friday night after members of one of the groups violated a peace accord signed after consultations with tribal chiefs and other representatives during protracted meetings in Sebokeng last month.

At least 15 people have been killed at the hostel in clashes in the past few months.

The groups fought with an assortment of weapons, including AK-47 rifles, pangas and spears during this weekend's clashes. The situation was tense at the hostel last night.

Representatives of the two groups claimed that police patrols were inadequate. They demanded that the army should assist police.

A group of armed Sebokeng Hostel dwellers yesterday prepared themselves for an attack after violent clashes which claimed the lives of at least four people and injured 40 others at the weekend.

PIC: VUSI ZWANE

The names of the dead have not been released because their next of kin have not been informed, according to a hospital spokesman. She said yesterday that they treated about 10 people at the weekend. Most of the wounded were treated and allowed to go back home.

Some of the injured are: Mr. Jack Hlatshwayo, Mr. Elias Lepele, Mr. Andiso Nkakane, Mr. Madibengwana Sehlabisa, Mr. Molefane Chiplane and Mr. Paul Lepele. They were shot and hacked with dangerous weapons.

However, Sebokeng watched as three more people - two men and a woman - were brought by police to the hospital yesterday.

Speaking from his bed at Sebokeng Hospital yesterday, Lepele told Sowetan that he was shot four times in the chest and leg with an AK-47 rifle when he returned from work on Saturday. He did not know the cause of the attack.

Jahaba, who was wounded in the right buttock and hand, said police arrived late after he was shot. He said security was inadequate at the hostel.

A Xhosa hostel representative, Mr. Nelson Mkholutione, said they were infuriated by the Sotho when one of their members was shot. They retaliated and that sparked off the fighting. A Sotho hostel representative, Mr. Modestus Nhlabiza, said they were forced to fight back after an attack on Saturday.
of the Transnet board to reconsider.

SAA CE Mike Myburgh, who announced new appointments and a new management structure on Friday, now stands accused of not having followed procedures laid down by SAA’s Turn Strategy Council, which monitors appointments, promotions and affirmative action. Furthermore, the Sunday Independent reported that an unidentified SAA executive threatened to charge the corporation with unfair labour practice, should Sidego’s appointment be confirmed, “for having appointed a person into a position that has not been advertised.” The manager, who refused to be named, also charged: “Some employees who are interested in the job have not been given the opportunity to apply for the post.”

Sipho Shabalala, head of Sigcau’s office, is also reported to have said that there had been opposition to the appointment “because procedures were not followed.”

But on March 12 and 17 the position of senior general manager was advertised in the Sunday Times and FM by headhunters Alas Personnel. The successful candidate, at a R350 000 (negotiable) package, was to have succeeded Myburgh’s assistant, Tienie Willems. This appointment, it is accepted, would have paved the way for Sidego eventually to succeed Myburgh.

Alas Personnel received more than 100 applications for the job and presented a shortlist of 30 to SAA.

Alas Personnel MD Sybil de Lange and assistant Eduard Strydom soon afterwards travelled to Denmark to interview Sidego. Strydom, a political science graduate, was specifically taken along because of the political sensitivity of the appointment.

Sidego was one of eight candidates who eventually underwent management skill tests and faced a selection panel. The panel comprised Transnet CE Anton Moolman, Myburgh, Transnet human resources manager Willie Coetzee, Transnet senior manager Sej Motau and two foreign experts — Nawai Taneja, an aviation academic from Ohio, US, and Dick Nyaga, a Kenyan member of Iata.

Although the names of the other seven candidates are kept secret, the FM has learnt that SAA executive manager Martin Sesebo, who had been with SAA for about three years, had also been shortlisted. It appears that although other black SAA employees have been upset by Sidego’s appointment, it was mainly Sesebo who complained about it.

Myburgh says he is confident that the selection procedure was transparent and objective. “As far as Sidego is concerned, I have gone out of my way to determine whether his political orientation would not be on a collision course with that of the new government. Instead, I found him to be sympathetic towards them. At this stage he still represents the new government as an envoy.”

“I do not ask to which political party a candidate belongs. Their political affiliations are no concern of mine.”

Myburgh would, however, not confirm that he had discussed the matter with Sidego on Friday.

Neither would he comment on Sesebo’s unhappiness over Sidego’s appointment. Sesebo attended a meeting on Tuesday and at the time of going to press was not available for comment.

Speaking from Denmark, Sidego said he believed the matter can be resolved with dignity. “The whole saga is sad comment on the political tolerance that we as the rainbow people should be displaying.”

It is expected that Sigcau will instruct the subcommittee to report to her as soon as possible.

MUNICIPAL STRIKES

Pushing their luck

Strikes in the public sector this year were widely predicted. The only surprise is that they have come so late. Nurses, ignoring their unions, recently struck two months after their wage rise (5%) was settled via the Public Sector Bargaining Council.

Now it’s the turn of municipal workers, though in this case the union — the SA Municipal Workers’ Union (Samwu) — is firmly in the driving seat.

The strike is part of a national campaign to improve both minimum wages and pay above the minimum, says Samwu general secretary Roger Ronnie.

On the fifth day of the technically illegal strike, 40 000 of Samwu’s 110 000 members had joined the action affecting local authorities in Northern Province, North-West, Mpumalanga and Gauteng.

Workers under the Greater Johannesburg Transfunctional Municipality joined the strike in sympathy this week. According to Ronnie, 10 000 Johannesburg municipal workers did not report for duty on Tuesday. This is despite the fact that Greater Johannesburg settled its wage talks back in July, based on a R1 500 a month minimum. Municipal services, such as garbage collection, electricity and sewage maintenance, are likely to be hit as a result. On Tuesday, garbage bins and litter were gratuitously strewn across the streets in downtown Johannesburg.

In Natal, settlement was reached two weeks ago in talks with the provincial division of the municipal industrial council. Wages, of course, vary between the different transitional local councils. However, the average minimum wage in Natal will now be R1 200 a month, up from between R600 and R800, according to Ronnie, who says increases varied between 40% and 70% “but off a very low base.”

Free State has an interim agreement in place while talks continue on further adjustments to the minimum wage there. Negotiations in Western Cape are in progress, and Ronnie is hopeful of an amicable settlement based on substantial progress achieved in the Eastern Cape after pressure on the authorities.

Ronnie says a basis for a settlement on minimum pay has been reached. In smaller local authorities (those graded 1 to 4 in a league table, with a top level of 15) the minimum has been raised from R520 a month to R837, backdated to July. A worker who was earning R869 will now get R1 204.

On wages above the minimum, the union is pressing for a R280 a month cash increase or 7,8% — whichever is greater. Employers have offered percentage increases ranging from 7,8% to 14%.

But, says the Samwu, these amount to cash increases of between R86 and R130. So its focus is on “semiskilled” and “skilled” worker increases.

Interestingly, while municipal workers in Alberton last week reached agreement with the local council, Samwu will not recognise it until the national body is satisfied.

The grading of municipalities, which affects their ability to pay, does not have much meaning, since town councils and municipalities have been amalgamated ahead of national council elections in November, says Ronnie.

The union is therefore pushing to have the council grading system radically revised in order to determine the economic status of each, which in turn affects the level of funding they get from central government.

“Our demand is essentially aimed at ensuring similar wage rates in all local authorities,” says Ronnie, adding that the public service in general has a common wage grade rate (with allowances for the bigger cities). The problem, as the nurses were told, is that the national government does not have the cash to award bigger increases.

And with millions unemployed, Samwu is pushing its luck. Government needs to spell this out to them unequivocally.
SHELL HOUSE MASSACRE

‘No reason’ for ANC guards to fire

Nelson Mandela is unequivocal: “For reconciliation to have real meaning, the truth must be brought to light.” It is doubtful, however, whether SA will ever know the truth about the Shell House massacre, in which eight Zulu marchers were gunned down outside the ANC's national headquarters on March 28 last year.

A police docket on the shootings has been handed to Witwatersrand AG Kevin Atwell. Theoretically that means that individuals will be charged if there is supporting evidence or that a general inquest will be held if individual suspects are not identified in the evidence.

But Atwell is on record as saying that SA may never establish what happened because the police investigation had encountered “too many problems.” The ANC has to accept a large share of responsibility for those problems.

It was Mandela himself who prevented the police from searching Shell House for weapons immediately after the shooting, promising instead that they would be handed over by the ANC.

Months passed before weapons were given to the police. By the time the first weapons were surrendered for investigation it was difficult to establish whether they were in Shell House at the time of the massacre and all but impossible to link them specifically to any of the security guards in the building.

Since then Mandela has admitted that he gave ANC security guards at Shell House an order to protect the ANC headquarters if it was attacked by the Zulu marchers on March 28 “even if they had to kill people.”

He has not explained why he waited over a year before admitting that he had given orders to the guards to shoot to kill if necessary, preferring instead to justify his order as “noting more or less than a statement of the common law right to self defence.”

Mandela has spoken about the events preceding the gunning down of the Zulu marchers: the “surging columns” of marchers converging on Shell House “away from the routes to their destination,” the firing of shots (by marchers or from their midst), the flight of the “few policemen” who had been deployed outside the ANC headquarters, and the failure of police to fulfill promises to erect roadblocks and disarm the marchers.

His account — which has been repeated by his lieutenants — is linked to allegations of a conspiracy to attack Shell House on March 28: the marchers were exonerated and the alleged attack blamed on collusion between “elements in the previous government” and unidentified IFP leaders.

Despite these serious allegations, the ANC, from Mandela downwards, has persistently resisted pressure from FW de Klerk’s National Party and Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s IFP for a judicial commission of inquiry into killings which made March 28, 1994, a bloody day in SA history. If the official police investigation has too many holes to lead to charges against specific individuals, the truth behind the events of that day is unlikely to emerge.

The ANC is a prospective loser, politically and morally. As Paul Pereira of the Institute of Race Relations notes in an article in Fast Facts: “The ANC may come to experience the Shell House incident as a Chappaquiddick-like incident that will further politically for years to come.”

The police, meanwhile, have strongly contested the ANC version of events in a detailed — but little publicised — report submitted to the Goldstone Commission.

The report lists the forces deployed in the Johannesburg CBD, where the killings and the shootings at Library Gardens took place: 78 riot policemen, 288 ordinary policemen, 72 members of the mobile unit, six CID members, a helicopter-borne video unit, 60 traffic officers and 63 soldiers.

The report states that ANC security guards, wearing bulletproof vests and armed with pistols and shotguns, either stood near to the entrance of Shell House or were positioned on the balcony which surrounds the shopping complex at the base of the building. The attitude of the ANC guards is described as “ill-disposed and unco-operative” and resentful of the police presence, even though the ANC’s chief of security Leonard Radu, had earlier phoned to request police protection and to warn that the ANC would “take the law into our own hands” if the police did not do so.

“ANC guards opened fire” on the marchers with handguns, shotguns and an AK-47 rifle. The report then quotes unidentified policemen and soldiers on the scene as saying that there was “no reason whatsoever for the ANC guards to discharge shots at the group passing by.”

Entrances to Shell House were secure: there are steel roll-down doors at the back entrance, while the front entrance, apart from being patrolled by security guards, is protected by armoured-plated doors.

The report, dated April 18, 1994, states: “It is essential that the weapons used by the ANC be surrendered as a matter of urgency.” Weeks, however, were to pass before the first weapons were surrendered and then only after Democratic Party leader Tony Leon had raised the matter in parliament.

Since then, however, ANC security guard leaders have joined the SA Police Service. One of them is Radu, now a police Major General. He must have had an inside view of what happened on March 28. He is known to have been approached for a statement since joining the SAPS, but the FM has not been able to establish whether he agreed to give one.

SAA FM 29/1995

Sins of the past

Conrad Sidigo is a coloured man with a black complexion, but apparently the wrong hue — at least according to some of the former political activists who are now senior employees at SA Airways. Sidigo had been earmarked for a senior appointment.

Among Sidigo’s sins in their eyes is that he was not part of the “struggle.” He was editor of Rapport Ekstra, the special Sunday edition for coloureds, before joining Anglo American’s public affairs department — probably another sin. Added to that, Sidigo received the symbolic kiss of death from FW de Klerk when the former president appointed him as SA’s ambassador to Denmark, a position he still holds.

Now a storm has broken out over Sidigo’s appointment at SAA, as a result of which Private Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau has put a hold on the appointment and referred the matter to a subcommittee.
JOHANNESBURG. — The Witwatersrand attorney-general's office received a police docket on killings in March last year outside Shell House here, almost 18 months after the event, according to documents from the office.

The documents, received in September this year, said the office had decided dockets on killings that had occurred on the same day at the Library Gardens should be obtained and considered in conjunction with the Shell House docket, since the events were apparently closely linked.

"Soon after this, a further decision was taken to incorporate other-related matters of the day, and this has since been expanded to all matters that may be connected with events of that day," according to the documents.

Police at the time said at least 31 people died when an Inkatha Freedom Party march, to highlight support for a Zulu kingdom, ended in street battles. African National Congress security guards, allegedly fearing their Shell House headquarters were under attack, shot dead at least eight people.

Giving background on the length of time it had taken for the attorney-general's office to prosecute anyone for the killings, it was claimed in the documents that standard procedure had been followed.

"This, in simple terms, means that the police, once they are satisfied with the extent of their investigations, present this office with a docket," the documents said.

The attorney-general's office studied the docket and, if nothing further was required, made a decision whether to prosecute someone with an offence, prosecute a group of people, or order an inquest.

"In taking such a decision, the contents of the docket are considered. No evidence is led, but it can happen that consultations take place with witnesses whose statements are in the dockets."

After receipt of the Shell House docket, the attorney-general's office appointed a legal team consisting of advocates Brian Sheer and Karin Vorster.
ANC quizzed on massacre

CAS St LEGER

INVESTIGATORS from the Witwatersrand attorney general’s office this week asked 250 ANC members to submit sworn statements relating to the Shell House massacre 18 months ago.

Seven Gauteng hospitals and two mortuaries have been asked to hand over records of at least 400 people who may have been injured or died as a result of the shootings on March 23, 1994.

The attorney general’s office will request sworn statements from the IFP this week.

The IFP and the ANC have pledged full co-operation with the investigations into the shootings, which took place less than a month before South Africa’s first democratic elections.

Downtown Johannesburg became a war zone when thousands of Zulus converged on the city centre in support of sovereignty in KwaZulu-Natal.

Rooftop snipers shot at crowds in the Library Gardens. A breakaway group marched on the ANC’s Shell House headquarters where they were allegedly fired on by ANC security guards.

The police docket on the shootings was handed to Attorney General Kevin Attwell in September.

One of the advocates heading the investigation, Brian Sheer, said it had been decided to consider the Library Gardens docket in conjunction with the Shell House docket. The investigation had since been expanded to all matters that might be connected with events that day.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa was uncritical of the length of time the investigation had taken to reach this stage.

Mr Mamoepa said the ANC would give every encouragement to the independent investigating team to “dig deeper and get to the real motive for the events of that day. The IFP said at that stage elections were not going to go ahead.”

The IFP’s Ed Tillet said the investigation was encouraging although damage had already been done in terms of reconciliation and the public’s faith in the judicial system.

“But the IFP will be most satisfied when the police investigation reaches a conclusion. In particular, the prosecution of the rooftop snipers.”
FORMER members of Phola Park's self-defence units not selected as South African Police Service reservists appear to be behind this week's spate of killings in the East Rand shack settlement.

Seven people have died and 10, including a two-year-old child, injured since Sunday night, when gunmen wielding AK47s and Samm pistols opened fire on a family in their shack. Although community leaders and the police have downplayed reports of SPU involvement, some residents maintain that former members of the SDUs were involved in the killings.

A former policeman who lives in Phola Park said he saw a group of men running to a white Ford immediately after the shooting. He said he recognised them as members of the SDUs who had been left out of the SAPS.

But Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security Jessie Duarte said the violence had been the work of criminals calling themselves SDUs and that since the disbanding of SDUs last year, there had been various incidents of individuals committing crimes while purporting to be SDU members.

A Gauteng provincial government spokesperson said about 900 people were chosen by the Command Structures of the SPU for inclusion into police reservist forces.

Nthato Mboho, father of the children who were wounded in Sunday night's attack and who was wounded himself, agreed SDU members had been responsible for the attack. Speaking from his hospital bed he said unless members were disarmed, violence in the camp would continue. He attributed the violence to a feud between people from Ncobo in the former Transkler and SDUs — although residents say some of the attackers themselves are from that part of the Transkler.

Although many weapons were handed in during the amnesty period last year, it has been difficult to determine the overall success, given that SDU members were responsible themselves for handing over the weapons.
'Rogue SDU is clinging to its cloak of darkness'

By WALLY MBHELE

A CALL for the disbandment of the heavily armed and ill-disciplined Phola Park Self Defence Unit (SDU) appears to have sparked the heavy fighting which left seven people dead in the East Rand settlement this week.

City Press has learned that the continued existence of this rogue SDU has also made it difficult to implement the Presidential Lead Project – aimed at restoring the social fabric in previously violence-stricken areas – in Phola Park.

The project, now under the direct control of the Greater Alberton council, has already erected roads and sites in Phola Park. But the SDU is opposed to people moving to new sites, says local ANC and civic leaders.

"The SDU wants people to remain in these cramped shacks – because they fear paying rent if we move to a decent place. They tell us they fought for this place and there's no way they are going to pay rent," said a resident.

As people are allocated sites in a new area called Phola Park Extension, the SDU is allegedly encouraging and helping others to build more shacks on the sites they leave behind.

One leader told City Press the SDU was opposed to a settlement with roads and street lights.

"They want to continue their reign of terror in darkness. At present there are no roads here – only dark alley ways where proper policing is difficult to maintain," a member of the community policing forum said.

"SDU members feel their supremacy has been undermined by the recent elections of local councillors," said an ANC leader.

"Bringing a normal life to this place seems to be a serious threat to their self-imposed powers." On Friday, the police and the national defence force launched a massive search in Phola Park – in which one AK-47 rifle, one R5 rifle, a "zipgun" and an Olympic 6 revolver were confiscanted.

Two kilograms of dagga and dagga plants were also seized. One man was arrested.

Police spokesman Captain Deon Peens said: "The purpose of the police action was to restore public order and secure the safety of the public in the area."

He said the action had been supported by the Gauteng premier, the MEC for safety and security and various community leaders.

The latest Phola Park clash began after SDU members had allegedly disarmed a man of his licensed pistol, demanding that he pay R300 to recover it.

City Press was told the man originally came from Engcobo in Transkei and was a member of a local burial society consisting largely of people from Engcobo.

It is understood that after the SDU had refused to return his firearm, the matter was discussed at a burial society meeting three weeks ago.

The society referred the matter to the local civic association and the ANC. The ANC and the civic convened a mass community meeting where the SDU's misbehaviour was discussed.

It was at that meeting that it was decided the SDU should disband and give way to official policing, as there is a satellite police station in Phola Park. It was also decided they should hand over their arms to the police.

But the SDU members felt their authority was being undermined and blamed the Engcobo burial society for influencing the community.

At a subsequent meeting SDU members are said to have felt that a man who had acted as a spokesman of the Engcobo burial society and who had been outspoken at the mass meeting should be assassinated.

But one SDU member, who was also from Engcobo, disagreed – and rushed to warn the burial society.

Before the SDU plan could be thwarted, City Press was told the SDU launched an attack – killing its target.

That enraged the Engcobo group. In the ensuing counter-violence, three SDU members were killed – one by the police.

And on Sunday night the SDU attacked a shebeen – killing three more people.
RIOTS - GAUTENG

1996 - 1997
Police had prior warning of trouble before Alrode factory

Kevin O’Grady and Nomavenda Mathiane

POLICE were forewarned about potential problems at NF Die Casting in Alrode on the East Rand and were patrolling near the factory yesterday morning when eight job seekers were shot dead and 23 injured. However, they were unable to prevent the killings or arrest the culprits.

— By late yesterday police could still not offer a motive for the attack, in which some victims were shot in the back. Victims and trade unions blamed it variously on political or union rivalry and factory worker dissatisfaction.

Police spokesman Wikus Weber said a R250,000 reward would be paid for information leading to the arrest and conviction of between seven and 10 gunmen who carried out the attack.

The shootouts took place after about 2,000 people converged on the Anglo-American-owned factory to apply for 200 jobs. Management and the unions had agreed earlier that a ballot system — in which applicants entered numbered tickets into a draw — would be used. Company spokesman Lauren Wilson said the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) and the IFP-aligned United Workers’ Union of SA had helped spread the word about recruitments. She said an initial recruitment drive had been postponed from last Monday because of security problems and police had been informed it would go ahead yesterday.

Weber confirmed this. He said two police vehicles had been patrolling the area from 4am — about two hours before the attack — and had “tried to apprehend the suspects directly afterwards but, in the turmoil, they got away”. There had been conflicting reports from witnesses and police were looking for an old green Valiant and a white Toyota Corolla from which witnesses had seen the gunman alight.

Numsa general secretary Enoch Godongwana said he did not believe the attack was politically motivated or a result of union rivalry.

He said there was speculation among shop stewards that it might have been because of a three-shift system the factory was introducing that was opposed by some employees as it would mean less overtime for workers.

National police commissioner George Fivaz, provincial commissioner Sharna Maharaj, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and provincial safety and security MEC Jessie Duarte visited the scene yesterday. Mufamadi announced the formation of a team to investigate the massacre.

Killings

Continued from Page 1

sacre and said a witness protection scheme could be established with the justice department to protect people who gave information to police.

Fivaz said: “We are not too concerned about the motive. This is senseless murder. It is criminal, these are unacceptable deeds.”

Speaking from their Natalapart Hospital beds, several witnesses said men, dressed in jerseys and khaki pants, alighted from two vehicles and forced their way into a queue that had gathered since the previous evening.

Jerry Ramelo of Thokozan said several people became angry and told the men “not to jump the queue. A man standing next to me, known as Shenge, confronted them and they pulled out their rifles. “All I remember was gunshots. I saw Shenge drop to the ground and I had a piece of pain in my legs. I knew I had been shot,” he said.

Another victim said: “After shooting at us, they simply walked back to their cars and drove off.”

Thokozan resident Priscilla Moletsane saw the cars. “It was not long after the cars stopped that there was shooting. They shot me as I was running away and I fell,” she said.

Continued on Page 2
Mass security plan to handle Zulu march

Kevin O'Grady

Central Johannesburg is expected to come to a standstill today as a massive security operation is launched amid fears that violence could erupt when about 10 000 armed Zulus march to commemorate the 1994 Shell House shootings.

Most of the CBD will be cordoned off to traffic as soldiers and policemen — including hundreds from neighbouring provinces — secure the route to be followed by the marchers from George. News of the march forced the city to Library Gardens in the city centre.

Fears of clashes were heightened yesterday when IFP MP Thembekile Khoza alleged there was a high-level ANC plot — involving the SAPS, SANDF, and former Umkhonto we Sizwe. — to ambush marchers and "repeat the horror" which occurred two years ago.

More than 50 people were killed eight of them near the ANC's Shell House headquarters — when Zulu looters marched to Library Gardens. Khoza said his sources informed him of an "all-out plan" to disrupt the march held last year to commemorate the 1994 shootings and to 

Khoza said the IFP had information from "reliable sources" — including two senior ANC members present at the "plotting meeting" — that "forces of terror" had been assigned to provoke the marching Zulus and that snipers would gun marchers down from nearby buildings when they reacted. He did not say which ANC members were allegedly involved in the plot and suggested journalists "ask (Safety and Security Minister Sydney) Mufamadi". He also asked if President Nelson Mandela had "repeated his shoot to kill order this year". Although ANC deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus called Khoza's allegations "preposterous", Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale said government had "received information that the march could be disrupted ... as to its legitimacy, that it is something else all together". The information was, however, being taken very seriously and security forces would do their utmost to protect all parties.

National police commissioner George Fivaz said senior SAPS officers would question Khoza on his allegations and "appropriate action" would be taken if necessary.

Carolus challenged Khoza to name his sources, and the ANC would brief Mandela and consult its lawyers "about what it saw as defamation".

There are also fears of confrontation at today's march because of a ban on the carrying of "traditional" weapons in public and the SAPS's status.

Continued on Page 2

March

Continued from Page 1

ed intention to disarm marchers who ignore the prohibition. Sexwale and provincial police commissioner Shara- ma Maharaj said march organisers had assured them that only shields and blunt sticks — not covered by the ban — would be carried. However, Mah- raaj said a large part of the security operation would involve intercepting and disarming people who disobeysed the ban before they started marching.

Mounted police would be set up on roads leading to the city centre and searches would be conducted at railway stations and taxi ranks to make sure no weapons are brought into the city.

Despite assurances by Khoza that information on the planned attack on

The Johannesburg council's southern metropolitan substructure's CEO, Chris Ngobu, said march organisers had been required to pay a R5 500 deposit against damages and provide proof of payment of R10m public liability insurance before permission was granted for the march.

Farook Chothia reports IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the ANC, helped by media 'sycophants', had created a climate of "hysteria, panic and paranoia" around the march. It was no different from events to mark the March 21 Sharpeville massacre and the June 16 Soweto uprising. If police were overzealous, there could be a tragedy of 'destruction proportions'.

Patrick Wadula and Lukanyo Mnyanda report that businesses in downtowm Johannesburg said they were confident police could handle any trouble. Banks said they would operate...
Zulu march organisers must take out R10m liability cover

JOHANNESBURG: Organisers of today's Zulu march here will have to pay for R10 million in public liability insurance, the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council said yesterday.

"The council gave permission for today's march on condition the marchers abide by traffic by-laws, pay for the public liability insurance cover and put down a R5 500 damage deposit.

The march is to commemorate the eight people shot dead outside the ANC's Shell House headquarters during a Zulu march on March 28, 1994.

"We trust the march will be peaceful and that organisers are able to ensure that there will be as little disruption as possible," said council chief executive officer Mr Chris Ngqobozile.

The march will begin at George Goch stadium and proceed down Commissioner Street to the Library Gardens for a commemoration service.

Meanwhile, the IPP said yesterday the government would be well advised not to try to enforce the ban on carrying cultural weapons in public during today's march.

Earlier yesterday, Gauteng police Commissioner Sharna Mahara announced that the proclamation would be strictly enforced.

IPP spokesman Mr Ed Tillotson said the ban was "unenforceable".

He said the "overzealous application of the new ruling could well lead to tragedy of devastating proportions and precipitate a domestic crisis in this country".

The IPP's fears were based on genuine concerns and were not an attempt to blackmail the government, he said.

Police Commissioner George Piva said yesterday police would take a statement from Inkatha Freedom Party MP Mr Thembekazi Khosa about his claim that the march would be sabotaged.

"Such allegations must be viewed in a very serious light," he said in a statement.

"I have therefore directed that a statement be obtained from Khosa as quickly as possible to determine the veracity of these ... allegations and, if necessary, to take appropriate action."

Khosa said he had been informed by four high-ranking ANC members that the ANC and the government, including members of the police and the South African National Defence Force, were conspiring to repeat the horror of the 1994 Shell House massacre.

Piva said on Khosa to fully co-operate with the police "in getting to the bottom of this matter".

The ANC said yesterday that today was a normal working day and people working in the Johannesburg city centre should go to work as usual.

"It is against the law for any party supporter to intimidate and coerce people into staying away from work or joining marches," the ANC said in a statement.

"The IPP has a responsibility to ensure that its members and supporters do not engage in any unlawful activity during the planned march," the ANC said.

Numerous business people, hawkers and others had phoned, the ANC expressing fears that the marchers might endanger their lives and property by going into the city centre today.

"The police and security forces will be at hand to ensure the safety of everybody," the ANC said.

It called on all to obey the security forces and police. — Sapa.
End of a day... as the sun sets, an SANDF vehicle patrols a KZN township street near the KwaXimbi hostels after yesterday's march through Johannesburg to mark the 1994 Soweto massacre...
City breathes again at end of huge march

BY Anso Thom

The peaceful and largely incident-free march by at least 10,000 people through the Johannesburg city centre yesterday has been praised by the police and Gauteng safety and security MEC Jesse Duarte.

By 5pm yesterday, everything had returned to normal after marchers converged on the Library Gardens to mark the second anniversary of the Shell House massacre. Duarte praised the majority of marchers for complying with the proclamation banning dangerous weapons.

It was impossible to disarm people at the back of the march, but most marchers carried only shields and blunt sticks.

She said several dangerous weapons had been confiscated. Provincial Police Commissioner Themba Makwana also commended the marchers for staging a peaceful event.

Several incidents were reported to police. Duarte said police would investigate whether they were related to the march.

In Soweto, Soweto commuter Zanele Msku was killed when Diepkloof hostel residents allegedly fired shots at a taxi.

Two vehicles were stoned by Diepkloof hostel residents, and police confiscated two unlicensed firearms. One man was arrested.

In Tembisa on the East Rand, one person was arrested for possession of an unlicensed firearm.

Four people were injured in an attack on a taxi in Waterville, Benoni.

One vehicle was hijacked by marchers on the West Rand and a taxi was stoned. Johannesburg police confiscated two unlicensed firearms and 32 more from the marchers.

Three people were wounded while marching in Alexandra.

No incidents were reported in the Vaal Triangle or Pretoria.

Burning tyres were removed from streets in front of hostels in Soweto, Tembisa and Roodepoort, as well as outside the Wolhuter and Jeppe hostels.

Duarte said that everything was quiet after the march, although there had been reports of shots fired into the air at several hostels.

The Star's Durban correspondent reports that the situation was tense but calm in Umzimbi near Durban last night after gunmen went on the rampage earlier in the day, killing three men and injuring four others in attacks on commuter trains.

Unlike 1994 march.

Tangerine

(Standar}

Close up
Police pay price for peaceful march

ROBERT BLOCK
The Independent

JOHANNESBURG. — The first group of 10,000 Zulus to hit the streets of Johannesburg in a controversial demonstration seemed to materialise out of thin air.

The Jeppe town district was deserted most of the morning, but for a few dozen soldiers and police

men cradling shotguns against their flak jackets at some roadblocks.

Suddenly 400 Zulu warriors waving knobkerries, metal pipes, sticks and spears turned a corner as one man. Where there was silence only a moment before, an entire neighbourhood was abruptly heaving with rhythmic chanting and the clacking of truncheons against cattle hide shields.

The police found themselves staring into a wall of wide-eyed Zulu demonstrators in a variety of costumes, ranging from leopard-skin loincloths to pink dresses.

The Zulu impl, or regiment, waved its traditional weapons, or "cultural accoutrements" as the Inkatha Freedom Party prefers to call them, in a taunting manner at the police and in clear defiance of the law.

The police had vowed only hours before to uphold the week-old Dangerous Weapons Act, but in such circumstances, even with their shotguns, any attempt at disarming the crowd would have been foolhardy at best, more than likely suicidal.

"This must be what the British soldiers felt like at Isandlwana," one photographer muttered under his breath. Instead of making a stand, the police talked into their two-way radios and gave way before the prancing warriors and ululating women.

It was one of the few tense moments in a day of protest which passed with little incident.

The demonstration was called to commemorate the so-called Shell House massacre, the shooting to death two years ago on March 28 of eight IFP supporters outside the headquarters of the African National Congress.

Tensions were high before the demonstration with both the ANC and Inkatha trading accusations of plots to provoke a similar incident.

With the police promising to disarm the crowd and Inkatha's vow never to give up its weapons, the stage was set for trouble.

But in the end, as it often is in South Africa these days, it was the law which had to yield. One police officer told me that "particularly dangerous weapons, such as spears and axes, had been confiscated, but in the next breath he admitted it had been done in very few cases and only when police were dealing with small, "manageable" groups.

The strong show of force by the police and the army which cordoned off vast parts of the city centre with concertina razor wire, and the police's pragmatic approach to enforcement of the law, were credited for allowing yesterday's demonstration to pass without trouble.

The police's failure to make good on its threat has left the government looking weak and reinforced the widespread idea that in South Africa people are free to flout laws if they object to them.

The Dangerous Weapons Act, passed last week at the urging of President Mandela and Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, was aimed at trying to reduce the political violence between the ANC and Inkatha in KwaZulu-Natal. The fear now, as yesterday apparently demonstrated, is that the new law is unenforceable.

A similar weapons ban was instituted by the last white government of P W de Klerk at the behest of the newly unbanned ANC. Then the police were also faced with huge rallies where it was physically impossible to disarm people without inviting mass slaughter.

The worry is now that, unless the government makes progress in the investigation into the Shell House massacre and reconsiders its new law, next year's demonstration may not be so passive.
Jo'burg experiences peaceful Zulu march

Kevin O'Grady, Farouk Chothia and Drew Forrest

A MASSIVE security force presence, coupled with a deal between authorities and march organisers, led to a largely incident-free march through central Johannesburg yesterday, by about 8,000 Zulus commemorating the 1994 Shell House shootings.

However, in Durban's Umbuzo township four people were shot dead and six wounded when IFP supporters attempted to enforce a stayaway to commemorate the incident. Three people were killed when gunmen fired at train commuters, and a fourth person had been killed in an IFP stronghold in the township, police said. A bus driver was also wounded. Police were shot at when they tried to remove a barricade, and an armoured vehicle was fired at.

There were six separate incidents of violence in the township and trains stopped running at one stage. The IFP denied ANC supporters' claims that IFP members were responsible.

In Johannesburg, more than 3,000 policemen and 400 soldiers were deployed hours before the march to prevent a repeat of the 1994 march when 50 people were killed.

Helicopters circled overhead while armed police escorted the marchers, some of whom carried knuckledusters and spears, in defiance of the recent government ban on the display of dangerous weapons at public gatherings. However, firearms and other lethal weapons were far less evident than at past IPF demonstrations. Police reportedly confiscated 10 assegais, but for the most part did not intervene.

The peaceful protest was a coup for the moderate faction led by IFP Gauteng legislature leader Musi Myeni.

Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwlela praised Myeni for his co-operation in

Continued on Page 2

March (29)

Continued from Page 1

ensuring a "largely incident-free" procession, but attacked IFP MP Thembekile Khoza, who claimed earlier "the ANC and its government" planned to ambush marchers and "repeat the horror" of the Shell House killings.

Sexwlela said Khoza should explain his "irresponsible and dangerous remarks" which were meant to make marchers come "prepared for a fight".

Khoza said an alleged ANC ambush had not happened because he brought it to the public's attention.

Myeni is known to be close to the IFP's moderate secretary-general, Zibba Jiyane. His influence in Gauteng hostels is said to have grown, and Khoza's waned, as a result of the latter's posting to Parliament.

Regional government sources said that at a meeting on Wednesday, Myeni had offered to do all he could to ensure the march was disciplined, and that lethal weapons would not be carried if the marchers' safety could be guaranteed. It was also agreed that indunas would take responsibility for marchers returning to their hostels after the procession ended.

However, the day began violently in Johannesburg's townships. Gauteng safety and security minister Jessie Duarte said the SANDF had cleared barricades outside hostels while one person, Zanile Mntu of Fimville, had been killed when Diepkloof hostel residents fired on a vehicle.

The event appeared to be under control in the city centre.

Wreaths were laid at Library Gardens for those who died two years ago, and speakers called for March 28 to be a public holiday.
Shell House march goes off peacefully

MTG 29/3-31/4/96 (278)

The Safety and Security Ministry's gamble in banning traditional weapons paid off this week when IFP marchers left their pangas and spears at home, writes Eddie Koch

A COMBINATION of firm policing and delicate negotiations with moderate groups in the Inkatha Freedom Party defied fire-and-brimstone predictions that the ban on traditional weapons would cause chaos at Thursday's march in Johannesburg.

By midday, some 10 000 Inkatha supporters converged on the Library Gardens to commemorate the killings at Shell House in 1994, without any serious incidents of violence. Almost all of them were armed with sticks and knobkerries — with few spears and pangas in evidence.

Some of those who carried sharpened steel rods had covered the tips with empty beer tins, signifying that the crowd had moved away from the broken model that characterised earlier Inkatha marches.

There is little doubt that both sides in this week's row over traditional weapons will claim victory. Inkatha demonstrated it can mobilise a massive show of disciplined strength in the hands of a new, more bellicose national leadership. Hitherto, they have been stymied by a combination of foreign and domestic pressure that has now been dispelled.

But Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi's firm stance on the carrying of dangerous weapons clearly also produced results.

The Mail & Guardian has established that officials in the office of Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale held extensive discussions with hostel indunas and Inkatha Freedom Party members loyal to a moderate faction of the Zulu nationalist movement in a bid to woo them away from the party's more bellicose national leadership in the run-up to Thursday's march.

"We held talks during the week with hostel leaders and an Inkatha group in the Transvaal loyal to Musa Myeni, and worked on an agreement that the marchers would carry only sticks and shields," said one of Sexwale's colleagues.

"We knew all along that the way in which the march was conducted and its outcome was going to depend on whether another faction headed by Themba Khoza [an IFP hardliner who may shortly be charged in connection with receiving arms from third force agents in the police] would be able to win more support in the hostels where Inkatha organises."

The IFP in Gauteng now has two rival factions after a bitter leadership clash between Myeni and Khoza and his allies erupted last year.

At provincial elections last year, Khoza lost his leadership of the party and was replaced at the time by a German-born businessman, Dietmar Lang. Neither Khoza nor fellow hardliner Humphrey Ndlovu were elected to the IFP Gauteng executive. This election saw Myeni lose the position he had re-emerged from obscurity shortly after violent conflict in the run-up to the election, re-erect in obscurity.

The softly-softly negotiation approach with Inkatha's rank-and-file and middle order leadership is clearly designed to support Mufamadi's hardline stance in his television debate with KwaZulu-Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose on Tuesday night — a position that was repeated by his provincial counterpart Jessie Duarte on Wednesday, when she said marchers who violated the ban would be arrested.

Duarte's staff have also been working hard to win the confidence of junior police officers in an effort to ensure that the police force becomes a willing instrument of government policy. This approach received encouraging signals during the run-up to the march, when two police unions issued statements saying they would enforce the ban.

The national and provincial police ministries also won an important skirmish in their war of words with Inkatha when Gauteng Police Commissioner Sharma Maharaj announced that a press conference that the ban would be enforced before and during the march.

Triumph of traditional dress: Thursday's IFP march in central Johannesburg was characterised by a carnival atmosphere, with none of the usual incidents of violence

PHOTOGRAPH: HEINRICH FRANKENFELD

The government's concerted effort to undermine an Inkatha lobby determined to whip up resistance and confrontation over the ban — an approach epitomised by IFP official Ed Tillet's fiery warnings about the consequences of enforcing it — derives from evidence that national legislation was deliberately changed by FW de Klerk's government so that IFP members could arm themselves with spears and pangas at the height of political violence in the country.

The carrying of dangerous weapons by Inkatha members, far from being a long-established tradition, was prohibited by law until De Klerk stepped in to effect changes to the Natal Code of Native Law was amended in 1990 — a time when intermittent strife was spiralling to levels higher than the country had ever experienced.

The National Party government's action was clearly taken in close consultation with Inkatha, as the KwaZulu homeland followed by amending its own statutes in line with De Klerk's amendments.

Evidence emerging from the Malan murder trial and the case against Vlakplas police commander Eugene de Kock indicate that the traditional weapons measures coincided with far more serious programmes to arm paramilitary commandos inside Inkatha.

Evidence collected by Zulu historians also shows that traditional leaders regularly enforced bans on the carrying of spears and other sharp weapons, especially at ceremonial and commemorative functions where women and children could get hurt by mishaps.

"Zulu men do have a tradition of carrying weapons but, when circumstances made it necessary in the pre-conquest, independent Zulu kingdom, Zulu tradition and culture demanded that weapons were not be carried for fear of accidents," says Jeff Gyu, an expert on Zulu history and author of the book The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom.

Guy believes the current effort to mobilise support around the cultural weapons issue — and to portray the new government's efforts to move back to a situation that already existed before 1990 — is part of a strategy to whip up "provocation in the name of tradition."

While attention was focused on the march in Johannesburg, it was in KwaZulu-Natal that the most serious violence erupted. Anne Eveleth reports that police there confirmed four people were killed and six injured in six violent incidents in Durban's Umzimi township on Thursday morning. Residents, who struggled to get out of the township for work in the morning, said an attempt was under way to enforce a stayaway.

Mufamadi's dilemma, PAGE 24
PHOTOGRAPHS taken during the Shell House shooting in March 1994 in which 53 people died had led to charges being brought against a policeman, SAPS national priority crimes unit head Brig Neville Thoms said yesterday.

Thoms would not say what charges were laid against the policeman, but said he would appear in court shortly. He will be the first person to appear in court in connection with the shooting.

"EFF" members "have claimed, police steered them towards the ANC headquarters, and lawyers acting on behalf of organisers of the march have filed a claim against the SAPS. The EFF has dropped all lawsuits filed against President Nelson Mandela and ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa."
Mufamadi jointly liable for damages, ANC claims

Stephané Botha

SAFETY and Security Minister Sidney Mufamadi is jointly liable for damages suffered by victims of the 1994 Shell House killings because of a conspiracy between former Vlakplaas policemen and IFP officials to attack the building, "ANC 'lawyers' have claimed.

Documents opposing a R9.8m claim against the ANC by 101 dependants of the Zulus killed during an Inkatha march through Johannesburg on March 28 1994 state that former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock and three former colleagues met top IFP officials to discuss a possible attack on the ANC headquarters to kill the organisation's senior leaders and prominent members.

This is the first time that so-called "third force" involvement in the massacre has been alleged. It is understood that a former policeman allegedly involved in planning the attack is supplying ANC legal teams with information to defend the civil claim.

The ANC claims that 10 days before the march, which left 54 people dead and scores injured, ex-Vlakplaas operative Brood van Heerden met senior IFP Gauteng members Humphrey and James Ndlovu, where it was decided that Shell House would be attacked during the march.

The decision was endorsed two days later at a meeting between IFP deputy Gauteng chairman Themba Khoza and Van Heerden, according to papers filed at the Transvaal Supreme Court in Pretoria by ANC counsel George Bizos.

Upon learning about a planned attack, ANC leader Nelson Mandela had approached senior police officers and then president FW de Klerk to deploy adequate police personnel in the vicinity of Shell House, but this was not done, Bizos said.

"Members of the SAP, including security staff at marchers to stop their attack and to defend themselves and Shell House was reasonable action."

Lawyers representing the IFP families also hold Mufamadi responsible for damages, claiming that police had failed to protect marchers, to prevent ANC members from shooting or to arrest ANC security personnel who allegedly committed the crimes.

Meanwhile, in a separate civil suit in the Rand Supreme Court, documents have been filed in which the ANC is claiming R1m damages from the IFP and Khoza for defamation following a news conference on March 27, the eve of the second anniversary of the 1994 Shell House incident.

At the time, Khoza claimed to have had information that the ANC would shoot at marchers.
Political divisions are put to one side as peace

People say they now feel safe in an area where once they were terrified for their lives and families were driven from their homes

By Anna Cox

A miracle of friendship between political parties has taken place in Alexandra.

"Peace and reconciliation have been achieved, with political parties now working together to start reconstruction in the Belair area," now known as the Reconstruction Area - to build homes for people who were forced to flee their properties during pre-election violence in 1998, and for those who illegally took over the homes.

And the new library, next to the hostel, which has stood empty for the past four years because people feared to go there, will be opened within the next few weeks by the Eastern Metropolitan Substructure to reinforce the reconciliation.

"The library was built in 1992, with regional, services, housing, but was never opened because of violence and political tensions in the area.

But significantly, despite continued violence and tension in the area the past few years, the library building, although empty, was never damaged and EMSS ANC community members William Mkhathane.

"During the past few years, conditions in the area have improved to such a degree that the perception of the risk involved in frequenting the area has changed. It was agreed by all that once it was open it would be invaluable as a visible symbol of reconciliation. We have a vision of the mayor opening the new library and declaring the area a free zone," he said.

This miracle has been the result of work by the Alexandra Plenary Group for Reconciliation and Reconstruction. The group was started by the Rev. L.R. Carman in 1998 under the auspices of the National Peace Accord.

The group consists of the Displacees Crisis Committee, the M1 and M2 hostel, and the Reconstruction Area residents.

Residents have met weekly for the past two years, and decided to put their political differences behind them and agreed they would all people who needed homes.

The Reconstruction Area, a buffer between the hostels and Greater Alexandra, was regarded as a no-go area and most Alex residents regarded it with fear, but now it has been informally declared a free area where anyone can walk without fear.

"The peace was achieved through a long and often difficult process," said Displacees' Crisis Committee member Hilda Mohlomi.

"We initially couldn't stand each other, we would fight all the time. Then we agreed we were all homeless people who were suffering. We have achieved a lot since we started our meetings, most importantly the signing of peace declaration in May last year.

"After that we would advise the hostel people of events such as funerals in the area and they would offer us protection. Now the area around the hostels is free and we are no longer scared. We have also had walkabouts together to spread the message of peace throughout Alex.

"We have shown that peace can be achieved. We worked hard for it, now the government must provide us with houses for all the people involved," Mohlomi said.

Said Peterson Phoswa, a resident of the Reconstruction Area.

"We will leave the houses but the Government must provide us with houses because we have nowhere to go.

Petros Simelane of the M1 hostel said, "We are pleased to see peace at last and we are pleased that we were part of the peace. Hostel dwellers do not want to fight. We did not like Alex people after the violence but we blamed the old government for the problem we had. We now live at peace and the Alex people join us for football games in the hostel grounds.

Displacee Doreen Nkabinde, who has been living in a hall for the past four years, said she used to go cold with fear when near the hostel area, but now she is no longer afraid.

The plenary group has also started literacy, education and self-improvement projects for the community.

The purpose of the plenary said plenary facilitator Violine Juna, was to establish a process of reconciliation and reconstruction with those lives were most affected by the pre-election violence in Alex, to bring about understanding, to agree on a reconstruction plan, and to get together with the Government and other stakeholders to create a reconstruction forum.

"There has been significant growth in reconciliation, mutual understanding and empowerment.

"We are asking for the development of flats and duplexes on open ground to house a united community of present displaces and Reconstruction Area residents. This could be one way to resolve the problem of illegal occupation of some of the surviving houses," Juna said.
ANC calls for ‘speedy action’ on Shell House

Stephen Laufer

THE ANC yesterday expressed concern at the failure of police to investigate allegations that the 1994 attack on Shell House was orchestrated by certain policemen “conspiring with a clique of IFP members”.

The allegations are contained in court documents submitted by the ANC in response to a civil claim by the widow of one of the men killed outside the building during an IFP march four weeks before the democratic elections.

The ANC says it has evidence that the attack was planned by a group of SAP officers and senior Gauteng IFP officials, all of whom were sent on a rail to the April 1994 election.

Eight marchers were shot outside the ANC’s headquarters by security officials, while another 46 — including 12 killed outside the George Gqohle hostel, an IFP stronghold — were killed by marchers on their way to the CBD.

ANC deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus said the party did not want to pre-empt the attorney-general but hoped he would “act speedily in opening charges” against IFP MP

Thembu House and other IFP Gauteng leaders, including Humphrey, Victor, and James Ndlovu. Among the former SAP members allegedly involved in the attack and who should be charged were Andries van Eeden, Willie Nortje, Charlie Chat, and former Vlakplaas commander Eugen de Kock.

Carolus was careful to draw a distinction between the IFP leaders named and most members of the party, who she said were “ordinary, peace-loving South Africans exercising their democratic rights”.

The peaceful local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal were the result of the actions of all the organisations in the province, including the IFP, and they should not be held responsible for the acts of a small group.

The ANC’s action had been filed only last Monday because of delays — the judge had at one stage awarded costs against the plaintiff.

ANC guards had no alternative, Carolus said, because, conceivably, several ANC leaders could have died.

She said she found it “quite shameful” that the dead were abused for the political ends of others.
Nats slate ANC for not helping police

THE National Party says it is inexcusable that the African National Congress has for two years not found it necessary to help police investigating the Shell House shooting.

It seemed that transparency applied to everybody in South Africa but the ANC, NP media director Patrick McKenzie said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report in the newspaper Rapport, which quoted the police's national priority crimes head, Neville Thoms, as saying the ANC's "lackadaisical attitude" was obstructing the inquiry.

Director Thoms was quoted as saying the ANC had ignored a request to hand over more than 100 weapons police needed for ballistics tests, and added that the investigation was also being hampered by political meddling.

Mr McKenzie said that the ANC's "completely inexcusable" attitude was made worse by the fact that the party held two "safety portfolios" in the cabinet, justice and safety and security, but did not help the police.

"The ANC is always the first to scream about justice and fairness, but once again a blind eye is turned to its own errors of the past. The issue is becoming even more of an embarrassment to the South African legal system because President (Nelson) Mandela was personally involved in the incident."

"The NP would take an urgent look at the matter as soon as parliament resumed," Mr McKenzie said.

"It is time the ANC came clean about the incident so that the police who have been struggling with the case for more than two years can be employed on other cases."

Mr Mandela, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Justice Minister Pali Lehohlo also should reveal the facts so that the public could judge the ANC.

"The ANC will have to learn that the Shell House massacre, like the Sarafina debacle, will not just disappear if they keep quiet about it," Mr McKenzie said.
Grenade blast at ANC

Man seen tossing device at the front door at 8pm then fleeing in a minibus: passerby sustains shrapnel injuries
Third Force hits us
BID TO SHARE THE BLAME

The ANC has served notices on Inkatha and two of its leaders — Thembu Khoza and Humphrey Ndlou — holding them jointly responsible for nearly R10m in damages which could be awarded in pending civil actions arising from the Shell House shootings of March 28 1994, in which eight Zulu marchers were shot dead outside the ANC’s Johannesburg national HQ.

It’s common cause that Khoza, an MP, and Ndlou, a member of the Gauteng legislature, played prominent roles in organising the march to demonstrate support for the Zulu king.

The notices are a sequel to a bid by the more than 100 victims of the shootings to sue the ANC and, alternatively, the Ministry of Safety & Security for damages. The victims are either protesters wounded in the fusillade of bullets and/or dependants of those killed. A total of 27 separate but inter-related civil actions are involved.

The depositions by lawyers for the victims — and the replies by ANC attorneys — contain startling assertions. While victims seek redress primarily from the ANC, the police do not escape censure. The victims say the route planned by the march organisers avoided the ANC’s HQ, but that the police wrongfully or negligently “directed marchers...past Shell House.”

The ANC denies that the organisers planned to follow a route to give Shell House a wide berth, asserting that there had been a conspiracy between members of Inkatha, including Khoza and Ndlou, and individual policemen to attack the ANC’s HQ.

The victims blame the ANC and President Nelson Mandela, for the tragedy, charging that they encouraged armed ANC members, including MK combatants, to congregate at Shell House and failed to inform the protesters of the “imminent danger” of them being targeted by ANC guards. While leaving open the question of whether the shooting was intentional or negligent, the victims declare it was unlawful in either event.

The ANC admits that their security personnel “fired shots at the marchers,” but insist that they did so in “self defence” after Shell House had come under fire from the ranks of the marchers. It describes the action of the security guards as “reasonable” and “commensurate with the attack on them.”

The generally conflicting accounts of the fateful shootings converge, however, on one point: the culpability of the police.

The victims also indict the police for failing to arrest the people who “committed crimes in their presence” or to take steps to identify them, allowing the perpetrators to escape. These allegations are linked to an indictment of Mandela for refusing, with the agreement of General Koos Coetzee, to allow police access to Shell House to confiscate the weapons allegedly used.

The ANC, in turn, accuses members of the then SAP of not providing adequate protection for the public and Shell House and of failing to keep “armed marchers” away from its immediate vicinity.

For these reasons, the ANC avers that the Ministry of Safety & Security should also be liable if the court rules that it has to pay damages to the victims. For the same reasons, the ANC’s lawyers have served notices identifying the police as the second defendant (the ANC being the first) in eight of the 27 civil actions where, for procedural reasons, they were not named by the victims’ attorneys.

The pending civil action is bound to rekindle controversy over the Shell House shootings and to refocus attention on unanswered questions, largely — but not only — because of lack of progress in the police investigation into the massacre outside Shell House and at several points along the marchers’ route.

A handgrenade attack on Shell House this week has helped restore the embers of dissension. The remark by Gauteng legislature DP leader Peter Leon on the eve of the second anniversary of the shootings remains apposite: “Two years after the event, there’s still no sign of an indictment, let alone the prosecution of all the offenders.”

One reason, according to different police officers at different times since the shootings, is the role played by the ANC in thwarting investigations. The ANC’s alleged obstruction starts with its refusal to allow police to search Shell House for weapons the day after the tragedy and includes a three-month delay before fulfilling a promise to hand over weapons for tests.

These accusations have been given fresh impetus by Neville Thorns police director in charge of investigations. He describes the ANC’s attitude as “lackadaisical” and says his probe is being hampered.

Underlying the saga is an unanswered question: why did Mandela wait 15 months before admitting that he gave the order to shoot to kill if necessary.

Mandela’s state visit to Britain

RAPTURE BUT LOW RETURNS

If investor confidence matched the warmth and goodwill so rapturously heaped on the head of President Nelson Mandela in London last week, a wall of
Things are not what they seem in Boipatong, concludes Feature Writer Claire Keeton in her account of testimonies that allude to police involvement in the massacre that shocked the nation in June 1992.

Johannes and Pauline Mbattha ... the couple recalled painful memories of the Boipatong massacre this week at the TRC hearings in Sebokeng. PIC: LEN KUMALO

behind their wardrobe in the bedroom. He faced the terrible decision to stay hidden or to die a certain death that night.

Mbattha told the TRC that he saw vigilantes and police surround their shack. "There was a big light outside the yard which was very bright. I saw three separate groups of people come towards the house while I was peeping through the window.

"One person saw me and they threw stones. I saw policemen there. I felt as if I was dreaming. I could not believe it. "They forced their way into the house. One man asked for matches from a policeman because he wanted to burn down the house. They had already stabbed the dog outside.

"They stabbed my wife several times while I was behind the wardrobe. I tried to follow them to the corner of the street. They got into the cars and headed for KwaMudala Hostel."

Mbattha said he called the ambulance because his wife had lost consciousness after her veins had been severed.

He said Sebokeng Hospital was flooded with casualties of the massacre and there were only two doctors on duty: "They went to tea while people were dying in the front."

The next day Copsiris arrived in Boipatong with policemen. "The same people were coming in the very same uniform. They said they needed statements on who injured people. "I was scared to say: 'It was you, the people who were here yesterday.'" he said while the audience expressed audible sympathy.

Driving Hipsos

Asked by the commissioners if he was sure this was the truth, Mbattha replied: "It is not a lie they were policemen. I even saw their cars: they were driving Hipsos when they came into the township. The police were not supposed to be there helping people to death."

Battling to hold back her tears, Mrs Miriam Molete told the TRC her child, Mma, was also confined to a wheelchair and paralysed after the attack. Her husband, Mr Thomas Pule Lekaba, was murdered and her sister, Florence, injured in the attack.

Molete said the child was chopped on her head and the floor of their shack was slippery with blood. "I called the father several times and there was no answer. I was told he has been shot in the back three times."

She was unable to attend his funeral because she was in hospital and does not know where he is buried.

Molete said white men took part in the deadly attack. "I saw a white person with a balaclava. The streetlights were close to the house and I could see around the eyes and nose. It was a sharp nose and not that of a black person."

The TRC promised witnesses they would investigate allegations of police involvement and find out what actually happened on June 17 1992. Several men were convicted of murder and imprisoned after the massacre but the inside story remains untold.

The TRC needs hostel dwellers involved in the attack to tell it who organised the massacre.
EU places ceiling on lending to SA until 2000

BRUSSELS — The ceiling on European Union lending to SA has been frozen until the end of the century to help fund big increases for eastern European and Mediterranean countries.

Sapa-AFP reported that the European Commission yesterday adopted mandates for European Investment Bank lending to third countries of $3.625 billion for the period 1997-99. This is an overall increase of about 12.5% from the previous three years.

In SA’s case, the previous mandate was for $300 million for two years up to June 1997. The new proposed figure is $375 million, but as this will be spread over two-and-a-half years, the rate of lending is effectively unchanged. The commission move was embarrassingly timed. It came on the eve of talks with Vice-President Thabo Mbeki on an EU-SA trade agreement.

Meanwhile, Wyndham Harley reports from Cape Town that EU ambassador Erwan Fouere and SA National Assembly Speaker Frans Ginwala signed an agreement yesterday for the EU to provide $10m for parliamentary support in SA.

Fouere announced to delegates from all nine provinces that the objective of the programme negotiated between SA and the EU was to “promote good governance and stable democracy in SA”.

He stressed that the programme was designed by South Africans for its transition, and was not something imposed. This is your programme,” he said. He said the $10m was the largest project of its kind that the EU had sponsored and it showed “the dynamic and practical relationship that exists between the democratic institutions of Europe and SA”.

The programme includes:
- The provision of support structures and services;
- Training courses for increased parliamentary skills and knowledge;
- A programme sponsored by Sweden for the increased participation of women in Parliament;
- Improved parliamentary institutional arrangements; and
- Improved communication between the provincial legislatures and the national Parliament.

Fouere said the programme would be run by a management team under the guidance of a steering committee.

Troops sent into KwaThema

Bonile Ngcuyiza

THREE men — including a police detective — were shot dead in KwaThema, Springs, on Tuesday night, even as more policemen and troops were being deployed in schools to help control the crime and violence raging the community since 1992.

In a sad twist, 32, was gunned down by unidentified men at 9pm in the Tornado section of Kwa Thema on his way home after visiting relatives, police commander Don Aspeling said yesterday.

Tauseume was a member of the East Rand murder and robbery unit and was “deeply involved” in investigations into the Congress of SA Students and Fan African Congress Students’ Organisation feud which had left the community in fear in recent weeks, KwaThema police said.

Aspeling said an additional 100 public order police service members and 200 SANDF personnel had been dispatched to the area.

A commission of inquiry set up by Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale and safety and security MEC Jessie Duarte is investigating the violence which has claimed the lives of about 33 people.

Residents said yesterday the township centre, where most of the fighting took place, had been carved into two zones with Highlands regarded as a PAC stronghold and adjacent Mamelodi section being aligned with Cosas.

Education MEC Mary Metcalfe said a meeting of interested parties agreed that examinations could not be interrupted to allow the release of arrested students implicated in the violence.

A group of students disrupted examinations this week, saying they had to be postponed until fellow pupils implicated in the violence were released.

The meeting encouraged student groups, who have levelled allegations against the police, to make submissions to the commission of inquiry into the causes of the violence.

Zaire

clear time mandate or exit strategy.

With the security council and the US concerned that no exit strategy exists
Beulah Beresford

THREE-quarters of SA’s chartered accountants leave SA soon after qualifying and only about a third of them return, research by international auditing firm Deloitte & Touche shows.

Two senior members of Deloitte & Touche flew to London today in an attempt to lure some of these accountants back to SA.

They are targeting about 100 accountants who have less than a year left on their UK visas. The firm will be holding a cocktail party in conjunction with a recruitment agency to expound on opportunities in SA.

Deloitte & Touche partner Chris Todd said yesterday that it had always been “part of the SA way for people to go overseas”, but that now people were no longer committed to returning.

Many of those spoken to by Deloitte & Touche had said crime and their fears about personal security had deterred them.

Todd said the result of the excess demand for newly qualified chartered accountants was that salaries were “very competitive”.

This was backed by several accountants who said that total packages for newly qualified chartered accountants in accounting firms would typically range between R160 000 and R180 000 a year. For those working in commerce, packages could go up to R340 000.

One accountant, formerly at Ernst & Young, said about 75% of the people he had worked with intended to go abroad. Many had also taken the British qualifying exams to make themselves “more saleable” in the UK.

Citing violence and crime as the primary reasons for leaving, he said that he was uncertain about whether he would return.

Although he would take a step down the career ladder by doing temporary work, it would give him the opportunity to work in London.

Another newly qualified chartered accountant also cited crime as the primary reason for leaving. She said that concerns about SA’s economy and the high tax burden made it unlikely that she would return.
Police unable to disarm marchers, inquest told

Head of Internal Stability Unit at the time says he thought march was peaceful and that Shell House guards could defend it.

BY MICHAEL SPARKS

It would have been physically impossible to search groups of marchers to see whether they were armed with guns, even as they were leaving their hostels to take part in the IFP march three years ago, a senior policeman told the Johannesburg High Court yesterday.

Superintendent Fanie Olivier, at the time head of the Internal Stability Division, told the court it would have been impossible to disarm groups of between 1 000 and 5 000 marchers.

He added there were hundreds of hostels, making it impossible to monitor them all, and if police had tried to set up roadblocks at the hostel exits, the residents would not have allowed themselves to be disarmed and the effort would have resulted in a bloodbath.

Giving evidence, during the inquest into the death of 19 people, Olivier told the court that he went on duty at Sam on March 28 1994, the day of the march.

At that point, and even during the early stages of the march, he was unaware of the death of 10 people, mostly in Soweto, the previous night and he believed the protest to be a peaceful event.

If he had been aware of the deaths, he could well have deployed his troops differently, Olivier said.

He added that until the shootings outside ANC headquarters at Shell House, he had been of the opinion the march was peaceful.

That opinion had been changed, not only by the shootings at Shell House, but by a number of incidents including shots being fired by marchers, and marchers assaulting passers-by and plundering shops and stalls along the route to the Library Gardens.

When questioned why members of the Internal Stability Division had not been stationed outside Shell House, Olivier replied it was his unit’s task to escort the marchers from the hostels into the city and to the Library Gardens.

He said he thought that with trained, armed security guards at Shell House, the people in the building would have been capable of looking after themselves.

But he had no comment to make when Danny Berger, appearing for the ANC, put it to him that the police submission was effectively the opposite — that the security guards had not been well trained at all.

Olivier added that he had been unaware of phone calls by leaders of the ANC to members of the police requesting a police presence at Shell House and at the ANC’s regional headquarters at Lennox Hall.

Olivier said the marchers had chosen their own route, and police had merely escorted them and had not told them which routes to take and which to avoid.

The inquest continues today.
Marchers’ target
Protesters’ aim was to stop nonracial elections

By Joe Mhilaia
Political Reporter

The mass action in which 20 000 Zulus took to the streets of Johannesburg on March 28 1994 was aimed at stopping the country’s first nonracial democratic elections. The “inquest into the Shell House massacre” heard yesterday.

Superintendent Donovan Herbert, the third police witness, told Judge Robert Nugent in the Johannesburg High Court that he understood the action by Zulu marchers was inspired by their desire to stop the elections.

Cross-examined by Advocate Danny Berger, representing the ANC, Herbert said he had expected the marchers to use placards and pamphlets to convince people that they should not participate in the elections.

Asked by Berger if the mass action would include violence, he replied: “Yes, that was possible.” Herbert said according to Inkatha Freedom Party organiser Mr Humphrey Nhlovu, the march was supposed to be peaceful.

To a suggestion by Berger that the IFP had blocked trains and buses to ferry marchers to Johannesburg, Herbert said that was not the case.

Asked by Nugent if he knew that 140 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe would be at Shell House, the headquarters of the African National Congress, that day, Herbert said he was hearing this for the first time.

“Throughout, I was hearing this for the first time. This information was not available to the Crime Intelligence Service (CIS). I am not aware if this information ever reached the unit.”

Herbert also said he was not aware that members of the ANC would be wearing soldiers’ uniforms on that day.

The judge said he was surprised that Herbert, as head of the CIS, had not been aware of the shootings at Shell House until around midday on that day.

Is it true that the Crime Intelligence Service was not aware of the shooting – must I believe this?” Nugent asked Herbert.

Herbert said the only way he received information about the shooting at Shell House was through the police radio service.

“Earlier, the court heard that on the day in question, police, acting on information of impending violence, took up positions outside Assembly House in Johannesburg, where the ANC’s regional headquarters were based.”

Asked by Advocate Ben Pretorius, counsel for the families of the deceased and injured, if he knew that the ANC’s regional headquarters had moved from Assembly House to Linder Hall in Jeppe Street, Herbert said he did not.

Pretorius: “Is there any reason why you did not know?”

Herbert: “The police in the CIS were not certain about their future. At that stage, it had become clear to the ANC that it would win the elections and that some members were afraid they would be exposed as spies.”

He also said the CIS had been weakened by the resignation of some members.

The service was being restructured at the time to make it politically acceptable to the new dispensation.

Herbert said members of the CIS were no longer paying attention to politically motivated crimes but involved themselves in investigating more general crime issues.

Pretorius put it to Herbert that the strategy adopted by the CIS was totally disorganised.

Herbert replied: “I agree, the information the CIS had was inadequate.”

The inquest continues today.
Police chief ordered hostels be blocked off

Shell House inquest told of command not carried out, and futility of trying

Police ignored a direct order from then commissioner General Johan van der Merwe to set up roadblocks outside many of the township hostels around Johannesburg the night before 20,000 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members marched to the Library Gardens on March 28 1994.

National head of the internal stability division, Deputy Commissioner Adrien de la Rosa, told the inquest into the deaths of 19 people on the day of the Shell House shootings that Van der Merwe had received a telephone call from Nelson Mandela on the night before the march to say the ANC was expecting trouble from IFP supporters and that they might arrive in large numbers.

De la Rosa, who was a lieutenant general and national head of the SSP at the time, could not tell the inquest at the Johannesburg High Court yesterday why roadblocks had not been set up.

He told Mr Justice Robert Ngcetini and two assessors that no mention had been made in the Mandela phone call of any possible danger to either the ANC headquarters at Shell House in Heen Street or the organisation's regional headquarters at Lancer Hall.

He added that, even if the roadblocks had been set up, police would have been unable to disarm large groups of IFP supporters as they left the hostels.

"They gathered in groups of up to 1 500 at the front of the hostels, and then on to the streets and just marched out. It is very difficult to stop that group and march them for weapons," he said, prompting loud outbursts of laughter from IFP supporters in the public gallery.

"When it came to groups of thousands of IFP members who were armed, the police were not in control of the situation," he said, to more laughter.

When asked by Judge Ngcetini whether, if the police were not in control, they had simply not allowed the march to take place, De la Rosa said the march would have gone ahead anyway, and would have been more out of control than if it had been legal.

He said that when he came on duty at 6am that day, he was aware of the deaths of 13 people during the night.

But he emphasised that such a death toll was not extraordinary at the height of those violent times. He added that there was no way of connecting shootings at police in Kegiso and bodies picked up on the East Rand, with a march planned for later that day.

When asked by Danny Berger, appearing for the ANC, whether police could not have prevented the marchers from going past Shell House if they had blocked the streets with vehicles and cordoned off the buildings with razor wire, De la Rosa said it would have been possible.

But he added that such an order would have had to come from General Rosa Calitz, who was in charge of the whole operation.

He said one of the reasons this was not done, was that there had been no intelligence prior to the march that marchers planned to pass Shell House, which was in the opposite direction for those arriving at the railway station and going to Library Gardens, their supposed destination.

This was supported by evidence earlier in the day from Superintendent Donovan Herbert, who admitted that police intelligence units were so disorganised, their information "did suffer shortening".

Herbert was in charge of coordinating the gathering of intelligence for the march.

He said that during the march no extra members had been deployed on the streets to gather information because "it was too dangerous on the streets".

When questioned repeatedly by a seemingly incredulous judge, Herbert confirmed that the intelligence gathering arm of the police had not known about any of the deaths or shootings incidents during the previous evening and on the day of the march until about 11.30 that morning, when the shootings at Shell House took place.

Herbert said it was their task to gather intelligence ahead of time, and they had no role during the actual march.

The hearing continues.
Police could not control IFP march, inquest told

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg: Despite a direct order from police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, police failed to set up roadblocks outside many of the hostels around Johannesburg on the night before 20,000 Inkatha Freedom Party members marched to the Library Gardens on March 28, 1994.

And the national head of the Internal Stability Division, Deputy Commissioner Adrian de la Rosa (a lieutenant-general and national head of the ISD at the time of the march), could not tell the inquest into the death of 19 people during the march, held in the High Court here yesterday, why this had not been done.

De la Rosa told Mr Justice Robert Nugent and two assessors that Van der Merwe had received a phone call from President Nelson Mandela on the night before the march, to say that the ANC was expecting trouble from IFP supporters at the hostels in Johannesburg, Soweto and on the East Rand.

No mention was made of any possible danger to either the ANC headquarters at Shell House in Plein Street or the organisation's regional headquarters at Lancet Hall, De la Rosa said.

He said that even if the roadblocks had been set up, police would have been unable to disarm large groups of IFP supporters leaving the hostels.

"When it came to groups of thousands of IFP members who were armed, the police were not in control of the situation," he said, to laughter from IFP supporters in the public gallery.

Upon starting work that day he was aware of 13 deaths the previous night, but said it was not extraordinary at the height of those violent times.

De la Rosa agreed with Mr Danny Berger, for the ANC, that police could have prevented the marchers from passing Shell House had they blocked the streets with vehicles and razor wire, but failed to do so because no intelligence was received that the marchers planned to pass Shell House.

This was supported earlier by an admission by Superintendent Donovan Herbert that police intelligence units were so badly organised that their information had shortcomings. Additional operatives were not deployed because it was too dangerous.

The case continues today.
By Joe Mdhela

NKATHA Freedom Party MP Mr Thembba Khoza had been on the payroll of convicted mass murderer Eugene de Kock, the inquest into the Shell House killings heard at the Johannesburg High Court yesterday.

Presiding Judge Robert Nugent and two assessors also heard how Khoza and another IFP member, Mr. Victor Ndlovu, had received guns to use against the African National Congress.

The inquest, in its fourth day, heard how Khoza and Ndlovu had been recruited by former Absa security officer Droos van Heerden, an operative of the Vlakplaas unit.

During cross-examination counsel for the ANC Mr George Bizos, SC, asked Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Nel if he knew whether Khoza had been arrested at a roadblock while carrying weapons.

Taking large extracts from the Goldstone report, Bizos said Khoza had been acquitted of charges relating to the possession of weapons.

Nel said he had read about Khoza’s ‘gunrunning’ activities in newspapers but did not have first-hand information about his dealings.

This was the second time in two days that the inquest heard about Khoza’s dealings with conservative Afrikaner groups.

Earlier this week the court was told about the relationship the IFP established with the AWB before the April 27 1994 nonracial elections.

The court also heard that the Zulu march and subsequent rally in Johannesburg on March 28 1994 had been aimed at stopping the elections.

Yesterday Bizos put it to Nel that if he had known of the criminal cooperation between Third Force operations and the IFP and that Khoza would on March 28 1994 be addressing a rally aimed at stopping the elections, why he had not been extra vigilant when dealing with him?

He also put it to Nel that Khoza had been implicated by the Goldstone report with Vlakplaas dealings involving the likes of General Basie Smit, now commander of the South African Police Services (SAPS) and Krappies Engelbrecht.

These people, said Bizos, had been involved in manufacturing an armoured car on the East Rand and in Silverton.

“All these people were members of C10 (part of the Vlakplaas unit) and had supplied senior IFP members Thembba Khoza and Victor Ndlovu with arms,” said Bizos.

Bizos also asked Nel if he knew about the prima facie evidence published by newspapers and shown on television. Nel said he only read about it in newspapers.

He also referred Nel to a tape recorded conversation between the ANC’s Mr Joe Nhlashla and the police, in which Nhlashla sought reinforcements and objected to having their offices surrounded by IFP marchers.

He also referred Nel to a conversation in which the police told Khoza they did not want to act against the marchers but asked him to talk to them to stop them from throwing stones. Khoza had replied: “I have problems ... don’t stop my people.”

The hearing continues today.

● Mpumalanga premier and ANC chief legal adviser Mr Mathews Phosa and Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlashla are expected to testify on Monday.
IFP leader told Shell House marchers may
be attacked
Wrong buildings were guarded.
Two senior policemen were in Shell House 'when shooting started'

Susan Russell

WHEN shooting began at Shell House in 1994, two senior policemen were in the building discussing the security threat posed by thousands of aWesrinking Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters and Zulus, Deputy Intelligence Services Minister Joe Nhlanhla said yesterday.

Former African National Congress intelligence chief Nhlanhla was testifying at a judicial inquiry into the deaths of 13 people in the centre of Johannesburg, eight of which occurred outside ANO headquarters at Shell House, during the march on March 23, 1994.

At least 33 people died in and around Johannesburg when the march by about 20,000 Zulus and IFP supporters into the city to attend the launch of an anti-election campaign at the Library Gardens, a few blocks away from Shell House, turned violent.

Earlier Mpumalanga Premier Matshego Phosa told the inquiry that on the morning before the march he had received information that a group of senior policemen and a number of their former colleagues were planning to hijack the march and divert the participants to attack Shell House.

Phosa said he had understood from his informant that the plot to attack Shell House was by a group of senior police and former policemen and notLedwaba between the IFP and the police.

He passed the information on to the ANC security committee and also telephoned Nelson Mandela.

He was not prepared to disclose the identity of his informant.

Nhlanhla testified that he had been so concerned about the visibly deteriorating situation in the city that he had already made two telephone calls to the police by mid morning asking them to cordon off Shell House and send reinforcements to protect the building and its occupants.

Phosa said the first call — before both — was to Capt. Chris Wilton, who assured him reinforcements would be sent. The court has heard the police deployed nine officers outside the building.

When neither reinforcements nor a rear wire cordon were forthcoming, Nhlanhla telephoned Brig. Zark Govers and repeated his request. By this time the situation had deteriorated and he warned Govers that anybody was killed around Shell House he would hold the responsible.

Shortly after the second Govers and another senior officer arrived at Shell House. Nhlanhla said whilst they were discussing the situation with other members of ANO's national executive committee they heard shots in the street.
Two senior policemen were in Shell House ‘when shooting started’

Susan Russell

WHEN shooting began at Shell House in 1994, two senior policemen were in the building discussing the security threat posed by thousands of marching Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters and Zulus, Deputy Intelligence Services Minister Joe Nkolahla said yesterday.

Former African National Congress intelligence chief Nkolahla was testifying at a judicial inquiry into the death of 19 people in the centre of Johannesburg, eight of which occurred outside ANC headquarters at Shell House, during the march on March 23 1994.

At least 53 people died in and around Johannesburg when the march by about 20 000 Zulus and IFP supporters into the city to attend the launch of an anti-election campaign at the Library Gardens, a few blocks away from Shell House, turned violent.

Earlier, Mponainga Premier Mathews Phosa told the inquiry that on the morning before the march he had received information that a group of senior policemen and a number of their former colleagues were planning to hijack the march and divert the participants to attack Shell House.

Phosa said he had understood from his informants that the plot to attack Shell House was by a group of senior police and former policemen and not collusion between the IFP and the police.

He passed the information on to the ANC security committee and also telephoned Nelson Mandela.

He was not prepared to discuss the identity of his informants.

Nkolahla testified that he had been as concerned about the visibly deteriorating situation in the city that he had already made two telephone calls to the police by mid-morning asking them to cordon off Shell House and send reinforcements to protect the building and its occupants.

He said he made the first call — before 8am — to Capt Chris Williams, who assured him reinforcements would be sent. The second call was to the police deployed nine officers outside the building.

Then, after the second call, Nkolahla and another senior official rived at Shell House, Nkolahla testified while they were discussing the situation with other members of ANC’s national executive council that they heard shots in the street.
PHOSA TESTIFIES AT INQUEST

'Shell House attack planned by top cops'

JOHANNESBURG: The Shell House inquest was told yesterday that the promised police reinforcements around the ANC headquarters did not arrive on the day of the march.

HIGH-RANKING police officers planned to use the IFP march to disrupt the ANC's general election, said Phosa.

He said the meeting was attended by police officers with right-wing sentiments. They were individual officers within the police force and the plan did not come from the police as a whole.

Phosa said Engelbrecht was known to him 'from Congress for a Democratic South Africa' where they were negotiating for a new constitution.

He said Engelbrecht had been a member of an NP government delegation on amnesty.

Phosa said Engelbrecht had demanded that his policemen receive amnesty without disclosing to them if they had committed and said if they did not get amnesty 'he would go mad'.

Phosa said: 'I perceived this as a threat.'

He added that he did not want to disclose the identity of the informer, who could be compromised and his life endangered if it were made known.

He said good reasons for informing Mandela about the police plot, Phosa said.

'I had held meetings with Mandela, exposed him to this source and briefed him on violence leading up to the elections.'

'I wanted to ensure the matter was taken to the highest levels of government. I wanted him to put it to (then) president F W de Klerk to do something about it.'

He said he expected Mandela to put pressure on the authorities for a strong police presence at Shell House. "I did not expect that people would die."

Phosa said he returned to Mpumalanga the day before the march to continue the election campaign.

SAPA
Shell House guards instructed to use ‘maximum restraint’

Susan Russell

SECURITY guards at the African National Congress (ANC) Shell House offices were instructed to use “maximum restraint” against possible attacks by armed Zulus and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) marchers, Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla told an inquest.

Nhlanhla, who was head of ANC security at the time, was testifying in the Johannesburg High Court yesterday at the inquest into events on March 28 1994 when 19 people died in the city centre after the IFP-organised march and mass meeting to launch an anti-election campaign turned violent.

Nhlanhla said he did not know how many guards were deployed in Shell House on the morning of the march, but knew there were “a few inside as well as outside the premises”. He was not informed how many would be armed, but on his arrival earlier on March 28 saw “two or three” armed with shotgun in the foyer.

“The only possible way of securing that building was by the police cordoning it off,” he maintained. “What happened (the shooting) was the last resort, regrettably. I still hold the view that if there was intervention (from the police) at that moment, we would not be here.”

Nhlanhla said that many of the ANC’s leadership, including himself, had telephoned the police that morning appealing in vain for assistance in defending the building from marchers.

Nhlanhla said he was not able to say whether or not the shooting came from Shell House, although Brig Zirk Gouws has said in a statement that the shots clearly came from the building.

Under repeated cross-examination by counsel for the IFP and families of the victims, Nhlanhla conceded that after the shootings he had asked senior ANC security personnel whether any Shell House personnel had fired. He was not able to furnish the court with names of those involved, however, saying that statements by these people had been given to the ANC’s lawyers.

Nhlanhla also said the ANC had held no internal inquiry of its own. “We had just started the process of an internal inquiry when we were told that the matter was in the hands of the judiciary and the Goldstone commission and that the law should take its course,” he said.
Johannesburg - Leading Inkatha Freedom Party official Thembekile Khoza cancelled a march planned for March 21, 1994 and delayed it until March 28 to enable the IFP to attack the ANC's Shell House headquarters, an inquest at the Johannesburg High Court heard today.

Former Vilakazi operative Roedt Van Heerden told the inquest into the death of 19 people during the march on March 28 of that year that Mr Khoza had decided to attack Shell House after a visit to IFP headquarters at Ulundi.

The decision was taken after the Goldstone Commission had revealed a link between the police, the IFP and the "third force" and it was decided it might be the last opportunity to hit the ANC.

He said that another IFP official, Humphrey Ndlovu, had said at the time: "Now is the time we must f**k up Shell House because this is the last chance we will get."

The decision was taken because the link between the IFP and the third force had been revealed and it was important to deal a severe blow to the ANC in the run up to the election a month later, Mr Van Heerden told the inquest.

The plan was for armed men in civilian clothes to be stationed near Shell House and then, as marchers got closer, to run into the building with others who were seeking shelter there.

As the impi got closer those who had infiltrated into the building would start shooting to cause chaos and allow the impi into the building, said Mr Van Heerden, who is in a witness protection programme.
Senior IFP members 'had strong links with former Vlakplaas head'

Susan Russell

SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leaders, including MP Themba Khoza and Gauteng MP Humphrey Ndlovu, were involved in third force activities and had strong links with former Vlakplaas head Col Eugene de Kock, a national intelligence operative claimed at the Shell House inquiry yesterday.

"Andries "Brood" van Heerden, who arrived under armed guard to give evidence in the 'Johannesburg High Court', also testified that IFP members met regularly at his flat to discuss plans to destroy the African National Congress (ANC) leadership and its Shell House headquarters.

Van Heerden has been under a witness-protection programme since March 1994 when he gave evidence to the Goldstone commission about his own third force activities and links between the IFP and the police.

The former Vlakplaas policeman said he had become a go-between for Khoza and De Kock in 1990.

Van Heerden said he was working in Absa Bank's security department when he was introduced to Khoza by IFP member Victor Ndlovu, who was employed by Absa as a handyman.

Khoza asked him why the Transvaal police were not assisting the IFP as they did in Natal. Van Heerden then set up a meeting between Khoza and De Kock at his own flat. Later De Kock gave Van Heerden 10 hand grenades, which he passed on to Khoza. This was the first of what became a regular delivery of arms to Khoza from De Kock.

Van Heerden, who described himself as a card-carrying member of the IFP, admitted involvement in the Khoza House bombing and the deployment of AIDS-infected askaris to spread the disease during his Vlakplaas days. He said Khoza, Humphrey Ndlovu, Victor Ndlovu and other IFP members met regularly at his flat and discussed plans to destroy the ANC leadership and Shell House.

Two plans were proposed. The first involved attacking Shell House during an IFP march. Armed people would force their way into the building and let in others from the crowd to attack the leadership. The second was that De Kock would obtain the plans of the building so it could be bombed.

Van Heerden said De Kock was unable to get hold of the plans so it was decided to use the first option...

On March 14 1994, Victor Ndlovu came to his Absa office and suggested he "close his business" on March 21 because there was going to be serious trouble in the city.

Continued on Page 2
IFP, De Kock conspired to hit Shell

Johannesburg: When convicted mass murderer Eugene de Kock could not bomb Shell House to kill ANC leaders, he used the IFP instead, according to a turned policeman.

A SORGER police officer recently told the South African Human Rights Commission that de Kock was involved in the attack on Shell House in 1994. The IFP has denied any connection.

De Kock said he had been involved in Planning the attack as part of a plot to discredit the ANC and undermine its leadership. The IFP has always denied any involvement.


den, for delivery to khoka was a batch of hand grenades for clashes with the ANC in South Africa, according to a police officer who turned informant.

The plan was for armed militants to attack Shell House by using a group of people to distract the police in order to infiltrate the building. The attacker was supposed to blow up the building with the explosives and kill multiple people, including ANC leaders.

When the police arrived, they found the attacker was not de Kock, but another individual. The plan failed and de Kock was arrested.

He told the police he had been forced to carry out the attack and had no other choice. He has been in jail ever since.

The police officer also said that de Kock had been involved in planning other attacks on ANC leaders, but these were never carried out.

De Kock has always denied any involvement in these attacks.
IFP planned march to attack Shell House, inquest court hears

‘Third force’ police allegedly considered blowing up building
or stationing armed impis to kill ANC members during chaos

The Star 17/4/97

BY MICHAEL SPOORS AND SABA

The protest march by 20 000
Zulu royalty through Jo-
hannesburg three years ago
was in fact planned by the IFP as
cover for an attack on the ANC
headquarters in Shell House, an
inquest at the Johannesburg High
Court heard yesterday.

The IFP's deputy chairman Themba
Khoza had postponed the protest
for a week to allow his party to
plan the attack.

The delay was arranged after
Khoza had returned from a trip to

Themba had
instruction
to arrange
other march

the IFP stronghold in Ulundi,
where he had received orders to
launch the attack.

Themba said he had an
instructions to cancel the march
planned on March 21 and to
arrange another march on March
28 in which Shell House would be
attacked.” Van Heerden said,
adding that he had told Khoza he
was not interested.

Van Heerden said key IFP
leaders involved were Khoza, Vic-
tor Ndlovu, Humphrey Ndlovu
and the Rev Celani Mthethwa.
IFP leaders had told him Shell
House was the ANC stronghold
and had to be destroyed.

Among police aware of this
were Colonel Eugene de Kock,
Charlie Chait, Willie North and

the ANC leadership
at least a month before the election.

Van Heerden testified before
the Goldstone Commission just
before the city bloodbath and was
implicated in third force activities.

He had decided to go to the
commission after being “stabbed
in the back” by his former em-
ployers. He was told he was told
that since he was no longer a police-
man, he would have to pay for his
own legal defence.

“I was stunned. I felt helpless.
The people that I believed in had
stabbed me in the back. I was
chucked to the wolves and told to
sort things out myself.”

He had then made an arrange-
ment to see Mr Justice Richard
Goldstone and had revealed
evant things to the commission
during a number of meetings,
including one in Copenhagen,
Denmark, while he was on a
witness protection programme.

When asked why he had not
acted on the information of the
imminent attack on Shell House
to the Goldstone Commission, he
said it was because he did not
believe it would actually happen.

He added: “Themba Khoza al-
ways did exactly what he wanted.
He never stuck to a strategy or
plan and carried it through. He
just did whatever he wanted.”

For that reason he had become
involved in providing “structure”
to the “chaos” that was the IFP in
an attempt to give it similar struc-

Aim was to
inflict black
women with HIV

ures to the street committees of
the ANC, he told the inquest.

Van Heerden also said he had
been involved in the placing of
limpet mines at a cinema in a
black area which was screening
the film Cry Freedom, and was
“personally involved” in the
Khutshe House bombing as well
as the handling of HIV-positive
askaris—the intention being to
infect black women with the virus.

He told the court he feared for
his life because, by giving evi-
dence, he had become a threat to
the IFP, and he knew of other
Vlakfontein operatives who had
been “hurt” after speaking out.

Van Heerden will take the
stand for further cross-examina-
tion today.

General Knappies Engelbrecht.

The decision to attack Shell
House was taken after the Gold-
stone Commission had revealed a
link between elements in the po-
lice, the IFP and violence perpe-
trated by the “third force”.

Van Heerden, who told Mr
Justice Robert Nugent he now
lived in fear of his life, currently
works for National Intelligence.

He said two options were con-
 sidered by the IFP, of which he
was a member at the time.

The first entailed De Kock get-
ting building plans for Shell
House so that they could blow
up the building. This was rejected
because he could not get the build-
ing plans and security at the
building was anyway too tight.

The other option was to sta-
tion armed IFP members in civi-
lian clothes outside Shell House
during the march. Then, as people
tied into the building for protec-
tion, the armed members would
also enter the building and start
shooting as the impis got closer.

This would cause chaos among
security guards, enabling the im-
pis to enter the building.

He added that this would have
given the IFP an opportunity to
“take out” the ANC leadership
at least a month before the election.

Van Heerden testified before
the Goldstone Commission just
before the city bloodbath and was
implicated in third force activities.

He had decided to go to the
commission after being “stabbed
in the back” by his former em-
ployers. He was told he was told
that since he was no longer a police-
man, he would have to pay for his
own legal defence.

“I was stunned. I felt helpless.
The people that I believed in had
stabbed me in the back. I was
chucked to the wolves and told to
sort things out myself.”

He had then made an arrange-
ment to see Mr Justice Richard
Goldstone and had revealed
evant things to the commission
during a number of meetings,
including one in Copenhagen,
Denmark, while he was on a
witness protection programme.

When asked why he had not
acted on the information of the
imminent attack on Shell House
to the Goldstone Commission, he
said it was because he did not
believe it would actually happen.

He added: “Themba Khoza al-
ways did exactly what he wanted.
He never stuck to a strategy or
plan and carried it through. He
just did whatever he wanted.”

For that reason he had become
involved in providing “structure”
to the “chaos” that was the IFP in
an attempt to give it similar struc-

Aim was to
inflict black
women with HIV

ures to the street committees of
the ANC, he told the inquest.

Van Heerden also said he had
been involved in the placing of
limpet mines at a cinema in a
black area which was screening
the film Cry Freedom, and was
“personally involved” in the
Khutshe House bombing as well
as the handling of HIV-positive
askaris—the intention being to
infect black women with the virus.

He told the court he feared for
his life because, by giving evi-
dence, he had become a threat to
the IFP, and he knew of other
Vlakfontein operatives who had
been “hurt” after speaking out.

Van Heerden will take the
stand for further cross-examina-
tion today.
Plan was hatched to destroy ‘ANC stronghold’

By Joe Mthethwa

Faced with the threat of a court ruling that could result in his arrest, IFP leader Pretoria and his colleagues were introduced to Khoza by his colleague Mr Victor Nidova while they were both employed by Abars bank.

“The attack on the African National Congress was hatched by IFP leader Pretoria and his colleagues while they were both employed by Abars bank.”

瘘ma Takathwa Freedom Party Youth Brigade leader Mr Themba Khoza and co-conspirator Eugene de Kock planned the attack on the African National Congress headquarters, the inquest into the Shell House massacre of March 28, 1994, heard in the Johannesburg High Court yesterday.

Giving his testimony before Judge Robert Nugent, former Vlakplaas operative Mr Andries “Brood” van Heerden said he too was involved in the plan.

In his evidence, led by Dr Torie Prenel, the Pretoria attorney-general, Van Heerden said he was introduced to Khoza by his colleague Mr Victor Nidova while they were both employed by Abars bank.

“I was approached by Victor Nidova, who told me that Themba Khoza wanted to see me,” said Van Heerden.

“The meeting between Khoza and Van Heerden took place at Abars offices in Johannesburg around June 1990.”

Van Heerden said Khoza had expressed concerns that the police in the Transvaal were not as helpful as the cause of the IFP as those in KwaZulu-Natal.

“I told Khoza I did not know but would look into my connections,” he said.

Van Heerden said that Khoza had expressed the wish that police would help the IFP defend itself against the African National Congress.

Van Heerden, chief of security at Abars until his suspension in March 1994, approached the head of the Vlakplaas unit, Colonel Eugene de Kock, and informed him of Khoza’s request.

On receiving the information, de Kock wanted to meet Khoza and “I arranged that meeting in my flat.”

He told the judge that three days after introducing Khoza to de Kock, Khoza had approached him and told him that there were problems at two Shobeng hostels.

“I then gave him hand grenades,” Van Heerden said. He said he did not only give Khoza three hand grenades but also an assortment of arms that Khoza loaded into his van.

He also told Nugent that Khoza was not the only IFP member involved in arms dealing. He implicated other senior members of the organisation, including former KwaZulu-Natal MEC for safety and security the Reverend Celani Mtshwana and Gauteng member of the Provincial Legislature Mr Humphrey Nidova.

Central to Van Heerden’s discussions with Khoza and Nidova was the idea of destroying Shell House, which IFP leaders regarded as an ANC stronghold. The plan was to attack the headquarters during a march in Johannesburg on March 28, 1994.

“Eugene de Kock devised the plan,” he said. He also told Nugent that Khoza was not the only IFP member involved in arms dealing. He implicated other senior members of the organisation, including former KwaZulu-Natal MEC for safety and security the Reverend Celani Mtshwana and Gauteng member of the Provincial Legislature Mr Humphrey Nidova.

In his response Van Heerden said he was not specifically asked that question. He told the court he joined the police force in 1972 and resigned in 1978. He then joined the security section of United Bank, now part of Abars bank. He was employed by the bank until 1988 when he rejoined the SAPS at John Vorster Square, attached to the security branch.

In March 1990 he asked to be transferred to the Vlakplaas unit. He is currently working for the National Intelligence Agency.

The inquest continues.
Susan Russell

INKATHA Freedom Party (IFP) MP Thembekile Khoza received an official car from Vlakplaas policemen to transport weapons they gave him for third force activities, national Intelligence operative Brood van Heerden told the Shell House inquest yesterday.

Van Heerden, a former Vlakplaas member, has given evidence directly linking senior IFP members — including Khoza and IFP provincial MP Humphrey Ndlouto — to Vlakplaas and its former head, Col Eugene de Kock.

He has testified that he was instrumental in obtaining weapons from De Kock for Khoza and other IFP members from 1990 until about a year before the Shell House shootings on March 28 1994. He told the inquest in the Johannesburg High Court that he had gone to Pretoria with Khoza to pick up the official car.

The former policeman, who has described himself as a card-carrying member of the IFP at the time, said the planning meetings attended by the IFP leaders had always been general discussions. There had not been a specific meeting about attacking Shell House and there had been no meeting for a year prior to the Shell House incident.

Van Heerden said he next saw Khoza on March 20, a week before the incident. Khoza arrived at his flat unannounced and during the conversation warned Van Heerden that "just remember I can shoot very nice."

Van Heerden said he took this as a warning since newspapers had published a Goldstone commission report linking Van Heerden to the IFP, Khoza and third force activities.

At that stage, Van Heerden said, he had lied to Judge Richard Goldstone about his involvement, but did tell the commission of IFP-led violent mass action planned for the city centre on March 21.

Khoza also told him he had orders from Ulundi to cancel the march planned for the next day and to organise another to attack Shell House. Khoza told him that this was the last

Continued on Page 2
IFP jeopardising reparation for abuse victims, warns TRC

JOHN YELD
ON THE TRUTH COMMISSION

The Truth Commission has announced dates for the second submission by political parties, and has warned that the Inkatha Freedom Party is jeopardising its members’ chances of getting reparation as victims of gross human rights abuses.

The parties all made initial submissions to the commission last year and have been asked to attend a second hearing to answer questions arising from them. At a press conference after a full committee meeting yesterday, deputy-chairman Alex Boraine announced that the African National Congress had asked for one-and-a-half days for its new submission, and would be heard on May 12 and 13. The ANC had not yet responded to a series of follow-up questions after its first submission.

The National Party, which would be heard for a full day on May 14, had already released its responses to the commission’s supplementary questions, and would be asked further questions on the basis of those responses, Dr Boraine said.

The Freedom Front would be heard on May 15.

The Inkatha Freedom Party had not confirmed the commission’s suggestion of May 16 for its follow-up hearing and had also not yet replied to the supplementary questions.

Commission chairman Desmond Tutu said the commission was worried about the slow pace of victims’ statements from KwaZulu Natal.

“We would say, please, for their sakes, enable those who have been victims to come forward so that they can qualify for reparation. All people should know that this commission is a commission for all South Africans,” said Archbishop Tutu.

Dr Boraine also said that he had been in touch recently with the head of the former South African Defence Force, George Meiring, who had told him the SADF’s second submission – the first was flatly rejected by the commission – was “almost complete”.

But because the commission had then sent a list of supplementary questions flowing from the top-secret Steyn Report, General Meiring had asked for more time.

Denying a suggestion that the Truth Commission was being “soft” on the military, while cracking down on the police, Dr Boraine said several former Civil Co-operation Bureau operatives had applied for amnesty and that Section 29 subpoenas on them had also been held back.

Truth Commissioner Dumisa Ntsebeza, who heads the commission’s investigative unit, said they would focus on the military, and that this would begin with controversial former SADF surgeon Wouter Basson, who had been linked to South Africa’s secret chemical warfare programme.

Policeman shot dead as sergeant goes berserk after family row

JOHAN SCHOOREN
CRIME CORRESPONDENT

A police sergeant carrying his three-year-old child went on a shooting spree in Bishop Lavis, killing a fellow policeman and wounding three people.

Donovan Kennedy, 23, of the Bishop Lavis police was fatally wounded in the head and neck when he and a colleague went to investigate a shooting in Green Street yesterday.

The mother of the sergeant’s common-law wife, a neighbour and the other policeman were injured.

A police spokesman said the drama began about 6pm yesterday at a house in Green Street where the Khayelitsha-based sergeant was involved in a heated argument with his common-law wife and her family.

The sergeant grabbed his child, pulled out a gun and allegedly shot Valerie Davids, his common-law wife’s mother, in the leg. A neighbour, Glasgow Petersen, heard the commotion from his house across the road and was wounded in the arm when he went to help.

Cop’s vital Shell House tape conversations erased

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg – Despite its importance, a recording was erased containing conversations between a senior police liaison officer and African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party members on the day 20 000 IFP supporters marched on Shell House.

Superintendent Chris Wilken told the Johannesburg High Court today conversations with Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlouv of the IFP and Joe Nhlanhla and Gary Kruser of the ANC had been taped.

Although the recording had been taped over, there was a transcript of the conversations, which he described as “99,9 percent accurate”.

Quizzed by George Bizos SC, for the ANC, Superintendent Wilken conceded the recordings would have shown what action the ANC had wanted taken as well as what IFP officials believed had happened that day.

His conversation with Mr Nhlanhla had involved a request for police reinforcements to ANC headquarters at Shell House. He discussed with Mr Ndlouv whether the march would be peaceful and whether the IFP would be providing marshals.
IFP leaders fingered for (278) Shell House

By WALLY MBHELE

THE POLICE and Inkatha have come under severe indictment at the Shell House inquiry.

There was silence in the public gallery this week when a former police hit-squad member took the witness stand at the Johannesburg high court.

IFP leaders Thembis Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu sat stony-faced as former Vlakplaas hit-squad operative Andries "Brood" van Heerden accused them of having been part of the Third Force conspiracy to attack the ANC's Shell House headquarters.

This left many spectators with uncomfortable questions to ask.

Khoza and Ndlovu were key organisers of the fateful "Zulu march" which left 19 people dead and scores injured on March 28, 1994.

Both men later became key campaigners for "justice" to be served against those thought to have been responsible for the massacre of eight marchers outside Shell House.

Van Heerden told how the Third Force, of which Khoza and Ndlovu were part, planned to attack Shell House.

His submission followed earlier evidence by Mphumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, who told the inquiry chaired by Judge Robert Nugent that a plan to attack Shell House had been hatched at a secret meeting attended by high-ranking police officers in 1994.

Phosa said that at the meeting in Verwoerdburg shortly before the Inkatha march, police — including former General "Krappies" Engelbrecht — planned to divert the march to Shell House, with the aim of attacking ANC leaders and disrupting the elections.

Van Heerden told Judge Nugent how the Vlakplaas-based police security hit-squad hatched this plan to wipe out the ANC leadership before the 1994 general elections.

Van Heerden alleged that former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock, now serving a life sentence, had colluded with Khoza, Ndlovu, IFP's Celani Mhethwa and Victor Ndlovu to attack the ANC building.

"I was a card-carrying IFP member... it was a police pattern to support the IFP," he said.

He said he had arranged a meeting between De Kock and Khoza after the latter had made a request for military aid: "Khoza said the IFP wanted to defend itself against the ANC," he said.

He claimed he had personally delivered a consignment of hand-grenades to Khoza and said such aid became frequent practice.

The plot to attack Shell House, said Van Heerden, was conceived after the Goldstone Commission's Third Force report, which said there were allegations that Khoza, Ndlovu, and various police generals were involved in political violence.
EX-cop tells court of his betrayal at the hands of his former friends at Vlakplaas

NIOCA KOZ

TWENTY years ago a young security guard met an ambitious Zulu handyman with a dangerous and unscrupulous past. Both of them began their careers as members of the IFP. But they built a long-lasting friendship, founded exclusively on their mutual hatred of the ANC. This week, Van Heerden, known to his colleagues as "Broom," told the Johannesburg High Court.

The pair came from different worlds — Andries van Heerden was a former security policeman. Victor Ndlovu was a member of the IFP. But they built a long-lasting friendship, founded exclusively on their mutual hatred of the ANC.

This week, Van Heerden, known to his colleagues as "Broom," told the Johannesburg High Court. "Inquest into the Shell House shooting a..." (The rest of the sentence is partial and unclear.)

People who had packed into court GC waited patiently as "Broom," once a card-carrying member of the IFP, was escorted into the court house by two HDP-patrol service people.

Van Heerden, who was employed as a National Intelligence Agency agent last August, said he was a frightening man.

In papers before the court, he said: "I live in extreme fear for my life and I have no doubt that I will be killed. I testify standing at the same place I am going to be killed. Even if they don't get me now, they will get me later..."

Van Heerden had felt the same way in 1994, when he had gone to Den... (The rest of the sentence is partial and unclear.)

The court was different. Van Heerden defended him as he waited for Mr Justice Robert Nugent and his two Australian's to start proceedings. Zhub in the gallery amongst them IFP MP Themba Khoza and another IFP offi... (The rest of the sentence is partial and unclear.)

Van Heerden testified that he had acted as a courier or mediator between 1990 and 1994 when police had supplied arms to the IFP.

He told the court that in 1990, Ndlovu and Khoza had been his friends. Ndlovu's brother, James, Humphrey Ndlovu, a Mlambo and the Reverend Colom extracted gifts from the safe house in Johannesburg. Khoza had asked him what they had been negotiated in an appearance of the IFP.

Ndlovu and Khoza then said that they had to be the only ones left on the left on the to fight out of their hands.

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."

"We discussed the gold mine," Khoza told the court. "We discussed the gold mine. Humphrey Ndlovu then called us in the police force."
Police 'did not promise' Shell House cordon

THE police had agreed to deploy reinforcements outside the African National Congress's (ANC's) Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg after an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)-organised mass march into Johannesburg turned violent, but did not promise to cordon off the building with razor wire, a senior policeman told the Shell House inquest on Friday.

Supt Chris Wilken denied that ANC intelligence chief Joe Nhlanhla had asked him to get the police to cordon off the building, but agreed that he had asked for police personnel to be sent.

However, Nhlanhla has testified that he twice asked the police to send reinforcements and cordon off the building after it became apparent that the marchers were turning violent.

The ANC has blamed the IFP for the violence when the march by 20,000 Zulus and IFP supporters turned violent on March 28, 1994. The inquest into the incident, headed by Judge Robert Nugent, is investigating the circumstances surrounding the deaths of 19 people in the city centre that day.
Frightened guards ‘fired in self defence’

The inquest into the deaths of the 19 people killed in the incident on March 28, 1994, is being held in the High Court here. It occurred a month before the first democratic general election when thousands of Zulus marched through the city to demand constitutional powers for their king and to launch the Inkatha Freedom Party's anti-election campaign.

Moroka was questioning taxi driver Mr. Sakhephile Dhlamini, who denied being among marchers outside Lancet Hall. He said he had not seen any marchers there that morning.

According to Dhlamini's testimony, armed men rushed out of Lancet Hall and opened fire on pedestrians. The men were shooting at people on their way to work, he said.

Dhlamini said he was walking in Jeppe Street with his brother and uncle when the men rushed out and began shooting. He said he saw two men with "big weapons" and one with a smaller one.

Repeating to a question from Moroka, Dhlamini said he was an IFP supporter.

His brother, Mr. Philomen Dhlamini, resident at George Goche hostel, gave similar evidence, saying the men had shot randomly at groups of people. Dhlamini said his brother and his uncle were walking to the Noord Street taxi rank about 8am when they passed a group of men at Lancet Hall.

One of these men said: ‘Here is war. Here is a fight.’ We thought they were talking about us and we said we don't want a war,” said Philomen Dhlamini.

Two of the men had AK-47s. He recognised the weapon from television, he said. In the volley of shots, Dhlamini was hit in the left leg.

He denied he was in a group of marchers who had advanced threateningly on ANC security guards.

"I don't know anything about people marching. We were not marching. They were situations, because we were not threatening," he said.

Earlier, Ms Glenda Dawn Prinsloo testified she was walking to work when she saw four Inkatha men in traditional dress near Lancet Hall. One carried a knobkerrie.

She heard a single shot, then a volley of shots. The people shooting were standing at the entrance to Lancet Hall.

She said she saw three men in civilian clothes. Two had rifles and one had a smaller gun. "They were standing across the pavement in a line facing the Inkatha supporters who were running away," she said.

Prinsloo -- Saps.
‘THREATS MAY CLOSE DOOR TO PUBLIC’

Judge warns march inquest

JOHANNESBURG: An ANC lawyer has been abused in the High Court lobby in the latest of several incidents of harassment of ANC representatives at the Shell House inquest.

A lawyer for the African National Congress and an ANC witness were harassed and threatened by members of the public at the Shell House inquest hearing here yesterday.

The High Court hearing has been attended by Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) MPs Mr Themba Khoza and Mr Humphrey Ndlouv, a strong contingent of IFP supporters and supporters of Soweto, an IFP-allied civic organisation.

Mr George Bizos, SC, for the ANC, told Mr Justice Bob Nugent that ANC lawyer Ms Kgotso Moloko and a witness, Mr Vuku- kuzela Magagula of the National Intelligence Agency, had been harassed by members of the public in the lobby.

"If there is going to be any interference with the court or anyone in official capacity, then I will have to decide that the public should not be allowed in here," Judge Nugent said, adding that anyone who made threats would be prosecuted.

According to the ANC, people at Moloko and threatened to assault her. ANC legal representatives and witnesses have often been harassed in court or outside.

The inquest is hearing evidence about the deaths of 19 people here on March 28, 1994, when thousands of Zulus marched through the city to demand constitutional powers for their king and to launch the IFP's anti-election campaign.

Eight were shot outside the ANC's Shell House headquarters, allegedly by ANC security guards. There was also shooting at and near the ANC's regional offices in Lanzet Hall, close to Shell House.

Magagula told the court that ANC security guards had fired on a group of Zulu marchers at Lanzet Hall. Then a "VIP protector" to ANC official Mr Obed Bapela, he and five ANC security guards had been standing at the entrance to Lanzet Hall. Bapela had warned him the offices might be attacked.

Pedestrians, claiming they were being chased by "Inkatha", had run into the foyer after 6am.

He had seen 15 people carrying traditional weapons, including pangas and knobkerries, approaching Lanzet Hall from the corner of Von Wieligh and Jeppe streets.

In front of them, people were running to get out of their way. The leader, waving a spear, said to the ANC guards: "Today we are going to kill the dogs."

Magagula said he had drawn his pistol when the leader was about eight metres away, aimed for a safe spot between the buildings and fired a warning shot. The marchers scattered. At least one of the guards had also fired one shot or more.

He had not seen if anyone was injured by the shots, Magagula said. Nor had he heard ambulances arriving or seen policemen demanding entrance to investigate the shooting.

Mr B Pretorius, SC, for families of victims, put it to Magagula that he had chosen not to see any policemen because the guards knew they had injured people and had made up the story about an attack to justify the shooting.

Magagula insisted he had not seen any policemen. "I know where I pointed my weapon."

Rifleman Andrew Kito, then an SA Defence Force soldier, said he was near the corner of Delvers and Jeppe streets when he saw five IFP marchers dancing and singing.

He heard a single shot, followed by another and then by several more. As the marchers ran towards him, he turned and ran.

He thought the marchers were shooting at him. He was hit in the left leg and saw 10 people with sticks rushing towards him, but they did not attack him.

At the time, he had been convinced the marchers were responsible for what happened to him, Kito said. -- Sapa
JOHANNESBURG: Video footage of the Zulu march here on March 28, 1994, shown at the Shell House massacre inquest yesterday, suggests gunmen fired at marchers and pedestrians from the building that housed the regional offices of the African National Congress.

The video showed pedestrians, Zulu marchers and traffic policemen scattering and seeking shelter amid a volley of shots.

People pointed upwards as if indicating the shots came from the vicinity of the ANC's regional offices at Lancet Hall in Jeppe Street.

The body of a man, apparently dead, lay sprawled in Von Wieligh Street, clutching a shield and assegai.

Further footage showed police and traffic police with guns drawn entering and searching Lancet Hall floor by floor.

Former ANC intelligence and security chief Mr Afrika Khumalo insisted that ANC security guards at Lancet Hall only fired three warning shots at Zulu marchers who approached the building that morning.

Khumalo is now a senior superintendent of police.

The inquest, in the Johannesburg High Court, is for 19 people killed in Johannesburg on March 28, 1994, during a Zulu march through the city. — Sapa
ANC guards ‘removed the evidence’

Susan Russell

TWO policemen sent to the African National Congress’s Johannesburg headquarters to guard spent AK-47 cartridges on the day of the Shell House shootings had to jump off a balcony to escape about 20 ANC security guards, a judicial inquest heard yesterday.

Sgt Cloo Loganathan told the inquest in the Johannesburg High Court that one of the guards had removed the cartridges despite his protests.

Loganathan said he and another policeman were forced to jump from a first-floor balcony of the Lancet Hall building onto the roof of a police Caspir to escape the “aggressive” guards.

The two policemen had been sent to the balcony to guard five spent AK-47 cartridges found by police, who searched the building after Inkatha Freedom Party marchers in the street outside were apparently fired at.

Loganathan was testifying at the inquest, headed by Judge Robert Nugent, into the deaths of 19 people killed when a march into the city on March 28, 1994 by 20,000 Zulus and IFP supporters turned violent.

While guarding the AK-47 cartridges on the balcony, the two policemen were confronted by armed ANC security guards. Loganathan said, one guard, who identified himself as head of ANC security Africa Khumalo, ordered them to leave, saying: “We can take care of our own building.”

Loganathan said one of the guards gathered up the cartridges and left the balcony. When the policemen protested, the guards shouted and became threatening. They radioed for police reinforcements, who could not get into the building, which by then was locked.

He said the guard who removed the cartridges returned. When he asked what he had done with them, the man replied that they were “gone”.

Loganathan said the guards’ aggression and their firearms led him to believe their lives were in danger. He screamed to the police in the street to bring the Caspir alongside and he and his colleague jumped onto its roof.

ANC counsel Carel Tlap said Khumalo denied knowledge of the incident.
Cops ‘jumped off ANC building’

OWN CORRESPONDENT
CT 25/4/99

Johannesburg: Fearing for their lives, two policemen jumped from the balcony of the ANC’s regional headquarters here onto a Casspir after armed guards threatened them, the High Court heard yesterday.

Sergeant Cleo Logonathan told the inquest into the death of 19 people during an IFP protest on March 28, 1994, that 22 ANC guards, all of whom were armed, had threatened him and his colleague.

He said he had been escorting 300 to 500 IFP marchers and as they neared the ANC’s regional headquarters at Lancelet Hall, people started shooting. He later found out the shots came from the building.

Logonathan said he was sent upstairs at Lancelet Hall and he and a Sergeant Mahari went onto a balcony on the first floor where they were told to guard five spent AK-47 cartridges which had been circled by someone.

While on the balcony, Mr Afera Khumalo arrived with guards and told them he was the ANC’s head of security for the building and that the two policemen must leave.

One of the guards picked up the cartridges. When they refused to leave, the door to the balcony was locked and the 22 guards, all of whom were armed, moved forward.

“They were very aggressive and arrogant. We felt our lives were threatened,” Logonathan said.

They had then asked a Casspir to come closer to the building and the two policemen had jumped onto its roof.

Logonathan’s version of events had earlier been put to Khumalo, who finished giving his evidence yesterday, but Khumalo denied any knowledge of such an incident.

The inquest continues today.
Weighing the evidence

Police and politicians under scrutiny from the Bench at last

The inquest is one of the most controversial events in SA's bloody history. It has been more than three years after 19 people were killed during a protest march by Zulu royalists through Johannesburg.

During those years, the main focus of the controversy — the killing of eight marchers outside the national headquarters of the ANC at Shell House — has been far from the public mind as rival politicians fired repeated verbal salvos at one another.

The ANC, from President Nelson Mandela down, has never denied that its guards fired on the marchers. But it insists they were exercising a "common-law right to self-defence."

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — whose lieutenants in Johannesburg, Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlouv, applied for permission to hold the march — has compared the shootings to the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960.

Now, however, it is the turn of presiding inquest judge Robert Nugent to scrutinise the events which led to the death of the eight marchers — as well as the killing of a ninth man outside the ANC's nearby regional headquarters and another 10 people at, or near, the Library Gardens.

The inquest, already into its third week, has heard voluminous argument from 30 lawyers representing the main protagonists: the ANC, Inkatha, the police, the army and the next of kin of the dead.

Key points to emerge include:

- Admission that police intelligence was "flawed" at the time — offered as an explanation for why police were stationed at a building which had been vacated by the ANC months earlier, when they were asked to protect ANC regional headquarters at Lancelot House;
- Acknowledgment that Shell House occupied a low priority in police planning for crowd control;
- A decision to place relatively few police officers outside Lancelot House (seven) and Shell House (nine, with 10 soldiers);
- Acknowledgment by police that they were asked by ANC leaders to send more
Witness denies taking used cartridges

Susan Russell

A FORMER Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter yesterday denied he had removed five used AK-47 cartridges from the ANC's Lancet Hall offices or threatened the policeman guarding them shortly before the Shell House shootings in March 1994.

Vincent Maleka, now a captain in the SANDF, was testifying in the Johannesburg High Court at the inquest into the Shell House shootings, in which eight people were killed during a march through the city centre by about 20,000 Zulus and IFP supporters on March 28, 1994.

The inquest, presided over by Judge Robert Nugent, is also investigating the deaths of 11 more people who died in and around the city centre when the march turned violent.

Maleka said he was one of six MK members working in an administrative capacity in the ANC's Lancet Hall regional headquarters on the day of the shooting incident.

A police sergeant, Cleo Loganathan, yesterday identified Maleka as one of a group of armed ANC members who confronted him and a colleague on the first floor of Lancet Hall, where they were guarding five spent AK-47 cartridges found during a police search of the building.

Loganathan has testified that he and a colleague were forced to jump from the first floor balcony onto the roof of a cavour in the street below after the ANC members threatened them.

Police first searched Lancet Hall shortly after 8 a.m. on March 28, 1994, after shots allegedly fired from the building had killed one marcher and injured three others.

Loganathan first testified last week that an ANC person dressed in a black leather jacket and white T-shirt had picked up the cartridges and removed them from the balcony, despite protests from himself and his colleagues.

Loganathan said he recognised the person from court exhibit photographs, and identified him as Maleka.

Maleka said he had been wearing the outfit described, but denied that he had threatened the policeman or taken the cartridges.
Police assumptions 'recipe for violence'

Susan Russell

A POLICE assumption that African National Congress (ANC) security personnel would be able to defend Shell House against attack by Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) Zulu impos was a 'recipe for the violence' in March 1994, a senior policeman conceded in the Johannesburg High Court yesterday.

Senior Supt Petrus Peché was testifying at the Shell House inquest into the deaths of 19 people killed in violence during the mass march by about 20000 people attending an IFP-organised anti-election rally in Johannesburg on March 29 1994.

Fewer than two dozen policemen and defence force members were deployed outside Shell House on the day.

The ANC has accused police of failing to protect its Shell House headquarters despite repeated appeals from its leaders.

There has already been evidence from senior policemen that in deploying only a handful of policemen outside Shell House police had assumed the ANC's own security personnel would be able to protect the building from any attack.

Peché confirmed that the security planners had received information of the mass rally at Library Gardens to launch an anti-election campaign. They also had information that the IFP was planning mass action on the Witwatersrand, including disruption in the city.

If the planners had been aware that the ANC was to be a subject of the planned mass action, Peché said, more police personnel would have been deployed outside the ANC's offices.

Peché said he recalled that the security planners had discussed whether Shell House could easily be occupied.

He thought the building would not be occupied but that conflict could occur.

Judge Robert Nugent asked Peché whether it was not an abdication of responsibility to assume the ANC's security guards would protect the building.

"No, they were seen as possible backup in case the building was occupied," Peché replied.

"It was still our responsibility to ensure that the building was not occupied."

Peché said it was believed that because of the ANC's good security fewer policemen were needed.

The judge asked him whether that had not been a recipe for what did happen, with no one in control.

"Looking back on it, my lord, I have to agree," Peché replied.
'I gave orders to shoot' - Gary Kruser

Former security head describes volatile situation on day of Shell House shooting

SHELL House security guards were ordered to open fire on thousands of Nazi marchers who, on March 21, 1985, attempted to attack the building. ANC deputy field officer of security, Mr. Gary Kruser, said yesterday.

Kruser told the so-called Shell House inquiry in the Johannesburg High Court he feared that ANC leaders and members who were in the building would be killed.

"I knew if the marchers overran our position, we would have been unable to prevent them from going into the building and from killing ANC leaders and members. I also knew that no one else was in a position to prevent the marchers from wreaking havoc," he said.

Kruser, now a brigadier in the SAPS, told Judge Robert Nugent that when he arrived at Shell House he was told of shots being fired at the ANC's regional offices at nearby Lancer Hall and went to assess the situation.

After a brief meeting with security personnel at Lancer Hall, Kruser said, he returned to Shell House and briefed Mr. Leonard Radu, the ANC's security chief.

They also discussed information gathered by ANC intelligence personnel that the IFP intended to use the march to attack Shell House.

Kruser said Radu instructed him to issue warning shots to all available security personnel and to deploy them as a matter of urgency.

A senior policeman who was on the scene, Kruser said, saw from Shell House that most of the marchers were armed with dangerous weapons, including firearms.

"They tore down and destroyed ANC posters in the vicinity of Shell House. They screamed and shouted at our security guards, taunting them with their weapons," he said.

**Warning shots** (297)

As the crowd advanced towards Shell House, Kruser said, he heard shots coming from the marchers.

ANC guards fired warning shots but this seemed to spur on the marchers, who gathered speed and ran towards Shell House. More shots came from the crowd as it moved towards the building.

Kruser said the crowd was about 15 metres from the building when he ordered ANC security guards to open fire. "At the time I gave the order to open fire, I knew of the killings which had been taking place since the early hours of the morning," he said. - Sapa.
Ex-ANC security official admits he lied about Shell House shootings

Fear that revealing names would expose colleagues to attack by ‘third force element’, inquest told

Former ANC deputy security chief Gary Kruser yesterday admitted that he lied to police, the attorney-general’s office and the Goldstone Commission during earlier investigations into the Shell House massacre.

Kruser made his admission to the Johannesburg High Court inquest for 19 people killed in central Johannesburg on March 29 1994 during a march by thousands of Zulus demanding constitutional power for their king.

Eight of the 19 killed were Zulu marchers shot dead outside the ANC’s Shell House headquarters, allegedly by ANC security guards.

Inquest chairman Mr Justice Robert Nugent said Kruser’s testimony on Monday and yesterday contradicted sworn statements he made to the police, the attorney-general’s office and the Goldstone Commission.

Kruser admitted that his earlier statement, that the ANC’s firearm register was not updated on the day of the shooting, was not true. He said he had lied to protect the identity of ANC security guards who opened fire on the marchers, whom he claimed were armed.

He feared that by revealing the guards’ names he would be exposing his colleagues to danger and possible assassination by “a third force element”.

In his submission to the Goldstone Commission, Kruser made no mention of the use of AK-47s by ANC security guards on the marchers.

On Monday, Kruser, who admitted ordering the security guards to shoot the Zulu marchers because he believed ANC leaders inside Shell House were in danger, said two AK-47s were handed to the police for ballistic testing in connection with the shooting.

“Why did you not tell the police officers what actually happened on that day? Why did you withhold information that AK-47s were used on that day?” Judge Nugent asked.

Kruser, now a brigadier in the police, also admitted that he did not co-operate with police investigating the massacre because he did not trust them. He told ANC officials only what happened on the day of the massacre.

Judge Nugent asked why, and Kruser replied: “The police regard us as enemies and investigations wouldn’t go well.”

The obviously irritated judge said the court’s time was being wasted by new information from Kruser which ought to have been part of earlier investigations.

“This court is only now investigating what should have happened a long time ago because no one co-operated with the police or the attorney-general’s office. I think this is just a waste of my time this morning,” Judge Nugent said.

Kruser replied he had not wanted to co-operate with the police because he had intended to testify in court.

Kruser questioned by IFP legal representative Danie Dordling, could not explain why all eight people killed outside Shell House died of gunshot wounds in the back.

He also agreed that it was possible that the marchers surged towards Shell House because they were fired upon by people on a Shell House parapet.

The hearing continues.

Sapa
Shell House victims may have been fleeing

Susan Russell

A FORMER African National Congress (ANC) security chief who ordered guards to fire on a large group of Zulu marchers who allegedly attacked the organisation’s Shell House headquarters could not explain yesterday why none of the eight people who died were shot from the front.

Former ANC deputy head of security Gary Kruser told the Shell House inquest earlier that he gave the order to fire after marchers ignored warning shots and attacked them in an attempt to gain access to the building where a number of ANC leaders were trapped.

Eight people died after security guards opened fire with a variety of firearms including shotguns and an AK-47.

One of the armed ANC security guards deployed on the parapet of Shell House also had an AK-47.

The group which Kruser alleges intended attacking Shell House was part of the 20,000 Zulus and IFF supporters who brought Johannesburg to a standstill on March 28 1994 when they converged on the city centre for an anti-election meeting at Library Gardens.

The judicial inquest, headed by Judge Robert Nugent, is investigating the deaths of 19 of the 53 people killed in and around Johannesburg in violence related to the mass march.

Kruser said the crowd which entered King George Street on the west side of Shell House had ignored warning shots when they appeared intent on attacking the building.

Contrary to his expectations, he said, they had surged forward and were about 15m away when he gave the order to fire. The crowd immediately began to disperse and he gave the order to stop firing.

He said he was “surprised” to hear now that none of the dead had been shot from the front, but were fatally wounded from the side or the back.

Nugent asked how he could explain this since in his version the marchers had been surging towards him when the order was given.

Shell House

Continued from Page 1

(278) ED 21/3/97

Kruser said he could only speculate on the reasons. It was possible, he said, that they were shot by their own people from behind or had been shot by guards on the parapet.

He agreed with the judge that it was possible that the people he thought were attacking had run towards them fleeing gunfire from ANC guards on the parapet. He did not know if there had been an order to shoot by anyone on the parapet.

Kruser admitted he had lied in three statements to investigators about the Shell House incident and to the Goldstone commission.

He lied about the Shell House firearms register to protect ANC security guards involved. His evidence that the register had not been updated that day was untrue. He had lied because he still believed there was a third force in the police and revealing the guards’ identities in the register would expose them to possible assassination.

Kruser said he had not wanted to cooperate with police during the initial investigation into the Shell House shootings because the ANC had still regarded the police as the enemy at that stage. Their investigation had also been one-sided.

He admitted he had lied to the Goldstone commission by not disclosing the fact that AK-47s had been fired.
Guard would have 'fired down'

Susan Russell

A FORMER African National Congress (ANC) intelligence operative who opened fire from a Shell House parapet at a group of Zulu marchers in March 1994, told the Johannesburg High Court yesterday that he had fired upwards after hearing gunshots, but would have "mown them down" if he had seen them.

Jacob Molefe told the inquest that he had been in possession of one of two AK-47s used to guard the building during the march by thousands of Zulus and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters on March 28 1994.

He said he opened fire after automatic gunfire had come from the crowd and particles of cement from where the bullets struck the building had fallen on him.

He was one of four or five guards deployed on the parapet and had been instructed by ANC personnel to obtain the AK-47 from security chief Leonard Nkuna.

He was unable to see over the parapet to ascertain who was firing, although he had seen a "huge" black man in the crowd shortly before, holding an AK-47.

"If I had seen them I would have mowed them down, but I shot up to frighten them," Molefe said.

Firing continued from the crowd and he believed they were attacking the ANC guards. Two other guards on the parapet had fired downwards, Molefe said.

It happened in seconds, he said. "I went down to the foyer to see what the damage had been and to see how many of our people had been killed."

He reiterated that if he had been able to fire down at the marchers from where he was, he "would have shot them.

"I am not a cold-blooded murderer," he told the court. "They were attackers from the hostel."
Shell House guards ‘were not briefed’

Susan Russell

AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) security guards were given firearms and told to defend Shell House if it was attacked by Zulu marchers, but received no specific instructions on what to do or when to act, the Johannesburg High Court heard yesterday.

What emerged during evidence at the Shell House inquest was that despite deploying at least two dozen armed security guards inside and outside the building, when 20,000 Zulus and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members poured into the city centre on March 28, 1994, ANC security chiefs did not have a co-ordinated plan to defend the premises.

Eight people died when ANC security guards, armed with a variety of shotguns, handguns and two AK-47s and deployed outside Shell House and on the parapet of the building, opened fire on a large group of marchers. The group was one of a number which passed Shell House on the way to an IFP-organised anti-election rally at Libary Gardens.

Two ANC security personnel testified yesterday that they had opened fire on their own initiative in the belief that the group was going to attack Shell House.

Both were questioned at length by Judge Robert Nugent on what happened.

1. Sasani (Formerly Credell Investment Corporation Limited)
2. Sasani Limited
3. Sasani Limited
4. Sasani Limited
5. Sasani Limited
6. Sasani Limited
7. Sasani Limited
8. Sasani Limited
9. Sasani Limited
IFP wants access to Shell House amnesty application

Susanne Russell

LAWYERS acting for the Inkatha Freedom Party at the Shell House inquest applied yesterday for an order compelling the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to give them access to the contents of an amnesty application made by an African National Congress witness.

The witness, Neo Potsane, was one of the ANC security personnel who opened fire on Zulu and IFP marchers outside the organisation’s Shell House headquarters in Johannesberg on March 28, 1994.

The application brought evidence at the inquest to a halt, while it was argued.

Eight people were killed when ANC security personnel opened fire on a large group of people, part of a 260,000-strong contingent making its way to the city centre for an IFP-organised anti-election rally.

Potsane was one of the guards on the first floor parapet of Shell House. He has testified that he fired one shot from a shotgun into the crowd in the belief they were attacking Shell House.

During cross-examination by IFP counsel Danie Durfling on Tuesday, Potsane said he had applied for amnesty for that day’s events.

Dorfling yesterday formally asked Judge Robert Nugent to grant an order compelling the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to make the contents of the amnesty application available to his clients or, alternatively, to subpoena the commission to make full disclosure.

He argued that the confidentiality afforded amnesty applications did not preclude the judge from making this order.

Dorfling said the amnesty application was irrelevant to determine Potsane’s reliability as a witness and whether he had committed an offence, which was the task of the inquest court.

Opposing the application, ANC counsel Carel Tip said that not only the documentation, but the amnesty application itself was confidential in terms of the legislation. Potsane was entitled to even refrain from answering whether or not he had applied for amnesty.

Although the information contained in the amnesty application might be relevant to the inquest, Tip said the judge should treat it as inadmissible hearsay evidence, striking reference to it from the court record.

Nugent said he would give a ruling tomorrow.
Building ‘came under attack’

AN AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) witness testifying at the Shell House inquest in the Johannesburg High Court yesterday insisted that the reason he and other security personnel opened fire on Zulu marchers was because the building was under attack.

Former ANC intelligence officer Maraisamy Singaram, one of the group of armed security personnel deployed outside Shell House on March 28, 1994 when about 20,000 Zulus and IFP supporters poured into the city to attend a rally at the Library Gardens.

Eight marchers were shot dead outside Shell House when ANC guards fired at several hundred marchers on their way past the building. The dead were among more than 50 people killed in and around Johannesburg as people made their way to attend the rally.

ANC witnesses, including more than six security personnel involved in the Shell House incident, testified that the marchers were fired on when they attempted to attack Shell House.

According to evidence also from ANC witnesses, the organisation had been expecting an IFP attack that day because it received information prior to the march that the event would be used to launch an attack on Shell House and assassinate the ANC leadership. The ANC also contends that the first shots were fired by members of the crowd as they advanced towards the building.

Singaram, employed in the ANC’s intelligence section at the time, was called to assist in guarding the building shortly before the incident.

He testified earlier that when he heard shots from the crowd he crawled to the corner of Shell House on Plein and King George Streets and fired three shots at the marchers, aiming at the lower parts of their bodies.

Under cross-examination by IFP counsel Durutse Daphaing yesterday it was put to Singaram that the ANC version of a serious attack on Shell House was a fabrication and there was in fact no attack on the building.

“I can only give my honest account of what I saw, what I did,” he replied.
Injured men tell inquest about Shell House 'pandemonium'

Susan Russell

TWO men injured when ANC security guards opened fire on several hundred Zulu marchers outside Shell House on March 26, 1984 both testified yesterday that there had been "pandemonium" as frightened people scattered in all directions in a bid to escape the shooting.

John Thusini and William Mhlongu travelled by train into town from Nancefield hostel to attend an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) rally at the Library Gardens in Johannesburg to call for constitutional rights for the Zulu monarch and protest against the general elections.

Thusini, who described the shots fired at them as "like a shower of rain", said he was shot in the right side and buttock in the shooting outside Shell House, while Mhlongu was shot in the right side.

Both men said they had not known where the shots were coming from when the shooting began, and that marchers had fled in all directions.

Thusini, who did not know the names of the streets in the area, told the court that he was unaware that the building in question was Shell House.

Both men said they had been informed about the rally at a meeting called at the hostel by their indunas on March 27. They were told the rally was in connection with the Zulu king's constitutional demands, and nothing was said about the election.

Thusini, who described the shots fired at them as "like a shower of rain", said he was shot in the right side, and Mhlongu, who said they were armed with traditional weapons of spear, assegai and shield, was also shot in the right side.

Mhlongu said his group was singing when the shooting started. He also described how he had been leading his group lying on the ground dead shortly after the crowd stampeded.
Policeman denies fleeing in fear from Zulu march

Susan Russell

A YOUNG policeman who was standing among a group of armed African National Congress guards when they fired on hundreds of Zulu marchers outside the party's headquarters in March 1994 has Wednesday denied having fled in fear.

Sgt Daniel Golach told the Shell House inquest in the Johannesburg High Court he was with a group of ANC guards, one with an AK-47 rifle, when they opened fire on the marchers as they advanced down King George Street on the west side of the building.

Golach was one of a handful of policemen deployed outside Shell House on March 28, 1994 when about 20,000 Zulus and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched into the city centre for a rally to protest against imminent elections.

Eight people were killed outside Shell House when ANC guards opened fire on the marchers. The ANC contends the group fired on was trying to storm Shell House, and blames the police for failing to protect the building despite repeated requests for assistance from ANC leaders.

Golach admitted he had been very tense when the marchers came into view because he did not know what to expect. He denied a suggestion by ANC counsel D Berger that he and another young policeman had earlier been moved out of the way by one of the ANC guards, who told their superior officer not to put such young men in such a dangerous situation.

Golach said when the shooting began he had run around the building in search of his commanding officer, but returned to the corner of Plein and King George streets.

He described the 10 to 15 ANC guards outside Shell House as very tense and prepared to shoot.

They had repeatedly said they were going to shoot, and he tried to calm them, saying it would not be necessary.

Golach said he could not remember which guard fired first, although he did remember the guard with the AK-47 firing in the direction of the marchers.

He said he had heard no shots from any direction before the guards fired, nor could he remember hearing any order being given to the guards.

Golach said he had been aware at the time that Shell House was the ANC's national headquarters.

He said he had been given no specific instructions on the day of the march before his deployment outside Shell House, nor were there any specific orders regarding the policing of the building.
Artist pleaded with Shell House crowd

Susan Russell

A MAN who tried to stop several hundred “aggressive” and “lawless” Zulus from confronting an armed group outside Shell House was assaulted with traditional weapons by the crowd as it rushed past him, the Johannesburg High Court heard yesterday.

Johannesburg artist Ralph von Egidy gave a vivid account of his experience yesterday when testifying at the inquest into the March 28 1994 Shell House shootings.

Von Egidy was identified by several witnesses as the “long blond-haired white man” visible on video footage attempting to stop the marchers.

Von Egidy, who said he was against the use of weapons of any kind, testified that he had been “overwhelmingly angry” at the “devil in the hearts of men” when he attempted to stop marchers confronting the tense and defensive armed people ahead of them.

Marchers converging on the intersection of De Villiers and King George streets on the North West corner of Shell House were momentarily halted by the sight of a long-haired white man with his arms outstretched circling the intersection screaming: “Stop, stop all of you, stop! How dare you, who gives you the right? Do you not know it is wrong to kill, het julle geen vrees vir God nie? Hoe durf julle? (Have you no fear of God? How dare you?) Stop!”

Von Egidy said the marchers stopped for a second, apparently taken aback by his presence. Then he was pushed to his knees as marchers behind the front lines pushed forward and charged ahead in “aggressive, violent and attacking mode”.

He was hit with an assortment of traditional weapons. Seconds later he heard a volley of gunfire, automatic fire as well as single shots.

“As I was kneeling I saw the legs and torsos of marchers going past me and three to four seconds later the same legs and torsos coming back,” he said. “As they were coming back, bodies were falling all around me and weapons were clattering.”

Von Egidy said he saw a marcher take out a pistol and cock it. He also saw a rifle butt among the crowd, and heard single shots maybe from a rifle.

The armed group of policemen, security guards or soldiers outside Shell House were all in a defensive posture, some standing, others crouching or kneeling with their weapons ready.

After the firing stopped, he saw a “carpet of weapons” on the ground and tended to two dying people who had fallen on either side of him. The shooting lasted about 10 seconds, he said, and was very intense. After the shooting the intersection was deserted.

Cross-examined by ANC counsel Karel Tip, Von Egidy reiterated that the marchers had behaved as if they were going to attack. “They definitely had a common purpose, and that purpose was not to have a picnic,” he said.

After Von Egidy’s evidence, the inquest was adjourned for a month for the mid-year court recess.
Some may think that if the Olympics come to Cape Town, our sports stars will continue to deliver, regardless of a lack of sponsorship. They will say we were able to win medals in Atlanta and in Athens. But we were not in the same league. In 1976 Canada won no medals and in this year's World Athleties Championships in Athens, Greek athletes won only two medals.

South Africa can and must do better, if we are given the honour of holding the Olympic torch in 2004. As a nation we are in an extremely fortunate position. Our country has no shortage of young men and women who are blessed with sporting abilities. But they need that extra-boost that only the best coaching and facilities can bring. [Time expired.]

Mr A Q EBRAHIM: Madam Speaker, after listening to the Minister who catalogued some of the activities undertaken by the Ministry, we would like to state that we have moved from the era of calling for sports boycott to the era of international acceptance and participation. In the sports arena, since the establishment of the new democratic dispensation, our sportsmen and sportswomen have registered successes.

There is general consensus, however, that much has to be done to make our international participation meaningful and rewarding. Sportsmen and sportswomen are not only ambassadors of our country, but carry with them the pride of the nation. Effective, meaningful and rewarding participation requires proper training, adequate facilities, equal opportunities and, in our special circumstances, real integration.

Could the Minister inform the House whether his Ministry is giving due and necessary attention to proper training of our sportsmen and sportswomen, whether adequate facilities are available to all sections of our society, especially the hitherto disenfranchised and discriminated-against communities, and whether by the year 2004, when the Olympic Games are held in Cape Town, we will be represented by the best possible, well-trained and truly representative team?

The MINISTER OF SPORT AND RECREATION: Madam Speaker, the first point that I would make is that we are going to have money and we are going to invest most of that money in the development of the necessary infrastructure to make all the things that we are talking about real, that is, the participation of all South Africans in sport and recreation.

At the present moment there is a dearth of facilities, particularly when it comes to the historically disadvantaged communities. In order to address that, we are aware of the fundamental truth that there is no way the Government alone, even if there were no other priorities, could provide the kind of relief that is required on the ground in those areas which were disadvantaged in the past.

What we are doing now is to engage and enter into partnerships with the private sector both at home and outside the borders of the country to assist in the provision of these facilities, because preparation for athletes and meaningful participation in international competition is not going to be realised as long as we do not have the necessary infrastructure where these young athletes are going to be developed. Hence our drive to consolidate the facilities that make some of them to these countries with whom we have signed agreement protocols and to get them also sending expertise to South Africa to assist us to develop. I think we are well on course, and with the pronouncement of the National Lotteries Act we are going to be receiving quite a great deal of money, as has been indicated.

Mr R P Z VAN DEN HEEVER: Madam Speaker, I would like to thank the hon the Minister of Sport and Recreation for his assurance of a talent identification drive by the department. However, I want to focus my input on the preparation of our female athletes for the 2004 Olympic Games. In stark contrast to the outstanding 19 points attained by our male athletes at the recent world championships in Athens, all female athletes were scoring only one point in these games, and that was through Colleen de Reuck achieving the eighth place in the 10 000 metres.

How many times, in recent years, have hon members not witnessed our female athletes depart from home with high hopes and keen aspirations, but literally disappearing into thin air, usually scoring only one point in these games?

The MINISTER OF SPORT AND RECREATION: Madam Speaker, I am happy that the hon member has brought this to the attention of the House one example of the plight that is facing millions of historically disadvantaged athletes. But the point that we need to make is that the opportunities are there. What is necessary is for the department, Government and this House to do exactly what we are talking about, that is engage every single resource that we have at our disposal and try to push sport to a higher level than it ideally was at the present moment, in so far as any moneys that come from the Government are concerned.

As far as female athletes are concerned, we are taking the question of the gender backlog very seriously, to the extent that at the beginning of this year we launched the National Steering Council for Women in Sport. It is intended to address, specifically, the problems relating to the participation of women in general in sport in the country. They are doing well and have ramped to the provinces, and we have instructed federations to give particular attention to the training of athletes.

Secondly, we are continuing to fund Operation Excellence of Ncosa, which is meant to avoid a situation in which South Africa becomes an ordinary spectator in 2004. Huge sums of money are being invested by the department and the private sector to ensure meaningful and relevant participation in 2004.

Debate concluded.

Shell House evidence differs from that presented during consultations held between members of the Attorney-General's Office in Johannesburg, which consultations were attended by the said Deputy Attorney-General and the minutes of which were requested by the presiding judge in the inquest into the Shell House incident in the High Court in Johannesburg on or about 16 and 17 April 1997, so as to establish whether such evidence differed from that presented during consultations held between members of the Attorney-General's Office in Johannesburg, which consultations were attended by the said Deputy Attorney-General and the minutes of which were requested by the presiding judge in the inquest into the Shell House incident on 17 April 1997; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether he or his Department has taken or intends taking any steps in this regard; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Madam Speaker, the witness referred to by the hon member, namely the Hon Boed van Heerden, was called to give evidence by direction of the presiding judge of the inquest proceedings. The inquest is not into what...
the hon member refers to as "the Shell House incident", but into the death of a large number of persons in and around Johannesburg on 16 April and 17 April 1994. Neither my department nor I have investigated the evidence of the said Brood van Heerden.

I consider it inappropriate for me to do so at this stage because the inquest proceedings have not been concluded, and the presiding judge has not made any finding. I will consider my position and that of the department after the proceedings of the inquest have been finalised. I am at this stage in no position to state whether Van Heerden's evidence differs from any version which he may have given before to any other person, including, possibly, the Attorney-General.

With regard to the second part of the interpellation, neither I nor my department intend to take any steps in this regard at this stage.

Mr M A MZIZE: Madam Speaker, I would like to thank the Minister for his explanation. However, one is concerned about what is happening at the proceedings of what is known as the Shell House inquest. What surprises me, and the reason for putting forward this interpellation, is that the said Attorney-General was not part of the team which was set up to conduct the Shell House inquest. However, he was allowed to lead evidence in regard to the said Mr Van Heerden. Over and above that, he knew the contents of the evidence, as he had taken part in obtaining a statement from Mr Van Heerden at the beginning.

Also, whether deliberately or not, he did not disclose the whole contents of the statement made by Mr Van Heerden in his evidence-in-chief. He even refrained from drawing the court's attention to the fact that the witness had deviated from his original statement. The statement came out the next day when the witness was put under cross-examination. We feel that it is unethical for a man of the Attorney-General's stature to knowingly allow a person or witness to deviate from his evidence-in-chief and conceal that evidence until it comes out under cross-examination. We do not know what the Attorney-General's interest in this matter is.

I am sure that the Minister is also aware, and will agree with me, that the circumstances surrounding this inquest have brought about a lot of controversy. A lot of people died, and there are a lot of things that have not been brought to the surface. We wonder how the judge is going to come to a conclusion, a fair judgement, if we have people such as the Attorney-General who, knowingly and deliberately, do not draw the attention of the judge to vital information. Up until now, the Attorney-General has not done this. We do not know what his intentions are. Therefore we would like to request the department to look into the matter before it is finalised.

Ms L B NGWANE: Madam Speaker, I am surprised that the IJP should be asking such questions, as if they were surprised at the evidence presented during the inquest. Instead of dealing with the evidence of their own involvement they are, in fact, focusing on the Attorney-General who is not in the dock in this case. The fact of the matter is that this evidence is but further confirmation of third-force activities and the collusion between the IJP and the erstwhile security forces. [Interjections.] Read the evidence.

The insinuation that the Deputy Attorney-General acted in any manner other than was proper is rejected. I think that the IJP, just like the NP, is continuing to clutch at straws in a futile attempt to exonerate itself.

The ANC was under attack. The attack was planned by senior members of the IJP. [Interjections.] The plans were frustrated, and now the IJP is trying to get a scapegoat.

The SPEAKER: Order, hon member!

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS: Madam Speaker, on a point of order: I am a senior member of the IJP. [Interjections.] As such I request that you ask the speaker to withdraw this statement. The senior members of the IJP had planned the attack, because I regard that as unparliamentary. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order! [Interjections.] Order! [Interjections.] I think the reference was generally. I will consider it if the allegation was specifically in regard to senior IJP members in Parliament. I will look at Hansard and I will rule accordingly. [Interjections.] Hon member, I have indicated that if it is a general allegation it is acceptable. If it was specific, I will check Hansard and I will rule.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS: Madam Speaker, I request that you regard this as a serious matter and consider having her withdrawn, because she referred here to "senior members of the IJP", and I happen to be that IJP grouping. [Interjections.] Therefore, if Madam Speaker says . . . [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order! [Interjections.] I have indicated . . . [Interjections.] Order, hon members!

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS: None of the members interjecting are IJP members, by the way. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER: Order! I have said I will look at Hansard. I have just indicated that to you, and I will come back to you on this.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS: Thank you, Madam Speaker.

The SPEAKER: Order! Will you please proceed, hon member.

Ms L B NGWANE: What I was saying was that the ANC was under attack, and the attack was pre-planned by some very senior members of the IJP, and the plans were frustrated. [Interjections.] The IJP is now looking for a scapegoat. The Shell House incident . . .

The SPEAKER: Order! [Interjections.] Hon member Mr Gibson. [Interjections.] Order! Hon members, order!

Mr D H M GIBSON: Madam Speaker, on a point of order: The interpellation deals with a very specific statement made by one particular person and with statements which he is alleged to have made before the inquest and statements which he made to the police. Both the interpellant and the Minister confined themselves to the subject. With great respect, the hon member who is speaking now is discussing the whole broad range of this. [Interjections.] This interpellation was offered to other members and to other parties, and we declined to participate because of its very specific nature, and I ask you to rule that that is the ambit of the debate and that the hon member is out of order in discussing the whole incident, with all the blame and everything else, which she is attempting to do now.

The SPEAKER: Order! I think the hon member should come to the specifics of what has been said.

Ms L B NGWANE: Thank you, Madam Speaker. If we listened to the interpellant himself, he went on to state that the evidence that was led by this deputy attorney-general . . . [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Madam Speaker, the facts are, first of all, that the witness Brood van Heerden was called at the instance of the presiding judge—not by any party, but by the judge. Secondly, this evidence was led by a deputy attorney-general who is a very respected figure and who was asked to lead that evidence by the Attorney-General. He gave evidence, and as I understand it, he was cross-examined. If it is necessary, a witness can be called back and re-cross-examined. So our procedure makes adequate provision for a witness to be tested as to his or her credibility, and the same rule applies to this particular witness.

I regret that I cannot please the hon member today. I will not interfere because the matter is sub judice at this stage. Once the inquest proceedings have been finalised I will be in a position to consider the matter.

Mr M F CASSIM: Madam Speaker, I think the issue that is at the bottom of the inquiry is the following: What happens when a judicial officer knowingly suppresses or conceals very important knowledge or information which he has, and which he is in honour bound to put in front of the court in order for the court to arrive at a fair and just decision? The question to the Minister is: If someone who occupies the position of either attorney-general or deputy attorney-general has access to such information, but at the time of the inquest or hearing suppresses key parts of that information and does not let the court have the benefit of that information, and if such information thereafter is made known, and it comes to the attention of the Minister that someone within the judicial or the Department of Justice has attempted to subvert true justice for some reason or the other, what would the Minister do in such an instance?
We need to do this, because like Caesar's wife, justice should be without reproach. It should appear to be such that it is equal for everyone. Anyone who attempts, by some subterfuge, to suppress information for the benefit of someone, has defeat ed the ends of justice and should not therefore belong in the Department of Justice. This is the key question that my colleague wanted answered by the Minister. Was he keeping his options open or was he watching this case with interest? I ask this question because a very important legal principle was being undermined—that those who are there to serve justice must be seen to be doing it in every possible manner. [Time expired.]

Mr M A MZIZI: Madam Speaker, I put this question to the Minister knowing that the matter was sub judice. What is important is that we wanted the court to arrive at the correct decision. When a witness differs from the evidence-in-chief, the prosecutor discloses that immediately to the court. The prosecutor has two options: He either closes the case or discredits the witness.

However, in this case we did not see justice being done. The case went on until the evidence came out under cross-examination. We request the department to look into the matter so that we can find out exactly what the intention of the attorney-general was.

Mr W A HOFMEYR: Madam Speaker, on a point of order: It is surely improper for the member to stand here and say that sub judice is not being done in a court of law while the case is still proceeding. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order! I think that would be construed as an attack on the presiding officer. Unfortunately, the member has sat down but I would have members note that if one is dealing with a presiding judge or a magistrate, and the way a case is being conducted, as far as that presiding officer is concerned, it would be unparliamentary. Have you completed your speech?

Mr M A MZIZI: No, Madam Speaker, not yet.

The SPEAKER: Order! Thea! I must ask you to withdraw it.

Mr M A MZIZI: Madam Speaker, the question does not deal with the presiding officer. It deals with the person who led evidence. That is the person who misled the court.

The SPEAKER: Order! I want to stress that that point is also sub judice as well as an actual attack on a particular judicial officer while a court case is in progress. I would ask you please to withdraw the last part of your statement.

Mr M A MZIZI: Madam Speaker, I am at a loss. What last part are you referring to? I explained in my statement that Jadin no way was I attacking the presiding officer. We can check it in the Hansard. In no way was I... [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order! Thank you for clarifying that it was not an attack on the presiding officer.

Mr W A HOFMEYR: Madam Speaker, I would like to address your ruling. I distinctly heard the hon member saying that justice was not being done in this case. Whether it is an attack on the presiding officer or on the court as a whole, I think that is an unpunishmentary and that it must be withdrawn.

The SPEAKER: Order! I do not think the statement is unpunishmentary. My ruling was on the basis of Order 154 it was sub judice to discuss the content of the trial. The hon member has indicated that his comments were not meant as an aspersion on the presiding officer of that court, and it is in that context that I accepted what he said.

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Madam Speaker, we have entrenched in our Constitution the principle of separation of powers, in particular, a separation of powers between the judiciary on the one hand and the executive and Parliament on the other hand. There are many cases which are tried in our courts today in which I would like to interfere. Personally speaking, there are many decisions which are made in our courts today with which I disagree. However, I respect the separation of powers and I respect the independence of our courts. Therefore, I seek not to interfere in what our courts do.

There are mechanisms which we are trying to develop in our country to secure the independence of the judiciary, but at the same time to ensure that our judiciary is accountable. We have done that by introducing the Judicial Service Commission. In respect of our High Courts and we have

Magistrates Commission in respect of our magistrates' courts.

I say that, because I will not interfere in this particular matter. Moreover, the inquest proceedings have not been completed. The proceedings are still sub judice and the presiding officer has not made any kind of finding, either with regard to the deaths or with regard to the credibility of any of the witnesses, and he has the presiding judge may make any finding with regard to the conduct of counsel that have appeared before him in respect of this matter. I find the allegations rather serious.

There was an allegation against the judicial officer, but that allegation was made by the hon member Mr Cusim, and I was very surprised because I never hear a reckless statement from that hon member in this House. However, in this instance he began by asking whether the judicial officer had knowingly concealed or suppressed evidence or information. I find that very surprising. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Implementation of Curriculum 2005

3. Mr L LOUW asked the Minister of Education:

(1) Whether the process that is being followed in respect of the implementation of Curriculum 2005 has been found to be adequate; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

(2) Whether teachers in the provinces are ready to implement the system next year; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION: Madam Speaker, my response to the hon member's first question is an emphatic yes! The hon member will recall that just recently I announced the results of an investigation done by my department on the adequacy of our plans in so far as they were being matched by the readiness of our provinces. This report showed that the provinces were not adequately prepared and therefore would not be able to implement Curriculum 2005 in both Grades 1 and 7.

As a result of this I announced that implementation in Grade 7 was now being delayed by one year. The plans still fall within our 2005 vision and therefore, in that respect, they are still perfectly adequate.

I am also aware that the hon member was part of a workshop with his colleagues in the portfolio committee just last week and I hope he was able to judge for himself whether our plans are adequate or not. Our feedback from the people who are going to be central in the implementation of the curriculum is that we are still on the right track. May I also remind the hon member of the pilots we are running in 30 schools per province which will also inform us as to the adequacy of our process.

With regard to the readiness of our teachers to implement the system next year, I can only say that our teachers have never been as ready to learn as they are through the implementation of Curriculum 2005 next year and in subsequent years. We have worked with their organisations in developing our plans, we have worked together in our awareness campaign aimed at making the teachers aware of the implications of the new curriculum, we have conducted workshops in all provinces, we have conducted newspaper supplements in all the languages, and since April of this year, we have trained trainers and applauders who have in turn trained more teachers in a cascading fashion. [Time expired.]

*Mr L LOUW: Madam Speaker, I hear everything that the Minister is saying, and it is exactly this that is bothering me even more. The FF is experiencing serious problems with both the content and the process that will lead to the implementation of Curriculum 2005. I will, however, confine myself to the implementation phase of Curriculum 2005 today, since this is the immediate crisis that must be solved if we have any hope of making the success of any new education system in South Africa.

Not only the FF, but also parents, children and teachers, are confused and deeply concerned about precisely what this new system holds for South Africa and how it is going to be implemented.

I want to ask the hon the Minister today, in the light of all this confusion and uncertainty at present, why he and his department is still going ahead with the
‘I would have cordoned off Shell House if I had known details about march’

BY MICHAEL SPARKS

The former regional commissioner of police told the High Court in Johannesburg yesterday that if he had received information that marchers were planning to attack ANC headquarters, police would have cordoned off the entrance to Shell House.

Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz told the inquest into the death of 19 people on March 28, 1994, when 20,000 IFP supporters marched through Johannes-

dburg, that the scenario would have been very different if police had known of plans to attack Shell House.

Calitz denied he had received phone calls from senior ANC leaders warning of the impending attack,

He said he would have cordoned off Plein Street in front of Shell House with armoured vehicles, and about 50 policemen with sharp-pointed ammunition who could have prevented an attack on the building. Razor wire may also have been deployed, he said.

Police would have begun to implement such steps early on the day of the march, if not the day before. All the workers would also have been removed from the building, Calitz added.

He said the 13-page list of crimes – including murder, attempted murder, malicious damage to property and armed robbery – in the seven hours before 7am on the day of the march, given at the meeting of senior policemen that morning, was no different to the regular Monday morning list of crimes at the time.

Calitz said that because he was at Shell House at the time of the shooting incident, he had immediately taken charge and ordered the building to be cordoned off with razor wire and brought in reinforcements.

He said that if he had been in his office at the time, he would have visited the scene at Plein Street, but not necessarily taken control of the situation.

He had complete confidence in the ability of his operations officers who were monitoring the situation on the ground, he testified.

The case continues today.
I can't recall giving order to cordon off Shell House, says commissioner

BY MICHAEL SARKES

A former regional police commissioner told the High Court in Johannesburg yesterday that he could not remember giving a direct order to cordon off the ANC's national headquarters about 40 minutes before shooting started outside Shell House, killing eight people.

Lieutenant-General Kooi Calitz was giving evidence at the inquest into the death of 19 people on March 28, 1994, when 20 000 IFP supporters marched through Johannesburg.

Calitz said he could not remember giving a direct order to another senior policeman, as recorded in a radio conversation between two brigadiers.

When George Bizos, acting for the ANC, put it to Calitz that the radio conversation directly contradicted Calitz's earlier evidence that he had not given any orders on the day of the march until after the shooting at Shell House, Calitz denied it.

"It is not (a contradiction), I can't remember if I gave that order," Calitz said, to gasps of amazement from the court.

Bizos said: "Are you seriously saying you gave an order 40 minutes before the shooting (at Shell House) and you have forgotten about it and never told the Goldstone Commission about it either?"

"It's possible I gave that order," Calitz answered.

When asked how he could possibly have forgotten such an important conversation that took place just 40 minutes before the shooting, Calitz said he had many conversations on the day of the march, and could not remember the details of each one.

Bizos said Calitz had "no respect for the truth," and read from the record of his earlier evidence that he did not issue any orders until after the shooting at Shell House.

Calitz said Brigadier Piet Norjte, head of the Internal Stability Division, could have been referring in the record to an earlier conversation with Calitz, and implied that it was an order.

Mr Justice Robert Nugent has asked for Norjte to return to the witness stand and provide clarity on the issue, and then Calitz is to be recalled. The case continues today.
JOHANNESBURG: Former commissioner Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz had ordered police to cordon off the ANC's Shell House headquarters, a brigadier told the Rand High Court yesterday.

He had also ordered police to remove people in front of the entrance, Brigadier Louis Norie told the inquest into the Shell House shootings.

His statements contradicted evidence given by former Witwatersrand regional commissioner Calitz last week. Calitz said he could not remember giving a direct order to cordon off the building 40 minutes before the shooting in which eight people died.

The building was cordoned off only after the shooting.

The order was recorded in a transcript of a radio conversation between Norie and another police brigadier. Calitz denied in court that the radio conversation contradicted his evidence that he had not given any orders until after the shooting at Shell House.

"It is not (a contradiction): I can't remember if I gave that order," Calitz said. "It's possible I gave that order."

Norie testified that Calitz had been in charge of all police on the ground during the march. This contradicted Calitz's evidence that he had been in charge overall and had delegated control of events on the ground. — Sapa
Organisers of Shell House march ‘morally to blame for deaths’

The organisers of the Inkatha Freedom Party march which resulted in violence and chaos in central Johannesburg on March 28 1994 acted with gross negligence and deserved moral liability for the deaths that occurred that day, the Shell House inquest was told yesterday.

In closing argument advocate Barry Roux, for the police, told the inquest in the Johannes burg High Court the organisers of a gathering of 20000 people in the central business district should have known that chaos would result.

The inquest, presided over by Judge Bob Nugent and two assessors, is for the 19 killed in incidents linked to the march.

The IFP applied for permission to stage an anti-election rally but later distanced themselves from the event, saying it was a march organised by Zulu indunas to demand constitutional powers for the Zulu king.

Roux argued that the organisers knew some of the marchers would ignore a prohibition on carrying weapons in public. He said the organisers knew the ANC was pushing for elections, and the IFP was opposed to elections.

Despite the history of conflict between the IFP and the ANC, the march organisers did not tell their supporters to keep away from the ANC offices at Shell House and Lenhart Hall.

Nine marchers died outside Shell House when ANC security guards opened fire.

He said the court should draw the inference that the guards who opened fire were concerned about confrontation, especially when an armed group of marchers ignored attempts by police to direct them away from Shell House.

This could have led to the belief that this approach was confrontational. However, Roux said: “We submit that the conduct of the group was provocative but not an attack.”

ANC advocate Karel Tip said his IFP counterpart Danie Dorfling had closed his final argument by saying the incident was aptly called the “Shell House massacre”. This term was politically motivated.

He said a large, heavily armed group converged near Shell House, which was not on the route to the marchers’ rally at the Library Gardens. They assaulted and overran three men who tried to stop them … This indicated they were attacking, Tip said. – Sapa
Police were biased — counsel

By Joe Mhlola

POLICE and the office of the attorney-general have been biased against the African National Congress (ANC), favouring the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), a judge was told yesterday.

This submission was made by counsel for the ANC, Mr. Danny Berger, at the High Court in Pietermaritzburg before Justice Robert Nkugeni in the Johannesburg High Court.

Berger argued that while the ANC had handed over 200 firearms, 80 handguns and 120 shotguns — to assist police investigations into the Soweto shootings, the police had not sought to know why the IFP marchers had targeted Shell House for attack.

"While the role of the ANC and its guards was being carefully scrutinised, the same cannot be said of the role of the IFP and the marchers," Berger said.

"Not a single communication was directed by the police to the IFP's attorneys and the IFP's attorneys in which questions were asked as to why the marchers had gone to Shell House," Berger said.

It was strange that police even insisted that the ANC hand over all firearms, including those purchased by the organisation after the March 28, 1994, incident, Berger said. Despite being informed by Mr. Gary Kruger that most of the firearms requested by the police were irrelevant to their investigation, the police continued to insist on the handing over of every ANC firearm, he said.

Another ANC counsel, Advocate Karel Tip, argued that ANC guards who had fired at the marchers were forced to do so because of attacks by the marchers. "What happened was not discussed beforehand -- the guards were only told of an emergency situation as a result of the attack on them," Tip said.

However, Nugent said the evidence of ANC guards could not be relied on, whereupon Tip asked: "What evidence is there to gainsay the evidence of Gary Kruger?"

Hitman De Kock and IFP 'had a pact'

By Joe Mhlola

THE Inkatha Freedom Party leadership, working in cahoots with convicted state hitman Eugene de Kock, had set their minds on blowing up Shell House, Johannesburg High Court heard yesterday.

Counsel for the African National Congress, Advocate George Bizos, SC, told Mr Justice Robert Nkugeni and two assessors presiding at the inquiry into the Shell House massacre that the initial plan to blow up the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg had failed because Eugene de Kock could not find the plans of the building.

But de Kock, as an employee of the ANC, never accomplished the task. Mr. Thamsanqa Khoza and Mr. Humphrey Ndlovu decided to organise the march.

Bizos argued that the organisers of the march reasoned that the demonstration would make it possible for the marchers to gain access to Shell House with the aim of destroying the building and harming the ANC leadership and others in the building.

A verdict is expected within two weeks.
THE MARATHON inquest for the Shell House shooting victims came to an end on Friday, leaving the judge and two assessors to sift through mountains of evidence to find the people criminally liable for the deaths.

The inquest in the Johannesburg High Court, presided over by Judge Bob Nugent, was for 19 people killed on March 28, 1984, in a violence-linked to the Inkatha Freedom Party march, through the city centre a month before South Africa's first democratic general election.

For nearly seven months, nine legal teams have argued on behalf of their clients: the African National Congress, the IFP, the police and the defence forces.

At the close on Friday, the three main protagonists: the ANC, the IFP and the police, described by the judge as "powerful bodies who behaved as if they were above the law", were still blaming each other for the killings.

Court GC was equipped with three television sets to show video evidence of the incidents. The walls were adorned with large maps of Johannesburg city centre, with the three flashpoints highlighted - the ANC's Shell House, Lancet offices and the Library Gardens.

To apply for magisterial permission to stage an anti-election rally, it subsequently took a month to stage a march organised by ANC Incusas to demand constitutional powers for the Zulu king.

Nine marchers were killed when ANC security guards opened fire on the marchers outside the ANC's national office in Shell House and its regional offices at Lancet Half.

The ANC claimed the guards fired in self-defence when they were attacked by marchers. The other deaths occurred in clashes between marchers and police at the Library Gardens, where the marchers were attacked by the police.

In closing arguments this week, the parties advanced their diverging interpretations of the facts.

IFP advocate Mervyn Druce described the shooting of marchers as a cold-blooded ambush. There had been no justification for the firing on peaceful marchers, said Druce, adding ANC witnesses said Druce lied at the inquest. He rejected ANC claims that the marchers intended attacking Shell House to kill the ANC leadership and derail the elections. While IFP marchers did fire at the building, this was in retaliation to the ANC guards who fired first in a blatant assault on the marchers.

There was prima facie evidence before the inquest that the ANC guards were guilty of murder.

The ANC accused the IFP of a common purpose in staging the ambush and said a corporative body was criminally liable for the killings.

While the IFP accused the ANC of a common purpose in staging the ambush, and said a corporative body was criminally liable for the deaths that occurred.

Police advocate Barry Roux argued that the IFP accused the ANC of a cover-up of the massacre. They should have known that a gathering of 20,000 people in the CBD would result in chaos.

Roux argued that the organisers knew some of the marchers would ignore a prohibition on carrying weapons in public.

Nugent said: "Who should I draw the inference that the police regard themselves as unaccountable and merely cover things up?"

To what extent can one rely on policemen who give evidence in court? A society could not be run like this, Nugent said, adding that this troubled him.

Saps
Inquest judge blames IFP, ANC and police

All parties involved in events leading to the 'Shell House massacre' slammed for frustrating the investigation

BY MICHAEL SQUIRES

Neither the police, the ANC nor the IFP were free from blame for stifling the investigation into the deaths of 19 people nearly four years ago, Mr Justice Robert Nugent told the Johannesburg High Court yesterday.

Judge Nugent was giving his findings in the inquest into the deaths of those who died in the CBD on March 28 1994, when 20 000 IFP supporters marched through Johannesburg demanding a greater constitutional role for the Zulu monarchy. At least 31 other people died around the Reef on that day. The three main incidents occurred outside ANC regional headquarters at Lancet Hall, outside the ANC's national offices at Shell House, and the Library Gardens.

Nobody has been convicted for those deaths.

Judge Nugent said all three parties had played a role in frustrating the investigation.

The IFP, which organised the march, had refused to take responsibility for its members' actions, the police had failed to investigate the actions of its own members in the Library Gardens area, and the ANC had withheld information.

"Each of the protagonists has sought to cast the blame on the others for the course which the investigation, or lack of it, took, but on the face of it none of them are free from blame," Judge Nugent said.

He had harsh words for the IFP which, he said, sought to cloud its responsibility for organising the march. He said it was clear that IFP Gauteng leaders Humphrey Ndlouvu and Themba Khoza "were instrumental in the conception of the event".

He said the march was "organised at the offices of the IFP, and in its name, and the party provided an indemnity for any damage which was caused".

Judge Nugent added that any suggestion that the march was to support the political demands of the Zulu monarch "was simply contrived to avoid responsibility falling at the door of the IFP".

In delivering the first 102 pages of his 160-page findings and reasons, Judge Nugent has so far dealt with nine of the deaths. Of those, he and two assessors judged six to have been caused by, prima facie, an unidentified perpetrator.

He said the decision whether to prosecute would have to be made by the attorney-general.

In one of the others a policeman, Constable Craig Pascoe was ruled to have killed a marcher, but since he also died, it was impossible to decide whether his actions were justified, Judge Nugent said.

The death of Bhekani Sibhu was found to have been brought about by, prima facie, omissions by two policemen, Brigadier Buls-Melintjies and Constable Hendrik de Klerk, as they did not take him to hospital until hours after he was shot.

The death of Richard Linda was found to have been caused by acts that, prima facie, were offences by Sergeant Johannes Engelbrecht and Sergeant Petrus Rossouw.

Judge Nugent was highly critical of much of the evidence and, in many instances, the court discarded the testimony of witnesses, in favour of video footage. He continues with his findings today.
Nugent says the ANC, IFP and police witnesses were selective about the truth

Nugent,  the police,  Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress were free of blame for the deaths that occurred at Johannesburg's Shell House and Library Gardens on March 28 1994, Judge Bob Nugent said yesterday.

Nugent and two assessors were delivering their finding in the Johannesburg High Court after the six-week long inquest into the deaths of 19 people when about 20 000 IFP supporters marched in the city to protest against the holding of South Africa's first democratic elections.

Nugent said many witnesses for the police, IFP and ANC were untruthful or selective in what they revealed.

He found that there was no meaningful investigation by the police into the role of its own members in the deaths that occurred at Library Gardens.

Nugent said the investigation into the ANC was frustrated by the party's withholding of information.

The IFP, Nugent continued, seemed to simply have washed its hands of any responsibility for the conduct of its members on the day in question.

The judge said the quantity of evidence before the inquest court was enormous. One thousand sworn statements were placed before him at the start of the inquest.

In addition, the court heard oral evidence from about 80 witnesses in a record of 8000 pages and another 40 hours of video tapes.

"By far the majority of those statements have turned out to be inaccurate and unreliable, to varying degrees. The quantity of evidence which we have before us is in inverse proportion to its quality," Nugent said.

Political context

He said the evidence had to be placed in the political context of March 1994. "It was less than a month before the country's first democratic elections and a time of great turbulence, with considerable potential for conflict.

"In about February 1994 the IFP declared its opposition to the holding of elections. Seen against this background, there was the very real prospect that its opposition might result in disruption of the election, which could spill over into violence."

"The suggestion that the march was in support of the Zulu king was in our view contrived to avoid responsibility falling on the door of the IFP," Nugent said. - Sapa.
Johannesburg - Neither the police nor the African National Congress - nor the Inkatha Freedom Party - were free from blame for stifling the investigation of the deaths of 19 people in central Johannesburg nearly four years ago, Mr Justice Robert Nugent said in the High Court here.

Judge Nugent was giving his findings yesterday at the inquest on 19 people who died on March 28, 1994 when 20,000 IFP supporters marched through Johannesburg demanding a greater constitutional role for the Zulu monarchy. At least 31 other people died around the Reef on that day.

The three main incidents happened outside the ANC's regional headquarters at Lancelet Hall, outside the ANC's national offices at Shell House and at the Library Gardens.

Judge Nugent said all three parties had played a role in frustrating the investigation.

The IFP, which organised the march, had refused to take responsibility for its members' actions.

The police had failed to investigate the actions of their own members in the Library Gardens area, while the ANC had withheld information.

"Each of the protagonists has sought to cast the blame on the others for the course which the investigation - or lack of it - took, but on the face of it none of them are free from blame," said Judge Nugent.
Judge slams Shell House ‘evidence’

Taryn Lambert

The judge presiding over the Shell House inquest criticised yesterday the police’s lack of “meaningful investigation,” the African National Congress (ANC) for withholding information and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) for “simply washing its hands of responsibility” for its members’ conduct.

Delivering his findings, Johannesburg High Court Judge Robert Nugent rejected most of the evidence he heard during the six-month inquest into the deaths of 19 people during an IFP march in the Johannesburg city centre on March 28 1994. The quantity of evidence he had been presented with by nine legal teams was “in inverse proportion to its quality.”

Nugent rejected ANC suggestions that a conspiracy existed on the part of the demonstrators to launch an attack on the ANC headquarters at Shell House “for the purpose of gaining entry to the premises and killing ANC leaders. The evidence to that effect has been no more than a makeweight which was fabricated after the event.”

He criticised the “manner and extent to which the deaths ... were initially investigated” by police. “There was no meaningful investigation at all by the police into the role of its own members in relation to the deaths.”

Investigations into the conduct of ANC members was frustrated “by the withholding of information.”

“Each of the protagonists has sought to cast the blame on the others ... but on the face of it none of them are free from blame.” A number of ANC guards had admitted to firing shots, but this was not “in order to provide a truthful and frank account.”

Nugent found that Sizi Cele, Sihlangu Mbula Ndlovu, Dumisani Doctor Ndlovu, Coast Craig Pascoe, Mhlakayifani Nene and Alwyn van der Walt all died as a result of offences committed by unidentified people.

Bekhani Simphiwe Siquba’s death was brought about by “omissions” amounting to offences on the part of Brig Buks Meintjes and Const Hendrik de Klerk. Evidence had shown that, had Siquba been taken to hospital promptly, he would not have died.

Pascoe was responsible for Zolo Ndlovu’s death, although the court could not say whether Pascoe’s act had amounted to an offence. Richard Linda’s death had amounted to an offence on the part of Sgt Johannes Engelbrecht and Sgt Petrus Rossouw.

Nugent will deliver the remainder of his findings today.
JOHANNESBURG: Not the police, the IFP, or the ANC were free of blame for the deaths at Shell House and Library Gardens here on March 28, 1994, Judge Bob Nugent said yesterday.

Nugent and two assessors were delivering their findings in the Johannesburg High Court after the six-week inquest into the deaths of 19 people in the city centre when 20,000 IFP supporters staged a protest against the holding of democratic elections.

Nugent said many witnesses were untruthful or selective in what they revealed. He found there was no meaningful investigation by the police into the role of its own members in the deaths. He said investigations into the ANC had been frustrated by the party's withholding of information. The IFP, Nugent continued, seemed simply to have washed its hands of any responsibility for the conduct of its members on the day.

The court heard oral evidence from about 80 witnesses in a record of 8,000 pages; a further 40 hours of video tapes were viewed, he said.

"By far the majority of those statements have turned out to be inaccurate and unreliable to varying degrees."

Nugent said the evidence had to be placed in the political context of March 1994. "It was less than a month before the country's first democratic elections and a time of great turbulence, with considerable potential for conflict."

"In about February 1994, the IFP declared its opposition to the holding of elections. Seen against the background of what was then occurring, there was the very real prospect that its opposition might result in disruption of the election, which could spill over into violence," Nugent said. -- Sapa
Charges unlikely for Shell House killings

Impossible to say who shot which marcher; IFP has to share blame – judge

BY MICHAEL SPOKES

Prosecution of those responsible for the deaths of eight IFP supporters outside the ANC's Shell House headquarters in 1994 was unlikely to succeed, despite an inquest judge's finding that ANC guards had no justification for opening fire on them, the Johannesburg High Court heard yesterday.

Concluding his findings into the deaths of 19 people killed in the central business district after 20,000 IFP supporters marched through Johannesburg on March 28, 1994, Mr Justice Robert Nugent said the ANC guards had acted with excessive force when they tried to repel IFP marchers.

At least 50 people died on the day.

Judge Nugent said that to recommend prosecution it was necessary for the court to believe it would have a reasonable chance of success.

"It is sufficient to say that, in our view, a prosecution on these grounds could not reasonably be expected to succeed," he said, ending his 180-page judgment.

Judge Nugent said the IFP, which organised the march, had to bear some blame.

"If there was fault for the deceased having been alongside Shell House in the first place, it perhaps lies closer to the door of those who brought this whole event to the central city in the first place, than to the police.

"In our view the organisers (the IFP) must have been well aware that it would be accompanied by disruption, intimidation and provocation, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was supposed to do just that," he said.

He rejected the defence of the ANC guards that they believed Shell House would be attacked.

"The evidence does not show that Shell House and its occupants were about to come under attack, nor could it reasonably have been believed at the time that it was about to come under attack.

"Prima facie, there was no justification for shooting at the crowd at all. Moreover the barrage of fire was in any event grossly excessive."

This was particularly so since evidence showed that when the shooting started, the marchers had already scattered, he said.

Evidence indicated that between 50 and 60 shots had been fired in the vicinity of Shell House.

"Prima facie, the conduct of all security guards at Shell House, and of (Gary) Kruger in particular authorising this, amounted at least to attempted murder."

But for charges to be laid against the guards, evidence showing which guard had in fact killed which marcher was necessary, and no such evidence existed.

Judge Nugent also exonerated the police for any responsibility, despite their not fulfilling the ANC’s request for protection.

"We do not think any of the police officers concerned should reasonably have foreseen that if a group of IFP marchers went down George Street (past Shell House) in the manner that this group did, that it would be shot at," he said.

He added that the deceased had also been aware of the nature of the event and they could have stayed at home on that day if they had so chosen.

On Monday he found there was prima facie evidence against four policemen regarding the death of two marchers, two for not ensuring a marcher received medical attention, and two for their actions.

Report and graphic
Judge clears Shell House ANC guards

Judge Nugent rules that deaths of eight people were caused by 'unknown persons'

By Ido Lekota
Political Reporter

JUDGE Bob Nugent has found no one responsible for the death of eight people killed outside Shell House during the 1994 march by 20,000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters protesting against the holding of South Africa's first democratic elections.

Delivering his findings yesterday in the Johannesburg High Court after a six-month-long inquest into the death of 19 people during the march, Nugent ruled that the deaths of the eight people 'were unlawful acts committed by unknown persons'.

Eight people died when African National Congress security guards fired on the marchers. One person died of a spear wound and the rest died of bullet wounds.

Ten ANC security guards had admitted shooting at the marchers.

Yesterday Nugent ruled that none of the security guards could be directly linked to the death of any of the deceased. He said the eighth person was possibly stabbed during the pandemonium caused by the firing.

The judge also dismissed evidence led previously by IFP supporters that the death of the eighth was part of an ambush planned beforehand by the ANC.

The guards were basically reacting to a situation beyond their control and had used excessive force in the process, Nugent ruled.

Nugent also exonerated the organisers of the IFP march, saying that those who participated were aware of the prevailing atmosphere and could have opted to stay at home.

Meanwhile, the judge blamed the police for the death of two other marchers killed at the Library Gardens.

Unknown assailant

According to Nugent, Mr Bhekele Singuthu died because 'Brigadier Buks Meintjes' and Constable Hendrik de Klerk delayed taking him to hospital after he was shot by an unknown assailant.

Nugent held two other police officers, Sergeant Johannes Engelbrecht and Sergeant Petrus Rossouw, responsible for the death of IFP marcher Mr Richman Linda.

According to two policemen, Rossouw instructed Engelbrecht to shoot Linda after he had allegedly ignored warnings to stop firing into the air with an AK-47. Linda died from a bullet wound to the head.
No one can be found criminally liable for Shell House deaths

judge

NO ONE could be found criminally liable for the deaths of 17 people who died during an Inktywa (PPI) march on the African National Congress (ANC) headquarters in Johannesburg High Court yesterday after a six-month trial. The judge, Robert Nsubi, delivering his judgment, rejected the case of the ANC for their roles in frustrating the investigations into the events. He could not find any of the parties criminally accountable. Four policemen were found liable for the death of two people at the ANC headquarters, but no one could be prosecuted. The findings will be forwarded to the attorney general for his decision on whether or not to prosecute. Nsubi rejected most of the “merits” of evidence put before him (for the “unsubstantiated” reports of the “massacre”), but in view of the same (possibly also in the nature of the gathering), he said there was no justification for shooting at the crowd. Moreover, the barrage of fire was directly linked to having fired at the crowd of demonstrators from Shell House.

It could, however, not be said from the evidence that any of the guards fired any of the marches. Nsubi said if the police had taken steps to prevent the marches from proceeding, the marchers had been attacked by ANC officials. The shooting, he said, was not part of the activities of the guards.

The conduct of the guards was found to have amounted to at least attempted murder.
Shell House prosecutions are ‘unlikely to succeed’

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg: Prosecutions of those responsible for the deaths of eight IFP supporters outside the ANC’s Shell House headquarters in 1994 were unlikely to succeed, despite an inquest judge’s finding that ANC guards had no justification for opening fire on them, the High Court here heard yesterday.

Concluding his findings into the deaths of 18 people killed in the CBD after 20,000 IFP supporters marched through Johannesburg on March 28, 1994, Mr Justice Robert Nugent said the ANC guards had acted with ‘excessive force’ when they tried to repel the IFP marchers.

He said: “Prima facie, the conduct of all security guards at Shell House, and of (Gaut) police in implicitly authorising this, amounted at least to attempted murder.”

But for charges to be laid against the guards, evidence showing which guard killed which marcher was necessary, and no such evidence existed, he said.

Nugent said the IFP, which organised the march, had to bear some blame for the deaths. “If there was fault for the deceased having been alongside Shell House in the first place, it perhaps lies closer to the door of those who brought this whole event to the central city...than to the police. The organisers, the IFP, must have been well aware that it would be accompanied by disruption, intimidation and provocation, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was supposed to do just that.”

He added that neither the ANC guards nor the organisers of the march could bear criminal responsibility for the eight marchers who died outside Shell House.

Judge Nugent exonerated the police from any responsibility.

“We do not think any of the police officers concerned should reasonably have foreseen that a group of IFP marchers would go down King George Street (past Shell House) in the manner that this group did that it would be shot at,” he said.

He added that the deceased were also aware of the nature of the event; and they could have stayed home.
RIOTS & DIST. - N. Prov.

1994-1998
By Khathu Mamila

Victims of success

The ongoing war among different taxi associations, which has claimed hundreds of lives in the past five years, could perhaps be summed up in one phrase: Taxi operators are victims of success.

In almost all areas affected by the so-called taxi feud, Sowetan has established that the root cause of the carnage is the fight over routes.

The Northern Transvaal, especially the former homelands of Lebowa and Venda, has become the flash point of the bloody violence. At least 12 people have been killed in taxi related incidents in Venda this year, while more than 35 were murdered in Lebowa during the same period.

Most of the taxi drivers and owners interviewed spoke on condition of anonymity. They argue that hired assassins go after anyone who speaks about the taxi war.

In April Sowetan interviewed Mr. Billy Zitho on the prospects of peace, following the taxi luddite attack held at the Mahwelereng stadium near Potgietersrus. Two weeks later, Zitho was gunned down by unknown hitmen who ambushed him outside his Alexandra home.

Zitho, former general secretary of the Lelabile Taxi Association which spearheaded the peace rally, gave a detailed account of the problems which he said resulted in the death of more than 400 people in the past five years.

He said that the real issue was taxi operators' successes. Explaining this assertion, Zitho said taxi owners who were prospering in the taxi industry tended to buy more vehicles, some of which could not secure routes.

Subsequently, said Zitho, they influenced other potential taxi operators to form a rival association which operated basically on the same routes.

"The original association, claiming exclusive rights to the routes, mobilises its killing mechanism and the war erupts."

"The other group, believing that they too have a right to business, employ the best form of defence: attack. This leads to a vicious circle of violence as the rule of the jungle that 'eat or be eaten', takes charge."

He said in other instances, successful taxi operators who defected from their associations because they did not want to play fines imposed on them, were the engine behind the formation of rival taxi groups. While the taxi men continue to snipe at one another in the quest for total control of the routes, it is the innocent commuter who is caught in the crossfire.

Commuters, especially those who undertake long-distance journeys, have to weigh up the chances of reaching their destination against the tragedies that hang over the taxi industry.

Last week, I boarded a taxi destined for Johannesburg at Pietersburg. During the good old days when the level of taxi violence was minimal, taxis travelling between Johannesburg and Pietersburg were arguably among the busiest.

But as the media and the police continue to count corpses of victims of the raging taxi war, commuters have resorted to other means of transport excluding trains and buses.

The driver of the taxi admitted to his handful of commuters that it was not a good day for business. It was about 16.30am on Thursday and the first taxi to Johannesburg had only four passengers.

He said several taxis would have left with full loads if it were not for the poor business resulting from the uncertainty of commuters.

Realising that the taxi might not get a full load and therefore not leave at all, the driver agreed with his colleague, who was transporting commuters to Germiston, to form one load. Those who were in the taxi did not feel safe. They said it was just a matter of time before they adjusted to other forms of transport.

Their message to the taxi operators was unambiguous: Stop the senseless killing or the taxi industry will collapse.

These fears are not unfounded. Several weeks ago, six Zimbabwean nationals were killed when a taxi was torched after being sprayed with AK-47 bullets in a Johannesburg taxi rank.

On Monday this week a mother and her 12-month-old baby was shot and wounded after unknown gunmen fired on a kombi at a taxi rank outside Lebowakgomo.

While some of the hired assassins are briefed to eliminate specific individuals in the taxi industry, others seem to have a general aim of assuring riders of the safest mode of transport.

Some taxi drivers interviewed say the various peace meetings being held will not end the bloody fighting. They argue that most of the participants in these meetings are not sincere and that the real issues are never talked about.

"We normally commit ourselves to cooperation and co-existence but the fact is that it is this very co-existance that is the source of trouble. How can different associations operate on the same route without encountering problems? We should look into these issues more realistically and agree to form one association," said a taxi operator. Another taxi owner said some taxi-men have stopped attending these peace meetings as some of them were followed and killed by hitmen who searched and tallied their targets from the meetings. He called on the government to intervene as a matter of urgency to stop the carnage that threatens the existence of the black-owned business.
US firms ‘concerned about regional tariffs’

John Dludlu

US multinationals were attracted by the prospect of moving their capital and goods freely within the 12-nation Southern African Development Community, but were discouraged by the slow pace of tariff reduction in the region, finance department official Bongi Kunene said yesterday. Kunene, who is also SADC finance and investment sector co-ordinator, was part of an SADC team which launched an investment roadshow in the US last week. She said this concern was misplaced. Tariffs were already being dropped in the region as part of the commitment to GATT — an accord that sought to eliminate trade barriers.

‘Tariff reduction was the first step towards the creation of the SADC free trade area. According to the SADC’s trade agenda, the community planned to achieve a free trade area by 2000, and a common market by 2004. “There’s a lot of commitment to investing in the region, and there’s a curiosity about opportunities resulting from SA’s participation in regional development.”

She said most of the corporations canvassed seemed to be interested in using SA as a base to reach the region.

The aim of the roadshow, led by SADC executive secretary Kaire M慕ende, was to recruit investments by promoting the SADC as a regional economic bloc with vast opportunities.
SA ‘should concentrate on Africa’

BY BRENDAN TEMPLETON

Amnesty International secretary general Pierre Sane has come to South Africa to persuade the government to raise its international profile as a defender of human rights.

South Africa owed a particularly huge debt to the people of southern Africa, many of whom made great sacrifices to ensure South Africa gained its freedom, he said in an interview with The Star this week.

Sane has scheduled meetings with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, IFP secretary general Dr Ziba Jiyane, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and a host of other political leaders during his visit.

This is the first trip to South Africa by an Amnesty International secretary general - an irony not lost on Sane who hails from Senegal on the bulge of Africa.

His main concern was South Africa’s role in the protection of human rights in Africa and the United Nations; the violence in KwaZulu Natal; the torture of suspects by police; and South Africa’s arms trade, he said.

According to Sane, Africa should be South Africa’s primary concern because the country’s wealth and stature meant it had the opportunity to play a leading role to protect human rights on the continent.

In particular, South Africa should try to ensure all members of the Southern African Development Community signed the five international covenants and conventions which were widely regarded as containing acceptable, standardised guidelines for the protection of human rights.

These were the International Convention Against Torture (which South Africa has still not ratified); the Covenant on Civil and Political Human Rights; the Covenant on Social and Economic Rights; the Covenant on the Elimination of Discrimination of Women; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

South Africa should also try to ensure all SADC members signed the African Charter, he said.
Regional industry probe launched

Edward West

80/13/11/95

CAPE TOWN—A regional industrial location study has been launched to examine the comparative advantages of the southern African region, says Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel. Speaking at a conference on regional economic development, Manuel said repatriate Mozambican workers were following discussions with the Mozambican government. He said the region a more competitive footing was the "denuding of the resources". But there were sources of frustration, and for example, having them all located in SA.
EU urges regional co-operation in southern Africa

BY JOHN FRASER

Brussels—The countries of the Southern African Development Community have been urged by the EU to boost regional co-operation. The call came yesterday in a speech to the European Parliament by EU Commissioner president Jacques Santer.

Santer said that regional co-operation records were being struck all around the world. Santer suggested that Europe is interested in this phenomenon because "the success of its own model serves as an inspiration." He said that international relations in the future will tend towards "relations between large groups." Commissioner Joao de Deus Pinheiro told a recent conference in Brussels that he is preparing "an initiative" to further the aim of regional co-operation in southern Africa.
SA committed to regional co-operation

President Nelson Mandela last night reiterated South Africa's commitment to being an equal partner in southern African efforts to reconstruct and develop the region for the benefit of all.

Addressing the guests at the State banquet held in honour of visiting Portuguese President Dr Mario Soares, Mandela emphasised that tri-lateral cooperation between South Africa, Portugal and other countries in southern Africa held much potential for all the countries concerned.

"We are confident that your visit to our country will give impetus to the efforts already underway such as reactivating the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme in Mozambique," said Mandela.

"This will further strengthen our efforts to promote national reconciliation in Angola and Mozambique," Mandela added. -- Political Reporter, 21/11/95
Water issues crucial for southern African growth

BY AMITA ALLEN
Science Writer

A regional development plan is the next crucial step for the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Kader Asmal said yesterday.

Speaking in Pretoria at the SADC's first conference to focus on water resource management, Asmal called for the "imaginative removal of all historical boundaries to facilitate an objective and broad view on resources and development potential of the region as a whole and joint decisions on how they should be used".

"To do this, we should study our overall resources, determine our comparative and competitive advantages and identify the obstacles to development from an integrated perspective."

He emphasised that while such an initiative would go much wider than water to include all sectors of the SADC, water was an essential issue.

Other speakers stressed that the reason for past policy failures was associated with current approaches to water resource management. Several speakers called for water issues to be moved to the top of the SADC agenda.

Delegates from the twelve SADC states at the conference included water ministers and senior officials of their departments. They are tasked with developing a vision for the future and to draw up a programme for the way forward in resource management.
SADC needs 24/11/95 water to develop

A strategic regional plan should be devised to develop the Southern African community, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Mr. Kader Asmal said in Pretoria yesterday.

Asmal told a Southern African Development Community (SADC) conference that all historical boundaries should be imaginatively removed to get a broad and objective view of the resources and development potential of the entire region.

Water affairs ministers from SADC member countries are attending the two-day conference.

Asmal said no regional development plan could take shape without giving primary consideration to water. A comprehensive scheme to deal with drought and the growing scarcity of water in the region had to be found.

"Economic prosperity cannot be achieved without water, and reasonable standards of living cannot be sustained without it," Asmal said.

Asmal said our region remained a water-poor area. Engineers had for many years dreamt about harnessing large rivers such as the Zambezi for the transfer of water to the south.

"Perhaps we should consider exploiting it," Asmal said. "It may just hold the key to greater infrastructural developments, training, and the interlinking and diversifying of our economies, so badly needed in the region.

Asmal said balanced development could only take place in a partnership between the public and private sectors. Infrastructure had to be provided to attract the private investor.

"We need to create the freedom and positive environment for public and private sector initiatives to take root and flourish," Asmal said.
Private postal network will link southern Africa

A private post and communication network for South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia is set to open its head office in Johannesburg early next year.

Bloemfontein businessman Andrew McLachlan has secured the Southern African franchise for Mail Boxes Etc (MBE).

This is one of the world’s largest franchisors of postal, business and communication service centres.

If all runs according to plan, the first service centre should be in operation in April next year, said Leo Holesgrove, MBE’s sales and marketing manager.

However, he said the service was not intended to be in direct competition with Telkom and the South African Post Office, but would rather complement the existing services.

“While MBE will make post boxes available for hire, this is where our association with the post office will end,” said Holesgrove.

Each centre will offer a variety of services. Among these services will be a phone-in service to check whether there is post in your box or not, a courier service and an answering service.

Other services will include the printing of business cards, a fax service for sending and receiving faxes and a photocopying service.

Stamps will also be on sale at the service centres. In addition rubber stamps will be made and another bonus for customers will be that they will be able to have keys cut.

— Consumer Reporter.
Harare—Ministers from 12 southern African states will meet in Zambia on Saturday to promote intra-regional trade, Zimbabwean officials said yesterday.

They said the one-day meeting of trade ministers from the Southern African Development Community was a follow-up to a community summit in South Africa in August, which failed to conclude talks on a regional trade pact.

The last summit discussed the possibility of splitting the Common Market for eastern and southern Africa into north and south. If that happens, we need a trade co-operation protocol because there is no trading arrangement in place in the region," said a ministry of industry and commerce official.

He was referring to a wrangle between the community and the larger common market on how to rationalise their activities.

Ten community members also belong to the common market and community leaders last year decided they should pull out of the larger grouping.

The community comprises Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
Customs treaty will boost trade

HARARE — Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (Comesa) member states have agreed to accede to the international convention on the simplification and harmonisation of customs procedures, in an effort to boost intra-Comesa trade.

The organisation's secretary-general, Bingu Wa Mutharika said the treaty, commonly known as the Kyoto convention, simplified customs administration.

"The application of the convention will assist in reducing these cumbersome, time-consuming and costly procedures applied by administrations and other organisations in the sub-region in the conduct of international trade," Mutharika said in a speech read on his behalf at the Comesa buyers and sellers meeting on wood products and furniture.

Mutharika said a road customs transit declaration document had also been introduced in order to facilitate the movement of transit traffic in the organisation's 23 member markets.

This simplified and harmonised document replaced the previous 13 customs documents one needed to go through when moving goods across borders.

"With the new document, transitors would no longer have to fill in new transit declarations and load and unload at every border crossing.

"The system reduces costs, delays, pilferages and breakages which add to the cost of intra-Comesa trade," Mutharika said.

Trade within Comesa had been static at 5% for a long time.

Mutharika said the adoption of the Comesa customs bond guarantee system in 1990 was also expected to facilitate transit traffic between member states.

The scheme enabled transit operators to execute bonds from countries where they were based to guarantee customs duties on transit goods in other member countries through which the goods might pass.

The system was expected to save foreign exchange and do away with the cumbersome procedure of entering separate customs bonds in every transit country.

Mutharika said three member states had already ratified the agreement, with others engaged in transit traffic expected to do so in due course. — Sapa.
Peace returns to Khumalo St

By Mokgadi Pola

THOKOZA'S Khumalo Street on the East Rand was a place scarred by horrendous blood-letting, murder and mayhem that sent shockwaves throughout South Africa and overshadowed only by the killings in KwaZulu-Natal.

But now the doves of peace have returned to what was once a place of death, confusion and hate between political sectarian rivals who fought hit and run battles which claimed the lives of many innocent people for nearly five years.

Then various groups and leaders such as the Mabutho Forum, the Reverend Mvume Dandala, self-defence units (SDUs), silenced the hawks of war.

They called for a cessation of hostilities and the establishment of committees and forums comprising the rivals to give peace a chance.

Later a new player on the scene, the Thokoza Phenduka, Displaced People Committee (TPDC), led by the Reverend John Khumalo and Mr Sam Theron, helped to cement the peace process.

"Life has returned to normal at Khumalo Street," say leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party, African National Congress and TPDC in a joint statement this week. "And in line with African tradition, we expect blood to flow when men are slaughtered to cleanse the bad past."

All agreed that there was free political activity as symbolised by the ANC Woman's League's march last Friday ahead of tomorrow's elections. A drive around the once-feared township shows posters of ANC president Thabo Mbeki displayed prominently in IFP strongholds while those with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's face are seemingly prominent in ANC home grounds.

The IFP strongholds include the once-feared Madala, Khuthaza and Mahayezile hostels.

According to IFP publicity secretary Mr Simon Mbunzi, "Whenever I see an ANC poster below ours I always urge our cadres to hang them above the reach of children so that they are not tampered with."

ANC branch committee member Mr Tebogo Nchae said: "As I speak I see a different Khumalo Street where I can walk to the hostel and be accepted with open arms and even with IFP members Mr Wilson Mpiyane and Mr Wilson Mpiyane." "If people are saying to the people of Thokoza that what happened on Khumalo Street should never be repeated. We want to pay tribute to those who fought for our freedom. We also want to use this tombstone to bring about permanent peace and unity among Thokoza residents," Khumalo said.

When peace returned to the township, it became logical to safeguard the return of people who fled their homes during the skirmishes. Theron, Nchae and Mbunzi said. It also became important to ensure that the original tombstone was not damaged. A tombstone, which is yet to be officially unveiled, contains the list of about 800 victims, including the late Congress leader Sam Ntu.

"Through these tombstones...we are urging people of Khumalo Street to have faith in the future and to know that the past is not repeated," Khumalo said.
RIOTS + DIST. - GAUTENG
1999
Who will help us through the night?

Mandevilla residents fear for their lives after Monday’s shootings, writes Nomavenda Mathiane

AS NIGHT fell on Mandevilla squatter camp near Alberton on the East Rand yesterday, residents asked: “What is going to happen to us tonight?”

During the day, a special unit of 500 police officers and soldiers scoured the area where seven people were shot dead in suspected revenge killings on Monday night.

However, as the officers and soldiers were preparing to leave, residents of the area were apprehensive.

They were told that the Katlehong police would look after them last night, as they had done after the shooting.

“The reason for the attack, which came at 9pm, was not known, according to some residents. They also say they do not know who the attackers are.

It is not secret that there is no love lost between the two townships of Mandevilla and Holomisa.

Political rivalries go back to 1995 when African National Congress (ANC) supporters in Mandevilla clashed among themselves.

This lead to an exodus of disgruntled faction of ANC supporters to Holomisa and adjacent Greenfields. They later joined forces with Bantu Holomisa’s United Democratic Movement (UDM).

According to one resident, who did not want to be named, Monday’s attack followed a rally organised by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) last week protesting the granting of amnesty to ANC member Michael Phama.

Phama killed 21 IFP supporters marching to Thohosa stadium in 1991.

Mandevilla residents met on Sunday to decide on a course of action in the event of an IFP attack.

The meeting was disrupted by UDM supporters who live in Holomisa, the residents said, because the UDM supporters were under the impression that the Mandevilla residents were discussing them.

Then on Monday a man was shot dead in a street in Mandevilla during the day. It is not clear whether he was an ANC or UDM supporter, but Mandevilla residents said yesterday that he was from Holomisa.

The attack in Mandevilla on Monday night is believed to be retaliation by the UDM for the midday shooting.

The seven people who were shot were on neighbourhood patrol. It appears that the residents of Mandevilla were expecting an attack and were trying to take precautions.

The situation was tense in the area yesterday as residents watched police and soldiers using sniffer dogs going in and out of Mandevilla’s tin shacks.

The houses in which bodies of the dead were found were cordoned off.

Many people were reluctant to talk about Monday night, but a woman said she had heard gunfire. When she looked out her window she saw men in balaclavas walking away.

The atmosphere was sombre yesterday. People congregated on street corners, talking in hushed tones, as police and soldiers did their work.

“It seems the old struggle days are back,” one man said.
Mandela Park resident Nokiko Mahlanza and her son Vuyisile are shattered to learn their husband and father Wismaran Mahlanza was murdered during the night of violence on Monday.

PIC: LEN KUMALO

SAPS members were deployed yesterday in Katlehong after a night of violence which claimed the lives of seven alleged ANC sympathisers. Over 500 police were bussed in to patrol the troubled area.

PIC: LEN KUMALO

‘Only God and his grace can save us’

No clues yet as police, army search for killers of seven

By Dan Fuphe

Mandela Park near Katlehong on the East Rand was still gripped by fear by late yesterday despite the heavy presence of 550 police and army personnel, who conducted a house-to-house search for weapons after the massacre of seven people on Monday night.

The raid was in response to a call by local residents to Gauteng MEC for safety and liaison Mrs Nopvila Mokonyane that they had no faith in the police after seven African National Congress members were shot dead by unknown people suspected to be supporters of the United Democratic Movement.

In their raid however, police arrested only eight illegal immigrants, one man for possession of an illegal firearm, another for possessing dagga worth R100. They also confiscated one shotgun and one empty AK47 cartridge.

Earlier, Mokonyane and several top Gauteng police officials including the commissioner of police on the East Rand, Mr Len van Tonder, listened to more than 100 clan residents who said that they had lost faith and trust in the police.

Mokonyane visited the area to get first hand information on the killings.

Those killed were Wismaran Mahlanza (49), Simphiwe Dints (27), Johannes Makanini (53)

To page 2