### RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GAUTENG

- 1995

BBY LEE-ANN ALFREDS At first glance, nothing

on Tokoza's infamous seems to have changed Khumalo Street.

road and young armed men still demand identifi-Barricades still line the cation and search vehicles and occupants.

of bags instead of tyres and drums, young men dressed in camouflage But a closer inspection uniform rather than tatreveals barricades made tered clothes and shining rifles cradled confidently instead of AK-47s point

Chumalo Street, once vides in South African politics, has become a one of the greatest disymbol of hope and recing menacingly.

Hard won peace not to be given up lightly

## Tokoza is no longer danger spot No

block despite the inconvenience. Residents now walk fearlessly down the dusty street — thanks to the

onciliation.

one is prepared to give it up without a fight. battled township has neen hard won - and no For peace in the emelection and a permanent roadblock dreds of minibus taxis Occupants of the hunand vehicles which enter

Not the police who, sided by the army, traffic department and other parties, embarked on Op-

and leave the township also willingly disembark at the permanent road-

1,000,000

area (Katlehong, Tokoza and Vosloorus) and moving road patrols. "We instituted Opera ginning of the year to fight crime and restore eration Jambu at the be-Nor the residents who have come out in open law and order.

tion Jambu on January 3 at the request of the res-idents and we will mainly SA National Defence gal weapons, cars, immi-grants and other things by to stop the flow of Ille into and out of the area, being subjected to ran-dom spot checks at eight permanent raodblocks to be set up in the Katorus support of the police op-eration which will entail

The operation would remain in force until effective policing was visite the in the township, Du had already been arrested at the permanent roadblocks so far. of the township some. Force spokesman Colonel Chris du Toit said. He said that 41 people "We will be moving out day, but no definite date, has been set yet. When Poit said.

will downgrade," he said, But the residents are in no hurry to see the se-

the police upscale, we.

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

## Industrial court calendar 'hopelessiy overloaded' in the very on to the industrial court cale the condition board than board that be coming to be compared to the condition board that be not the condition to the condition board that the condition to the condition to the condition board that the condition to the

BY JOVIAL RANTAD endar is becoming hope-The industrial court callessly overloaded.

There is an 18-month backlog in the Natal in-dustrial court, and in the former Transvasi where 10 new courts were put into operation earlier this year - the delay is now between nine and 12 months, says an industrial relations

expert.

That's bb-Hicky but Plere Wolmarans said in practice, the concillation board it practice, the concillation board it most has no real strengers provided for in St. authority parties are not labour legisation was not childed or somelided to effective, and often attend the meeting, nor effective, and often attend the meeting, nor served only to increase are they expected to tension between employ- make any effort to seters and employees."

ease the load on the court as the time for the nearing has already been Clocated," he said tle," he said in a state. As a result, an increasing number of disputes which should reasonably be settled by a concillation board are finding ment "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.

"Parties who do not artrial court calendar were settled "virtually on the steps of the court" once the disputing parties rea-lised the costs involved.

tive for mediation, or fall to make a sincere effort to settle the matter at this level, should be barred from proceeding to Higaston. "However, this doesn't

tion board mediators should not be govern-ment officials but inde-"In addition, concilia-

pendent consultants with expertise in dispute reso-lution who provide their are made more effective and given real powers, disputing parties will be less likely to threaten industrial court action in from the settlement, or save some, he said. services at a set fee to be an effort either to queeze more money paid by both parties.

高郎 大京大学

war zone" rots in sun

### Subur filth a eartac

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.

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 is fading and peeling from rain

and relentless heat. Remaining with the rats are the flies feeding in the lavatories.

Floors once buffed 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 in com ing 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 -end of the "war". - two years after the

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 oozing from my wash basin.

"It was nearly impossible to eat in my own house and I lived with that for more 4" 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

know is that it is supposed to improve on 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 elsewifere," he said with a sad-bake(of his head.

The few returnees have no choice but to

The few returnees have no choice out to repair the houses out of their own pookets. Mariam Montsho, who came back late last year, said: "Libave 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 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 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 Sexwale 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 at-

victim of the war in 1970, ueserves the at-tention given to other townships now."

Asked to comment on the non-repair of the Meadowlands houses, Gauteng spokes-man Chris Vick said: "The responsibility for repairing the houses lies with the loca-council. We suggest that residents ap-proach the council to ask that they repair their homes

"If this falls, the provincial governmen may be in a position to access nationa. RDP funding, as we do sympathise with. their situation.

"But this would require that residents approach the provincial governmen directly with a business plan outlining how much money is needed to repair their homes." said Vick.

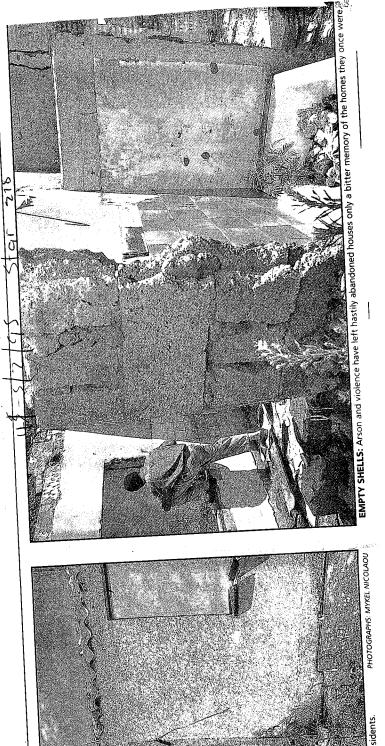
The provincial government would then be able to assist in requesting funds from the national RDP office, which is providing funds to repair houses in Katorus.

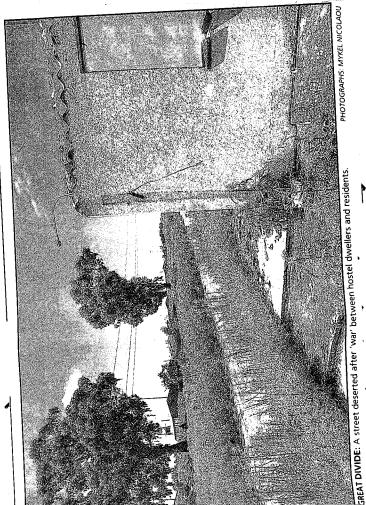
"It is important to remember that the "It is important to remember that the Katorus project is a presidential project, and the funds are allocated from that office," he said.

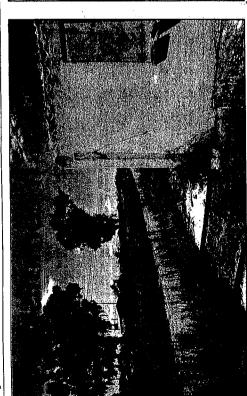
"The province's role is to oversee the repair of houses but the funds come from the presidential projects budget."

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

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GREAT DIVIDE: A street deserted after 'war' between hostel dwellers and residents.

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



### heartache filth an Suburb

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

## Suburb of filth and heartache

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### NEWS

### E Rand terrorised by former SDU members

### BY ABDUL MILAZI

Residents of the East Rand tewnships of Tembisa, Katlehong and Tokoza live in constant fear of marauding former self-defence unit (SDU) members wito have allegedly committed a spate of robberies and rapes since December.

Tokoza resident Maphisa Cebekhulu says residents feared that the October local government elections could be disrupted if the spate of criminal acts by these youngsters continued.

Cebekhulu said: "There are areas which have become no-go zones again at night, this time net because of fighting between the ANC and FFP, but because people who walk there at night

are robbed almost nightly.

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 Tokoza, 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 Mosals, of Tokoza, 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 Katlehong, 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 untellected 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 street corners. 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 removar 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 an deploy troops

By Themba Molefe Political Correspondent PRESIDENT Netson Mandela has ondered the immediate deployment of extra security forces in four provinces, including KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, as political violence and lawlessness threaten to envelope ting, counThe Human Rights Commission, which monitors volonce county ywide, last week released figures she with a political killings claimed 10% 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 fook the decision after an urgent meeting in Pretoria yesterday at which he was brifed by the country's top security men.

Deputy President FW de Klerk also attended the meeting as well as Defence Minister Ioe Modies, Safety and Secutify Minister. Sydney Mufamadi and Hovorincial and Constitutional Affairst Minister Roelf Mayer.

Deputy ministers Joe Nhlanhla, Romie Kasrils, and Valli Moosa were also present as well as police Commissioner George Fivas and defence chief George Mening.

Extra police and soldiers would also be deployed in the Eastern and Western



### **Troubled times** revisit East Rand



STARTING AFRESH: Two former Zonk'iZizwe residents, forced to flee the area, lay the

foundations for a new home in the neighbouring Zama Zama squatter camp. PHOTOGRAPH: MYKFI NICOLAOÙ

**BATTLE** lines have been drawn on the East Rand where at least 400 residents of Zonk'iZizwe 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 nembership cards or pay ₄ R100 "protection fee".

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

According to a police source, Zonk'iZizwe SAPS station commander Warrant-Officer Johan la Grange was informed in mid-February that indunas 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.

### Can't win

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 La Grange.

Mzikayifani Biyela, an induna in Zonk'iZizwe, told Weekend-Star he had never heard of the IFP membership cards and had personally never seen evidence of the existence of the cards in

the township.

If don't know what cards they are talking about; they say they

TENSIONS, ostensibly between Inkatha and ANC supporters, are high yet again on the East Rand this time in the Zonk'iZizwe squatter camp. TRACY EDMONDS visited the area and spoke to officials and residents about the state of affairs.

cost R10," said Biyela. "They could cost R10, R20 or R50; I don't know. I've never seen

When WeekendStar asked to When WeekendStar asked to check his wallet for an IFP membership card, Biyela refused to produce it, saying any political affiliations were acceptable in their "peaceful community". WeekendStar asked if the ANC was welcome in Zonk'iZizwe, and whether ANC membership in

another way."

While several trucks moved while several trucks moved the belongings of former Zonk'iZizwe residents into the neighbouring squatter camp, one displaced resident at Zama Zama produced an IFP membership card for WeekendStar.

"I don't want this," 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

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the community was acceptable to the leadership.
Thulani Quabe, another in-

duna, who claimed he had no membership card, said: "The ANC are welcome in Zonk iZizwe; any card is okay. The people who are leaving here are Shangaans who won't pay their rent (service fees).

"They pinch goods from our houses late at night, and stole from us while we were in Ulundi (the site of a recent IFP protest against Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for breaching relations with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi).

"They won't let the teachers in to teach the children," said Quabe. "We don't know why. We are surprised there is no school. Teachers could avoid the crimi-nals at Zama Zama by coming in

photographed, saying "the indunas will have me killed". man also said he had fled to escape 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 ref-use to take part in the IFP mem-

bership drive. They also say they will not move to the neighbouring camp because Zonk'iZizwe is a municipality with services.

A police source claimed IFP

members, some of whom are for-mer SPU members, lived in peace with illegal immigrants until they refused to pay the R100 "protec-

tion fee".
One witness to an arrest of a Maputo man, a long-time resident of Zonk'iZizwe, sald Inkatha members turned him over to police as an illegal immigrant as he. was moving his shack to Zama Zama after refusing to pay R400, a fee levied by community leader

Victor Zunga, among others.

According to the source, police on the scene did not protect the arrested man's belongings as they are required to do by law. All his belongings, including electronic equipment, furniture, clothing and his shack, were stolen, the source claims.

La Grange said he had asked for reinforcements from the Internal Stability Unit and the SANDF to avoid any suspicion that police were helping those who say they are driven out by Inkatha supporters.

He refuses to escort residents leaving Zonk'iZizwe for the adja-cent Zama Zama for fear of being seen as anti-Inkatha.

being seen as anti-Inkatha.
"They will say we are against
them if we help the people out
and then they will attack the police station. We can't win," he

"I am not allowed to say if it's the former SPUs who are in-volved 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 La Grange.

### Simmering

The source said: "Prevention of trouble is the best cure." All 24 members of the former SPUs live memoers of the former SPUs live in Zonk'iZizwe while the 28 members of the police go home to other areas and are often un-aware 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 fac-tions in the township.

"He could prevent problems by listening to his black policemen who told him long ago what was happening."

4

nesses. He should also try to address some of those weaknesses, including women's rights to land in our policy positions.

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 their right, as the Beijing Conference report indicates, this would be confiscated by the tribal Mrs S M CAMERER: Mr Speaker, further acquire the land, and unless the husbands defend 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 right to acquire land unambiguously, but of course there will be communities acquiring the land. The programme does not dictate to com-The MINISTER OF LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, under this programme women do have munities how they should arrange their internal 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 dissatwould appreciate such a communication forshould say that I believe my relationship with the portfolio committee is a very good one, certainly isfied; this has not been communicated to me. I with its chairperson. We have a series of discussions lined up, including some about the pilot mally, and then we can address that problem. I

by hon members will be consulted. Briefings will take place, and discussions will be held with programme was given to the portfolio committee other topics identified in non members, on members of the portfolio committee. We apprebelieve a comprehensive briefing on the pilot or the second time yester? y. We have various which I or people identified by me or requested ciate the valuable inputs from members of the oortfolio committee.

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

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

1994 transferred overall domestic reponsibility

necessary, involving myself and others about the The MINISTER OF LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I think a longer discussion will be 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 the implementation of one's programme, the execution of one's work, and the legislative functions of Parliament. Funding of SA delegation to World Conference on

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

- ence on Women in Beijing from 4 to 5 Whether his Department will be responsible for sending all or part of the South African delegation to the World Confer-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;
- representative of political parties across the political spectrum; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? whether the said delegation will be fully

3

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AF-

the President, acting on the recommendation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. According women. A Ministerial Meeting on 30 May All visits abroad by Ministers and/or Deputy Ministers require the approval of the Office of 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

## WEDNESDAY, 29 MARCH 1995

Fransfer of MMVAF to Minister of Finance

Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents Fund to the Minister of Finance; if not, what is \*6. Dr P J WELGEMOED asked the Minister of Transport: (1) Whether it is intended to transfer the the position in this regard; if so, when; Transport:

whether this fund currently has an actuarial deficit; if so, 3

> ments/administrations and political parties in respect of represenatatives to be considered for inclusion in the delegation to the Beijing Conference should be directed to the Chair-

Nominations on the part of Ministries/depart-

or the Beijing Conference.

lished whether the Minister of Finance will underwrite this deficit; if not, why whether he or his Department has estabnot; if so, what are the relevant details? ල

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

> cial responsibility for their own line-func-Treasury Regulations K3.12.6, K3.12.9, U2.1.2 and U2.1.3, which, inter alia, 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

ings, departments may only accept finantion activities. Read together with determine that all subsistence and other

person of the National Preparatory Commit-(a) In terms of State Expenditure Rul-

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

Yes.

political parties wishing to nominate delegates for inclusion in delegations to international conferences remain responsible

Ministries/departments/administrations/

own officials.

mental policy issues are presently being dealt with by the Board of the MMF including the question of a state guarantee for the outstanding claims amount not actuarially formed to consider this issue of state guarantee.

> 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

3

for all costs relating to such attendances.

Problems experienced by school feeding scheme in Gauteng ment would like to use this opportunity to and NGOs in South Africa. The Departencourage political parties to submit nomi-

\*7. Dr W A ODENDAAL asked the Minister for Health: ANSAN 29/3/95

nations for consideration for inclusion in the delegation to the Beijing Conference to the Chairperson of the National Preparatory Committee, which is chaired by The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! May I just

- teng is experiencing problems resulting in (1) Whether, with reference to certain media reports, the school feeding scheme in Gaularge numbers of children not receiving any pread every day; if so, (a) what is causing hese problems and (b) what steps are being aken to resolve the problems;
- whether problems with the school feeding scheme are also being experienced in other provinces; if so, in which provinces? 3

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.]

ask from the Chair whether men would be eligible to form part of this delegation? [Laugh-

the Deputy Minister for Welfare.

A A MALLIE

### The MINISTER FOR HEALTH:

(a) Gauteng province is experiencing a number of problems with the deliv-On 13 March 1995, the driver of a ery of food under the tender system.

denly and no deliveries were made to 18 project schools on that day. This

bread delivery van was taken ill sudaffected about 7 983 pupils. Delivery

of bread was, however, resumed the tem, which is the preferred system The Gauteng province is gradually phasing out the tender system and replacing it with the quotation sysfollowing day. 3

procurement. School project

ю

committees can purchase food directly from local suppliers in the

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

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

These two steps have resulted in a of food on a daily basis from about 88% to 93% in all project schools. It marked improvement in the delivery is believed that a complete change from the tender to the quotation the suppliers.

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 Northsystem will be the ultimate solution. West province also operates on the tender 2

Mr A S BEYERS: Mr Speaker, arising from the Minister's reply, it is clear from the report that the Government and the ANC, inter alia prom-

I specifically want to know from the hon the ised our poor children peanut butter sandwiches.

Minister when our poor children can expect those promised Black Cat sandwiches. They Is the Minister aware of the fact that, according to the official report, she often feeds our children in the Gauteng province with rotten sandwiches? Those sandwiches are often delivered unpacked never received their black cats from the ANC's from the back of a delivery truck. Is the Minister aware of the fact that the only positive feature of her school-feeding is that the rotten sandwiches fat cats.

The MINISTER FOR HEALTH: Mr Speaker, the report that I received from the Gauteng to that official report, the situation is even province is the one I have given to the hon deteriorating?

member.

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

Dr W A ODENDAAL: 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.]

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

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

eture us. [Applause.]

says, inter alia: "In the report headmasters also This report, as Mr Beyers in fact pointed out,

precisely because of the scheme." My question is simply whether the hon the Minister can give of tax-payers' money will be implemented, and that we are not going to see this happen again in his House the absolute assurance that the measures she took to prevent this obvious waste complain that children become malnourished

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

measures-and this is a preventative measureto ensure that we have fewer problems in the hospitals and clinics. Now the Minister is making harsh allegations . . 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 statements that children are not fed because of the scheme and that the sandwiches are rotten is to try to make political capital. In addition, it comes from somebody who actually has been responsible for the starvation of those children scheme is absolutely incorrect. I have given him problem is. However, to come with sweeping To say that children are not fed because of the over all these years! [Applause.]

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

do not think the ANC is going to accept lectures it does not do the hon member any good to try to The MINISTER FOR HEALTH: Mr Speaker. I to allow those kinds of lectures, and I think that 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

Susiness interrupted in accordance with Rule 199 the Minister asks me to be more specific about Dr W A ODENDAAL: Mr Speaker, further to ask the hon the Minister something. The hon arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want 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 tee controlling the scheme, referred in the report to the poor way in which the feeding scheme was October, mattters had only deteriorated. The managed in the Gauteng province. He said that, although this report had been compiled last Johan Dladla, a member of the project commitdate of this report is . . . WEDNESDAY, 29 MARCH 1995

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! What is your follow-up question? †Dr W A ODENDAAL: 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 this food do in fact get the food. It is in the interests of the health of the children of this country that they be fed by way of preventative orderly fashion and that the children who need

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! Please put the question.

House this afternoon, namely that everything is †Dr W A ODENDAAL: My question is: Is she now satisfied that what she tried to put to the going well with this scheme, is in fact not so? There are ugly things happening below the surface in the name of this scheme. [Interjecam pleased to say that if I have achieved nothing Odendaal that children do need to be fed and that preventative measures are important. I think he should thank us for the fact that we have else in this House, I have at least taught Dr The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! That conaught him something. [Applause.]

cludes question time. The time allotted for questions has expired. Outstanding replies will be printed in Hansard. (3) of the Standing Rules for the National Assembly.

### Peace team set up to fight violence on East Rand (278)

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.

Gauting MEC for safety and security Mrs Tessie Duarte had earlier in the day held lengthy talks with both organisations and community groups, reports Sana.

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 Dubereports 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 By Mokgadi Pela Schoeman Cemetery tomorrow,

SCORES of youths on the East Rand have fled lifeir homes after bloody elashes between two factions of selfdefence units in Katlehong.

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

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

Commander of the SDUs Mr Bollga Nkoši told a media briefing in nearby

Mandela 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 Katlehong branch of the ANC to mediate. They consider us to be aggressors," Nkosi said. Other vielims of the conflict were: Khowe Dlamini, who died on March 26; Liloky Nkutha, who was killed on April 1. and a man known only as Thabo

"Stokvel", who was shot on April 2.

A momber of the rival SDU accused Nicon and his commutes of Admapping people in Pulata Section and passessing a hit list of people in the rival faction.

Nkosi said they would seek an ilingent meeting with Gauteng MEC for safety and security Wirs Jesse Duarte to resolve the conflict.

He said youths could no longer attend school of move about freely in the fownship because of the vio-

### Radio station probe

A PROBE into the illegal Radio 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 lected police as they withdrew from their positions around the station, about 25km east of Pretoria.

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 Captain Dave Harrington said

### TEACHER Signisations have vowed to

continue their fight for better salaries after expressing disgust at the Government's latest offer of a five percent salary in

The most 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

when they met with leachers in C Town our lier this year.

The original Government offer was an increase of 1,4 percent, which was rejected by teacher unions who are fighting for an increase of 18,4 percent. Naptosa president Mr Leepile Taunyane expressed bitter disappointment at the suggestion and slammed the Ministry of Education for raising teachers hopes for a better offerafter a public aunouncement on Monday.

### KwaThema on the brin Speweran 15/5/95 various delegates attending a peace ini-

### By Dan Fuphe

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

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 tiative meeting/on-Thursday night had expressed despair and anger at escalat-

People at the meeting condemned Paso and Cosas for violating peace agreed upon at a meeting attended by Gauteng MEC for safety and security However, the Reverend Seboka Mrs Jesse Duarte and the Pan Africanist Congress' general secretary Mr Maxwell Nemadziyhanani.

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 Duda Kobus, came barely two days after \_\_perpetrate more violence in the area".

violence

## East Rand peace drives collapse

■ KILLINGS CONTINUE Request

for increased police, army presence:

By Pamela Dube Political Reporter

each initiatives 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 Pair African Students Organisation.

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

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

Four murders were recorded in KwaThema 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 Kobosi 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 KwaThema, 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

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 Défence 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 S Nav 27 5 tive committee of the ANC who

By TEFO MOTHIBELI

ment Programme (RDP) project In Dobsonville's Doornkon, squatter camp, residents and community leaders claim. Dobsonville Community Policy

ing Forum chairman Joseph 🥻 there were "some problems" in connection with the project, but said the North West Metropolitan Sub-Structure had appointed a sub-committee to investigate the matter.

Community leaders and residents alleged the Soweto squatter camp had been torn apart by two armed groups, both of whom claim to represent the

ANO

for are some individual members of the branch execu-

By TEFO MOTHIBELT

ANC aligned factions are locked in a bloody fussle for control of a Reconstruction and Develor ment Programme (RDP) project in Dobsonville's Doornkop, squatter camp; residents and community leaders claim. Thursday, community leader develor manually leaders claim. Thursday, community leader matorial said: "The problem of violence intimidation and senseless criminal and political killings that have been plaguing the Doornkop community that we been plaguing the Doornkop community."

nity is getting uglier by the The conflict, which began in the five-year-old camp in mid-January, has claimed at least

five lives and left scores of peo-

ple seriously injured. It is believed the "war" broke after a moratorium placed on the election of a new leadership for the squatter camp was breached. This apparently fol-lowed the arrest of the "true leaders" on a charge of arson.

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 defectors have paid dearly for their actions.

PAC secretary-general Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, 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 commit-ment to resolving the matter, but of being more concerned with electioneering.

ACTA AND

B ARG 2/6/95 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 parliament 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 investigating 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 killing 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 progress 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 implicating himself in the events leading up to the Shell House shootings the IFF questioned Mr Mandela's recent accusation that its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was personally involved in violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

In the senate 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 Koornhof 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 investigations 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 tion, and the accused had been brought to now.

Concealing information on as vital a point as this can only be deprecated."

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 statement 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 African an explanation.

His party had failed or refused to cooperate with police, and extravagant statements by the IFP castigating the ANC were a smokescreen.

The matter would not go away until there had been a proper police investigation, a comprehensive dossier handed to the attorney-general for possible prosecutrial, he said.

ARGE (278)6

### defends over IFP arolus ANC

### to protect a building and Afri-JOHANNESBURG. — An order

deaths

can National Congress leadership was not the same as an orsecretary-general Cheryl Caro-

Ms Carolus, leading the dressing a Press conference in "damage-control unit", was adlus yesterday.

ing and its tenants, even if it meant "to kill people" on ident Mandela admitted to the Johannesburg a day after Presprotect the Shell House build: killed in Johannesburg that day At least 55 people were when Inkatha Freedom Party marches in the city. Nine IFP supporters were killed outside protest the ANC's headquarters. held March 28, last year. supporters

Mandela was not there that day and I think it would be un-Ms Carolus said: "President She declined to comment on who actually gave the order to fair to link him with the order shoot, citing a current court The killings on March 28 should not be dubbed the "Shell case about the matter. to fire."

House Massacre", because it cheapened the 46 lives lost in other areas of the city, added Ms Carolus.

ing to Ms Carolus. ives that were lost outside of The label led people to beieve it was only the nine IFP the Shell House that mattered not the 46 lost in other ar-Ms Carolus submitted documents from the ANC's lawyers indicating the attempts made

eas, she said.

the killings.

listic tests - further proof the The ANC had given police ANC was willing to co-operate. 146 weapons out of 200 for balscene, fearing for their lives. They originally said they would help protect the grounds and police fled the Shell House to co-operate with police about She said that, on March 28

She added that the IFP had

not yet come forward to co-op-

☐ FACING THE PRESS: Cheryl Carolus at the Press conference.

yesterday President Mandela's admission that he personally Yesterday, IFP spokesman Velaphi Ndlovo said Mr Mandela should be charged with erate with the investigation. monitor the situation, accordhappy with the way the police "I can say the ANC is not

had given ANC security offi-cials orders to defend Shell murder and called on Police Commissioner George Fivaz to have carried out the investigation," she said.

eral of the Witwatersrand said The acting Attorney-Gen-

"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. ings made him "the first candidate to be interviewed by the Truth and Reconciliation IFP MP Velaphi Ndlovu said the president's announcement in the senate of his role in the shoot-

Ironically, for this to be possible, demands of parties (including the NP) to move the cut-off for amnesty to May 10 last year - the date of Mr Commission as an accomplice to murder".

House even if it meant killing,

and evaluated alongside all other evidence and information would be "put into the scales" to determine its relevance.

Ms Carolus said that Constiutional Assembly chairman order an immediate investiga-

Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Fi-

vaz had met.

Mandela's presidential inauguration - would have

to be met.



At present the commission's amnesty commit-tee 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 force; and they should be replaced by the police internal; stability unit; the IFP said.

In its statement, the IFP caucus said Mr Mandela had headed Umkhonto weSizwe, which alleg-edly had killed "more black people in its so-called armed struggle than the troops of the enemy 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

"That protection went as far as 54 people being

killed." 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 ques-tion had linked Mr Mandela to murder.

Dennis Bloem (ANC) said Mr Mandela's state-ment showed the president was not afraid to speak the truth in public.

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### By SEKOLA SELLO

THE MINISTER of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, is unlikely to bow to pressure from Inkatha to charge 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. 1999. ANC had heard, repairs in Meanwhile! Mandela "that "32 people had ween has called a snap parlia- killed in Sowetto by mentary debate on the "Inkatha" sissue. Mandela's spokes 125 "By the time they differ man Joef Neightenhe to town we had, and in the state of the state o

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

Addressing the Senate, Mandela said on that day when Inkatha members were to hold a meeting in central Johannesburg the

formation," Mandela said. They came to Shell House and passed the spot where they were sur posed to have their meet

"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 called for himto be charged as an "accomplice to commit mur-

der". ■ The AWB said he The AWB said he should be charged with involvement in a political crime. The Cornerwasiane Party said he should be prinyed as President and Charged

The National and Democratic Parties have also censured Mandelas and Mufamadis & ...

The NP spokesman on safety and security, Hennie Smit, said: "The central question is whether Mr Mandela's involvement is the reason for the extraordinary delay in the investigation and whether Mr Mandela and the ANC were attempting a cover-up."

The DP spokesman on safety and security, Douglas Gibson, asked why the police investiga (1) tion had not previously brought Mandela's involvement to light.

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

opposes demands by Inkatha that the killings at Shell House should not be linked to the 45 people who were killed in the streets of Johannesburg, near the Library Gardens

House

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Cheryl told a press con-this week the dicome self defence. an ğ 2 ive one rather than y general told a pre posture." was a struction reta-basic right of put in f out in full s president. personnel secretary rective fensive I Carolus erence

g, Kevin Attwell, id he had not yet d what Mandela get a state-President Mandela. Let the Attorney General of Gauteng then decide on whether to ΑG sioner George Fivaz to his duty and get a str ment from Preside þ prosecute The

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marks had not said that cover-up or draggin, feet, Mufamadi said to ince he addressed the itter in parliam.

in parliament two ago, Fivaz had to ANC secretary approached his office. The IFP spokesman general Cyril Ram sa, while Inkatha h yet approached his The IFP spoke on safety and sec Velaphi Ndlovu, sa since he matter ii weeks a

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### Recklessialk

PRESIDENT Meaners will be to regree the unforfaints, rock as speech to delivere to the Seinte this week.

How on earth, we ask, can a president of, an fedging county, that is still reeling from political strile and shootesting, remind as, in such a crude manner, that he gave hastrey those for people to be killed?

Why 'messed, did he.

opic to he killed?

Why / indeed, did he make flid anyrovoked and unvarranted speculi, just when the families of the victims of the behalf diseas deaths are beginning to let by gone; he by gone?

His vontinging fight with inkatha leader Mangounthy Buthelast doesn't give him the right to ary to justify giving such an instruction—especially when he wasn't even at Shell House when the shootings occurred.

Mr President!

Mr Presidenti ... you have turnished your otherwise impaccable record of being a perfect

ris leans.

You ove the action an apology

Yes, we are mindful of the youthin schedows the sime of the Shell House labident. We live up at each of the limit of t quarters.

However, we don't un-tent the ANC's reaction has this is presely a oran un a les cup. It la a political blun

der,
Safay and Security
Minister Sydney Markmad and Commissioner
of Police George Pivas
must now hastes the inrestrigations concerning
the events at Shell House on that fateful day.
If the president does
not explain or apologies
his uncalled for stateties on that fateful day
and the shootings
won't simply just go
won't simply just go

won't aimply just go away 4t will haunt him for years to come: 4 Khulu Sibiya, Editor.

### Victims' families 'to charge Mandela' Pavid Gravbe Mandela' nal charges, so as to expedite proceedings.

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 Themba Khoza 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 vear.

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.

Khoza said the families' lawyers were investigating the possibility of "altering" the civil claims case to include the crimiHe said the accomplice to murder charge resulted from the fact that Man-

dela "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 vesterday it was unaware that a meeting had been scheduled between National Police Commissioner George Fivaz and Mandela to discuss the president's remarks in Par-liament last Thursday.

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

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said: "As far as I know there is no meeting planned."

Another spokesman, Joel Netshitenzhe, 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 Ntombeki Peni, 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-

vocate LR Nortier said Peni had repeatedly contradicted himself while two state witnesses, including a woman who said she had to look away in horror as Peni beat

Biehl over the head, were outstanding. Peni's advocate J Kuzwayo asked the court to acquit him because he was "a victim of circumstance who was in the wrong place at the wrong time

Kuzwayo said the State had not proved its case beyond reasonable doubt. - Sapa.

### 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 hit squud investigation unit, 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 implicat-

ed took place in KwaMakhutha in KwaZulu/Natal in 1987, 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 Mark 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 iudament to be delivered

Susan Russell

MORE than 300 death row prisoners, some of them there since the 1990 moratorium on capital punishment, will know their fate when the Constitutional Court hands down its longawaited judgment today.

The constitutionality of the death penalty was the first case heard by the new court after its inauguration in February. 806/6/9.
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 attorneys-general 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 guaran-teed 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.

Section 33 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.

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### Mandela pledges to assist probe

### ANC fights back over Shell House

Tim Cohen and Drew Forrest

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela yesterday moved to regain the moral high ground in a fractious parliamentary debate on the Shell House shootings, pledging that his party would adopt an "open door" policy on the police investigation.

on the police investigation.

Manuela implicitly turned down calls from the NP, and DP for a commission of inquiry, but indicated that the police investigation would continue, while the "utmost speed and integrity" would be required from investigators and parties concerned.

The ANC has been on the defensive since Mandela's statement to the Senate last week that he had ordered security personnel to protect Shell House "even if you are to kill people".

Mandela requested yesterday's snap debate on the shootings, which resulted in the deaths of 11 Inkatha members.

In a co-ordinated bid to limit the political fallout from the statement, ANC deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus held a two-hour news briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, at which she defended the President and rebutted charges that the party, had obstructed the police inquiry.

Carolus said that at his meeting with police commissioner George Fivaz this week, Mandela had offered to repeat the statement in public, without the benefit of parliamentary privilege. The ANC had done everything possible to assist the police, short of violating members constitutional rights by "coercing" them to make statements.

pons had been handed in to the police forballistic testing, and the surrender of armshad stopped only because the police had said they were no longer relevant to the investigation.

In the debate, Mandela repeated his justification that the shooting had been a response to a premeditated attack on Shell House, adding that the ANC had received information that some of the marchers had been directed to "destroy information and kill members of the (ANC) leadership":

In his shoot-to-kill directive, he had sought simply and honestly to reiterate the right of self-defence.

right of sein-detence.

Sketching the events that led up to the shooting, he said there had been collusion, between elements of the previous government and leaders of a campaign to destroy the imminent general election. "In some instances, supporters of both sides, were murdered to provoke a conflagration," he said, adding that details were still being uncovered and that many more arrests would follow. The facts of the Shell House shootings had been distorted in pursuit of a political vendetta against the ANC, he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party members were circumspect in the debate, avoiding the heated recriminations of past week.

DP leader Tony Leon said the central issue was whether there had been obstruction of justice and a bungled attempt at a cover-up by the ANC. Watergate was not remembered for the initial break in but for the cover-up that followed, he said in ANC watergate and the said in the said i

At her briefing, Carolus stressed that many others had died in and around Johan-

The She said 146 of the ANC's licemed wea-

Continued on Page 2

### Shell. House

Continued from Page 1

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

Inkatha had agreed, to bring forward witnesses, but had not done so. Inkatha had also not responded to 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 comprehensive, 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 falling to act on ANC warnings that an attack on Shell House was planned. Witwatersrand police commissioner Gen Koos Calitz 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

### 'Self-defence' claim slammed

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 last might 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 fiery 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-deferice 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 liber-

ation 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 IPP march.

He said the Shell House "incident" was not a bolt from the blue, saying there was in Pebruary 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.

Deal struck on man threatening 1 000 murders a day

Police would be asked to hold off action against Richard Mtusent Dlomo, 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 Jessie 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 Dlomo 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 5 033 in October 1994, the National Manpower Commission said in its last annual report ta-

bled 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 5 033 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 FW de Klerk said yesterday.

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

Two people have been arrested and released on ball in connection with the fraud which has cost the KwaZulu-Natal nutrition scheme R8-million, Health MEC Zwell Mkhize said in the provincial legislature on Wednesday.

— Staff Reporter.

# eat: Security forces to b

IOHANNESBURG: Gauteng Safety and Security Minister Ms Jesse in the province from today to curb violence threatened earlier this Duarte yesterday said security forces would be deployed at tax! ranks, bus terminals and stations week by the IFP

Ms Duarte could not say how many security force members: In a statement she said the safewould be deployed.

ty measures would inconvenience some, but they were deemed necessary to defend peace.

IPP provincial leaders today.
She said people would be promier Mr Tokyo Sexwale will meet tected in residential areas, city cen-

Earlier yesterday, the Gauteng branch of the Inkatha Freedom tres and industrial areas.

Party Youth Brigade said it would

investigate and take action against members who threatened to ren-The brigade's Gauteng chairder the province "ungovernable". Ms Duarte said Gauteng Pre-

man Mr. Thabani Dlamini was reacting to reports that the Vaal Triangle and West Rand regions of the brigade had announced plans connection with the killing of Zulu of mass action, including a stayaway on Saturday, if President Nélson Mandela was not arrested in

the stavaway.

- IFP Vaal Triangle publicity secretary Mr Sipho Magubane report. edly said plans for the stayaway would be finalised this week and all means, including:"force if necessary", would be used to enforce marchers near Shell House.

from the statements, Mr Dlamini said the regions did not have a mandate from the provincial lead. In distancing his organisation

ership to release such statements.

He said provincial officials would hold a meeting with region? al executives today to find those responsible for the statements and "The IFP Youth Brigade is fully drastic measures would be taken.

country and we cannot afford to: committed to peace and stability n our province and the rest of the be seen as perpetrating violence, he said. — Sapa

### Sexwale,

### IFP leader

### องยก

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale and IFP regional secretary Musa Myeni said yesterday they were not prepared to estand by and allow the hard-

won peace in the province to be destroyed.

in coge s The two held an emergency meeting at the provincial legislature to avert any resurgence of violence as a result of a virtual call to arms by two mav-

ericks" within Inkatha. (\*) "We are happy to say we still have a common under-standing of what peace and stability should be in this prov-ince," Sexwale said.

However, Myeni sounded a qualification that national leaders should "act very rereacers should act very re-sponsibly so they do not do-things which invite reaction from certain quarters which will even be beyond our cap-abilities to control".

abilities to control.

Sexwale said he accepted Myen's argument that the two men who had made the inflamatory calls.—Richard Mtuseni Diomo and Siphio Magubane—were IFP mavericks.

But, he added, the provincial improved had decided to

government had decided to take no chances. It would rather be seen to be "overreacting" by deploying additional police than to be found wanting:

On Sunday, Safety and Secu-rity MEC Jessie Duarte said-extra security personnel would be deployed. There was no sign of such a crackdown yesterday morning.
Myeni said that whatever

the political frustrations of IFP members, there was "no justifi-cation whatever" for the kind of threats that had been made. He said Dlomo and Magubane had no right to call press conferences on behalf of the IFP The provincial council

would investigate their actions

AND REPORTED AND REAL PROPERTY.

### P leaders enlisted to heal Gauteng rift

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA POLITICAL REPORTER

8

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

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 Themba Khoza and Gauteng MPL and former West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu, 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 secretarygeneral 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

Khoza and Ndlovu could not be reached for comment.

### DBSA report fails to

### sufficie

THE government's propensity to add layers of bureaucracy where they are not necessary is reflected in the findings of a Department of Finance task force examining the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

In terms of the proposals in the transformation report, released this week. a new holding company will be established to mobilise funds for both the DBSA and the Industrial Development Corporation, while the mission of the DBSA will be redefined.

"The DBSA will provide

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. · 12 th

financial support for both infrastructural projects and development programmes centred around the provision of sub-regional, national and community infrastructure," says the report.

These proposals are flawed in many respects. Most importantly the new mission statement is, by and large, a reflection of what the bank has been doing all along.

13.70

end-March the bank im- and industry" that the task proved its level of disbursements to develop- major reason for proposing portfolio of just under R6-sive industrial projects. billion supports over 1700 The Development Bank on projects which have a with other hand does not try clear development focus. wits hand at projects which

Section 14.

spilari in collect tributes In the financial year to between infrastructure. ment projects by 33% to 4a joint holding company RI.15-billion and it is bud-for the DBSA and the IDC geting for further alloca-46. The latter supports tions of RI.3-billion this eclearly defined, private year. Its total development. A sector and capital-inten-

It is therefore difficult to ware not related to the prosee the "powerful synergy 4 vision of infrastructure or THE PARTY OF THE

development projects.

While the task group does see the need for the bank to expand its brief to larger infrastructural projects at national and intraregional level, even in this area it is difficult to envisage the contribution the

The task force, headed by current DBSA chairman Wiseman Nkuhlu, also stresses that the combined asset base of the two institutions (currently R12,1-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 R300million this year to R1-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 wonder. for staff morale.

### DBSA PROJECTED FINANCIAL SUMMARY

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Total assets Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

### ANC probes hostel violence

SEBOKENG: Police used teargas and rubber bullets to rescue a main at the Sebokeng hostel complex vesterday as violence in the area continued, even while an ANC delegation visited to probe the reasons for the flare-up which has claimed at Teast 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
immates on murder charges."

Police spokesman Lt-@ol Plet

Police spokesman Lt-Col Piet van Deventer said 22 people would appear in court today in connection with the killings over the weekend:—Sapa 2.78

# Army sent into Sebokeng

zunshot wounds after action clashes erupt MANY treated for at Vaal Triangle

### and PATRICK WADULA

resterday after 15 people died n weekend faction fighting. The clashes, between Xhoss

have been sparked by the death of a Basotho couple at nestel dwellers and Basotho ostel dwellers, are believed to the Sebokeng hostel, alleged!

oblice maintain order.
The security action follows
worders of violence at the Thostel complex.

Affeisi statistics are that 15 who were shot have rehave been killed and 11 red. Most of the dead had ere slash wounds, many firmd hostel No 3.

man, Alfred Mhloia. r treatment during

the trouble has been in

dion of the ANC/Co-



ushed over and were seen spears and knobkerries

and fired teargas at the Thomas to keep, the fighting olice shot rubber bullet

soldiers and police patrol the streets of Sebbkeng in the vicinity of the Sebokeng Hostel. Soldiers in

Military is sent into Sebokeng

eral 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 Tokyo Sexwale, who was briefed on the situation last night, is expected to announce measures to improve the situation at the Sebokeng complex.

Colonel Pieter Vosloo, officer commanding Group 17, SA Army, told the Star at Vereen-inging 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 theviolence in the ягея.

Police confiscated hundreds of weapons.

From Page 1 Yaw 26/3/9€ (278 ) an increase in the number of troop deployed this weekend.

In Sebokeng, the tension was palpable as army foot patrols scoured 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 Batallion had been deployed at Bekkersdal, north of Sebo-keng, 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.

## caw hostel set

UR REPORTER ISTICE MALALA ose after st 1500 residents gathered in the

ccumbed to the cycle of r hostel on the East Ranc e to wage war this week okeng Hostel residents o American's Scaw

called for the closure of the hos gated inside the hostel. factory, while another congre Numsa members, who have

moving their belongings from the remises, the last of them re United Workers' Union of St l, toyi-toyied on the factory son Mthabela asked.

ty, remained closeted in the sure and who are in the minori members, who oppose the clo

npany has its way, after l be closed on Monday is nodating about 1 500 peo-

Hostel near Germiston

to stem violence there

awaiting reprieve.

ional Union of Meta to the mysterious killin ety congregants in 1993 vicious cycle, which with the killing of 12 buriet everyone go," Numsa member eople have died here and man llings. So the best thing is to gement has failed to act on the being closed. Too many of ou "We are happy that the hoste

as become difficult to jus anyathi on Friday. s of South Africa officia acob Motlhageng said. He said people would be bet

ranteed," Anglo's Jabu continued existence o er off seeking accommodation

Our people's homes are too elsewhere

grouping of the

Natal. They do not have relatives

the massacre

No one has been convicted for

iar away, some in KwaZulu-

ala said.

crowded rooms of the hostel refuge. Should they sleep on the here, so the hostel is their only are dying, but the police should streets?" Uwusa member Ander close the hostel if there was no ment had indicated that it would few months, and that manage do something about it rather ngs had increased over the pas ostel down," he said. Centrepieces of the hostel Maphalala said isolated kill "We acknowledge that people let management close the

bloody history include the killin

people were injured perimeter wall of the hostel and opened fire on residents. Three nammer to smasn through the 47s and pistols use a sledge 15 and 20 men armed with AK and an incident when between 12 people on August 22 199

back to the hostel's Sections 1 and 3. They claim they were forced to move to Section 2 when violence erupted at the weekend, leaving 15 dead Moving back . . . a soldier patrols the violence-torn Sebokeng Hostel as Xhosa residents move their belongings PICTURE: JODI BIEBER

### p police find killers okyo 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 po-lice 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 complicity in the violence would be investigated, but added that police could not do their job without help from the residents

Sexwale, who was accompanied by Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security Jessie Duarte and provincial Police Commissioner Sharma Maharaj, said hostel dwellers who had ac-cused 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 spies 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".

Killing us."
Sebokeng hostel chairman
Mogozwana 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

➤ To Page 3

residents accused police of ing with the Xhosas. told Xhosa residents to "go back to Transkei". However, AmaBha dents moved from Section 1 and police were aiding AmaBhace Xhosas. They said police has were fuelling the violence.

Earlier, Xhosa residents said een staying together wit ostel dwellers against th maBhaca, AmaMpondo and Ba of the hostel, where they At the weekend, AmaMpondo ai.d Basotho

Meanwhile, 22 people appear

Yesterday they started m g back into Section 1 and 3.

### Sexwale orders hostel pro

### Mduduzi ka Harvey

GAUTENG premier Tokyo Sexwale has ordered the province's police commissioner to investigate the cause of violence at Sebokeng hostel after visiting the area with safety, and security MEC Jessie Duarte, yesterday.

Commissioner Gen Sharma Maharaj's

brief includes identifying those responsible for violence in which 15 people have been

killed since Saturday.

Sexwale and Duarte visited injured survivors in Sebokeng Hospital and at the hostel. They were also briefed by hostel leaders on the causes of the conflict. Sexwale said he would meet faction leaders . again to get feedback on the violence and

again to get receivant on the violent cam-plan ways to solve the conflict. Although most residents blamed the con-flid on a fight between the hostel's Xhosas, Pondos and Baqas (Sotho-speaking residents) for supremacy, some have accused ANC-aligned self-defence units of taking the law into their own hands.

Resident Sy Mogamisi, claimed unit members were demanding R36 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 "loafers" 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 Nogozwana Guqa called for an independent inquiry, saying there were political motives behind the killings. He claimed residents wanted police to withdraw from the hostel because they believed police had played a part in the shootings. Residents preferred army the shootings. Residents preterior any protection; he said, adding that residents 278) 100 27 7 7 Continued on Page 2

### Hostel probe

Continued from Page 1

had apprehended an off-duty policeman after a shooting incident on Monday. In a stern address, Sexwale told hostel residents, to identify the policemen in-volved 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 Laufer said that of the 179 public sector hostels in SA, 15 had been upgraded while 27 were still being upgraded. Of the R426m

### BO 27/8/95

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 in-cluded 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. Its Isith ebe operation reported a total staff stayaway in protest against management's refusal to close the hostel immediately,

Picture: Page 3 Comment: Page 8

## Hostel residents want

other for the bitter peace, there are troops have moved in to in Sebokeng blame each eports NEWTON KANHEMA oent on revenge esidents who remain Members of different nelp police keep the ives last weekend. While ighting that claimed 15 actions living at hostels

stop the bloodshed. The police and army poured into Sebokeng this week after heir presence will be enough to pattered community believes he fighting that swept through hostels. But nobody in the

Each grouping involved blames another for starting the ot revenge. violence and some talk openly

cused unemployed Xhosa-speakers from Eastern Cape of /aal Triangle township eing behind the violence in the Basotho hostel residents ac-

"They must send all unem-ployed Xhosas back to Transkei and after that Sebokeng will be esident told the Saturday Sotho-speaking

tified, he replied: "Look at their Star this week Asked how a Xhosa was iden-

fingers. They always have the little one cut off."

the hostels last weekend Fifteen people were killed at ij



ACCUSED: Xhosa man with his finger tip chopped off.

or Bhaca (Xhosas from the what most residents said was an ethnic clash. Residents said the people killed died because Mzimkulu area of Transkei). they were either Xhosa, Sotho

sions appeared to be ethnic of murderous acts, and dents claimed to be ANC suprather than political. Each group accused the other Most resi-

porters.
"They killed a Sotho leader and his wife. We were very upset with this and we killed nine Xhosas," said an elderly resident, who called himself an scorian", meaning an em-

dent. They say they want money to buy guns," he said. And what do they want the us asking for money for protec-tion ... (collecting) between ployee of Iscor.
"They have been coming to and R40 from each resi

guns for?
"They want the guns for killing us," replied another resingus," enswer to the ing us, reputed answer to the dent. "The only answer to the people do. people who do the things these section. There trouble comes from the single these hostels you will see that Sebokeng problems is trans-forming all the single units into family units. If you look at al are no married

### Trouble-makers

circumcised. men women because we are not going around calling all our believe in muti. They have been and amaBhaca. These people "There is a lot of witchcraft tribalism with the Xhosas I think they are

makers," said the "Iscorian" provoking all this conflict.
"The Government can send soldiers but as soon as they are ployed should be sent back to be more blood (spilt) in revenge gone, trouble will start again. I don't believe that there will not Transkei. They are the troublethink all those that are unem-At the Xhosa section, many

have soldiers here than police. I think soldiers are fairer." also come and taken sides with section because we are afraic have had to move out of this rooms were empty. amaBhaca. We would rather kill us at night. The police have the amaBhaca will come and A Xhosa youth said: "We

are coming to kill us.

from the amaBhaca. some of whom were heir left hands — said they be segment of the little In this section, residents --they were under threat mussing a

Asked about the mutilation,

found the two together and dewere married and the husband

to kill him.

"Both the man and the woman

hostel resident said

can come and give speeches but the solution to this violence will to the car and said: "Politicians

steel. "I believe in revenge." be solved through blood and

The group said the Mosotho whose death sparked last weekare on the amaBhaca side. Sleeping with someone's wife.
One hostel resident sa pieces" because he was found end's slayings was "cut into money to buy guns, saying funds were needed for funerals. been doing this for many one replied: "We are Xhosa. This is a tradition. But not all Xhosas are like this. We have guns and now the amaBhaca I'he police came and took our help each other during hard times. We don't need the guns. "I am telling you, the police The group denied collecting Said one youth: "We try to **TO THE RESCUE:**-Soldiers were sent in to Sebokeng this week to help keep the peace "soldiers" but th matter most. is failing to deliver to those who respect for Madiba (President what we voted for. I have lots of performance. satisfied with the Government's tect" residents. tel which were used to "prothat there were guns in the hosrefused. However, he did admi our comrades. came here and killed a lot of Velson Mandela) but I think he The Saturday Star asked As we drove off, a youth ran He said residents were not "We are beginning to doubt but the request was identify hostel

TOMORROW'S WARRIORS: Life goes on for the children who live amid adults who accuse each other of murder after last week's clashes

## Hostel residents want iployed sent home

factions living at hostels in Sebokeng blame each peace, there are oent on revenge. NEWTON KANHEMA esidents who remain help police keep the roops have moved in to ives last weekend. While ighting that claimed 15 other for the bitter

The police and army poured into Schokeng this week after the fighting that swept through local hostels. But nobody in the near presence will be enough top the bloodshed. tered community believ

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Trouble-makers

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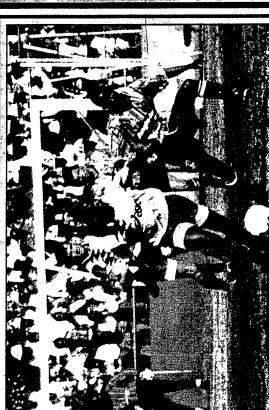
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ACCUSORROW'S WARRIORS: Life goes on for the children who live amid adults who photographs: 17 LEMON



PIC: MBUZENI ZULU It's a tussie for the ball between Phiri Tsotetsi of Orlando Pirates, who scored an own goal, and Mumba Ngandu of Wits, who grabbed the equaliser in the thrill-aminute 2-ail draw at Milpark Stadium in Johannesburg yesterday. See backpage.

om KwaMasiza Hostel in the Vaal Tri zle to end tribal clashes which imed many fives since

ended by about 6 000 peop Thief Phatekile Holomisa, olence erupted in 1992 of South

Holomisa said afterwards that the committee would comprise Contralesa sosed hostel committee that will sa Leaders at the hostel als at residents be disarmed ard peace in the complex. ind hostel leaders.

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zation: \* some senior policen e violence

g. Those at home are also severely "Politicians, priests and other lead come and ar, all to you to stop fight en sent by those w remained at ...me (in the rural areas) affected by the fighting.

The rally was also attended by Mrs ers have also appealed for peace and harmony among you. Please stop fight-" said Holomisa.

Winnie Mandela, who said "this violence means that the ANC has not yet begun to rule effectively".

had put up a brave fight against the It was disturbing to see people who "eyil 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 Mwelo to give the perpetrators of violence an Nontanyane, who appealed to them not excuse to operate.

here to wor? " r your children who are "You have crossed rivers to come at home, i ... ing will not help at a and should ... o Another : 'iy



### 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 Phatekile Holomisa, head of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), made the announcement to about 6 000 hostel dwellers at a soccer field near KwaMasiza 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 Contralesa — 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 Contralesa's ranks.

He urged the community to work closely with the peace communitiee, 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 amaMpondo and Nogozwana Guqa 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 Hence Grawhtzky Industrial Court Mo 18 195 (278) (278) (278) Move to close the hostel be closed be

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

bour 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

e hostel be closed because of the high level of violence and the number of deaths at the hostel.

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

The company had grant-ed workers R1 000 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 (278)
residents,
arms pact

### SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Sebokeng hostel leaders have
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### `hit squad leade

### By WALLY MBHELE

VAAL Triangle police this week held a dra- Jan Munnik last year, matic sit-in in the offices but no action was taken. of their District Commissioner demanding that Evaton Branch Commander warrant officer Piet Choeu 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 Fri-

Two of the five policemen who staged the sitin made sworn state-

ments to the Witwatersrand Police Reporting Officer, Advocate Jan Munnik last year,

Yesterday Munnik confirmed he took statements from the policemen City Press spoke to. He said the Transvaal Attorney General, Jan D'Oliviera, had decided to investigate.

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

Choeu is also accused of dismissing two female colleagues last week after they refused to make "false" statements

Cop accused by col leagues of personally Instigating and engineering Third Force violence.

against one of their colleagues who knows about the commander's alleged shady past.

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

Some of the allegations made against Choeu - who was allegedly a commander of a 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 Boinatong 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 hitsquad information. She was allegedly handed to Choeu and a Sergeant Van Gryp to give a statement. She was never

Leading attacks against other members of the police services and systematically harassing and intimidating cops

seen again.

who gave information to the Witwatersrand Police Reporting Officer, advocate Jan Munnik. City Press was told that to date close to 10 Poperu members have

been forced to leave Evaton police station be-cause 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 Choeu 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 bac

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 vio-lence tore Katlehong apart two years ago and left thousands of residents homeless.

Katorus Special Presidential Project manager Themba Mal-uleke will officially hand back the keys to the Mashau family of Mgadi section - the first family to move back to a revamped house in the neighbourhood.

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

About 10 other families will

上間引の 国間関係 衛用 南川五大大をのれる大田

join Mashau. His house is the first of about 1 500 which are in the process of being repaired in the Katorus area.

Maluleke 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 Maluleke. He said satellite police stations

had been introduced in the area to conduct regular police patrols.



### 大学の 中央大小 一般経済

By Joshua Raboroko

keng Hostel in the Vaal Triangle yesterday where four people were killed and 40 wounded during clashes between groups of Xhosas and Sothos at Iwice yesterday police averted further ECURITY FORCES moved into Sebo-

sattle outside the hostel in the morning and aid yesterday that police were summoned to separating the armed groups hen they challenged each other to an open Police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn

It is understood the fight broke out on Friday night after members of one of the groups violated a peace accord signed after consulta-tion with tribal chiefs and other representatives during protracted meetings in Schokeng last ot confirm the number of deaths.

"At least 15 people have been killed at the nostel 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.

resman. She said yesterday that they treat released because their next of kin have wounded were treated and allo Some of the injured

names of the dead have not to

ongwe Sikhohela, Mr Fundas Chapane and abavu, Mr Welcome Maphora, Mrs Madi-Mr Paul Lephaka. They were shot and hacke with dangerous weapons: 100 to Hatshwayo, Mr Elias Leepile,

However, Soweton watched as three more AK-47 rifle when he returned from work or Saturday. He did not know the cause of the shot four times in the chest and leg with people - two men and a woman - s rought by police to the hospital

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

i Khiba, said they were forced to fight back Sothos when one of their members was sho

scene after faction fighting erupted at the ostel. Five people were wounded but he con

official of violence spoup of armed Sebokeng Hostel dwellers yesterday propared themselves for an attack first violent clashes which claimed 40 others at least four people and injured 40 others at

PIC: VUSI ZWANE

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 af-

firmative 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 adver-



2106

tised." 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 Willemse. 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—Nawal 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 Sebesho, 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 Sebesho 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



Sebesho

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 Sigcau on Friday.

Neither would he comment on Sebesho's unhappiness over Sidego's appointment. Sebesho 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.

Eddie Botha

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 Transitional Metropolitan Council 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 R1204.

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 nonracial 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 Mundelu 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 sur-

rendered 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 "nothing 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 fulfil 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 are 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 F W 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 in-



dividuals, the truth behind the events of that day are 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 fester 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

278) FM 29 9 95 presence, even though the ANC's chief of

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 armour-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 29/9/98 Sins of the past

Conrad Sidego 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. Sidego had been earmarked for a senior appointment.

Among Sidego'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, Sidego received the symbolical 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 Sidego'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

### Shell House probe 'standard'

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 ARG 78/11/95 that day," according to the documents (278)

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 gaurds, 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 attorneygeneral's office appointed a legal team consisting of advocates Brian Sheer and Karin Vorster.

### 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 28 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 dockets in conjunction with the Shell House dockets: 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.

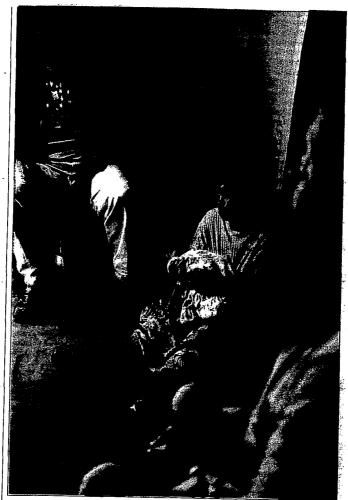
Mr Mamoepa said the ANC

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 prosecutions take place — particularly the prosecution of the rooftop snipers."



Mourning: Relatives of a victim of the violence in Phola Park

PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

### Js blamed for killi

itumeleng oa Mahabane

ORMER members of Phola Park's selfdefence 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 gummen wielding AK47s and 9mm pistols opened fire on a family in their shack. Although community leaders and the police have downplayed reports of SDU 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.

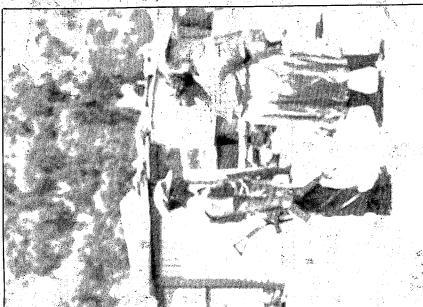
Jessie Duarte said the violence had been the work of criminals calling themselves SDUs and for handing over the weapons.

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 SDU for inclusion into police reservist forces.

Nthato Mbotho, father of the children who were wounded in Sunday sight's attack and who was wounded his ascit, 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 Neobo in the former Transkei and SDUs although residents say some of the attackers themselves are from that part of the Transkei.

Although many weapons were handed in during the amnesty period last year, it has been dif-But Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security ficult to determine the overall success, given that SDU members were responsible themselves



IN WAKE OF DEATH. Police search Phola Park for arm Plese siwe RADEBE

is clinding lodne SI

By WALLY MBHELE

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

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

SDUis opposed to people moving to new der the direct control of the Greater Alberton council, has already erected roads and sites in Phola Park. But the sites, say local ANC and The project, now un-

ple to remain in these cramped shacks - because they fear paying cent place. They tell us they fought for this place are going to pay rent," "The SDU wants peorent if we move to a deand there's no way they civic leaders.

people are allo-

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

One leader told City ress the SDU was opposed to a settlement with roads and street curity and various community leaders. where proper policing is difficult to maintain," a there are no roads here - only dark alley ways "They want to continue their reign of terror in darkness. At present member of the community policing forum said.

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

be a serious threat to "Bringing a normal ife to this place seems to their self-imposed pow-ANC leader.

orce launched a massive search in Phola Park - in one R5 rifle, a "zipgun" and an Olympic 6 re-On Friday, the police and the national defence which one AK-47 rifle, volver were confiscated.

dagga and dagga plants were also seized. One Two kilograms of

police station in Phola Park, It was decided ing, as there is a satellite they should hand over and blamed the Engcobc SDU should disband and give way to official polic their arms to the police. But the SDU mem bers felt their authority was being undermined store public order and secure the safety of the Police spokesman Captain Deon Peens said: "The purpose of the police action was to republican the area,", a been supported by the MEC for safety and se-Gauteng premier,

man who had acted as a ng SDU members are who had been outspoken said to have felt that a spokesman of the Engco bo burial society and at the mass meeting At a subsequent mest encing the community. censed pistol, demanding that he pay R300 to re-■ The latest Phola Park members had allegedly disarmed a man of his liclashes began after SDU

burial society for influ-

man originally came kei and was a member of rom Engcobo in Transa local'burial society consisting largely of peo-City Press was told the cover it.

ber, who was also from and rushed to warn the Before the SDU plan

Engcobo, disagreed

But one SDU mem

should be assassinated.

after the SDU had refusthe matter was discussed It is understood that at a burial society meeted to return his firearm. ple from Engcobo.

could be thwarted, City

ourial society.

ress was told, the SDU

aunched an attack

cilling its target.

ing three weeks ago. The society referred civic association and the ANC. The ANC and the the matter to the local

That enraged the Engcobo group. In the ence, three SDU members were killed – one by

ensuing counter-viol

It was at that meeting haviour was discussed.

And on Sunday night he SDU attacked a shebeen - killing three more RIOTS - GAUTENG

1996 - 1997

# Police had prior walning of trouble before Alrode factory where dissatisfaction. Normavenda Mathiane has been dissatisfaction. Nilson said the National Value of the attack—and laded the disperse directly after and they go and factory worker dissatisfaction. Nilson said the National Union of Metapers of SA (Numsa) and the IFP. wards but, in the turn out they go and the IFP. wards but, in the bad boen confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway. There had been confident and they go a sway they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they go a sway they had been confident and they are sway they are s

trolling near the factory yesterday morning when eight jobseekers were shot dead and 23 injured However, they were unable to prevent the Killings or arrest the culprist.

By late yesterday police conditions not good and still not offer a motive for the attack, in rode on the East Rand and were pawhich some victims were shot in the

The shootings took place after about 2 000 beptle converged on the largo American-owned factory to apply for 200 jobs. Management and the unions and agree earlier that a ballet system in which applicants entered num. 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.

had helped spread the word about re-cruitments. She said an initial recruitems and police had been informed it ment drive had been postponed from ast Monday because of security probvould go ahead vesterday.

Weber confirmed this. He said two police vehicles had been patrolling the area from 1am — about two boars be-

ports from witnesses and police were looking for an old green Valiant and a white Toyota Corolla from which wit-

nesses had seen the gunnen alight. Numsa general secretary. Enoch Godongwana said he did not believe the attack was politically motivated or He said there was speculation among shop stewards that it might a result of union rivalry.

shooting

have been because of a three-shiftisys-tem the factory was introducing that was opposed by some employees as it would mean less overtime for workers.

Sharma Mahara, Safety and Security Minister. Sydney Mufamadi and provincial safety and security. MEC Jessie Duarte visited the some vester day, Mufamadi amonunce the formation of a feam to investigate the master of a feam to investigate the master. National police commissioner George Fivaz, provincial commissioner

Continued on Page 2

### **Killings**

Continued from Page 1

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

Fivaz said: "We are not too con-cerned about the motive. This is senseless murder. It is criminal, these are unacceptable deeds."

Speaking from their Natalspruit Hospital beds, several witnesses said men, dressed in jerseys and khaki coats, alighted from two vehicles and forced their way into a queue that had

confronted them and they pulled out their rifles. "All I remember was gun-shots. I saw Shenge drop to the ground and I had a piercing pain in my legs. I knew I had been shot," he said. eral people became angry and told the men "not to jump the queue. A man standing next to me, known as Shenge, Jerry Ramelo of Thokoza said sevgathered since the previous evening.

Another victim said: "After shooting at us, they simply walked back to their cars and drove off." Thokoza resident Priscilla Moletsane saw the cars. "It was not long af-

her the cars stopped that there was shooting. They shot me as I was run-ning away and I fell." she said. Jo'burg CBD will be cordoned off

### Mass security plan to handle Zulu marc

### 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 Goch stadium east of the city to Library Gardens in the city centre

Fears of clashes were heightened yesterday when IFP MP Themba Khoza alleged there was a high-level ANC plot — involving the SAPS, SANDF and former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers -– 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 loyalists marched to Library Gardens exactly two years ago. A march held last year to commemorate the 1994 shoot-

ings went off peacefully.

"Khoza said the IFP had information from four "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 alllegedly involved in the plot and sug-gested journalists "ask (Safety and Se-curity 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 govern-ment had "received information that the march could be disrupted ... as to its veracity, that is something else all together". The information was, how-ever, 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 allega-tions and "appropriate" action would be taken if necessary.

Carolus challenged Khoza to name his sources. The ANC would brief Man-dela and consult its lawyers about what it saw as defamation.

There are also fears of a confrontation at today's march because of a ban on the carrying of certain traditional weapons in public and the SAPS's stat-

Continued on Page 2

### March



Continued from I

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

Roadblocks 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 Negobo, said march organisers had been required to pay a R2 500 deposit against damages and provide proof of payment of R10m public liability insurance before permission was

granted for the march.

Farouk 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 "devastating proportions". Patrick Wadula and Lukanyo

Mnyanda report that businesses in downturn 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 R2 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 Ngcobo.

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

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

rox

Earlier yesterday, Gauteng

police Commissioner Sharma Maharaj announced that the proclamation would be strictly enforced.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet 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 IFP's fears were based on genuine concerns and were not an attempt to blackmail the government, he said.

Police Commissioner George Fivaz said yesterday police would take a statement from Inkatha Freedom Party MP Mr Themba Khoza 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 Khoza as quickly as possible to determine the veracity of these ... allegations and, if necessary, to take appropriate action."

Khoza 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.

Fivaz called on Khoza 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.

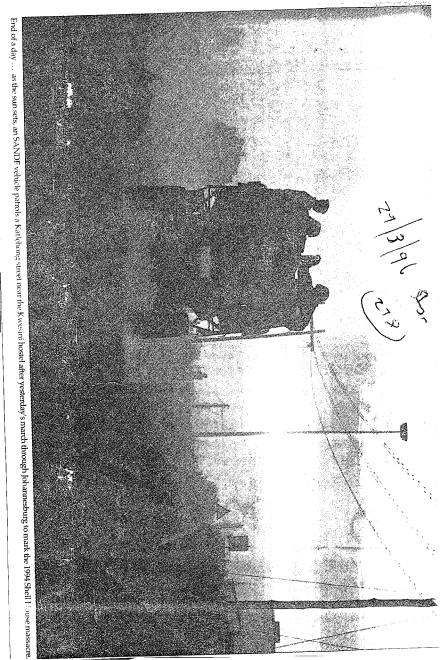
"It is against the law for any party supporter to intimidate and coerce people into staying away from work or joining marches," the ANC said in a statement.

"The IFP 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



### City breathes again at end of huge march

(278) By Anso Thom

The peaceful and largely incidentfree 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 Jessie 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.

Thwas impossible to disarm people in the thick of the march but most marchers carried only shields and blunt sticks. She said several dangerous

She said several gangerous weapons had been confiscated. Provincial Police Commissioner Sharma Maharaj 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.

"A Pimville, Soweto commuter," Zanele Mtutu, was killed when Diepkloof hostel residents allegedly fired shots at a taxi.

Two vehicles were stoned by Diepkloof, hostel residents, and

pólice confiscated two unificensed firearms. One mán was arrested.

In Tembisa on the East Raigd, one person was arrested for possession of an unificensed firearm. Four people were injured in an attack on a taxi in Wattville, Benoni.

One vehicle was hijacked by marchers on the West Rand and a taxi was stoned. Johannesburg police confiscated two unicensed firearms and 12 spears 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 Vosloorus, as well as outside the Wolhuter and Jeppe hostels."

Duarte said that everything was quiet after the march, als, though 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 Umlazi near Durban last night after gurmen went on the rampage earlier in the day, killing three men and injuring four others in attacks on commuter trains.

➤ Unlike 1994 march

## Police pay price for peaceful mar

ROBERT BLOCK The Independent JOHANNESBURG. - The first group of 10 000 Zulus to hit the troversial demonstration seemed streets of Johannesburg in a conto materialise out of thin air.

deserted most of the morning, but for a few dozen soldiers and policemen cradling shotguns against their The Jeppestown district was flak jackets at some roadblocks.

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

The police found themselves star-

times, ranging from leopard-skin demonstrators in a variety of cosloincloths to pink dresses.

"cultural accourrements" as the call them) in a taunting manner at inkatha Freedom Party prefers to he police and in clear defiance The police had vowed only hours The Zulu impi, or regiment. waved its traditional weapons (or of the law.

guns, any attempt at disarming the crowd would have been foolhardy gerous Weapons Act, but in such circumstances, even with their shot-"This must be what the British before to uphold the week-old Dan at best, more than likely suicidal

his breath. Instead of making a But in the man stand, the police talked into their soldiers felt like at Isandiwana."

ng into a wall of wide-eyed Zulu ... two way radios and gave way before the prancing warriors and ululating women.

It was one of the few tense mo-

The demonstration was called ments in a day of protest which passed with little incident.

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

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

But in the end, as it often is in. arm the crowd and Inkatha's vow never to give up its weapons, the

The Dangerous Weapons Act,

South Africa these days, it was the

passed last week at the urging of Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, was aimed at trying to reduce the political violence between the ANG and Inkatha in KwaZulu-Natal. The fear now, as yesterday President Mandela and Safety and apparently demonstrated, is that the new law is unenforcable. law which had to yield. One police..; dangerous weapons, such as spears officer told me that "particularly" and axes, had been confiscated, it had been done in very few cases and only when police were dealing The strong show of force by the but in the next breath he admitted with small, "manageable" groups.

newly unbanned ANC Then the tuted by the last white government of F W de Klerk at the behest of the rallies where it was physically A similar weapons ban was instipolice were also faced with huge impossible to disarm people with doned off vast parts of the city centhe police's pragmatic approach to police and the army which cortre with concertina razor wire, and enforcement of the law, were credited for allowing yesterday's demon

But the police's failure to make forced the widespread idea that in South Africa people are free to ernment looking weak and reingood on its threat has left the gov flout laws if they object to them. stration to pass without trouble.

The worry is now that, unless House massacre and reconsiders its the government makes progress on new law, next year's denonstrathe investigation into the Shel out inviting mass slaughter. ion may not be so passive.

### Jo'burg experiences ful Zulu marci

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 centrál Johannesburg yesterday by about 8 000 Zulus commemorating the 1994 Shell House shootings.

However, in Durban's Umlazi 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 de-ployed 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 knobkerries 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 pasti IFP demonstrations. Police reortedly confiscated 13 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 Musa Myeni. Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale

praised Myeni for his co-operation in

Continued on Page 2

### Continued from P

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

Sexwale 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, Zi-ba 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 midister Jessie Darrie said the SANDF had cleared barricades outside hostels while one person, Zanille Mtutu of Pimville, had been killed when Diepkloof hostel residents fired on a vehicle

The event appeared to be under con-

trol in the city centre

Wreaths were laid at Library Gardens for those who died two years ag and speakers called for March 28 to be a public holiday.

Comment: Page 18

### off peaceful **Shell House** march goes

eft their pangas and spears at home, writes Eddie Koch traditional weapons paid off this week when IFP marchers The Safety and Security Ministry's gamble in banning M+G 29/3-3/4/96 (

Myeni, and worked on an agreement sticks and shields," said one of "We knew all along that the way in which the march was conducted and its outcome was going to depend on group in the Transvaal loyal to Musa that the marchers would carry only Sexwale's colleagues. Inkatha organises. policing and delicate negotiations with moderate primstone predictions that the ban on traditional weapons would cause chaos By midday, some 10 000 Inkatha supporters converged on the Library COMBINATION of firm at Shell House in 1994, without any groups in the Inkatha Freedom Party defied fire-andat Thursday's march in Johannesburg Gardens to commemorate the killings serious incidents of violence. Almost all of them were armed with sticks and

the crowd had moved away from the knobkerries — with few spears and ened steel rods had covered the tips with empty beer tins, signifying that prazen mood that characterised ear-Some of those who carried sharp lier Inkatha marches. 🖘 pangas in evidence.

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 neart of Johannesburg — all of them But Safety and Security Minister

designed to supplement Mufamadi's hardline stance in his television debate The Sydney Mufamadi's firm stance on the carrying of dangerous weapons clearly The Mail & Guardian has estabkitted out with sticks and shields. also produced results.

police officers in an effort to ensure that the police force becomes a willing instrument of government policy. This with KwaZulu-Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose on Tuesday night — a position that was repeated by his provincial Duarte's staff have also been working hard to win the confidence of junior counterpart Jessie Duarte on Wednesday, when she said marchers who vio lated the ban would be arrested. the Zulu nationalist movement in a nore bellicose national leadership in "We held talks during the week with 1) / hostel leaders and an Inkatha lished that officials in the office of Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale held indunas and Inkatha Freedom Party members loyal to a moderate faction of oid to woo them away from the party's extensive discussions with hostel he run-up to Thursday's march.

with receiving arms from third force agents in the police] would be able to from sight during the violent run-up to softly-softly negotiation may shortly be charged in connection The IFP in Gauteng now has two clash between Myeni and Khosa and liner Humphrey Ndlovu were elected to approach with Inkatha's rank-and-file Themba Khoza [an IFP hardliner who win more support in the hostels where rival factions after a bitter leadership At provincial elections last year, Khosa lost his leadership of the party man-born businessman, Dietmar the IFP Gauteng executive. This election saw Myeni, who had disappeared he election, re-emerge from obscurity. and middle order leadership was clearly whether another faction headed by and was replaced at the time by a Ger-Lang. Neither Khoza nor fellow hardhis allies erupted last year.

n the Gauteng IFPafter a leadership Hardliner sidelined: Themba Khosa above) lost his leadership position

PHOTOGRAPH: CAROLINE SUZMAN approach received encouraging signals during the run-up to the march, when slash with Musa Myeni

conference that the ban would be two police unions issued statements The national and provincial police mish in their war of words with Inkatha when Gauteng Police Commissioner Sharma Maharaj announced at a press ministries also won an important skirsaying they would enforce the ban.

enforced before and during the march.

PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD Johannesburg was charcterised by a carnival atmosphere, with none of Triumph of traditional dress: Thursday's IFP march in central

kingdom, Zulu tradition and culture demanded that spears were not to be regularly enforced bans on the carrying orative functions where women and "Zulu men do have a tradition of carrying weapons but, when circumstances made it neccessary in the pre-conquest, independent Zulu of spears and other sharp weapons, especially at ceremonial and commemchildren could get hurt by mishaps. The government's concerted effort quences of enforcing it — derives from deliberately changed by FW de Klerk's government so that IFP members to undermine an Inkatha lobby determined to whip up resistance and con-뒩 approach epitomised by IFP official Ed evidence that national legislation was could arm themselves with spears and pangas at the height of political vio-Fillet's fiery warnings about the consefrontation over the ban

in to ensure the Natal Code of Native The carrying of dangerous weapons hibited by law until De Klerk stepped ong-established tradition, was proence in the country

by Inkatha members, far from being a Law was amended in 1990 — a time when internecine 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 amending its own statutes in line with KwaZulu homeland followed

Evidence emerging from the Malan plaas police commander Eugene de weapons measures coincided with far murder trial and the case against Vlak-Kock indicate that the traditional more serious programmes to arm para-De Klerk's amendments.

Evidence collected by Zulu historians also shows that traditional leaders military commandos inside Inkatha.

the usual incidents of violence

carried for fear of accidents," says Guy believes the current effort to weapons issue — and to portray the new government's efforts to move existed before 1990 — is part of a strategy to whip up "provocation in the Jeff Guy, an expert on Zulu history and author of the book The Destruc mobilise support around the cultural back to a situation that had aiready tion of the Zulu Kingdom.

ing. Residents, who struggled to get out of the township for work in the 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 morning, said an attempt was under Umlazi township on Thursday mornname of tradition"

Mufamadi's dilemma, PAGE 24 way to enforce a stayaway.

### Shell House charges laid

### Nomavenda Mathiane

PHOTOGRAPHS taken during the Shell House shooting in March 1994 in which 52 people died had led to charges being brought against a police-man; SAPS national pri-ority crimes unit head Brig Neville Thoms, said vesterday

ority crimes unit nead yesterday.

Thoms would not say what charges were laid against the policeman but saidhe would appear in court; shortly. He will be the first person to appear in court in connect ton with the shooting.

IRP 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 IRP has dropped all law-suits filed against President Nelson Mandela and ANC general, segretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

### Mufamadi jointly liable for damages, ANC claims

SAFETY and Security Minister Sydney 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 collegues 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 policemen allegedly involved in planning the attack is supplying ANC legal teams with informa-tion to defend the civil claim.

The ANC claims that 10 days before the march, which left 54 people dead and scores injured, ex-Vlakplaas oper-ative 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 at-tack, ANC leader Nelson Mandela had approached senior police officers and then president FW de Klerk to deploy adequate police personnel in the vicin-ity of Shell House, but this was not done, Bizos said.

"Members of the SAP, including se-

Continued on Page 2

Shell House nior officers, were aware of the deploy-

ment of armed security ANC personnel in and around Shell House.

He said the shots fired by ANC 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 comitted 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

will be opened within the next oditan Substructure to reinforce ew weeks by the Eastern Metrohe reconciliation. miracle of friendship be-tween political parties has tween political parties has taken place in Alexandra.

The library was built in 1992 funding, but was never opened because of violence and political vith regional services council ties now working together to start reconstruction in the Beirut area – Peace and reconciliation have been achieved, with political par-

ilbrary building, although empty, was never damaged, said EMSS ANC councillor Gaswell Mbadinued violence and turmoil in the area over the past few years, the But significantly, despite contensions in the area

> how known as the Reconstruction Area - to build homes for people properties during pre-election vi-

who were forced to flee from their

ions in the area have improved to such a degree that the perception "During the pastivear, condianvane.

And the new library, next to olence in 1991 and for those who the hostels, which has stood empty for the past four years because people feared to go there,

llegally took over the homes.

the area has changed. It was agreed by all that once it was open it would be invaluable as a claring the area a free zone," he of the risk involved in frequenting visible symbol of reconciliation. We have a vision of the mayor opening the new library and de-

was started by the Rev Liz Carmichael in 1995 under the aussulf of work by the Alexandra Ple-nary Group for Reconciliation and Reconstruction. The group pices of the local peace committee This miracle has been the reof the National Peace Accord.

The group consists of the Displacees' Crisis Committee, the M1

and M2 hostels, and the Recon- lomi.

an be achieved. We worked hard o eward us with houses for all the

or it, now the Government must

the past two years, and decided to Residents have met weekly for out their political difference beund them and agreed they were all people who needed homes. struction Area residents.

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

orocess," said Displacees' Crisis "The peace was achieved hrough a long and often difficult Committee member Hilda Moh-

each other, we would fight all the "We initially couldn't stand

would offer us protection. Now the area around the hostels is free time. Then we agreed we were all ing. We have achieved a lot since we started our meetings, most imcortantly the signing of peace dec-"After that we would advise the hostel people of events such as funerals in the area and they homeless people who were suffer laration in May last year.

"We have shown that peace er to spread the message of peace throughout Alex.

nave also had walkabouts togethand we are no longer scared. We

struction plan, and to get together with the Government and other derstanding, to agree on a reconstakeholders to create a reconlence in Alex, to bring about unstruction forum.

peace and the Alex people join us for football games in the hostel

who has been living in a hall for the past four years, said she used to go cold with fear when near the

Displacee Doreen Nkabinde,

grounds."

"There has been significant growth in reconciliation, mutual understanding and empower-

ionger afraid. The plenary group has also

nostel area, but now she is no

started literacy, education and self-improvement projects for the

"We are asking for the development of flats and duplexes on dents. This could be one way to esolve the problem of illegal occupancy of some of the surviving open ground to house a united community of present displacees and Reconstruction Area resihouses," Junod said.

said plenary facilitator Violaine

The purpose of the plenary,

community.

lunod, was to establish a process

of reconciliation, and reconstrucion with those lives were most affected by the pre-election vio-

Comes to Alex dent of the Reconstruction Areas that we were part of the peace. fight. We did not like Alex people after the violence but we blame lems we had. We how live at "We will leave the houses but the Government must provide us with houses because we have tel said: "We are pleased to see peace at last and we are pleased Höstel dwellers do not want to the old government for the probnowhere to go." Petros Simelane of the M1 hospeople involved," Mohlomi said. Said Peterson Phoswa, a resi-



ANC deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus addresses the media at Shell House yesterday about the 1994 Shell House shootings during a Zulu march through Johannesburg.

### ANC calls for 'speedy action' on Shell House

Stephen Laufer

16

n-

at

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 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 bent on derailing 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 Gogh 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 Themba Khoza 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 Heerden, Willie Nortjie, Charlie Chait, and former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock.

Carolus was careful to draw a distinction between the IFP members ammed 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 thepolitical 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 (278)

"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 Dullah Omar should reveal the facts so that the public could judge the ANC.

ANC: "The ANC will have to learn that the Shell House massacre,

that the Shell House massacre, like the Sarafina debacle, will not just disappear if they keep quiet about it," Mr McKenzie cold.

said.

### headquarters

injuries

Man seen tossing device at the front door at 8pm then fleeing in a minibus; passerby sustains shrapnel

BY LARA SMITH AND ANSO THOM

hand grenade was lobbed at Shell House, the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg last night and a passerby was slightly injured.

A man, said to be white, had walked from a parked car towards the building and tossed the grenade at the front door.

The man who was injured in the blast, Albert Mokanyane, was treated at the Hillbrow Hospital for cuts to his legs caused by shrapnel from the grenade of the state of the stat

Police spokesman Supt Clins. Wilken said the attacker got out of a cream-coloured minibus on the corner of Plein and King George streets at about 8.20pm.

"He walked towards the entrance of Shell House and the next moment there was an explosion. The man then ran back to the vehicle, jumped in and raced off."

According to a witness there was a driver and another passenger waiting in the vehicle, which had no number plates.

Another, policeman, said, the grenade was "definitely of South African origin" after the detonator, found at the scene, was identified.

Security guard Allan Lottering,

No doubt the device is of South African origin

told. The Star he had just climbed out of his vehicle on the corner of Plein and Twist streets, when he heard the explosion:

"A black man fell behind a vehicle parked in front of the building, then he got up and limped away. I then closed the road and alerted the police," he said.

alerted the police," he said.

The ANC last night strongly condemned the attack and expressed the hope that the perpetrators would be brought to justice before long.

Speaking from the Netherlands last night, the ANC MP Carl Niehaus also condemned the attack.

"At this early stage the ANC can only hope those responsible will be found and brought to book."

Gauteng police commissioner Sharma Maharaj and Johannesburg area commissioner Frans Malherbe inspected the scene shortly after the blast.



## Parties condemn Shell House hand

By Lulama Luti

Shell House, the African National Congress headquarters in Johannesburg, was the

cessful tours of Britain and France. attempt to undermine Mandela's sucattack could be viewed as a desperate Cheryl Carolus said the Monday night returns to South Africa today. ANC deputy general-secretary Ms

at the building's main entran Plein Street were also damaged occupants pulled up near the building building were damaged. Glass doors and two cars parked in front of the 8.20pm after a minibus with three reports that the attack occurred at about A passer-by was slightly injured building's main entrance Carolus confirmed police

spokesman said Mandela would be fully briefed on the blast when he

Sapa reports that a presidential

the attack on Shell House. Nelson Mandela expressed shock at out to Cameroon last night, President tion, the ANC said yesterday. at derailing the process of transforma-

Speaking in Paris, before flying

ork of "third force" elements aimed

Briefing the Press in Johannesburg Sunday paper quoted the police's head ments and that it could have been fuelled by weekend reports in which a Carolus said the attack was an act of cowardice by "third force" eleof national priority crimes unit investigations into the March 28 1994 lackadaisical attitude was hampering Neville Thoms as saying the ANC's

delay in the conclusion of the matter. attorney-general was to blame for the with the investigators. Instead, said the shootings outside Shell House

> investigation into the 1994 shootings. More than 50 people were killed -

quarters - during a march through eight of them outside the ANC head-Goodwill Zwelithini. Johannesburg in support of King

the Congress of South African Trade The Johannesburg city council and

spirit dubbed the attack an isolated incident such acts of violence destroyed the tee chairman Mr Collin Matjila said and "the work of a crazy fanatic" Unions also condemned the attack. While council executive commit-2 reconciliation,

The Democratic

South Africa.

PIC: PAT SEBOKO

exactly the kind of incident that South loathing" the attack and said this was National drag the matter to embarrass the ANC.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the that there were deliberate moves to Africa could no longer afford matter up until now," she said, adding the attorney-general has dealt with the The Inkatha Freedom Party also

Party

"rejected

She dismissed these claims and "We are not impressed by the way ANC had cooperated fully the people unhappy and impatient about Party said the attack was the work of priately in court". apprehended and dealt with "approtrusted that the culprits would soon be condemned the attack and said

> the lack of progress made in



SHELL HOUSE SHOOTINGS

### BID TO SHARE THE BLAME

The ANC has served notices on Inkatha and two of its leaders - Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu - 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 HO.

It's common cause that Khoza, an MP, and Ndlovu, 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 interrelated 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 po-

lice 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 Ndlovu, and individual policemen to attack the ANC's HO.

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 "imby 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 "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

minent danger" of them being targeted

indictment of Mandela for refusing, with the agreement of General Koos Calitz, 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 so

278 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 restoke 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 threemonth delay before fulfilling a promise to hand over weapons for

These accusations

have been given fresh impetus by Neville Thoms, 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

### Wounds will not heal

ICTORIA Mbongo was two years old when armed men stuck a spear through her on June 17 1992 in Boipatong—and her wounds have still not healed.

Her mother, who was repeatedly stabbed while protecting her child, told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sebokeng this week that they are both mentally disturbed and still need regular medical treatment.

Mrs Jane Nozililo Mbongo lives with the pain that she was too badly injured to bury her husband. She was being treated in Sebokeng Hospital when he was buried at a mass foureral for victims of the Boipatong massacre.

Those from KwaMadala hostel who inflicted this pain may not know what they did to the Mbongo family. They stormed shacks randomly that night and Victoria was not the only baby they stabbed.

### Attackers destitute

Forty nine people were killed and dozens were injured in the massacre which shocked the country at a time when political negotiations for a new South Africa were taking place.

The perpetrators of the violence were destitute hostel dwellers at nearby KwaMadala living in desperate circumstances much like the victims of their attack.

Unless they come before the TRC to say why they targeted Boipatong on June 17 the survivors will never understand why many lives were lost and destroyed that night.

"It was one of the saddest, darkest phases in the history of South Africa," Truth Commissioner Professor Piet Meiring said.

TRC deputy chairman Dr Alex Borraine led an on-site inspection of the KwaMadala Hostel and Boipatong on Wednesday shortly before the commission heard testimony on the massacre.

They observed a minute's silence at Boipatong to honour the deceased and remember the suffering of the survivors.

Mrs Paulina Matsie Mbatha could not raise her hand to take the oath before giving testimony to the Human Rights Violations' Committee. She is unable to move her arms or legs and is confined to a wheelchair after she was stabbed in her bedroom at Boipatong.

"I was sleeping when people came to my place. I heard the sound of shattering windows and voices at the door. My husband went to investigate and I followed him.

"People were hammering at the door with spears. I ran and tried to hide under the bed. They came and stabbed me all over my body, even on my neck. Now I am quadraplegic. I lost consciousness at the time but my husband saw everything."

Her husband, Mr Johannes Mbatha, only survived the attack because he was concealed 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.

Seweran 9/8/96



Johannes and Pauline Mbatha ... the couple recalled painful memories of the Bolpatong 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.

Mbatha 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 KwaMadala Hostel."

Mbatha 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 Casspirs arrived in Boipatong with policemen. "The very 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 Hippos**

Asked by the commissioners if he was sure this was the truth, Mbatha replied: "It is not a lie they were policemen. I even saw their cars; they were driving Hippos when they came into the township. The police were not supposed to be there hacking people to death."

Battling to hold back her tears, Mrs Mirriam Molete told the TRC her child, Mita, 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 had 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 street lights 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.

## intil 2000 EU places ceiling on lending to

BRUSSELS — The ceiling on European Union lending to SA has been frozen until the end of the century to help fund hig increases for eastern European and Mediterranean countries.

Sapa-AFP reported that the Euro-Bank lending to third countries of 6,825-billion ecus for the period 1997-99. This is an overall increase of about pean Commission yesterday adopted mandates for European Investment 12,5% from the previous three years.

In SA's case, the previous mandate was for 300-million ecus for two years up to June 1997. The new proposed figure is 375-million ecus, but as this will want was the wall was embarrassingly timed. It came on the eve of talks with Vice-President Thabo changed. The commission move was be spread over two-and-a-half years, the rate of lending is effectively un-

Mbeki on an EU-SA trade agreement.
Meanwhile, Wyndham Hartley reports from Cape Town that EU am-

bassador Erwan Fouere and SA Na-tional Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala signed an agreement yesterday for the Eu to provide R96m for parlia-

all nine provinces that the objective of the programme negotiated between SA and the EU was to "promote good gov-ernance and stable democracy in SA". He stressed that the programme

was designed by South Africans for its

Fouere announced to delegates from mentary support in SA.

ransition, and was not something im-

project of its kind that the EU had ponsored and it showed "the dynamic and practical relationship that exists said. He said the R96m was the larges Europe and SA".

between the democratic institutions of he programme includes:

☐ The provision of support structures □ Training courses for increased parand services:

A programme sponsored by Sweder Improved communication between for the increased participation of wom the provincial legislatures and the na ☐ Improved parliamentary tional arrangements; and en in Parliament; tional Parliamen

iamentary skills and knowledge:

Fouere said the programme would be run by a management team under the guidance of a steering committee.

### Troops sent into KwaThema

Bonile Ngqiyaza

Thema, Springs, on Thesday night, even as more policemen and troops were being deployed in schools to help THREE men — including a police de-tective — were shot dead in Kwaquell the crime and violence racking the community since 1992

cunned down by unidentified men at Thema on his way home after visiting pm in the Tornado section of Kwa relatives, police area commander Don Tauestuala, Aspeling said yesterday.

East Rand murder and robbery unit and was "deeply involved" in investi-gations into the Congress of SA Students and Pan African Congress Stu-dents' Organisation feud which had lauestuala was a member of the left the community in fear in recent

weeks, KwaThema police said. Aspeling said an additional 100 public order police service members

Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale and is investigating the violence which has claimed the lives of about 33 people. A commission of inquiry set up by safety and security MEC Jessie Duarte

zones with Highlands regarded as a took place, had been carved into two ni section being aligned with Cosas. Education MEC Mary Metcalfe said Residents said yesterday the town a meeting of interested parties agreed ship centre, where most of the fighting Paso stronghold and adjacent Masimi that examinations could not be inter rupted to allow the release of arrested

A group of students disrupted examinations this week, saying they had to be postponed until fellow pupils implicated in the violence were released. students implicated in the violence

The meeting encouraged student zrouns. who have levelled allegations aions to the commission of inquiry into the police, to make submis the causes of the violence.

Zaire



group of youngsters talk to military and police patrols near the Wilson Lebone Creche in violence-torn KwaThema township, prings, yesterday.

clear time mandate or exit strategy. With the security council and the US concerned that no exit stratezy exists

### lajority of new accountants leave SA? Beresford Beres

### Belinda 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 accoun-

tants 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

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 R240 000. One accountant, formerly at Ernst

he had worked with intended to go abroad. Many had also taken the British qualifying exams to make them-selves "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 oppor-tunity 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 disar narchers, 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

t 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 5am on March 28 1994, the day of the march.

At that point, and even during

Star 9 14 97 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

'Roadblocks would have bloodbath'

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 Lancet 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.

# Protesters' aim was to stop nonracial elections to protest and was beang that on the first time. Channel 27, the Sub-radio-Struct.

Political Reporter By Joe Mahlela

streets of Johannesburg on HE-mass action in which 20 000 Zulus took to the March 28,1994 was aimed at stopping the country's first nonracial democratic elections, the inquest into the Shell House massacre heard yesterday

the third police witness, told Judge inspired by their desire to stop the Superintendent Donovan Herbert, High Court that he understood the action by Zulu marchers was Robert Nugent in the Johannesburg elections.

Cross-examined by Advocate Danny Berger, representing the ANG, Herbert said he had expected

the marchers to use placeteds and was bearing this for the first time / pamphiets to convince people that "This information was not avail they should me participate in the able to the Crime finelligence. elections.

action-would include-violence; he replied: "Yes, that was possible." Asked by Berger if the mass Herbert said according to Inkatha Freedom Party, organiser Mr

To a suggestion by Berger that Humphery Ndhlovu, the march was the IFP had booked trains and buses to ferry marchers to Johannesburg supposed to be peaceful

Sizwe would be at Shell House, the Congress, that day, Herbert said he Station, Herbert said that was not the Asked by Nugent if he knew that 140 members of Umkhonto we headquarters of the African National

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 Herbert also said he was not aware that members of the ANC Service (CIS). I am not aware if this information ever reached the unit."

ANC's regional headquarters were based. Pretorius, counsel for the families of would be wearing soldiers' uniforms The judge said he was surprisedon that day.

Asked by Advocate

the deceased and injured, if he knew that the ANC's regional headquarters had moved from Assembly House to Lancet Hall in Jeppe Street, Herberl said he did not. that Herbert, as head of the CIS, had not been aware of the shootings at Shell House until around midday on that day.

of the shooting - must I believe "Is it true that the Crime Intelligence Service was not aware this?" Nugent asked Herbert.

Pretorius: "Is there any reason

why you did not know?"

At that stage it had become clear that Herbert: "The police in the CIS were not certain about their future. the ANC would win the elections received information about the shooting at Shell House was through Herbert said the only way he

He also said the CIS had been weakened by the resignation of some they would be exposed as spies."

tured at the time to make it political-The service was being restrucly acceptable to the new dispensamembers.

Herbert said members of the CIS

were no longer paying attention to politically-motivated crimes but Preforius put it to Herbert that the strategy adopted by the CIS was involved themselves in investigating general crime issues. totally disorganised

The inquest continues today quate."

information the CIS had was inade-

Herbert replied: "I agree the

### Police chief ordered hostels be blocked off

Shell House inquest told of command

not carried out, and futility of trying

Stav 10 4 97

a death toll was not extraordi-

278)

Olice ignored a direct order from then commissioner General Johan van der Merwe to set up roadblocks out-side 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 Com-missioner Adrian 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 trou-ble from IFP supporters at and near the hostels in Johannes-

burg, Soweto and the East Rand.
De la Rosa, who was a lieutenant-general and national head of the ISD at the time of the march, could, however, not tell the inquest at the Johannesburg High Court yesterday why road-blocks had not been set up.

He told Mr Justice Robert Nugent and two assessors that no mention had been made in the Mandela phone call of any possible danger to either th ANC headquarters at Shell House in Plein Street or the organisation's regional headquar-ters at Lancet Hall.

He added that, even if the

roadblocks had been set up, po-lice would have been unable to disarm large groups of IFP sup-porters as they left the hostels. "They gather in groups of up to 1 500 at the front of the hos-

tels, and then open the gates and just march out. It is very difficult to stop that group and search them for weapons," he said, prompting loud outbursts of laughter from JFP supporters in

"When it came to groups of thousands of IFP members who were armed, the police were not in control of the situation," he

when asked by Judge Nugent why, if the police were not in control, they had simply not allowed the march to take place, De la Rosa said that 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

But he emphasised that such

nary at the height of those violent times. He added that there was no way of connecting shots fired at police in Kagiso and bodies picked up on the East Rand, with a march planned for

When asked by Danny Berg-er, 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 building with razor wire, De la Rosa said it would have been

But he added that such an order would have had to come from General Koos Calitz, who was in charge of the whole oper-

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 direc-

### Police were not in control, court told

tion for those arriving at the rail way station and going to Librar Gardens, their supposed desti-

This was supported by evidence earlier in the day from Superintendent Donovan Herbert, who admitted that police intelligence units were so disorgan-ised, their information "did suffer shortcomings".

Herbert was in charge of coordinating the gathering of intel-ligence for the march.

He said that during the march no extra members had been deployed on the streets to gather information because was too dangerous on the

When questioned repeatedly by a seemingly incredulous judge, Herbert confirmed that judge, refreet continued that the intelligence gathering arm of the police had not known about any of the deaths or shooting in-cidents 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 yesteriay, 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 nightbefore the march; to say that the ANC was expecting trouble from IFP supporters at the hostels in Johannesburg. Soweto and on the Bast Rand.

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 Heipert that police intelligence units were so dispresented that their information had short-comings. Additional operatives were not deployed because it was too dangerous.

The case continues today.

## (278) (278)

### By Joe Mdhela

into the Shell House killings heard at Themba Khoza had been on the payroll of convicted mass murder-NKATHA Freedom Party MP Mr er Eugene de Kock, the inquest the Johannesburg High Court yester-

weapons.

Victor Ndlovu, had received guns to Khoza and another IFP member, Mr use against the African National Presiding Judge Robert Nugent and two assessors also heard how Congress.

The inquest, in its fourth day, heard how Khoza and Ndlovu had officer Droos van Heerden, an been recruited by former Absa securi-

asked Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Nelif During cross-examination counsel for the ANC Mr George Bizos, SC, if he knew whether Khoza had been operative of the Vlakplaas unit.

if he had known of the criminal coop-Taking large extracts from the had been acquitted of charges relating arrested at a roadblock while carrying Goldstone report, Bizos said Khoza

Khoza's gunrunning activities in newspapers but did not have first-Nel said he had read about hand information about his dealings. to the possession of weapons.

This was the second time in two days that the inquest heard about Khoza's dealings with conservative Afrikaner groups.

involving the likes of General Bassie Smit, now commander of the South African Police Services (SAPS) and Loweran 11/4/97 Earlier this week the court was old about the relationship the IFP established with the AWB before the April 27 1994 nonracial elections.

These people, said Bizos, had been involved in manufacturing an armoury on the East Rand and in "All these people were members of C10 (part of the Vlakplaas unit) Krappies Engelbrecht. Silverton. The court also heard that the Zulu march and subsequent rally in sohannesburg on March 28 1994 had been aimed at stopping the elections. Yesterday Bizos put it to Nel that

about the prima facie evidence puband had supplied senior IFP members lished by newspapers and shown on Themba Khoza and Victor Ndlovu with arms," said Bizos. eration between Third Force operaions and the IFP and that Khoza would on March 28 1994 be addressng a rally aimed at stopping the elecions, why he had not been extra vigilant when dealing with him?

Bizos also asked Nel if he knew

elevisions. Nel said he only read He also referred Nel to a tape

about it in newspapers.

He also put it to Nel that Khoza had been implicated by the Goldstone Vlakplaas dealings report with

recorded conversation between thr ANC's Mr Joe Nhlanhla and the police, in which Nhlanhla sought reinforcements and objected to having their offices surrounded by IFP marchers.

tion in which the police told Khoza stones. Khoza had replied: "I have He also referred Nel to a conversathey did not want to act against the marchers but asked him to talk to them to stop them from throwing problems ... don't stop my people."

 Mpumalanga premier and ANC chief legal adviser Mr Mathews Phosa and Deputy Minister of ntelligence Joe Nhlanhla are expect-The hearing continues today. ed to testify on Monday.

A senior military intelligence officer contacted inkatha Freecharged with policing the ill-fated 1994 march that left 19 marchers gathering at Johan-nesburg's Library Gardens – but members disguised in military command, who were members of his own military could not recall conveying this uniforms might attack Zulu Khoza to warn him that ANC people dead. information to the police or to This evidence emerged in the Party leader Themba jointly

military intelligence at Witwaters-rand Command and now eman army officer then in charge o Johannesburg High Court yes-terday during the day-long ques-tioning of Colonel Errol Mann, ployed at military headquarters Mann was testifying at the returning "to Shell House" on ĮŌ. who had been sent to Zimbabwe away from Shell House march. the weekend before the planner military

training, were

from ANC counsel George Bizos SC, Mann agreed that he failed the escort of the military police trainees were returning under to mention in his report that the Under cross-examination

into the shootings three years ago at Shell House and else-

where, which followed a 20 000 inquest which began this week

wormer me enture city in a nine.

The first week of the inquest;
The first week of the inquest;
Presided over by Mr Justice
Robert Jugent, has foued on
the state of security force preparedness for the march Poly force
operations, in particular, have
come under ordical security. The
inquest, which held
inder the security resumes
meet week!

The particular is a security resumes
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with the condition of the condition of their character, for the condition of their character, for the condition of their character, for the character, for the character, for the character of the character, conditions of the character, when it is a condition of the character of the ch

leader as a central figure in ille-exiol-bridi bus guinnr-maileg

tions.

Menn said he had not been dissuaded from talfid to thought a teporals a following newspaper reports a week earlier that the Goldstone week earlier that the Goldstone from the first that the mand the IPP.

46/11/01 mbs

strong IFP led march into the city in protest against the general election. Mann said he had contacted

Witwatersrand

that the marchers stay made to ('military Khoza that 204 ANC members had also instructed him to notify leader') Themba Khoza No suggestion was

day before the march to warr minister of law and order on the he had actually called the deputy the Goldstone Commission, said for purposes of disinformation. Khoza, in earlier testimony to Mann that military intelligence might have been used by Khoza him of the danger of ANC mem-Bizos also pointed out to

dence to Mr Khoza's allegations. might have been "used to give crebers masquerading as army men Mann replied: "It's quite pos-Bizos asked Mann whether he

been set up to oversee the inte way to the integration centre at Walmannstal, north of Pretoria. guerrilla armies. Bizos argued gration of the SADF and former turning trainees. The JMCC had that the trainees were on then

not regard the information passed on to Khoza as con-He later testified that he did

responsible the statement read in court in which a senior army officer, the day of the march, said he had for operations on

> about the possible threat of ANC as soldiers. members disguising themselves

FLASHBACK: Marchers run for their lives during the 1994 Zulu march in central Jo'burg

moring ways use and accommon a passen and a substance of the state of firmed. And he did not dispute

Mann told the court he was "not in the habit of liaising with Mr Knoze." He said contect that been made with the IFP Transval leader because he was "perveyed, for want of a better word; the military leader of the was leader, the military leader of the William to moderate and control in the the word with those "to present his supporters" and "to persuant of the IFP to keep away from the said on suggestion was areas of contact with the AVO".

Support of the word of the AVO."

Support of the William to moderate and control and the way from the word of the AVO."

Support of the way from the said no suggestion was a feet of contact with the AVO."



leader 'told Shell General Benade. He said Benade Khoza on the orders of the hear Command no inquiries to the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council regarding might have made the develop ment appear less sinister. the future deployment of the re-Mann said he had also made conceded that this fact

### Hous Wash,

By DESMOND BLOW

ashpoin Wrong buildings were guard



witnesses this week had to withstand has received 1 800 statements, althat is expected to run at least six whether there might have been a which the court, sitting in Johannes-burg, will decide whether the forces months and which the court already were merely inept in their duties or did their job properly, whether they though the court is unlikely to It is still early days in an inquest Nevertheless police and defence to reply either "yes" or "no" to ques

that many witnesses

more sinister agenda.

killed during the march,

House inquest.

Library Gardens and one at ANC others who died that day - 10 at the evidence about these killings and of at Shell House in Plein Street, but years for this inquest after eight House in Jeppe Street - has not yet regional headquarters at Lancel legedly from the ANC headquarters Zulu marchers were shot dead, alsome torrid cross-examination. Inkatha have pressed for three formation that MK "trouble-makers" disguised in SADF unikillings but could not recall" tions. The judge kept referring to the fact that Mann "remembered havhad told police he had received in-

Rather, cross-examination in this first week centred on police and during the march. army "preparations and conduct" The final witness on Friday, Colo-

forms "had planned" to mingle with

the marchers.

Earlier police witnesses had em-

Mann said he had instructed a Major Radmore - who was in phatically denied that the police had from military intelligence. received "any such information"

of military intelligence at

the box the whole day, and Judge Nugent had to repeatedly tell him Witwatersrand Command, was in nel Errol Mann, who was in charge

> ing a haircut on the day of the for the MK troublemakers"

Mann did not deny that the so-called "observer posts" consisted of only one officer covering the whole his affidavit "denied having received But George Bizos SC for the ANC pointed out that Radmore in area in a vehicle.

to Shell House" at the weekend be-Themba Khoza, who he regarded as such instructions"... "204 MK members were returning the military leader of Inkatha, that Mann had, however, informed

during the march - "to watch out fore the March on the Monday. He said he had done this on the mand, Major-General D C Benade. instruction of the head of Wits Com-

charge of military observer posts

masquerade as members of the SADF". him that ANC members "might march he had phoned the then dep-uty minister of law and order to tell mission that the day before the Khoza had told the Goldstone Com-Bizos pointed out that military in-telligence could have been used by Khoza for "misinformation", as He said if he had seen newspaper

missioner general, Johan van der be concentrated at hostels Johannesburg at the time, said that Shell House "had not been regardent Stephanuis Olivier, who was ways correct" gun-running and third-force activitreports that the Goldstone Commishostels to disarm marchers, had not been done". Merwe, to set up roadblocks outside rect order from the then police comwhich marchers were expected decided that ISU personnel would head of the internal stability unit for as newspaper reports were ies, he would have "disregarded it that Khoza was a central figure sion had found prima facie evidence Olivier admitted that despite a di-In earlier evidence Superintendas a flashpoint, and it had been

possible to disarm the Zulus who left 500, and had they tried "bloodshed the hostels in groups of from 100 to lnkatha marches – where violence would have ensued". He admitted that no previous

He said it would have been

and fatalities had occurred been discussed at a meeting of se-

curity officials on March 25, to dis-March 28. cuss policing arrangements He also admitted the meeting had

possible for police accompanying intelligence reports that Inkatha "intended to disrupt" the city. marchers to direct them along speci-Olivier said it would have been

MK cadres were returning "without weapons" under SADF military escort and were to be eventually deployed from Shell House under the

on to the police. Under cross-exam-ination Mann confirmed that the

whether he passed this information

He said he "couldn't recall"

ordinating Council. He said he had

not made any suggestion (to Khoza) auspices of the Joint Military

fic streets, but police "had not verted" them from Shell House.

to keep the marchers from

25 BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, April 15 1997

# TWO Senior policemen Were in Shell House (When Shooting Particles of the Capta of t

WHEN shoting began at Shell Russes in 1994, we samer policemen when in the hulling discussing the security harset possible of the constant of the control of

the innucle of an anxielection cam-paign at the Likracy Gardena, a five bodies away from Shall House, furned violent, unlampage Permier Markews Phoss pad the inquest hat the control of the control of the had received information that he proup of senior policemea, and a number of their former collegues were planning to hijock had

and discust the participants to attack the Phota said to the dar understood from his informant that the plot to be stated Shall House ways a group of desuivo police and owners policement and not collustion between the IFP pi and the police.

How one not present for disclose—
Inhalm tentified that he had a Monthle tentified that he had a disclosured about the visible of determing situation in the city of that he had shown the visible of the had about the visible of the had about the visible of the had about the visible of visible of the visible of v

rated and he warned Gouws th anyoody was filled around E House he would hold the presponsible. Shortly after the second Gows and another sentor office-rived at Shell House, Mhanhia it was while they were discussing situation with other members of

a razor wire cordon were forthcoming, Nhlanhla telephoned Brig Zirk Gouws and repeated his request. By this time the situation had deterio-When neither reinforcements nor

THE RESERVE THE PARTY OF THE PA

He passed the information on to the ANC security committee and also telephoned Nelson Mandela.

### 25 BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, April 15 1997

## Two senior policemen were in Shell House 'when shoo

WHEN shooting began at Shell Susan Russell

House, in 1994, two easier policemen where in the building discussing the selectric furest posed by thousands of marching Inckatha Freedom Party (HEP) supporters and Zatha, Deputy Hidelilipones Services Mirrister Joe Wilmilia said yesterday. National

Congress intelligence chief/Manha at we heading in guideli interest pit into the deading or 19 people in the 6 centre of "diamensours, eight of the people in the 6 centre of "diamensours, eight of the whole of the centre of the first place, during the nursh of the first first place, during the part of the people did in and be around Johanneson eight of the part of the people of the in and the nursh by about 2008 when the march by about 2008 Ziukes and I IFP supporters into the city to acted at

Earlier Munashage Premier Mathews Pross to dit the inquest that on the morning before the march he had received information that a group of sentor politemen and a muche of their former colleagues were planning to hijask the march the launch of an anti-election cam-paign at the Library Gardens, a few blocks away from Shell House,

Prose seat the heat understood from his informat that the plot to state Shiel Rouse was by a group of state Shiel Rouse was by a group of state of the state of t and divert the participants to attack Shell House.

How one not pressured to disclose the identification of the hard beneficial that he had been no concentrating situation in the city of districting situation in the city of the he had he had then the city of the he had then the city of the he had then the he had then the he had been solven to be a least of the he had been the had been solven as a least of the he had been the had been companied.

rated and he warned Gouws t anybody was killed around House he would hold the

Herbaid the first call—before 9am—vans to Cept Chris Wilken, who as—sured him reinforcements would be It sent. The court has heard the police meliciped mine officers outside the building.

### PHOSA TESTIFIES AT INQUEST

### Shell House attack planned by top cops

High-Ranking police officers planned to use the IFP march in Johannesburg on March 28, 1994, to attack the ANC's Shell House headquarters. Mpumalanga Premier Mr Mathews Phosa told the inquest into the Shell House killings yesterday.

Phosa, who was then secretary of the ANC's intelligence and security department, said he received this information a day before the march from a source he regarded as reliable.

The inquest into the killing of 19 people in central Johannesburg on March 28, 1994, when violence erupted during a march by thousands of Zulus, is being held in the High Court here.

Eight of the 19 killed were shot dead outside Shell House, allegedly by ANC security guards.

Phosa said he took his informant's report of the meeting of senior police officers so seriously, and was so frightened, that he conveyed the information to President Nelson Mandela.

"Old people, women and children work at Shell House and I was not prepared to expose them to this. I feared for the lives of the people in the building," Phosa said.

He told the inquest the source said high-ranking police officers, led by General Krappies Engelbrecht, met at a restaurant in Verwoerdburg two nights before the march.

At the meeting, police officers discussed hijacking the IFP march and diverting it to Shell House in a manner that could cause trouble at the ANC building. The purpose was to disrupt the coming general election, said Phosa.

He said the meeting was aftended by police officers with rightwing 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 Codesa (Congress for a Democratic South Africa) where we 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 acts 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 was made known.

He had 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.

"I surrendered my source to (Joe) Nhlanhla and was not prepared to be involved in intelligence work after the elections."

ANC national executive member Mr Joe Nhlanhla, who was head of ANC intelligence and secutive on the day of the Shell House shootings, told the inquest he twice called police that morning to send reinforcements and to cordon off Shell House.

The CBD was under siege and there were many marchers, people running and sporadic shooting near the ANC offices, he said.

He said his conversations with police Captain Chris Wilken and Brigadier Zirk Gouws were "frantic". He told Gouws if anybody died around Shell House, whether they were ANC or IPP, he would hold Gouws responsible.

The promised police reinforcements did not arrive and the area was not cordoned off at the time of the fatal shootings

IFP counsel Mr Danie Dorfling said Wilken would say that Nhlanhla had adopted a threatening tone during his call.

Reading from a transcript of the phone call, Dorfling quoted Nhlanhia telling Wilken: "What do you expect us to do? Do you expect us to hit them back?"

Dorfling demanded to know what Nhlanhla had meant by that.

Nhlanhia said he was asking how the ANC could protect itself in the absence of police protection. — Sapa

## I for rand/dollar futures trading

ity, it will give us an additional tool to hedge forward commitments," he said. Rand Merchant Bank head of derivacover market. "If there is enough liquid-

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of c ped.

dents. "This would be an obvious way of foreign currency movements, rather than that leiting them keep their forex at low interest rates," he said However, he be-lieved the Bank feared the spot and fortives Reinier Lombaard said he hoped the allowing individuals to obtain exposure to ward rand markets could be severely af-fected by speculative plays against the Sank would lift the limitation on resi rand in the futures market.

jor success — as long as it is there and grows over time," Lombaard said. He agreed the contract would aid the Bank's "The contract does not have to be a maefforts to get out of the forward market.

Absa chief rand trader Autrey Wilke which the local contract was to be quoted dollars to the rand - was a problem; a rands to the dollar — and the way in which the Chicago contract was quoted the difference between the way in standardised contract was needed

Most traders pointed out that there had never been a hugely successful cur-rency futures market in SA and Europe's

time zone, in contrast with the US.
Safex said the Bank had agreed that
trading in rand futures should evolve in line with the broader process of relaxing exchange controls, and the restrictions would be gradually lifted until the products were traded freely.

strument on the futures will be the spot rand/dollar exchange rate, quoted to four decimal places, and contracts will be valued at \$100 000 each. Expiry dates would follow the same cycle as equity contracts The exchange said the underlying in-- March, June, September and Decem-

ber — with settlement in rands.

### AWB member among eight granted amnesty Stephen Laurer

CITURE TOTAL CONTROL CO.

applicants, seven of whom claimed to be associated with organisations opposed to the previous government and one a member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) involved in bombings designed to derail SA's first democratic elections. THE truth commission has granted annesty to eight FD/+/91 93

mission he had stored an AK-47, ammunition and a stolen vehicle for the African National Congress Sandton resident Kevin Trytsman told the com-(ANC) military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

ation Bureau (CCB) operatives Ferdi Barnard and Eugene Riley. Barnard had boasted about killing Witwatersrand University academic David Webster, Trytsman claimed that while awaiting trial after his arrest in 1990 he was visited by Givil Co-operand claimed Riley drove the getaway car. In Pretoria, Transvaal attorney-ge

In Pretoria, Transvaal attorney-general Jan D'Oliviera said Trytsman's claims were an "interesting development". The investigation into Webster's murder was not yet over. Under repeated cross-examination by

MK member, was granted annesty, as was Reginald Jameson, jailed for a year in 1976 on arson and public Also granted annesty was former End Conscrip-tion Campaign activist Saul Batzofin, who served 18 months in prison for refusing to do military service. they were ANC supporters - Mncedisi Klaas, Duke Abel Bhila, who was sentenced to six years in prison or possession of a handgrenade, and said he was an violence charges after student unrest in Bonteneuwel. Three other men who told the commission Moilwanvane and Alison Motsopi - were given amnesty on a variety of weapons charges.

nel had fired. He was not able to furnish the

personnel whether any Shell House personcourt with names of those involved, however, saying that statements by these peo-Nhlanhla also said the ANC had held no Albertus van der Merwe said he had belonged to an AWB explosives unit which carried out attacks in November and December 1993, and was jailed on

### Shell House guards instructed to use 'maximum restraint' for susan Russell there were "a few inside as well as outside subject of the premises". He was not informed how said in a statement that the shots de many would be graned, but on his arrival came that the shots de

SECURITY guards at the African National Congress (ANC) Shell House headquarters

Zulus and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) marchers, Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla told an inquest, instructed to use "maximum restraint" against possible attacks by armed

at the time, was testifying in the Johannes-burg High Court yesterday at the inquest into events on March 28 1994 when 19 peo-ple died in the city centre after the IFF-organised march and mass meeting to launch an anti-election campaign turned violent. Nhlanhla said he did not know how Nhlanhla, who was head of ANC security

many guards were deployed in Shell House the morning of the march, but knew

Shell House, although Brig Zirk Gouws has said in a statement that the shots clearly counsel for the IFP and families of the victims, Nhlanhla conceded that after the shootings he had asked senior ANC security early on March 28 saw "two or three" armed with shotguns in the foyer.

"The only possible way of securing that building was by the police cordoning it off," he maintained. "What happened (the shootings) 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.

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 Gold-stone commission and that the law should ple had been given to the ANC's lawyers. leadership, including himself, had tele-phoned the police that morning appealing in vain for assistance in defending the Nhlanhla said that many of the ANC's building from marchers.

Nhlanhla said he was not able to say whether or not the shooting came from

### Shell House: 1FP planned

Johannesburg - Leading Inkatha Freedom Party official Themba 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 Vlakplaas operative Roodt Van Heerden told the inquest into the death of 19 people during the march on March 28 of that year that MrKhoza had decided to attack Shell House after a visit to IFP head-

quarters 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\*\*\* 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 that to discuss the selection part of the plans to discuss the selection property (IFP) and selection property (IFF) and selection property (I

and had strong links with former Vlak-plaas head Col Eugene de Kock, a nahonal intelligence operative claimed at

Andries Broods van Heerden, who arrived under armed guard to give evidence in the Johannesburg High Court, also testified that IFP members the Shell House inquest yesterday.

gave Van Heerden 10 hand grenades, which he passed on to Khoza. This was the first of what became a regular deivery of arms to Khoza from De Kock. 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 Knoza and De Kock in 1990. Van Heerden said he was working

members met regularly at his flat and discussed, plans to destroy the ANC leadership and Shell House. set up a meeting between Khoza and De Kock at his own flat. Later De Kock

involved attacking Shell House during Two plans were proposed. The first an IFP march. Armed people would force their way into the building and

Van Heerden, who described him-

the leadership. The second was that De-Kock, would obtain the plans of the Van Heerden said De Kock was unable to get hold of the plans so it was On March 14 1994 Victor Ndlovu came to his Absa office and suggested he "close his banks" on March 21 be let in others from the crowd to attack cause there was going to be serious decided to use the first option. building so it could be bombed. trouble in the city.

Continued on Page 2

Continued from Page 1

the Goldstone commission where he defined involvement in third force are whites but passed on this inflorment on William Services on the substantian. On the commission it beams clear that end of the force of third force in the beams of the force in the beam of the force in the beams of the force in the beams of the IFP and police would become pub. It leagues decided that it was now time to desirve Shell House. On the ingut of the The next day he was summoned to

Khoze said he had come directly from Ulmdi where had been ortion and orened the March 21 mass action and organie a march in which Nabli House would he attacked.

Shell House would he attacked.

Shell House would he attacked he was Interested in Knoze is plans because not interested in Knoze is plans because he with the coldstone commission.

The full coldstone commission.

Left of the full was the commission.

Left in the had been 'stabbed in the beat by the world in the beat will have coldstone who had a march a full dayle to be commission. made affidavits to the commission, he decided to make a full disclosure about his third force activities.

### 1 WAS THROWN TO THE WOLVES BY POLICE AND NATIONAL PARTY"

de Kock could not bomb Shell House to kill ANC leaders, he IOHANNESBURG: When convicted mass murderer Eugene used the IPP instead, according to a turned policeman.

Agency, also gave evidence in the recent trial in which De Kock was convicted on several counts of A Shell House inquest in the ohannesburg High Court of a plan FORMER Vlakplaas security policeman yesterday told the

Van Heerden was taken to Denmark on March 24, 1994 under a stone Commission investigating vitness protection programme, and made submissions to the Goldleaders planned to use a Zulu to wipe out the ANC leadership den said the Vlakplaas unit, under Eugene de Kock, together with IFP Mr Andries "Brood" van Heerbefore the 1994 general election.

political violence.

march through Johannesburg on March 28, 1994 to attack the ANC's leadership at the party's The inquest is into the death of 19 people killed on the day of the march. Bight of the 19 were shot outside Shell House, allegedly by ANC security guards fearful the . Van Heerden, now employed the National Intelligence

Shell House headquarters.

ing member, along with many of his Vlakplaas colleagues. He told the inquest he had been an IFP supporter and a card-carry-

The IFP youth leader at the requested weapons from the police for use against the ANC, Van Heerden said, and he took Khoza to De time, Mr Themba Khoza had

ouilding would be attacked.

Thereafter there were weekly in the Vaal Triangle.

told him Shell House was the ANC's stronghold and had to be destroyed. Among police officers who knew were De Kock, Charlie Chait, Willie Nortie and General

Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu he nad shelved the idea of bombing he building after failing to acquire The plan to attack Shell House was conceived after De Kock told

The attack plan was brought forward after the Goldstone Com-

world was shattered because he was named as being involved in third papers," he told the inquest. force violence.

The plan was for armed infiltra-

up Shell House because it is the last nim: "Now is the time we must f... As an IFP supporter, Van Heerchance we will get."

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Commission report was made public the week before the march, and mentioned third force activities and collusion with the IFP, his He said when the Goldstone

approached by Goldstone Comnission investigators and had lied

NVOLVED: Eugene de Kock

"All the facts were in the By then he had already been

20, 1994, he received a visit from Choza, whom he had not seen for a year and who told him he had come from Ulundi with instruc-The next day, Sunday, March

tions to handle the press conferences arising from the Goldstone

"Themba said he had an instruction to cancel the march planned for March 21 and to arrange another on March 28 in which Shell House would be attacked," said Van Heerden, who

replied he was not interested.

On the following Tuesday Van Heerden reported to De Kock and other Vlakplaas members at police headquarters about being named by Goldstone, but was told police lawyers would not represent him and he had to find his own legal

representative.
"I was completely stunned. All the people I believed in had turned their backs on me — the members of the police who got me into this mess told me to sort myself out on my own," he said.

When he was again interviewed by Goldstone investigators he was offered protection and decided to

tell the commission everything.

"I was stabbing my own colleagues and friends in the back. I was selling them out the way they had sold me out. I was in a bad way, in shock. Everything I believed in was over. I was betraying my friends. They had betrayed me. I was thrown to the wolves by the police and the National Party."

In his response to Van Heerden's testimony, the advocate representing Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovů, Mr Andre Ferreira, alleged Van Heerden's entire testimony was false.

Van Heerden responded: "I put it to you, your honour, that I am telling the truth."

Van Heerden told the inquest he had done border duty in the former Rhodesia and Ovamboland. He was a security policeman at John Vorster Square, before he was transferred at his own request to Vlakõlaas in 1990.

He said he had been involved in placing of limpet mines at a cinema in a black area which was screening the film Cry Freedom, was "personally involved" in the Khotso House bombing and the handling of Aids-infected Askaris and placing them near hotels to infect ANC members.

When the Goldstone report was made public, he feared for his life and was placed under the witness programme by the NIA, which he later joined, but was suspended last year after allegations that he had shot people during attacks on train commuters, and had transported IFP supporters to stations for that purpose.

His suspension was lifted after the allegations were investigated.

The NIA asked the inquest court to ensure that names of its operatives were not disclosed and that no pictures or sketches of van Heerden be published.

The judge barred publication of images of Van Heerden. - Sapa

batch of hand grenades for clashes den for delivery to Khoza was a with the ANC at Sebokeng hostels

said, adding that other key IFP eaders involved were Mr Victor Ndlovu, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu equests from Khoza, Van Heerden

Van Heerden said IFP leaders Krappies Engelbrecht.

The first such consignment handed by De Kock to Van Heer-Kock, who complied.

and the Rev CJ Mthethwa.

tors to gain entrance to Shell House rators would open fire inside the ouilding, open the doors and let He said Humphrey Ndlovu told by joining groups of people fleeing When the marchers approached the building, the infilrom the Zulu marchers and seekthe marchers into Shell House. ng sanctuary in the building.

### IFP planned march to attack Shell House, nquest court hears

'Third force' police allegedly considered blowing up building

or stationing armed impis to kill ANC members during chaos

By MICHAEL SPARKS AND SAPA

The protest march by 20 000 Zulu royalists through Johannesburg 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.

Former Vlakplaas operative Brood van Heerden told the inquest into the death of 19 people on March 28 1994 that Gauteng IFP 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, Victor 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 Nortje and

General Krappies Engelbrecht. The decision to attack Shell House was taken after the Goldstone Commission had revealed a link between elements in the police, the IFP and violence perpetrated 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 considered by the IFP, of which he was a member at the time.

The first entailed De Kock getting building plans for Shell House so that they could blow up the building. This was rejected because he could not get the building plans and security at the building was anyway too tight.

The other option was to station armed IFP members in civilian clothes outside Shell House during the march. Then, as people fled into the building for protection, the armed members would also enter the building and start shooting as the impi got closer. This would cause chaos among security guards, enabling the impi to enter the building.

He added this would have given the IFP an opportunity to "take out" the ANC leadership

only 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 employers. He said he was told that since he was no longer a policeman, 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

1714197 everything 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 passed 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 always 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 infect black women with HIV

tures 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 Khotso 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 evidence, he had become a threat to the IFP, and he knew of other Vlakplaas operatives who had been "hurt" after speaking out.

Van Heerden will take the stand for further cross examination today.



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PIC: MBUZENI ZULŪ

hatched to destroy 'ANC stroi Plan was

introduced to Khoza by his colleague Mr Victor Ndlovu while they were Ndlovu, who told me that Themba Choza wanted to see me," said Van both employed by Absa bank Heerden. DRMER Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade leader Mr Themba Khoza and convicted mass murderer Eugene de Cock planned the attack on the

By Joe Midhlela

offices in Johannesburg around the Transvaal were not as helpful to Van Heerden took place at Absa's Van Heerden said Khoza had expressed concern that the police in une 1990 Robert Nugent, former Vlakplaas quarters, the inquest into the Shell fouse massacre of March 28 1994 neard in the Johannesburg High Giving his testimony before Judge African National Congress

Court yesterd

operative Mr Andrics "Brood" van Heerden said he too was involved in In his evidence, led by Dr Torie

Pretorius of the Pretoria attorney general's office, Van Heerden said he was

help the IFP defend itself against the Van Heerden, chief of security at Absa 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 African National Congress. was approached by Victor The meeting between Khoza and

im that there were problems at two "I then gave him hand grenades." He told the judge that three days Shoza had approached him and told after introducing Khoza to De Kock arranged that meeting in my flat' Sebokeng hostels.

Van Heerden said. He said he not only gave Khoza three hand grenades but also an assortment of arms that Khoza loaded into his van.

Van Heerden said that Khoza had

nections," he said.

the cause of the IFP as those in

KwaZulu-Natal. "I told Khoza I did not know but would talk to my conexpressed the wish that police would

He also told Nugent that Khoza IFP member cated other senior members of the KwaZulu-Natal MEC for safety and involved in arms dealing. He impli-Celani Athetwa and Gauteng member of the rovincial Legislature Mr Humphrey organisation, including the Reverend was not the only security Ndlovu.

which IFP leaders regarded as an ANC stronghold. The plan was to attack the headquarters during a march in Johannesburg on March Central to Van Heerden's discussions with Khoza and Ndlovu was the idea of destroying Shell House,

"Eugene de Kock devised the plan to destroy Shell House," he said. 28 1994.

why he had failed specifically to tell Judge Richard Goldstone about the Counsel for Khoza and Ndlovu questioned Van Heerden at length on attack on Shell House.

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 section of United Bank, now part of Absa bank. He was employed by the bank until 1988 when he rejoined the SAPS at John Vorster Square, in 1978. He then joined the security

transferred to the Vlakplaas unit. He is currently working for the National In March 1990 he asked to attached to the security branch. Intelligence Agency.

The inquest continues.

### IFP MP 'had police car to transpo BD 18 4 97

Susan Russell

INKATHA Freedom Party (IFP) MP Themba 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 Ndlovu—to Vlakplaas and its former head, Col Eugene de Kock. He has testified that he was instru-

mental 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 dis-

cussions. 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

Continued from Page 1

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chance to attack Shell House

It was put to Van Heerden under cross-examination that both Ndlovu and Khoza denied receving weapons from the police. He said they were lying because he had handed over weapons to both men as well as to IFP members 338 Victor Ndlovu, A Dhlomo and the Rev CJ Mthetwa.

It was also put to Van Heerden that Humphrey Ndloyu denied planning an

attack on Shell House.
"Then he is lying," he replied.
Van Heerden said he was aware of the Shell House shooting only when he saw a report in Denmark where he had been on a witness protection programme since March 23.

He said he thought at the time that the plan to attack Shell House had gone ahead and failed.

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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 commission 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

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 16.

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 therefore 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 SCHRONEN

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, Glascow Petersen, heard the commotion from his house across the road and was wounded in the arm when he went to help.

Another neighbour ran to the police station and raised the alarm. First to reach the scene were Constable Kennedy and police sergeant Graham du Plessis. When they got out of their vehicle they came under fire.

Constable Kennedy was shot in the head and neck and died minutes later in N1 City Hospital, while Sergeant Du Plessis was hit in the arm.

A bystander disarmed the sergeant and took the child away.

Another police patrol reached the scene minutes later and arrested the

### 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 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 Ndlovu 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 Ndlovu whether the march would be peaceful and whether the IFP would be providing marshals.

### IFP leaders fingered for Shell House

By WALLY MBHELE

THE POLICE and Inkatha have come under severe indictment at the Shell House inquest. in 70.3% all house inquest.

There was silence in the public gallery this week when a former police hitsquad member took the witness stand at the Johannesburg high court.

IFP leaders Themba Khoza and Humphrey Ndlovu sat stony-faced as former Vlakplaas hitsquad operative Andries "Brood" van Heerden accused them of having being part of the Third Force conspiracy to attack the ANC's Shell House head-quarters.

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 Ndlovuwere part, planned to attack Shell

His submission followed earlier evidence by Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, who told the inquest 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 hitsquad 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, 1FP's Celani Mthetwa 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 de-

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.

### Thrown to the wolves

Ex-cop tells court of his betrayal at the hands of his former friends at Vlakplaas

A KOZ (278)

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ity of attacking Shell House and eliminating senior and prominent ANC members.

NICOLA KOZ

WENTY years ago a young secu-rity guard met an ambitious Zulu handyman at the place where they both worked — United Bank in Johan-

nesburg.

The pair came from different worlds

Andries van Heerden was a former
security policeman and Victor Ndlovu
was a member of the IFP. But they built
a long-lasting friendship, founded exclusively on their mutual hatred of the

This week, Van Heerden, known to his ex-colleagues at Vlakplaas as "Brood", told the Johannesburg High Court inquest into the Shell House shootings a spellbinding tale of friendship and betraval.

People who had packed into court GC waited patiently as "Brood", once a card-carrying member of the IFP, was escorted into

the IPP, was escorted into the court house by two ri-fie-wielding policemen. Van Heerden, who was employed as a National Intelligence Agency agent last August, said he was a frightened man. In papers before the

Irightened man. In papers before the court, he said: "I live in extreme fear of my life and I have no doubt that once I testify against Inkatha 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 Denmark under a witness promark under a witness pro-

mark under a witness promark under a witness pro-tection programme after having given evidence to the Goldstone commis-sion about his third force activities and links be-tween the IFP and police. He had also felt that way when, as one of the state's key witnesses, he had testified against his crythylie commander.

colonel Eugene de Kock.
But on Wednesday it
was different. Van Heer-

was different. Van Heer-den chewed his fingernails as he waited for Mr Justice Robert Nugent and his

two assessors to start proceedings.
Zulus in the gallery, among them IFP
MP Themba Khoza and another IFP official, Humphrey Ndlovu, sat and stared at him

After taking the oath, Van Heerden became animated and confident, standing steadfastly to his statement during rigorous cross-examination

Van Heerden testified that he had acted as a courier or middleman between 1990 and 1994 when police had supplied arms to the IFP.

arms to the IPT.
He told the court that, in 1990, Ndlovu
and Khoza had visited him at work.
Khoza had asked him why the police
were not helping the IPP in the Transvaal
in the same way as in Natal, and had
asked Van Heerden to give him

asked Van Heerden to give nim weapons.
"I'immediately contacted De Kock and Willie Nortje at Vlakplaas and told them that 1 had made contact with Themba Khoza, who had requested that we supply weapons to the IFP."

About 10 days later, De Kock had brought him 10 hand grenades to give to

Khoza.

"This was the start of a pattern where-by the IPP was supplied with weapons through myself." he said.

Van Heerden said regular meetings were later held at his Johannesburg flat. They were attended by Ndlovu and Khoza, Ndlovu's brother, James, Humphrey Ndlovu, a Mrs Dlome and the Reverend Celani Mthethwa, De Kock, Nortje and, on occasion, Charlie Chait.

memb

One of the ideas was to bomb Shell "One of the ideas was to bomb Shell House ... another option was that Shell House should be attacked during an IPP march," he said.
"The strategy was that a number of heavily armed persons would pretend to be innocent by

run into Shell House and precend unc, were seeking refuge.
"Once inside, they would start shooting, chaos would erupt and they would then open the doors of Shell House to allow the IFP impis to come in, who would wipe out the entire leadership and everyone there."

would wipe out the entire leadership
and everyone there."

Van Heerden said that on March 14
1994, Victor Ndlovu had told him that
the IFP had planned a march for March
21. Three days later, he
was called to the Gold
stone commission, where
he had lied about his links
with the IFP

stone
he had lied are
with the IFP.
The next day, he had
wised James Ndlovu
herey Ndlovu
quesadvised James Ndlovu and Humphrey Ndlovu that he had been ques-tioned by Goldstone.

tioned by Goldstone.
"It was decided that
now would be the correct
time to attack Shell House
and the ANC leadership
...as Goldstone knew too
much," he said.
However, Van Heerden

had been shocked to read had been shocked to read in the newspapers on March 19 extracts of the Goldstone report implicating him and others in third-force activities and collusion with the IFP. The next night, a worried Khoza had visited him at his penthouse suite in the city centre. "We discussed the whole Goldstone report.

"We discussed the whole Goldstone report. Themba advised me that he had just arrived from Ulundi and had been advised to reorganise the whole march to ensure that Shell House was at-HUMPHREY NOLOVU

triat sneil House was at-tacked ... we discussed that this would be the only chance left for the attack on Shell House and to eliminate the ANC leadership, as the truth seemed to have come out and that there would be serious repercussions."

But Van Heerden was in for a bigger shock on March 22 at police headquar-

ters in Pretoria.
"We discussed the (Goldstone) report
and Flip Hattingh told me that he could
not defend me as I was no longer a mem-

ber of the police force."

That was when Van Heerden decided to go back to the commission and "come

to go back to the commission and "come clean".

"I lelt helpless... The people that I had believed in had stabbed me in the back," he told the court.

His statement reads: "I made a full statement to him (Goldstone), after which I was taken to a safe place and left the country on March 24 1994."

Four days later, Van Heerden had watched TV lootage of the carnage from his safe house in Denmark.

His former friends, including Khoza

his safe house in Denmark.

His former friends, including Khoza and the Ndlovus, were in central Johannesburg, where 19 people were killed, eight of them outside Shell House.

During his second full day on the witness stand, Van Heerden frequently lashed out at legal counsel who accused him of having concocted his story or telling it in return for some kind of payment from the ANC.

When it was put to him that

When When it was put to him that Humphrey Ndlovu had denied planning an attack on Shell House, he said: "Then he is him?" he is lying.





Police 'did not promise' Shell House cordon

Susan Russell

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 rayor wire, a senior policement pid the 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

60214 97the building, but agreed that he had deploy reintican Nation-

reinforcements and cordon off the building after it became apparent that

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 neonle in the circumstances. 19 people in the city centre that day.

## FORMED GUARDS (FIFED III SOLE OF 22/4/97. The inquest into the deaths of the 19 men maked out and began shooting. He is denied he was in a g

ourside the party's regional offices here on. March 28, 1994 after marchers armed with spears verbally abused them and advanced after a mook attack, the Shell House ty guards opened fire on Zulu marchers OHANNESBURG: Frightened ANC secunnonest heard vesterda

NIXC, said the security guards would testify election campaign. Is a goop of marches confronted thems. "S. Moroka was questioning taxt driver Mr. the marchers were armed with traditional. \* 'said he had not seen i weapons and abused and threatened the "that morning grads, who week that "One of you will die." \*\* According to Dula Ms Kgomotso Moroka, lawyer for the

Cone of the marchers made a mock nd the guards opened fire because they fety, Moroka fold the

Zulus marched through the city to demand aunch the Inkätha Freedom Party's anti- v constitutional powers for their king and to 994, is being held in the High Court here. people killed in the incident on March 28, t occurred a month before the first democ ratic general election when thousands of

said he had not seen any marchers there oused the ANCs Gauteing offices. She said among marchers outside Lancer Hall. He

opened fire on pedestrians. The men were armed men rushed out of Lancet Hall and track with a spear while others advanced a shooting at be on their way to work According to Dhlamini's testimony.

 Dhlamini said he was walking in Jeppe Street with his brother and uncle when the

said he saw two men with "big weapons" and one with a smaller one.

domly at groups of people. Dhlamini said he, his brother and his uncle, were walking archic entrance to Lancet Hall Which Sakhepff Dhlammi, who denied being fer to the Noord Street taxt rank at about 8am resident at George Goch hostel, gave simiwhen they passed a group of men at Lancet Fife Replying to a question from Moroka, Dhlamini said he was an IFP supporter. lar evidence, saying the men had shot ran-«His brother Mr Philemon Dhlamini

ing about us and we said we didn't want a Here is a fight.' We thought they were talk-"One of these men said: 'Here is war. war," said Philemon 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.

marchers who had advanced threatening! on ANC security guards.

she was walking to work when she saw dress near Lancet Hall. One carried a three of four Inkatha people in traditional marching. We were not marching. They shot at people who were not making Earlier, Ms Glenda Dawn Prinsloo téstifiec threats, because we were not threatening. "I don't know anything about peop knobkerrie.

shots. The people shooting were standing She heard a single shot, then a voll at the entrance to Lancet Hall.

smaller gun: "They were standing across: the pavement in a line facing the Inkatha She said she saw three men in civilian clothes. Two had rifles and one had a supporters who were running away," said Prinsloo.

### ge warns mar

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.

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 Ndlovu, a strong contingent of IFP supporters and supporters of Sowejoca, an IFPallied civic organisation.

Mr George Bizos, SC, for the ANC, told Mr Justice Bob Nugent that ANC lawyer Ms Kqomotso Moroka and a witness, Mr Vukukunzele 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 here in official capacity, then I will have to decide that the public

eskinger i

. 35

should not be allowed in here," Judge Nugent said, adding that anyone who made threats would be prosecuted.

According to the ANC, people swore at Moroka 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 Lancet Hall, close to Shell House.

Magagula told the court that ANC security guards had fired on a group of Zulu marchers at Lancet

CT 2314|97 Hall. Then a "VIP protector" to ANC official Mr Obed Bapela, he and five ANC security guards had been standing at the entrance to Lancet Hall. Bapela had warned him the offices might be attacked.

Pedestrians, claiming they were being chased by "Inkatha", had run into the foyer after 8am.

He had seen 15 people carrying traditional weapons, including pangas and knobkerries, approaching Lancet Hall from the corner of Von Wielligh 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 investigat 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 no seen any policemen. "I know where I pointed my weapon."

Rifleman Andrew Kitto, then an SA Defence Force soldier, said he... was near the corner of Delvers and Jeppe streets when he saw 15 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, buto they did not attack him.

At the time, he had been connot vinced the marchers were responsing ble for what happened to him to Kitto said. — Sapa

Video shows
gunmen shot
at marchers
104 197
10HANNESBURG: Video footage

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 Wielligh Street clutching a shield and assegal.

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 moming.

Khumalo is now a senior superintendent of police.

The inquest, in the Johannespurg High Court, is for 19 people killed in Johannesburg on March 28, 1994, during a Zulu march through the city. — Sapa

### C guards 'removed the

Susan Russell

TWO policemen sent to the African National Congress's Johannesburg headquarters to guard spent AK-47 car-tridges 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 Cleo 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 to 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 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 support-

ers turned violent.

While guarding the AK-47 car-tridges on the balcony, the two police-men were confronted by armed ANC security guards, Loganathan said. One guard, who identified himself as head of ANC security Africa Khumalo, or-dered them to leave, saying: "We can take care of our own building."

BD 25/4/97 Loganathan said one of the Loganathan said one of the guards gathered up the cartridges and left the balcony. When the policemen protest-ed, the guards shouted and became threatening Theuradian Confession 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' agression 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 Tip said Khumalo denied knowledge of the incident.

### Cops 'jumped off ANC building?

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CF 26/4/99

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 and as they neared the ANC's regional headquarters at Lancet Hall, people started shooting. He later found out

the shots came from the building.

Logonathan said he was sent upstairs at Lancet Hall, and he and a Sergeant Maharaj 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 Africa 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.

SHELL HOUSE INQUEST

(278) FM 25/4/97

### Weighing the evidence

Police and politicians under scrutiny from the Bench at last

The inquest into one of the most controversial events in SA's bloody history has begun — 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 marches outside the national headquarters of the ANC at Shell House — has never been far from the public mind as rival pollticians fired repeated verbal salvoes 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 Ndlovu, 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 Lancet House;

☐ Acknowledgment that Shell House occupied a low priority in police planning for crowd control;

☐ A decision to place relatively few police officers outside Lancet House (seven) and Shell House (nine, with 10 soldiers);

Acknowledgment by police that they were asked by ANC leaders to send more men to protect the organisation's regional and national headquarters; and

□ Confirmation that police did not try to disarm Zulu marchers as they left their hostels for Johannesburg, and that the converging columns of marchers carried modern as well as traditional weapons.

Two high-ranking ANC leaders — Premier Mathews Phosa and Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla — have also testified.

Phosa, quoting an unidentified source, spoke of a conspiracy by police officers to hijack the protest march and use it to attack Shell House. Nhlanhla, who commanded security at Shell House, but who could not say how many guards were on duty that day, insisted that the ANC's primary objective was to secure police protection — that the firing by ANC security guards had been a "last resort" response.

Another key witness to testify was Andries "Brood" Van Heerden, a former Inkatha loyalist and Vlakplaas policeman, who had previously given evidence to the Goldstone Commission and testified for the State in the trial of his former commander Eugene de Kock.

Now a member of the National Intelligence Agency, Van Heerden told the inquest court that Inkatha planned to attack Shell House during the march. The alleged strategy was to infiltrate armed men into the building under the pretence that they were fleeling from the marchers, thereby giving them an opportunity to open the gates to the marchers.

Van Heerden, who was quizzed on his failure to inform Judge Richard Goldstone of the alleged attack plan, has been accused by counsel for Khoza, Ndlovu and the widows of the slain men of fabricating his evidence and of being in the pay of the ANC. Patriok Lourence

### Witness denies taking used cartridges Busan Russell People who died in and around the Susan Russell Susan Russell Susan Russell People who died in and around the Street below after the ANC members the properties of them.

### Susan Russell

A FORMER Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter yesterday denied he had removed five used AK-47 car-tridges from the ANC's Lancet Hail offices or threatened the po-liceman guarding them shortly bethe 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 the inquest into the Shell rouses shoutings, in which eight people were killed during a march through the city centre by about 20 000 Zulus and IFP supporters.

20 m March 28 1994 on March 28 1994.

The inquest, presided over by Judge Robert Nugent, is also investigating the deaths of 11 more

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 head-quarters on the day of the shooting

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 secret of the building. Loganathan has restified that

he and a colleague were forced to jump from the first floor balcony onto the roof of a casspir in the (278) street below after the ANC members threatened them.

Police first searched Lancet Hall shortly after 8am 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 car-tridges 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

POLICE assumption that African Congress (ANC) security personnel would be able to defend Shell House against attack by Inkatha Free-dom Party (IFP)/Zulu impis was a "recipe" for the violence in March 1994, a senior policeman conceded in the Johannesburg High Court yesterday. Senior Supt Petrus Peche was testifying at the

Shell House inquest into the deaths of 19 people killed in violence during the mass march by about 20 000 people attending an IFP-organised anti-elec-

tion rally in Johannesburg on March 28 1994.
Fewer than two dozen policemen and defence force members were deployed outside Shell House on

The ANC has accused police of failing to protect its Shell House headquarters despite repeated appeals

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.

Peche 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, Peche said, more police personnel would have been deployed out-side the ANC soffices.

Peche said he recalled that the security planners had discussed whether Shell House could easily be

He thought the building would not be occupied but that conflict could occur.

Judge Robert Nugent asked Peche 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," Peche replied. "It was still our responsibility to ensure that the

building was not occupied.'

Peche 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," Peche replied.

### I gave orders to shoot' -Cary Kruser

Former security head describes volatile situation on day of Shell House shooting

SHELL House security guards were ordered to open fire on shousands of Zulu marchers who on March 28 1994; attempted to attack the building ANC deputy head of security then Mr. Gary Kruser said yesterday.

Kruser told the so-called Shell/House inquest 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 sles 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 Lancet Hall and went to assess the situation.

After a brief meeting with security personnel at Lancet 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 weapons to all available security personnel and to deploy them as a matter of urgency.

After consulting policemen who were on the scene, Kruser said he saw from a Shell-House parapet that most of the marchers were armed with dangerous weapons, including frearms.

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 (278

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.

ch to attack Shell House. the morning, he said

EN TOTAL AMOUNT

### about Shell House shootings **c-ANC** security official ad

Fear that revealing names would expose colleagues to attack by 'third force element', inquest told

ormer ANC deputy security chief Carrity torney-general's office and the Goldstone Commission during earlier investigations into ser yesterday admitted hat he lied to police, the atthe Shell House massacre.

Inquest chairman Mr Jus-Eight of the 19 killed were side the ANC's Shell House Zulu marchers shot dead outheadquarters, allegedly by Kruser made his admission to the Johannesburg High Court inquest for 19 people killed in central Johannesburg on March 28 1994 durng a march by thousands of Zulus demanding constitutional powers for their king. ANC security guards.

tice Robert Nugent said Kruser's testimony on Monday and yesterday contradicted sworn statements he made to he police, the attorney-general's office and the Goldstone Commission.

earlier statement, that the ANC's firearm register was not updated on the day of the shooting, was not true. He identity of ANC security guards who opened fire on the marchers, whom he claimed said he had lied to protect the Kruser admitted that his hreatened to attack Shell House

the guards' names he would be ger and possible assassination He feared that by revealing exposing his colleagues to dan-

Goldstone Commission, Kru-ser made no mention of the In his submission to the use of AK-47s by ANC security On Monday, Kruser, who admitted ordering the secu by "a third force element". guards on the marchers.

was being wasted by new ingarded us as enemies and injudge said the court's time formation from Kruser which ought to have been part of and he replied: "The police revestigations wouldn't go well." The obviously irritated earlier investigations. Judge Richard Goldstone what actually happened on two AK 47s were handed to the police for ballistic testing in "Why did you not tell marchers because he believed ANC leaders inside Shell House were in danger, said connection with the shooting rity guards to shoot the Zulu

vestigating what should have "This court is only now inhappened a long time ago because no one co-operated with were used on that day?" Judge Nugent asked: that day? Why did you withhold information that AK47s

the police or the attorney-general's office. I think this is just a waste of my time this morning." Judge Nugent said. 8tav 2115 Kruser, now a brigadier in them. He told ANC officials only what happened on the Judge Nugent asked why. the police, also admitted that he did not co-operate with poice investigating the massacre because he did not trust day of the massacre.

Kruser, questioned by IFP legal representative Danie Dorfling, could not explain wanted to co-operate with the outside Shell House died of Kruser replied he had not solice because he had inwhy all eight people killed rended to testify in court.

He also agreed that it was surged towards Shell House because they were fired upon by people on a Shell House possible that the marchers gunshot wounds in the back.

The hearing continues. Sapa.

### ll House victims may have been fleei

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 secu-rity 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 IFP 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 vio-

lence related to the mass march Kruser said the crowd which entered King George Street on the wes

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 ately 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. (278)

Continued on Page 2

### Shell House

Continued from Page 1 (278) SD 215197 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

FORMER African National Congress (ANC) intelligence oper ative 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 Radu.

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."

He explained that IFP He explained that IFP people had killed one of his friends and destroyed his family. The ANC was not at war with the IFP at the time, but with certain elements within the organisation who "had abused a beautiful culture".

After being rebuked by Judge Robert Nugent for evading an answer, Molefe conceded he had reluctantly come forward after the inquest started because the ANC

compelled him to do so. He said while he would not lie to the court, he had no confidence in the police and was suspicious of the judicial system in SA.

He drew gasps and mutters from the mostly Zulu people in the public gallery when he said he had got the impression the marchers he fired on had been "more sophisticated" and practised in military technique than an earlier group passing Shell House that he described as "typical Zulus, arrogant and illiterate

mandela, who with Mzimela spent two hours in the prison, said that if the allegations were sub-

-rom ··· various Western Cape prisons. None were from Pollsmoor. Mzimela

commission

The union claims Jansen and Engelbrecht were being vic-timised by some correctional services officials.

### 主张 節 Shell House guards

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 build-ing, 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 yes terday 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

BD 30 | 5 | 94 (278) had led them to believe that this particular group was going to attack.

Samuel Mangena, who was deployed outside the building, said he believed the group was going to at-tack Shell House because it had behaved differently from those that passed earlier that day. This one, he said, was not accompanied by a police escort or peace monitors, there had been firing from the group, including automatic fire, and marchers had advanced

in a crouching manner. Mangena, who described himself as very frightened at the time, told the inquest he had decided for himself when to fire. He said he had never been told by his superiors to wait for instructions before firing.

Other than being told to defend Shell House in case of attack, they were not told what to do. From the mere fact that they were issued firearms he had assumed this would entail using the weapons

to defend the building. Another ANC security guard Stephen Moolman, one of those deployed on the Shell House parapet during the incident, also testified that he had decided for himself when to shoot after they were fired on by people in the crowd. He said he was given a shotgun and told to shoot if an attack was launched. Guards on the parapet where to shoot to divert fire from those on the ground if they were attacked.

Moolman said he saw the crowd advancing, some brandishing AK-47s and handguns, although he could not say how many. He was scared when the browd fired at them and he heard automatic gunfire. Bullets hit the parapet and the wall behind him.

FRICA) LIMITED

uncement

ished in this regard, Coates n Coates and The Valspar os division are taking longer



SASANI LIMITED

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# FP wants access to Shell House amnesty app

dence at the inquest to a halt while Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg on March 28 1994. diest applied yesterday for an or-or compelling the Truth and Rec-

m access to the contents of any on a large group of people, part of a people application making a people and people and the pe ighiation Commission to give. ANG security personnel opened fire Eight people were killed when 3. Neo Potsane, was a organised anti-election rally.

asked Judge Robert Nugent to grant Reconciliation Commission to make an order compelling the Truth and

application itself was confidential in serms of the legislation. Potsane was entitled to even refrain from ity afforded annesty applications did not preclude the judge from He argued that the confidential making this order,

Dorfling said the amnesty appli one shot from a shotgun into the orowd in the belief they were attack. During cross-examination by IFP counsel Danie Dorfling on Tuesday, Potsane said he had applied for

'mission to make full disclosure

ring whether or not he had

Although the information contained in the annesty application might be relevant to the inquest, Tip admissible hearsay evidence, strik-ing reference to it from the court offence, which was the task of the otsane's reliability as a witness formally

Nugent said he would give a rul-

### Building 'came under attack' Susan Russell (278) & Ill 197 ANC witnesses, the organization had had a constituted at the control of the cont

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 be-

cause the building was under attack.
Former ANC intelligence operative Marainsamy Singaram was 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 Library Gardens.

Eight marchers were shot dead out-side 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.

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 build-ing shortly before the incident of

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 Danie Dorfling 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

66 18 6 9 Shell House, while Mhlongu was shown the right side.

TWO men injured when ANC security guards opened fire on several hundred zulu marchers outside Shell House on March 28,1994 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

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.

Both gave evidence at the judicial inquest, headed by Judge Robert Nugent, in the Johannesburg High Court yesterday. The inquest is investigating the circumstances surrounding the deaths of 19 people killed when the march and rally by about 20 000 Zulus and IFP supporters, erupted into violence. Eight where shot dead outside the African National Congress's Shell House headquarters; one outside their Lancet Hall regional office and nine in and/around Library Gardens.

Thusini was shot in his right side and buttock in the shooting outside

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 Zullu 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, and Mhlongu, both said they were armed with traditional weapons of spear, assegai and shield and had not seen firearms among the marchers.

spear, assegar and smeld and had not seen firearms among the marchers.

Mhlongu said his group was singing when the shooting started. The crowd stampeded to avoid the shooting and he managed to run away up De Villiers.

Street, unaware that he had been shot the also described flow he had seen the individual his who had been leading his

He also described how he had seen the induna who had been leading his group lying on the ground dead shortly after the crowd stampeded.

### Policeman denies fleeing in fear from Zulu marc

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 on 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

BD 19 6 97 24 678) 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 spe cific 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 out-side 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 at-

Von Egidy, who said he was against the use of weapons of any kind, testified that he had been "overwhelmingly at the "devil in the hearts of 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 inter-section 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, se-curity 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 fal-len 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.

Hamsa I'O Wednesday, 20 August 1997

Athens. But we should be wary. In 1976 Canada Fown, 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 Championships in Athens, Greek athletes won yon no medals and in this year's World Athletics Some may think that if the Olympics come to Cape

only two medals.

iven the honour of holding the Olympic torch in the best coaching and facilities can bring. [Time South Africa can and must do better, if we are 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 expired.

activities undertaken by the Ministry, we would like to state that we have moved from the era of al acceptance and participation. In the sports arena, since the establishment of the new democalling for sports boycott to the era of internationcratic dispensation, our sportsmen and sports-Mr A G EBRAHIM: Madam Speaker, after listening to the Minister who catalogued some of the women have registered successes.

participation requires proper training, adequate facilities, equal opportunities and, in our special pation meaningful and rewarding. Sportsmen and nation. Effective, meaningful and rewarding There is general consensus, however, that much sportswomen are not only ambassadors of our country, but carry with them the pride of the as to be done to make our international particiircumstances, real integration. Could the Minister inform the House whether his Ministry is giving due and necessary attention to proper training of our sportsmen and sportsto all sections of our society, especially the hitherto women, whether adequate facilities are available disenfranchised and discriminated-against communities, and whether by the year 2004, when the epresented by the best possible, well-trained and Olympic Games are held in Cape Town, we will be ruly representative team?

ATION: Madam Speaker, the first point that I would make in connection with the issues raised is hat we are going to have money and we are going The MINISTER OF SPORT AND RECRE-

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 recre-

disadvantaged communities. In order to address there is no way the Government alone, even if there were no other priorities, could provide the cind of relief that is required on the ground in ties, particularly when it comes to the historically that, we are aware of the fundamental truth that At the present moment there is a dearth of facilithose areas which were disadvantaged in the past. What we are doing now is to engage and enter into partnership with the business sector here at home and outside the borders of the country to assist in 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 idate international ties, to take some of them to tise to South Africa to assist us to develop. I think of the National Lotteries Act we are going to be receiving quite a great deal of money, as has been going to be developed. Hence our drive to consolthese countries with whom we have signed agreement protocols and to get them also sending experwe are well on course, and with the promulgation the

and Recreation for his assurance of a talent identito focus my input on the preparation of our female trast to the outstanding 19 points attained by our male athletes at the recent world championships in Athens, our female athletes were unfortunate in scoring only one point in these games, and that was Mr R P Z VAN DEN HEEVER: Madam Speaker. I would like to thank the hon the Minister of Sport fication drive by the department. However, I want through Colleen de Reuck achieving the eighth athletes for the 2004 Olympic Games. In stark conplace in the 10 000 metres.

bers not witnessed our female athletes depart from How many times, in recent years, have hon memhome with high hopes and keen aspirations, but literally and figuratively stumbling at the final hurdle on the track? It is clear that if we can get our women to compete on a par with our men, as far as

mmediately double the rewards of our efforts. We heir current achievements are concerned, we will owe it to our women as part of our empowermentof-women drive to ensure that we improve dramatically on the performances in Athens.

we devote ourselves with renewed vigour to giving tures to reach the heights of achievement of our talent and provide opportunities for our women in order to make progress. The particular needs of our when developing support services such as sports ing for a comprehensive support strategy for our athletes for 1999, I want to particularly plead that our female athletes the necessary support strucng discipline a structure which will identify female n supporting the hon Jannie Momberg in clamourmen. We need to establish urgently for each sportwomen performers must be taken into account medicine, science and technology. [Time expired.]

ing our athletes to be prepared for 2004. I would like to call on all members, if they have the time this interpellation will go a long way towards assisttoday, to read the leader-page article in the Cape Times of this morning about a young athlete from Leeu-Gamka, Ragel van Wyk, who is regarded as one of the most promising athletes in the country -Mr J H MOMBERG: Madam Speaker, I hope that a girl who lives in a hostel where there is no television to watch athletics and who cannot afford runing shoes to run in the event that she must run.

people like Ragel van Wyk to come forward and become gold-medal winners in the year 2004, I hink today's interpellation would really have been If what we have discussed here today can assist

that is facing millions of historically disadvantaged the opportunities are there. What is necessary is or 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 10n member Jan Momberg has brought to the athletes. But the point that we need to make is that it enjoys at the present moment, in so far as any The MINISTER OF SPORT AND RE-CREATION: Madam Speaker, I am happy that the attention of the House one example of the plight noneys that come from the Government are con-

seriously, to the extent that at the beginning of this year we launched the National Steering Council specifically, the problems relating to the participa-They are doing well and have ramified to the As far as female athletes are concerned, we are aking the question of the gender backlog very or Women in Sport. It is intended to address, ion of women in general in sport in the country. provinces, and we have instructed federations to give particular attention to the training of athletes. Secondly, we are continuing to fund Operation spectator in 2004. Huge sums of money are being Excellence of Nocsa, which is meant to avoid a situation in which South Africa becomes an ordinary invested by the department and the private sector to ensure meaningful and relevant participation in

Debate concluded.

## 2. Mr M A MZIZI asked the Minister of J Shell House: evidence differs

- tigated or intends investigating evidence led by a certain Deputy Attorney-General on behalf of one Brood van Whether he or his Department has inves-Heerden during the inquest into the Shell House incident in the High Court in Johannesburg on or about 16 and 17 such evidence differed from that presented during consultations held between members of the Attorney-General's Office in Johannesburg, which consultawhich were requested by the presiding judge in the inquest on 17 April 1997; if April 1997, so as to establish whether tions were attended by the said Deputy Attorney-General and the minutes of not, why not; if so, what are the relevant
- whether he or his Department has taken or intends taking any steps in this regard; N1799E.INT if not, why not; if so, what steps? 2

inquest proceedings. The inquest is not into what dence by direction of the presiding judge of the The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Madam Speaker. ly one Brood van Heerden, was called to give evithe witness referred to by the hon member, name2011

WEDNESDAY, 20 AUGUST 1997

he hon member refers to as "the Shell House ncident", 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 nave investigated the evidence of the said Brood

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 consider it inappropriate for me to do so at this stage because the inquest proceedings have not 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 MZIZI: Madam Speaker, I would like to one is concerned about what is happening at the proceedings of what is known as the Shell House thank the Minister for his explanation. However, 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.

close the whole contents of the statement made by Mr Van Heereden in his evidence-in-chief. He even fact that the witness had deviated from his original Also, whether deliberately or not, he did not disrefrained from drawing the court's attention to the statement. This only came out the next day when the witness was put under cross-examination. We General's stature to knowingly allow a person or witness to deviate from his evidence-in-chief and feel that it is unethical for a man of the Attorneyconceal that evidence until it comes out under cross examination. We do not know what the Attorney-General's interest in this matter is.

agree with me, that the circumstances surrounding I am sure that the Minister is also aware, and will

We wonder how the judge is going to come to a conclusion, a fair judgement, if we have people his intentions are. Therefore we would like to sy. A lot of people died, and there are a lot of things that have not been brought to the surface. such as the Attorney-General who, knowingly and deliberately, do not draw the attention of the judge General has not done this. We do not know what this inquest have brought about a lot of controverto vital information. Up until now, the Attorneyrequest the department to look into the matter before it is finalised.

sented during the inquest. Instead of dealing with the evidence of their own involvement they are, in 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 Ms L B NGWANE: Madam Speaker, I am surprised that the IFP should be asking such questions, as if they were surprised at the evidence prefact, focusing on the Attorney-General who is not IFP and the erstwhile security forces. [Interjections.] Read the evidence.

acted in any manner other than was proper is rejected. I think that the IFP, just like the NP, is The insinuation that the Deputy Attorney-General continuing to clutch at straws in a futile attempt to exonerate itself.

planned by senior members of the IFP. [Inter-The ANC was under attack. The attack was prejections.] The plans were frustrated, and now the IFP 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 IFP. [Interjections,] As such I request that you ask the speaker to withdraw the statement that senior members of the IFP had planned the attack, because I regard that as unparliamentary. [Interjections.]

ically in regard to senior IFP 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 The SPEAKER: Order! [Interjections.] Order! Interjections.] I think the reference was made generally. I will consider it if the allegation was specif-

acceptable. If it was specific, I will check Hansard and I will rule.

WORKS: Madam Speaker, I request that you regard this as a serious matter and consider having her withdraw, because she referred here to "senior The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PUBLIC members of the IFP", and I happen to be in that IFP grouping. [Interjections.] Therefore, if Madam Speaker says ... [Interjections.] The SPEAKER: Order! [Interjections.] I have The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS: None of the members interjecting are indicated ... [Interjections.] Order, hon members! FP 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.

PUBLIC OF WORKS: Thank you, Madam Speaker. The DEPUTY MINISTER

The SPEAKER: Order! Will you please proceed, non member.

Ms L B NGWANE: What I was saying was that the ANC was under attack, and the attack was preplanned by some very senior members of the IFP, and the plans were frustrated. [Interjections.] The IFP is now looking for a scapegoat. The Shell House incident . . .

The SPEAKER: Order! [Interjections.] Hon member Mr Gibson. [Interjections.] Order! Hon mem-

to have made before the inquest and statements ject. With great respect, the hon member who is Mr D H M GIBSON: Madam Speaker, on a point of order: The interpellation deals with a very specific aspect of this inquiry. It deals with one particular person and with statements which he is alleged which he made to the police. Both the interpellant and the Minister confined themselves to the subspeaking 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 speaffic nature, and I ask you to rule that that is the

of order in discussing the whole incident, with all the blame and everything else, which she is ambit of the debate and that the hon member is out 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 udge - 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 Attorneyhe was cross-examined. If it is necessary, a witness can be called back and re-cross-examined. So our General. He gave evidence, and as I understand it, 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 Mr M F CASSIM: Madam Speaker, I think the issue that is at the bottom of this entire inquiry is the following: What happens when a judicial offiwhich he is in honour bound to put in front of the court in order for the court to arrive at a fair and cer knowingly suppresses or conceals very important knowledge or information which he has, 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 judiciary or the Department of Justice has attempted to subvert rue justice for some reason or the other, what would the Minister do in such an instance?

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tice should be without reproach. It should appear to be such that it is equal for everyone. Anyone who attempts, by some subterfuge, to suppress We need to do this, because like Caesar's wife, jusinformation for the benefit of someone, has defeated 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.]

ion to the Minister knowing that the matter was sub judice. What is important is that we wanted the ness differs from the evidence-in-chief, the prosecutor discloses that immediately to the court. The Mr M A MZIZI: Madam Speaker, I put this quescourt to arrive at the correct decision. When a witprosecutor 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 department to look into the matter so that we can find out exactly what the intention of the attorneyout under cross-examination. We request the

of order: It is surely improper for the member to stand here and suggest that justice is not being Mr W A HOFMEYR: Madam Speaker, on a point done in a court of law while the case is still proceeding. [Interjections.]

strued as an attack on the presiding officer. Infortunately, the member has sat down but I The SPEAKER: Order! I think that would be conwould 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! Then 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 ast 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 in 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.

like to address your ruling. I distinctly heard the hon member saying that justice was not being done Mr W A HOFMEYR: Madam Speaker, I would in this case. Whether it is an attack on the presiding officer or on the court as a whole, I think that is an unparliamentary statement and that it must be withdrawn.

basis of whether 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 The SPEAKER: Order! I do not think the statement is unpartiamentary. My ruling was on the 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 country today in which I would like to interfere. Personally speaking, there are many decisions disagree. However, I respect the separation of which are made in our courts today with which I powers and I respect the independence of our courts. Therefore, I seek not to interfere in what

respect of our High Courts and we have a 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

Magistrates Commission in respect of our magistrates' courts.

ticular matter. Moreover, the inquest proceedings sub judice and the presiding officer has not made say that, because I will not interfere in this parhave not been completed. The proceedings are still any kind of finding, either with regard to the deaths or with regard to the credibility of any of the witnesses, nor has the presiding judge made 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 Cassim, 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

Whether the process that is being fol-3. Mr L LOUW asked the Minister of Eduk  $\Xi$ 

lowed 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; whether teachers in the provinces are ready to implement the system next year; if not, why not; if so, what are the rele-N1800E.INT vant details?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION: Madam recall that just recently I announced the results of an matched by the readiness of our provinces. This quately prepared and therefore would not be able to mplement Curriculum 2005 in both Grades 1 and 7. Speaker, my response to the hon member's first question is an emphatic yes! The hon member will investigation done by my department on the adequacy of our plans in so far as they were being report showed that the provinces were not ade-

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 mittee just last week and I hope he was able to workshop with his colleagues in the portfolio comjudge 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 tells us that we are still on the right track. May I also remind the hon member of the which will also inform us as to the adequacy of our pilots we are running in 30 schools per province 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 culum 2005 next year and in subsequent years. We bave worked with their organisations in developing ness campaign aimed at making the teachers aware of the implications of the new curriculum, we have conducted workshops in all provinces, we have published newspaper supplements in all the languages, and since April of this year, we have trained trainers and appraisers who have in turn they are through the implementation of Curriour plans, we have worked together in our awaretrained 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 a 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.

of all this confusion and uncertainty at present, why he and his department are still going ahead with the I want to ask the hon the Minister today, in the light

## 'I would have cordoned off Shell House if I had known details about march'. 8 to 3 | 2 | 7 | (278)

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 head-quarters, police would have cordened 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 Johannesburg, 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-point 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 SPARKS

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 Koos 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 con-versation 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 an-

swered.

When asked how he could possibly have forgotten such an impor-

tant 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 Nortie, 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 Nortje to return to the witness stand and provide clarity on the issue. and then Calitz is to be recalled. The case continues today.

## Commissioner gave ord

JOHANNESBURG: Former com-missioner 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 Nortie 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 Nortje 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."

Nortie 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 fold yesterday.

In closing argument advocate Barry Roux, for the police, told the inquest in the Johannesburg High Court the organisers of a gathering of 20 000 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 that 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 Lancet 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 Sav 16/10/97 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 neavily 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

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## By Joe Mdhlela

POLICE and the office of the attorney-general have been biased against the African National Congress (ANC), favouring a the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), a judge was told yesterday. This submission was made by counsel for

This submission was made by counsel for the ANC, Mr Danny Berger, at the Shell House inquest before Mr Justice Robert Nügent 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 Shell House 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 the guards was being carefully scrutinised, the same cannot, be said of the role of the IFP and the marchers. Not a single communication was directed by the police to the IFP; its attorneys, indunas or the Zulu royal flours 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. 'Despite being informed by Mr Gary Kruser 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 reacting to 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 Kruser?"

## Hitman De Kock and IFP 'had a pact'

## By Joe Midhlela

THE Inkatha Freedom Party leadership, working in cahoots with convicted state hitman Eugene de Kock, had set their minds on blowing up Shell House, the Johannesburg High Court heard yesterday.

Counsel for the African National Congress, Advocate George Bizos, SC, told Mr Justice Robert Nugent and two assessors presiding at the inquest into the Shell House massacre that the initial plan to blow up the ANC headquarters had failed "because Eugene de Kock could not find the plans of the building."

Realising that the plan could not be executed because plans could not be procured, the IFP's Mr. Themba 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.

## Marathon Shell House inc

through mountains of evidence of marches observed the Audo when the deeper of evidence of a evidence of a marches obtained fine of the deeper THE MARATHON inquest for the Shell House shooting victims came to an end on Friday, leaving the judge and two assessors to siff

fue inquest in the Johannesburg High Court, presided over by Judge Bob Nugent, was for 19 people kill ed on March 28, 1994 in violence linked to an 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 force.

main protagonists: the ANC, the IPP and the police, described by the judge as "powerful bodies who be naved as if they were above the At the close on Friday, the three law, were still blaming each other for the killings.

three television sets to show video Court GC was equipped with evidence of the incidents. The walls were adorned with large maps of three flashpoints highlighted—the ANC's Shell House and Lancet Hall Johannesburg city centre, with the

offices and the Library Gardens Although the IFP applied for anti-election rally, it subsequently maintained the event was a march organised by Zulu indunas to demagisterial permission to stage an

mand constitutional powers for the Zulu king.

Nine marchers were killed when al offices at Shell House and its regional offices

The ANC claimed the guards fired in defence other Were attacked red in clashes Occur. by marchers. between when deaths

Library Gard-ens, where the marchers and police at marchers gathered.

In closing

parties ad-vanced their this week the widely diverg ent final sub arguments missions

ROYAL REASON

march was for powers for Zulu King. Danie Dorfling described the shoot. ing of marchers as a cold-blooded ambush, There had been no justifi. cation for the ANC to fire on peace ANC witnesses, said Dorfling, IFP advocate 'ul marchers

attacking Shell House to kill the ANC leadership and derail the eleclied at the inquest. He rejected ANC claims that the marchers intended

tions. While IRP marchers did fire at the building this was in retain aftion to the ANC guards who fired first in a blatant assault on the prima facio marchers There

ANC guards were The ANC acted guilty of murder common dence before inquest that

purpose in stag-ing the ambush. ate body was criminally liable and as a corporfor the killings.

While the IFP accused the ANC, the police in turn charged that the for the deaths that occurred. noral

cate Barry Roux argued that the march organisers acted with gross negligence. They should have known that a gathering of 20,000 people in the CBD would result in

Roux argued that the organisers knew some of the marchers would ignore a prohibition on carrying weapons in public and

tempts by police to disarm them.

He said the organisers knew the that they would-violently resist at while the IFP was opposed to the elections. Despite the history of conflict between the IFP, and the ANC was pushing for elections, ANC, the march organisers did not tell their supporters to keep away from the ANC offices at Shell House

He said the court should draw the inference that the guards who opened fire were concerned about confrontation, especially when an armand Lancet Hall.

ed group of marchers ignored at tempts by police to direct them "The evidence was that the group stopped, gathered and then rushed forward." away from Shell House.

his could have led to the belief tional However, Roux said: "We submit that the conduct of the group was provocative but not an that this approach was confronta

The police came in for a hammerice blocked marchers going to the ing from all sides. The IFP said poibrary Gardens and re-directed iction of duty in that they failed to keep two known antagonists apart. loss of life resulted and police were planning for the event and in their ineffective action on the day. The ANC accused police of derel guilty of culpable homicide in their them towards Shell House.

Nugent in a stinging criticism told Roux that he agreed with the ANC view that police failed to investigate their own conduct. He also said the police witnesses had

"Show me one Despite the fact that police shot marchers, in some cases, lied to the court. liable," the judge they did not open dockets.

Nugent said why should I not draw the inference that police regard them. selves as unacmerely cover countable things up.

can one rely on policemen who give evidence in like this, Nugent said, adding that this troubles court?" A society could not be run

To what extent

## 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 SPARKS

either 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 Ndlovu and Themba Khoza "were instrumental in

## 'Inescapable' that IFP organised the march

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

·撒州, 64

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 Paacoe was ruled to have killed, a marcher, but since he also died, it was impossible to decide whether his actions were justified, Judge Nügent said.

The death of Bhekani Siqubu was found to have been brought about by, prima fack, omissions by two policemen, Brigadier Buks Meintjies and Constable Hendrik de Klerk, as they did not take him to hospital until hours after he was shot.

The death of Richman. Linda was found to have been caused by acts that, prima facte, were offences by Sergeant Johannes Engelbrecht and Sergeant Petrus Rossouy.

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.

## Shell House inquest judge slams parties

Nugent says the ANC, IFP and police witnesses were selective about the truth

ETTHER the police, Inkatha Freedom Party nor African National Congress are 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 supports or amarched 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 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 8 000 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 at the door of the IFP," Nugent said. —Sapa.

## Judge raps police, IFP, AN ARGUS CORRESPONDENT ARG 9/12/1974/1. (2)

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 hap-

pened outside the ANC headquarters at Lancet 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 Lamberti

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 (IRP) 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."

portion 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."

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, Const Craig Pascoe, Mhlakayifani Nene and Alwyn van der Walt all died as a result of offences committed by unidentified people.

want an intel as a result of tolenters committed by unidentified people.

Bekhani Simphiwe Siqubu's death was brought about by "omissions" amounting to offences on the part of Brig Buks Meintjies and Const Hendrik de Klerk. Evidence had shown that, had Siqubu 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.

BD 9/12/97 Picture: Page 3

## Police, ANC, IFP to blame for

JOHANNESBURG: Not the police, the IPP, or the ANC were free of blame for the deaths at Shell House and Library Gardens.

here on March 28, 1994, Judge Bob Nugent Court after the six-week inquest into the deaths of 19 people in the city centre when Nugent and two assessors were deliver ing their finding in the Johannesbuig High 20 000 IFP supporters staged a protest against the holding of democratic elecsaid vesterday

Nugent said many witnesses were untruthful or selective in what they revealed. He found there was no meaningful

have turned out to be inaccurate and unre-"By far the majority of those statements 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 inforseemed simply to have washed its hands of any responsibility for the conduct of its mation: The IFP, Nugent continued,

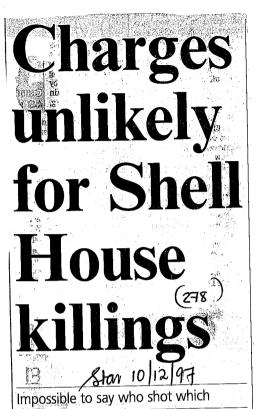
The court heard oral evidence from about 80 witnesses in a record of 8 000 pages; a further 40 hours of video tapes were viewed, he said. members on the day.

Nugent said the evidence had to be placed in the political context of March iable to varying degrees."

994. "It was less than a month before the VIII 44.00

said. — Sapa

Country's first democratic elections and a declared its opposition to the holding of elections. Seen against the background of "In about February 1994 the IFP "time of great turbulence, with considerable 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 potential for conflict



marcher; IFP has to share blame – judge

By MICHAEL SPARKS

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 fried to repel IFP marchers.

At least 50 people died on the Reef that 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 160-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 perfians lies closer to the door of those who brought this whole event to the central city in the first place, than to the police.

"hi our yiew the organisers (the fift) 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 re cted 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 read sonably 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 bar rage of fire was in any event grossly excessive."

This was particularly so since evidence showed that when the shooting started, the marchers had immediately scattered, he said.

Evidence indicated that between 36 and 56 shots had been fired in the vicinity of Shell House:

"Prima facie, the conduct of all security guards at Shell House, and of (Gary) Kruser in inhieldly 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 from 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 1gp marchers) went 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 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 facile 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

UDGE. 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 eight was part of an ambush planned before-

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 then 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 Bhekani Sigubu died because Brigadier Buks Meintjies 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 Englebrecht 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.



## Shell House prosecutions are 'unlikely to succeed'

et 10/12 **IOHANNESBURG:** 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 19 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 (Gary) Kruser in impliedly 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

97the march, had to bear some blame 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 if a group (of IFP marchers) went 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. 1994-19989 化學學院與強調節等 香味養育工者 不一多之

## NEWS FEATURE 'Hired assassins tail anyone who speaks about the taxi war'

## By Khathu Mamaila

perhaps be summed up tions, which has claimed. hundreds of lives in the past five years, could HE UNENDING WAT among different taxi associain one phrase: Taxi operators are vic-

lished that the root cause of the carnage In almost all areas affected by the socalled taxi feud, Sowetan has estabis 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 15 people dents in Venda this year, while more than 35 were murdered in Lebowa durhave been killed in taxi related inci-

interviewed spoke on condition of sassins go after anyone who speaks Most of the taxi drivers and owners anonymity. They argue that hired asabout the taxi war. ing the same period.

stadium near Potgietersrus. Two weeks later, Zitho who ambushed him outside his Billy Zitho on the prospects of peace following the taxi indaba held at the was gunned down by unknown hitmen In April Sowetan interviewed Mr Mahwelereng

Zitho, former general secretary of the Lehlabile Taxi Association which spear-headed the peace rally, gave a detailed account of the problems which ne said resulted in the death of more than 400 people in the past five years. Alexandra home:

assertion, Zitho said taxi owners who

He said that the real issue was taxi operators' successes. Explaining this were prospering in the taxi industry

tended to buy more vehicles, some of which could not secure routes.

tors to form a rival association which operated basically on the same routes. Subsequently, said Zitho, they influenced other potential taxi opera-

"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 iolence as the rule of the jungle that eat or be eaten', takes charge."

not a good day for business. It was about 10.30am on Thursday and the irst taxi to Johannesburg had only left with full loads if it were not for the ooor business resulting from the un-

port including trains and buses.

He said several taxis would have

four passengers.

ful taxi operators who defected from their associations because they did not men continue to snipe at one another in the quest for total control of the routes, it is the innocent commuter want to pay fines imposed on them, were the engine behind the formation of rival taxi groups. While the taxi-He said in other instances, success-

Realising that the taxi might not get full load and therefore not leave at ill, the driver agreed with his colcague, who was transporting commuters to Germiston, to form one

certainty of commuters.

Commuters, especially those who ing their destination against the tragast week, I boarded a taxi destined undertake long- distance journeys, have to weigh up the chances of reachedies that hang over the taxi industry. for Johannesburg at Pietersburg. Durwho is caught in the crossfire.

not feel safe. They said it was just a natter of time before they adjusted to Their message to the taxi operators was unambiguous: Stop the senseless cilling or the taxi industry will col-

other forms of transport.

oad. Those who were in the taxi did

ing the good old days when the level of taxi violence was minimal, taxis SENSELESS Taxi industry will collapse if commuters continue to die:

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 transtravelling between Johannesburg and Pietersburg were arguably among the

meetings. He called on the government to lected and tailed their targets from the intervene as a matter of urgency to stop the followed and killed by hitmen who se-

most of the participants in these meetings are not sincere and that the real issues are various peace meetings being held will not end the bloody fighting. They argue that Some taxi drivers interviewed say the

Victims of success

axi-men have stopped attending these peace meetings as some of them were operation and co-existence but the fact is that it is this very co-existence 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 "We normally commit ourselves to conever talked about.

These fears are not unfounded. Several weeks ago, six Zimbabwean nationals were sprayed with AK-47 badiets in a Johannes-burg taxi rank (2.48.A) On Monday this week a mother and her dilled when a taxi was torched after being

the taxi industry, others seem to be out to While some of the hired assassins are briefed to eliminate specific individuals in (2-month-old baby was shot and wounded after unknown gunmen fired on a kombi at a taxi rank outside Lebowakgomo.

sow havoc and destruction by shooting at [ - ] taxis full of passengers. The idea appears to be to instil fear in commuters and discourage them from using taxis belonging to a rival or particular association The driver of the taxi admitted to as handful of commuters that it was

carnage that threatens the existence of the

black-owned business:

US firms 'concerned about regional ta

## John Dludiu

US multinationals were attracted by the prospect of moving their capital and goods freely within the 12-nation Southern Development African Community, but were discouraged by the slow pace of tariff reduction in the region, finance de-partment official Bongi

Kunene, who is also

SADC finance and innator, was part of an SADC team launched an investment recruitment roadshow in the US last week. She said this concern was misplaced. Tariffs werealready being dropped in the region as part of the

an accord that sought to

eliminate trade barriers. Tariff reduction was the first step towards the creation of the SADC free trade area. Accord-ing 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 re-gional 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 exec-utive secretary Kaire Mbuende, was to recruit investments by promot-ing the SADC as a regional economic bloc with vast opportunities.

SA 'should concentrate on Africa'

## BY BRENDAN TEMPLETON

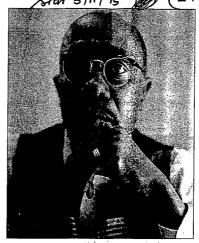
Amnesty International secretary general Pierre Sane has come to South Africa to persuade the Government to raise its international profile as a defender of human rights.

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 neetings with Deputy Fresident 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 concerns



Pierre Sane

PICTURE: ANDREAS VLACHAKIS

were 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 Icivil and Political Human Rights; the Covenant on Social and Economic Rights; the Covenant on the Ellmination 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.

## istry probe launched

Secon CAPE TOWN trial location's study has been iff was 20% launched to examine the comparative advantages of the southern an industrial strategy in place is African region, says Trade and In suicide, he said.

dustry Minister Trevor Manuel Manuel was questioned by a dustry Minister Trevor Manuel dustry Minister Trevor Manuel

Speaking at a conference on Mozambican consulate spokeshuman rights, democracy and resgional economic development terests of regional integration to 
Western Cape on Friday, Manuel said co-operation in regional construction and rehabilitation, in ment had put a moratorium on the 
frestructural and resource deval.

stance, Zambia had expected SA to follow it in reducing its tariffs to A regional indus such an extent that its highest tar-

frastructural and resource devel- repatriation of Mozambican work frastructural and resource development projects could be beneficial by placing the countries of the region on a more competitive footing in the global economy.

But there were sources of frustration, said Manuel. For inBrussels—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

accords were being struck 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

tions 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. Independent Foreign Service

## 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 visit-State Danquet neid in nonour of visiting Portruguese President Dr Marto Soares, Mandela emphasised that tri-lateral to-operation between South Africa Portugal and other countries in Southern African held much portrugal.

tential for all the countries concerned.

the efforts already underway, such as reactivating the Cahora Bassa hy-droelectric scheme in Mozambique,"

said Mandela:

## 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 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."

He told a Southern African Development Community (SADC) conference 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 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 exploring it," Asmal said. "It may just hold the trigger 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." — Sapat.

Prices valid while stocks last. No trade

## Private postal network will link southern Af

A private post and communicaoffice in Johannesburg early next Botswana and Namibia is set to open its head tion network for South Africa, Zimbabwe,

out would rather complement the Southern African franchise Bloemfontein businessman This is one of the world's largest franchisor of postal, busi-Andrew McLachlan has secured for Mail Boxes Etc (MBE).

said Leo Holesgrove, MBE's sales and marketing manager. If all runs according to plan, he first service centre should be However, he said the service was not intended to be in direct competition with Telkom and the South African Post Office, in operation in April next year,

answering service. the existing services.
"While MBE will make post boxes available for hire, this is where our association with the post office will end," said Holesness and communication service

Other services will include the printing of business cards, a ax service for sending and reing service. Among these services will be whether there is post in your box or not, a courier service and an Each centre will offer a varia phone-in service to check ety of services.

Stamps will also be on sale at be that they will be able to have ceiving faxes and a photocopythe service centres. In addition rubber stamps will be made and another bonus for customers will keys cut. – Consumer Reporter.

## SADC officials debate trade pact et (SR) 30 | 11/95

FROM REUTER

Harare — Ministers from 12 southern African states will meet in Zambia on Saturday to promote intra-regional trade, Zimbabwean officials said yesterday.

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

The last summit discussed the possibility of splitting the Common Market for east 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. (279A)

## Customs treaty will boost trade

Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (Comesa) mem ber states have agreed to accede to the international convention on the simplifitional convention on the simplification and harmonisation of customs procedures, in an effort to boost low intra-Comesa trade.

The organisation's secretary-general, Bingn Wa Mutharika said the treaty, commonly known as the Kyoto convention, simpli-fied customs administration.

The applicat ion of the convention will assist in reducing these cumbersome, tinve consuming and costly procedures applied by administrations and other organisaministrations and other organisa-tions in the sub-legion in the con-duct of international trade," Mutharika said in a speech read on his behalf at the Comesa buy ers and sellers (neeting 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 market.

This simplified and harmonised document replaced the pre-vious 13 customs documents one needed to go through when movBD Zolulas

ing 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

"The system reduces costs, de-lays, pilierages 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 countries where they were passed to guarantee customs duties on transit goods in other member countries through which the goods

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 mutharika said three member states had already ratified the agreement, with others engaged in transit traffic expected to do so in due course. — Sapa.

## By Mokgadi Pela

TO

maynem that sent shockwaves Thokoza Phenduka Displaces Com-East Rand was at place scarred by hor-THOKOZA'S Khumalo Street on the rendous blood-letting, murder and throughout South Africa - overshadowed only by the killings in KwaZulu-Natal

peace a chance.

death, confusion and lidie between polit-But now the doves of peace have returned to what was once a place of ical sectarian rivals who fought hit and run battles which claimed the lives of many innocent people for nearly five

Then various groups and leaders erend Mvume Dandala, self-protection such as the Mabutho Forum, the Revunits (SPUs) and self-defence units (SDUs), silenced the hawks of war.

holds while those with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's face are equally prominent in ANC home grounds. The IFP strongholds include the once-feared Madala, Khuthuza and Later a new player on the scene, the They called for a cessation of hostilities and the establishment of committees and forums comprising the rivals to give mittee (TPDC), led by the Reverend

ANC branch committee member Mr Mr Simon Mchunu, "Whenever I see our cadres to hang them above the reach According to IFP publicity secretary ANC posters below ours I always urge of children so that they are not tampered with." malo Street," say leaders of the Inkatha gress and TPDC in a joint statement this "Life, has returned to normal at Khu-Freedom Party, African National Conweek. "And in line with African tradi-

Tebogo Nchike said: "As I speak, I see a: ical activity as symbolised by the ANC All agreed that there was free polittion, we expect blood to flow when oxen are slaughtered to cleanse the bad past."

open arms and even visit IFB treasurer leader Sam Ntuli. different Khumalo Street where T can-walk to the hostel and be accepted with

Mr Wilson Ntjangase withoutlear

ahead of tomorrow's elections. A drive

around the once-feared township shows

Women's League march last Friday

posters of ANC president/Thabo Moeks, road show 1 carried a Buffieldzi poster. what happened on Khumato Street displayed prominently in IPP strong! and joked with those marching that it should never be repeated. We want to pay tribute to those who fought for our was lighter than that bearing the face of Mbeki. Such things were unimaginable a few years ago but thanks to Mabutho Forum, Reverend Dandala, the SPUs and SDUs and TPDC we are able to 1 8 E-1

interact freely and walk in the street without any fear." Khumalo and Theron said it was

Mshayezafe hostels.

John Khumalo and Mr Sam Theron.

helped to cernent the peace process.

also became important to ensure that Thokoza have erected a memorial tombstone along Khumalo Street as a tribute appropriate that the residents to the Fallen heroes".

houses that had been damaged were

repaired in line with the Kathorus

about 800 victims among them, pho- \* Ditying or walking along Khumalo tigrapher. Ken Oostedrock and civic. \*Street there is no doubt that the nor-Special Presidential Project. The tombstone, which is yet to be officially unveiled, contains the list of

"Only last week during the JIP's saying to the people of Thokoza that "Through this tombstone, we are

Theron, Nchike and Mchunu said. It stone to bring about permanent peace the return of people who fled their freedom, We also want to use this tomband unity among Thokoza residents," When peace returned to the township, it became logical to safeguard homes during the skirmishes, Khumalo said.

and mainsaidon of this main avenue into and out of Thokoza will lead to peace and stability in the area... 81075 + DIST. - GAUTENG 1999

## Who will help us through the night?

# Mandelaville residents fear for their lives after Monday's shootings, writes Nomavenda Mathiane

camp near Alberton on the East Rand vesterday, residents asked: "What is go-During the day, a special unit of 500 ing to happen to us tonight?"

AS NIGHT fell on Mandelaville squatter"

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 They were told that the Katlehong the area were apprehensive

as they had done after the shooting.

The reason for the attack, which came at 9pm, was not known, according police would look after them last night,

marching to Thokoza stadium in 1991 Section of the second It is no secret that there is no love to some residents. They also say they

Political rivalries go back to 1995 when African National Congress (ANC) supporters in Mandelaville clashed delaville and Holomisaville. among themselves:

lost between the two townships of Man-

The situation was tense in the area and soldiers using sniffer dogs going in

ing to take precautions.

pears that the residents of Mandelaville were expecting an attack and were try-

" Mandelaville residents met on Sun-

day to decide on a course of action in The meeting was disrupted by UDM supporters who live in Holomisaville,

the event of an IFP attack.

yesterday as residents watched police The houses in which bodies of the

and out of Mandelaville's tin shacks.

Many people were reluctant to talk about Monday hight, but a woman said she had heard gunfire. When she looked

Then on Monday a man was shot

hat the Mandelaville residents were

dead were found were cordoned off.

out her window she saw men in bala

clavas walking away.

delaville residents said yesterday that

dead in a street in Mandelaville during the day it is not clear whether he was an ANC or UDM supporter, but Manthe residents said, because the UDM supporters were under the impression discussing them. This lead to an exodus of a disgrun-tied faction of ANC supporters to Holomisaville and adjacent Greenfields. They later joined forces with Bantu Holomisa's United Democratic Move-According to one resident, who did ment (UDM).

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

the UDM for the midday shooting.

The seven people who were shot were on neighbourhood patrol. It aphe was from Holomisaville. "The attack in Mandelaville on Monday night is believed to be retaliation by Phama∵killed 21 IFP∵supporters

and soldiers did their work.

ners, talking in hushed tones, as police day. People congregated on street cor-The atmosphere was sombre yester



IPS members were deployed yesterday in Katlehong after a night of violence which claimed the lives of seven leged ANC sympathisers. Over 500 police were bussed in to patrol the troubled area.

PIC:LEN KUMALO

PIC:LEN KUMALO

Iseman Mahlanza was murdered during the night of yislie are shattered to learn that husband and father

eight illegal immigrants, one man for possess said that they had lost faith and trust in the lo clues yet as police, army search for killers of seven sion of an illegal firearm, another for possessing police.

in the police after seven African National Con- shorgun and find one empty AK47 cartridge. Information on the killings. Mrs Nomvita Mokonyane that they had no faith dagga worth R100. They also confiscated one

people suspected to be supporters of the United police officials including the commissioner of Simphiwe Dinisi (27); Johannes Makamini (53) colice on the East Rand, Mr Len van Tonder

By Dan Fuphe

are yesterday despite the heavy ANDELA Park near Katlehong on the East Rand was still gripped by fear sence of 550 police and army personnel, who conducted a house-to-housesearch for weapons after the massacre of seven

The raid was in response to a call by local gress members were shot dead by unknown residents to Ganteng MEC for safety and liaison people on Monday night. Democratic Movement.

In their raid however, police arrested only distened to more than 100 trate residents who

Mokonyane visited the area to get first hand Earlier, Mokonyane and several top Gauteng ... Those killed were Wiseman Mahlanza (49),