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TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

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SECTION 29 HEARING

"IN CAMERA'

DATE: 15-07-1998

NAME: CHRISTIAAN PACE

HELD AT: CAPE TOWN

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Can we get ready to start? Ladies and gentlemen, I would like that door to be closed so that we can begin with our proceedings.

Before we proceed, I would like to get all the members of the Department of Correctional Services to approach the microphones because I have to swear them into confidentiality by reason of the fact that the proceedings here, are going to be dealt with in conditions of confidentiality.

If all the members of Correctional Services who are in here, can come and approach a microphone. I would like each one of you to, while you are standing, I would like each one of you to read your names into the record.

<u>MEMBERS OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES</u>: My name is Winton Africa, Sir. Abe Smit. Johan Heefens. Peter Lackay. Owen Prins.

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CHAIRPERSON: Gentlemen in as much as you are now on the record, do you swear or do you affirm that you do understand that everything that takes place herein is supposed to be confidential, and that you will not by any means, break the confidentiality of evidence and information, divulged in your presence in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act and you shall not breach the confidentiality thereof. If you understand and agree that you know that you know that you are being sworn into confidentiality in terms of that Act, will you please rise your right hands and say please help me, God.

MEMBERS OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES SWORN IN.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Thank you gentlemen, you may sit. I also want to place on record that you should sit in a way that makes you comfortable whilst you are here performing your duties, as escorts of the gentleman, Mr Christiaan Pace.

If some of you would like to sit immediately behind him, you may do so, but Mr Pace must relax because I am going to address him now. Gentlemen, you can sit down.

Mr Khoisan, we are meeting under extraordinary circumstances. If you can please let me understand what the circumstances are that we are meeting, and who it is that we are meeting for? I only know that we are collecting evidence from a witness in relation to issues or matters that fall within the

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mandate of the Promotion of Truth and Reconciliation Act, 34 of 1995. We are taking evidence as a matter of extreme urgency because of extraordinary circumstances that attend. I understand that Mr Christiaan Pace is before us, but I would like to have for the record, the details which you think I need to have also in view of the fact that he had to be called in extraordinary circumstances for the obtainment of that evidence.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Thank you Mr Chairman. We are here today Mr Chairman, in these circumstances to hear evidence from Mr Christiaan Pace who is currently remanded to currently incarcerated at Allandale prison in Paarl and we are here to hear his evidence in respect of many of the aspects which fall within our mandate in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995.

We have had a provisional interview, or pre-interview with Mr Pace in which he has shown great willingness and shown favour to the Commission, to place within the province of the Commission, the important information which is in his possession, concerning the following matters.

1, his history as a member, former serving member of the South African Defence Force. In this regard specifically with regard to his activities as a member of what was then known as Battalion 32. His knowledge about events insofar as the concerned activities of this particular arm of the South African

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Defence Force in respect of its activities in Namibia and Angola and related matters. His knowledge in respect of activities of the South African Defence Force and their actions, in concert with other parties, including branches of the South African Police Force and other parties and organisations in KwaZulu Natal. Specifically testimony in respect of actions that have taken place in the Richmond area, currently plaguing the area today which has been a hotbed of political violence for close on a decade. His knowledge of persons who had been instrumental in fuelling and fanning the violence, not only in Richmond, but in other parts and provinces of this country, including one Captain P.J. Theron, also known as Trompie, one Colonel Jan Breytenbach, also known as Oom Jan, and other parties. He is also here to provide testimony relevant to the circumstances surrounding the death of one Desmond Segal although he will specifically testify on certain liaisons that he has had with this person, now deceased before he died and other matters concerning the location, transportation, stashing, usage and issuing of weapons to parties who have been party to the conflict in the country. We consider this testimony very important and critical in pursuance of our mandate, to wit the establishment of as full as possible a picture of gross violations of human rights that have occurred during the period of our mandate and it is with this that we have come to you Mr

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• Chairman, and with your concurrence we can proceed with the hearing to obtain evidence from Mr Pace.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: May I just mention that we have simultaneous translating devices and which Mr Pace should use if he so desires, but before we begin, can I swear the witness in. If you will stand Mr Pace. Can you read all your names into the record?

CHRISTIAAN PACE: (sworn states)

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: I see Mr Pace, that you are going to use the Afrikaans language. If you don't mind, you could make use of the listening devices, because I think some of us, or most of us, will be speaking in the English language, but if you are happy not to use these devices which have got channels for English and Afrikaans, that is your choice.

Oh, you have them?

MR PACE: Yes.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: I am sorry, I was looking at your hair, I think (indistinct). Mr Khoisan, I would like to - maybe let me address myself to you Mr Pace. Mr Pace, I have been approached rather very late in the day by my Investigators, during the course of this morning, who indicated to me that they had an interview with you during the course of yesterday for reasons that they stated to me became essential that we should take your evidence, and if it becomes absolutely necessary and at your own request, to make

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sure that you are provided with protection to the extent that you would desire and need such protection.

I have made the necessary arrangements for you to receive such protection if you so need it. Because of precisely those circumstances, it has not been possible in the ordinary course to call you about 10 days or 14 days from day which ordinarily would have been the position, but there is nothing in the law that does not allow us to call you at short notice which is then why you are here.

I, for my part, must thank you from what I have been told, for having had the courage and the willingness to be here in circumstances of this nature. Not only to attend, but to share with us some of your own experiences in so far as they can shed to us, to the Commission and eventually to the society in South Africa at large, some of the experiences, the motives and perspectives of people who served in our Armed Forces in the troubled history of this country.

Why I am thankful to you is because I have been made to understand that in the extraordinary circumstances of this particular matter, you have agreed to be before us even though you do not necessarily have access to a legal representative.

Not that any legal representative would have done more than what you can do for yourself, given that you want to share with us the motives and perspectives, the history, the precedents

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and all the surrounding circumstances of your involvement in issues of the South African Defence Force as have been outlined by Mr Khoisan.

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Our experience in the TRC has been that political leaders who formulated policies and involved operatives in activities, which they knew about, which they had commanded them to go and do, have now taken the attitude that those people were bad eggs, that those people were bad apples and they are now leaving them in the soup all by themselves.

It was in this room that some of those statements came from one of the political leaders of the past, the former President, F.W. de Klerk who stated that those people who did terrible deeds in the past, were on a frolic of their own, they were mavericks, they were a few bad eggs and that they as the political leaders, had nothing to do with the bad things that those people did.

We in the Investigative Unit do not believe that the political leaders did not know what was happening. In fact we do not believe it was not at their instance and because of instructions coming from them, that some of the things were done. Operatives like yourself, were doing what was commanded to them by their leaders in the Armed Forces and in the general ranks, but more particularly it seems to us they were doing work which had been sanctioned by the political leaders of the day, as far high up as

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the State Security Council and the Cabinet and the President of the country.

Therefore it is important for us and it pleases us that now and again, we get persons like you who now want to put the record straight and who now want to come out and make sure that in telling us what they know, and in the country getting to know what the truth is, they will at least have contributed to making sure that mistakes such as those in which ordinary operatives are made the fall guys, shall not take place in the future.

I therefore would like to thank you even before you start, for having been willing to come and for having indicated that you are prepared to let us have this evidence, even though you do not have a legal representative at this stage. Should you however, at any time in the future, wish to be represented, you still have the right to and the Commission would gladly arrange for you to get legal representation to the extent that that legal representation is necessary for purposes of us obtaining evidence from you.

Without further ado and on the understanding that that is the position, that you are coming on your free will, on your free volition in order to share with us these experiences, I will ask Mr Khoisan to start the ball rolling, unless there is something that you, yourself, Mr Pace wanted to place on record, we are then going to proceed to take the evidence.

Mr Khoisan?

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MR KHOISAN: Okay. I am very pleased that you have come here and that you have taken the step. We have spent a long time trying to get to this point, or not that long, it has been a number of days, but from what I have heard of you and the time which we have spent, I have been able to determine that you are a person who possesses much information which can be of the greatest value to this Commission.

Furthermore that you have taken the step to, as it were, open your heart to this Committee and that is something which we appreciate tremendously. My Afrikaans is rather weak, just for the record, therefore if you will excuse me I shall be posing my questions in English and you can listen to the Afrikaans interpretation by means of the Interpreter.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: If you can just switch of that other microphone please, thank you.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Mr Pace, I am very happy that you have come here today and now that we have you here, we can begin.

From what we have been hearing from you, it is very important according to my understanding of your knowledge, that we begin at the beginning. Is it true that you were born in Mowbray in Cape Town?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Mr Pace, how old are you now?

<u>MR PACE</u>: 41.

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MR KHOISAN: Is it true that you spent part of your time growing up in the Karoo?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true Mr Pace that in and around 1976 you joined the South African Defence Force?

MR PACE: That is true.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When you joined the South African Defence Force, is it true that you did an operational tour of duty in the north of this country?

MR PACE: Yes, I did.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true Mr Pace that at one point or another, in your military career, you joined or were posted to an arm of the South African Defence Force, known as Battalion 32? <u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct, I went over to 32.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When you went over to 32 Battalion Mr Pace, who was your immediate Commanding Officer?

MR PACE: Colonel Breytenbach, Oom Jan.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Oom Jan? And when you were in Battalion 32, where were you stationed?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I was first stationed at Roakhana on the border, and we went from there, over into Angola.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that for a significant period of time in the late 1970's to early 1980's, many of the operations of this arm

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of the South African Defence Force known as Battalion 32, were launched into southern Angola?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that most of these operations were geared towards attacks on what was then known as the South-West African People's Organisation, SWAPO?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Mr Pace, can you describe for us your role in an operation known as Operation Protea and can you also give us an indication of what this Operation involved?

<u>MR PACE</u>: The Operation was to destroy a SWAPO base and our role therein was to be in the front-line.

MR KHOISAN: Operation?

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Mr Pace, were there people killed during this

MR PACE: Yes.

MR KHOISAN: And this was a military operation?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Okay. This was a military operation Mr Pace?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: During this operation, where exactly in southern

Angola did this Operation take place, more or less?

MR PACE: At Kasinga, Piera de Ecka and also at Ongiva.

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MR KHOISAN: Is it true that during these Operations Mr Pace, a significant amount of women and children who were not connected to the theatre of war, were also killed?

MR PACE: Yes.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that some of these people were shot, stabbed and hacked at close range and shot at close range?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true Mr Pace that some of the operations that 32 Battalion got involved with, were done in concert with a structure and an organisation known as Unita?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true Mr Pace, that this structure known as Unita, was also involved in doing recognisance in respect of small groups of SWAPO who would then be identified and be hit by groups of Battalion 32?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. They came to tell us where small groups and SWAPO bases could be found.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Can you give us an indication of how this particular thing worked and maybe give us a couple of examples of how this worked?

<u>MR PACE</u>: We had constant contact with them and they with us. If they heard or saw any SWAPO members who were moving southward in order to enter South-West Africa, they would contact us.

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They would then take us to where they were, sometimes they would participate along with us in the attack.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true Mr Pace that much of these operations involved engaging what was then known as the enemy and leaving the dead wherever you left them?

MR PACE: Yes.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true Mr Pace that among the things that happened after these missions, is that your Commanding Officers would be giving you encouragement and strength and congratulations in respect of these operations?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: And is it true that one Colonel Jan Breytenbach, also known as Oom Jan, was among these Officers who gave you encouragement, strength and congratulations in respect of these atrocities?

MR PACE: He always thanked us for the work which we had done.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that at some point during these operations, SWAPO members were taken prisoner and brought to an area in Oshakati known as "Die Hokke" where they would be interrogated?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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MR KHOISAN: Is it true that many of these prisoners of war of SWAPO were handed over to a Captain at that time, named Chris Nel?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is he also the same person who is known as Charlie November?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now, among the things that have come before this Commission is that there was liaison between 32 Battalion and a counter insurgency unit from the Police, known as Koevoet. <u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Is it true that this liaison involved joint operations?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, that occurred. Koevoet never moved across the border. If we knew about SWAPO in Ovamboland, we operated together in order to eliminate them.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that in the area of northern Ovamboland Battalion 32 and what was then known as Koevoet, engaged in counter insurgency operations in which innocent women, children and men in the northern Namibia were killed, maimed and injured?

MR PACE: Yes.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Can I just get to understand? You see, words are being put to you that it was innocent children, men and

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women. Now, I do understand that your mission was to as you say, "uit te wis", you know, the terrorists there. How do you agree that these were innocent men and women and children? <u>MR PACE</u>: Because they formed part of the local population. There were many kraals and the people would live in the kraals. We would receive information that SWAPO was at certain of those kraals. After that we would find out that SWAPO had in fact had nothing to do with these people.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: When you hear that in that kraal there are SWAPO, what do you do, what was your <u>modus operandi</u>? Did you just go there and kill everything that was moving there?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Most of the time, or it happened sometimes that people would be shot there, but most of the time we were trying to find SWAPO.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Now how would you establish how is SWAPO and who is not SWAPO if you heard that at a certain kraal there are SWAPO members? Would you interrogate the people when you get there, I just want to get a sense of what your, you see, what your system and your method was to kill people, and I say so against the backdrop of what you said about agreeing to a proposition put to you by Mr Khoisan that you admit that innocent men and women were killed.

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MR PACE: Koevoet would point out the targets to us and then we acted according to the targets which they had pointed out to us.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Mr Khoisan, would you want to take it further?

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Yes. Okay, thank you Mr Chairman. Mr Pace, is it true that some of these people were handed over to interrogators into military area in Oshakati?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now Mr Pace, to go further, in terms of the operations that were launched in respect of Koevoet, are you aware that Koevoet has been accused and alleged to be responsible for a wide range of atrocities? MR PACE: Yes.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that one Brigadier Schoon was one of the key moving forces behind this structure known as Koevoet? <u>MR PACE</u>: Yes.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: What was the relationship between Brigadier Schoon and Colonel Jan Breytenbach, also known as Oom Jan? <u>MR PACE</u>: They had very narrow liaison and co-operation. <u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that at one point one Eugene de Kock also turned up in this area and was involved on the operational side, in guiding the operations of Koevoet?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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MR KHOISAN: Okay, now understanding what you do, you were working under a system of orders, is that not correct? MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now in Battalion 32, we have as the overall Commander until its disbanding, Colonel Jan Breytenbach. Can you give us a sense of the command structure of 32 Battalion in terms of who was the second in command?

<u>MR PACE</u>: In our group there was Fred Turner, he was a Captain.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So you had Fred Turner who was your immediate Commanding Officer?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. <u>MR KHOISAN</u>: At the time that you were in Buffalo Battalion 32, in and around the period of 1983, what was your rank? <u>MR PACE</u>: At that stage I was a Sergeant.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Okay, you were a Sergeant. At what stage did you become a Sergeant Major, also known as a Warrant Officer? <u>MR PACE</u>: In 1987.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So, now I want to really go to another area, which is can you give us an idea of the amount of weapons that you personally know of, which was at the behest and under the command of Colonel Jan Breytenbach and his 32 Battalion? <u>MR PACE</u>: I can't provide you with a precise quantity, but it

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was a large quantity.

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MR KHOISAN: Okay the reason I am asking you that question is because although I just wanted to ask you this questions about Namibia and southern Angola for background, because of being pressed by time, I would like to push the enquiry into the borders of South Africa.

So, let me begin by saying what was the process and at which time that Buffalo Battalion, Battalion 32 became demobilised in that area and turned its attention to the rising problem inside the country of South Africa?

<u>MR PACE</u>: We began moving down when the Untag Forces took over there, that is when we moved down to Natal.

MR KHOISAN: So would I be correct to say that that was in 1988?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now when Battalion 32 shifted its Operational Headquarters from northern Namibia and southern Angola to Natal, this was in 1988?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: And when you came to Natal, currently known as KwaZulu Natal, is it true that you were based at Ulundi?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is this also an area which is known to be a key area which has been alleged to be controlled by Inkatha?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is how I understand it, yes.

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MR KHOISAN: Okay, now when you came down with Battalion 32 to Natal, to KwaZulu Natal, is it true that a significant amount of weapons were brought from the operational area into Natal? MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that Colonel Jan Breytenbach was in charge of these weapons?

MR PACE: Yes, he was.

MR KHOISAN: Is it true that these weapons included thousands of AK47's?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: R4's?

MR PACE: R4's.

MR KHOISAN: R5's?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Anti-aircraft weapons?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Light and heavy artillery?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Rocket launchers?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So I would be correct to say that a significant amount of weapons were stashed, where were they stashed, where were these weapons kept when you came to KwaZulu Natal?

MR PACE: At Ulundi.

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MR KHOISAN: Where? At Ulundi?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When you came to KwaZulu Natal, were you aware that it was an area where there was great conflict and crisis?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, that is what they told us. They told us that we should move there in order to control the unrest.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Were there at any time weapons handed over to offensive elements, military elements or political elements within the Inkatha Freedom Party?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: And when these weapons were handed over, can you describe and provide us with examples that you know of in which these weapons were handed over to members of Inkatha? <u>MR PACE</u>: It happened at Ulundi, where in certain groups they handed out weapons in loads, which had been loaded onto vehicles.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When you say they, you put it to us that "hulle het hulle wapens in vragte gegee", could you estimate the quantity of these weapon loads? How many weapons are we talking about?

MR PACE: At one time I would say approximately 2 000.

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MR KHOISAN: Is it true that these weapons were weapons that would be associated with weapons used by Umkhonto weSizwe, in other words AK47's?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Were there Tokarovs handed to ...

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: What other weapons were handed over to the Inkatha?

MR PACE: There were also R4's which were handed over.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that you had great concern about handing over R4's to members of Inkatha?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. <u>MR KHOISAN</u>: To whom did you express this dissatisfaction? <u>MR PACE</u>: At that point to Oom Jan and also Trompie. <u>MR KHOISAN</u>: On the question of Trompie, is it true that the person known as Trompie is also the person who is Captain P.J.

Theron?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: And that is the same person currently in control of the Security Police in Paarl?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true that at some point weapons were handed over to one Sifiso Nkabinde?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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MR KHOISAN: Is it true that you raised a question about why weapons were being handed over to somebody who was allegedly an ANC member?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: To whom did you express dissatisfaction?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Captain Theron.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When you expressed your dissatisfaction about the handing over of weapons to Sifiso Nkabinde to Captain Theron, what was his response?

<u>MR PACE</u>: He told me that it had absolutely nothing to do with me, and that this came from a higher authority.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now where weapons were handed over to Sifiso Nkabinde, it occurred on more than one occasion, did it not? <u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Can you give us an idea of how many weapons were handed over to Sifiso Nkabinde, not from what you have heard about, from what you know?

<u>MR PACE</u>: From what I saw, it was a great deal.

MR KHOISAN: Approximately?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: It is difficult to estimate the number of weapons laying in a heap. I would say at one point it would have been approximately 2 000.

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MR KHOISAN: Is it true that this was in the late 1980's that this relationship between Sifiso Nkabinde and 32 Battalion was solidified?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Would I be correct to say this relationship dates back to 1988?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: And that it continued all through 1989, 1990,

1991, 1992, 1993 until 32 Battalion was disbanded?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: And is it true that the relationship between 32 Battalion and Sifiso Nkabinde involved also specific operations in the Richmond area?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Can you give us specific examples of the nature of this relationship and maybe give us an idea of some of the operations?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Attacks were launched on ANC targets which were supposed to create even more friction.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Is it true Mr Pace that at one stage, you specifically participated in an operation which involved an attack on a house in Richmond?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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MR KHOISAN: Can you describe what that attack entailed Mr Pace?

MR PACE: We entered the house ...

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Take your time Mr Pace. Take your time. This is an opportunity for you to get out of your system all the things that happened, and ...

<u>MR PACE</u>: I can't discuss this.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Take a glass of water. If you could assist him.

MR MAGADHLA: Maybe let me just ask an easier question.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Mr Magadhla will put a few questions.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Thank you Chair. Would the house that you attacked, have been an ANC or an IFP house?

<u>MR PACE</u>: It was an ANC house. That is what was said to us, that it was an ANC house.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Yes. Seeing that you say arms were handed over to Sifiso who was a member of the ANC, now who was he supposed to attack himself or him and his group?

<u>MR PACE</u>: As from what emerged with Oom Jan, he had to do like Inkatha did where they sometimes had to attack their own people and then make it appear as if it had been Inkatha, so that the two would take on each other.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Now, how would you have ensured your safety, say you were to attack in an ANC area, but knowing full well that this person, the leader of the IFP in that area, had been

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fully armed and armed by yourselves, how would you ensure that there would be no retaliation that would be detrimental to your own mission?

<u>MR PACE</u>: These things were discussed beforehand by Oom Jan and Theron and then it would be passed on to us. It was discussed with them.

Have I answered your question, or did I understand your question correctly?

MR MAGADHLA: Maybe to make it clearer, would this attack on the ANC area or ANC house, would it have been known by Sifiso so that he also moves himself away from that area so that he doesn't get killed?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: And so that also he does not retaliate so that he was so heavily armed himself?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Now, do you remember attacking an IFP house or an IFP area in the same manner in Richmond?

<u>MR PACE</u>: There were so many, that I can't remember exactly that. In all probability, yes, but I can't remember. There were certain times when I wasn't present.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: But are you certain that Sifiso Nkabinde had been supplied with arms by the SANDF?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Let the record show that it would have been the SADF, there was no SANDF at that time.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Thank you. Now, with the IFP leaders or socalled warlords, did you also issue firearms to them? If you did, which one do you remember off hand as having been the recipient of those kinds of weapons?

<u>MR PACE</u>: The weapons were handed over by Colonel Breytenbach and Trompie. We simply did the loading for them.

I can't remember the names, I think I told Mr Khoisan last night that if I were to see their faces, I would definitely know who I am talking about. It is very difficult for me to remember their names.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Now, in Ulundi, do you know of a General During who had been a retired General but was a Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police at that time?

<u>MR PACE</u>: No, I did not hear that. Oom Jan and the others discussed most of these things alone, it was not passed on to us.

Sometimes if there were things which I questioned, one would be silenced.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: During the attacks, I suppose the attacks would take place during the night or did you attack during the day or during the night?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Mostly they were executed at night.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: So when you went to attack during the night, who would have led you to a house or a residence? Would you have been led by some members of the IFP or if you were attacking an ANC house, led by some members of the ANC? <u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. We had some of their members who led us through Captain Theron.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did Sifiso Nkabinde lead you to any ANC or IFP house to attack?

<u>MR PACE</u>: No. Not with which I was personally involved. We didn't all operate together, we operated in different groups.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you conduct these operations undisguised or did you have some kind of disguise?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. We would rub our hands and faces black and don balaclavas.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: And, there are specific massacres they used to call them, in Richmond, where there was an attack on an IFP residence and an attack on an ANC residence. Would you be able to perhaps describe one of the attacks that you, the massacres that you conducted, would you be able to say we attacked an IFP house and more or less so many people died in that house and then an IFP house after that, or an ANC house after that and more or less this number of people died in that house?

There were big attacks, big massacres that were mentioned, that were described at the time?

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MR PACE: Yes, we went in. Most of the time it had to look as if it was a faction murder.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Besides Richmond, which other place in KwaZulu Natal did you operate in? Which other township or area?

MR PACE: Empangeni.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: In a township or in a rural area?

MR PACE: In a rural area as well as in a township.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Can you recall any of the names of these places or the townships or the rural areas in Empangeni?

MR PACE: No.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Would you recall as to how many times did you attack in Empangeni or how many homes did you attack in Empangeni?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I was involved in three in Empangeni. Of our other groups were involved in more, which were carried out at the same time, but in different places.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you attack IFP houses in Empangeni as well, just to make it look like a faction fight?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: If you wanted to make any attack look like a faction fight, did you then use sharp instruments like knives and pangas instead of firearms?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Can I just ask another question? Did you know or do you know or have you ever heard of Rich Verster, Frederich Verster?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes. The name did emerge.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Have you never met him or have you never been involved in an operation with him?

MR PACE: No.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: You see why I ask is because of two things. The first one is that he also said more or less the same things that you said about Kasinga, that he will never forget what happened at Kasinga because there were women, some of them were pregnant who had to be finished because of the bombs that had been dropped there.

As he told me this, he was broken. I recall this and a number of times I had to stop talking to him and asking him these questions and then again I said to him like I said to you, that it is best that you get this thing out of your system and he agreed.

The second thing was that he said all of these things when I met him in a prison in London, in Winchester prison where he was arrested with Huysamen, who is the son of an Attorney and who himself, had been accused of having carried dagga into the United Kingdom. That was last year.

Now, the other thing that reminds me of that occasion with Rich Verster, apart from him having also been involved in faction

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fights in KwaZulu Natal, was the fact that when he realised that some of the Generals whom he had respected, who he had got his instructions from, people like Joop Joubert, you know, when I showed him that Joop Joubert had actually come to the TRC and had actually applied for amnesty for some things that he had done, but which he had pretended he had not done, he broke down again, because here were people who were pretending that people should not go to the TRC, but behind the doors they were bringing applications and asking for you know, details.

When I showed him the application where he had given details of the things that he had done, the Nietverdiend 10, the murder of Ribeiro, Dr Ribeiro and his wife, Rich Verster couldn't believe that this was the General who admit.

I am just saying to you, you may be sitting there and you may be thinking that you have become a traitor, but let me tell you as you are sitting there, Brigadier Schoon was sitting just there and he gave us the details of Koevoet, which is why Zenzele Khoisan and this old man here, Mr Magadhla are asking all this detailed questions. He came here and it was in private, secretly and we spent a whole day with Brigadier Schoon.

Eugene de Kock is coming to us every now and again, we go and meet him. So I just want you to know that you are not doing something bad, that you are not doing something that others with even a higher rank than you, Colonels, Brigadiers,

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Generals, have not come to do here secretly. Again I want to emphasise to you that it is in your best interest, it is not going to be easy, but it is in your best interest to come to terms with yourself.

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I can tell you you will be a better person at the end of the experience. I organised for Rich Verster to come out of that jail in London and he is now back in the country. Mr Magadhla? <u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you at any time when you went out on these raids in the townships and rural areas, collaborate or go together with members of the SAP?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Now, which sections of the SAP did you usually collaborate with, were they the Security Branch or were they the ordinary uniformed branch or just ordinary Detectives?

<u>MR PACE: Their Task Force came from the Transvaal There is</u>

a certain name for them.

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MR MAGADHLA: What was the name? Was it Special Forces? MR KHOISAN: Are you speaking of the Special Task Force? MR PACE: Yes, it was the Unrest Unit. MR MAGADHLA: The Unrest Unit?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: So you operated together with them at times?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you happen to know some of the names of those people, because it wasn't once or twice that you operated with them?

MR PACE: No.

MR MAGADHLA: Or some of their Commanders?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I will think about that one and get back to you, because I know that there were some of them who were known to me, but I would like to come back to that question.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Seeing that, maybe it may just be difficult at times to maybe get confirmation of some of the things that you are saying, can you quote any incidents where you could say I remember we went to a certain place and this is what happened, which was unusual? Or we went to a certain place and one of us were injured, and that was so and so?

<u>MR PACE:</u> No, not at my group where one of us were injured. If I understand correctly, I am supposed to describe how we attacked a hostel?

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Maybe we can make it easier. Did you attack a hostel in 1991 in Pietermaritzburg or at any other time, did you at any time attack hostels in Pietermaritzburg?

MR PACE: Yes.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: I think what he wants is for you to find it in you to be able to describe in your own words, without being led by us, how that was planned, how you went, who was there, what

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did you do when you attacked, how did you finish the operation, what did you do after the operation, who got injured, all that sort of thing.

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If you can just give us an event like that in your own words, so that we have a clear picture of what was involved? <u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: I just want to, so that we can also be able to identify the matter itself, the case itself, because we've got many of these things that used to take place, so if you are able to describe them, then we are able to say amongst ourselves, that is the case he is talking about.

<u>MR PACE</u>: Okay. All these things were carried out in the night time, when it was dark, we camouflaged ourselves, smeared ourselves black, wore balaclavas, went into the hostels. There is one specific episode which I remember where Trompie kicked the door open.

The people lay there, sleeping. We attacked the people with pangas.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Whilst they were still asleep or did you wait for them to wake up?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Some of them awoke and then you would see their eyes, the fear. Some of the people were dragged outside by certain of our people and they were set alight.

Eventually I couldn't take it any more, I was vomiting, I was ill, I couldn't handle being with them any more. At a point I

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think it was approximately three to four months before we disbanded 32 Battalion, this was when I wanted to leave and I went to Oom Jan and I asked him for permission to leave, and he said you will never leave. I simply couldn't take it any more.

It makes you sick, you can no longer stomach it, you can't look at it any more, you don't want to see it any more. You know that these people are making you do the wrong thing.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Would this have been in Richmond as well? <u>MR PACE</u>: With most of the places where we launched attacks, it happened as such.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Where did this particular attack, the one that you are describing, the one that is so fresh in your mind because I think what I am hearing, is that you are recounting something that you cannot get out of your mind, which is the burning of these people and the second thing is that the eyes of the people.

So you say that Theron kicked open the door, who else was there?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Of our 32 members, some of them were people who had been in the Portuguese Forces with me.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: These were the black, the Angolans?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: The Angolans who joined 32 Battalion?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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MR KHOISAN: But you are discussing Captain Theron and we know that Captain Theron is in Paarl, he is the Head of the Security Police. We know where he is and we know that you were there and that you were deeply wounded by these events, but who else was there that you can remember at this point in time, and where was this attack launched?

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I was in 1993, is that correct?

MR PACE: Yes, it was in Pietermaritzburg.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: In Pietermaritzburg? Was this attack launched at a hostel?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Was it an IFP or ANC hostel? You have mentioned that most of the supporters of one or other party lived in hostels?

<u>MR PACE</u>: It took place at the IFP and the ANC hostels, so that it would create that both parties were attacking each other.

MR KHOISAN: And this was both in Pietermaritzburg, was it?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: And this was in 1993, was it?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: And Captain Theron, was he in charge of this operation, because you were a Warrant Officer, weren't you?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

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MR KHOISAN: So, you are saying that Captain Theron was the immediate Supervising Officer, that he was the Officer in charge operationally?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Okay, who was the person who was working with you that you remember, besides Theron and the Angolans? Was there IFP people with you?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Some of them were also there.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When you went and attacked the IFP hostel, was IFP people with?

<u>MR PACE</u>: No. When we attacked the ANC hostel, there were IFP members with us.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: If you were to see photographs of people who maybe have appeared in public or in any public forum or in trails, or maybe throughout the TRC process, would you be able to identify the people that were on that operation with you?

<u>MR PACE</u>: If there were persons who were there with me, then I would be able to identify them.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: How many white members were with on this mission? You talked about Trompie and you talked about yourself, but how many other whites were with?

MR PACE: There was Fred Turner.

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MR KHOISAN: Fred Turner is the same guy that was with you, the immediate Commanding Officer in Angola when you were in Angola?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So he came with? So Fred Turner was on this operation. Who else can you remember?

<u>MR PACE</u>: There was a soldier by the name of James Wagenaar.

There were some of the people who are now involved with Executive Outcomes, who were also there with us, who had at that stage in time not yet joined Executive Outcomes.

MR KHOISAN: Address yourself this way please.

<u>MR PACE</u>: Nico Palm was there. <u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Nico Palm? Okay Nico Palm is the Executive Outcomes fellow, is that correct?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: And when you went on this operation, did you do anything to disguise yourself?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Like?

<u>MR PACE</u>: You would rub your hands and face black, wear a balaclava, you wouldn't speak because the moment that you spoke, they would be able to hear that this is a white man speaking.

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MR KHOISAN: This was in 1993, and when you went and attacked an IFP hostel, I suppose you would have had ANC auxiliaries with you on this operation?

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MR PACE: No.

MR KHOISAN: No?

MR PACE: No.

MR KHOISAN: There would be who, who would be with you?

MR PACE: It was only us.

MR KHOISAN: Did you have the Angolans with you?

MR_PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Did you ever have an occasion to work with a person called Colonel Andy Taylor?

MR PACE: Yes.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: In what respect did you work with him, and what was the nature of the work that you had together?

<u>MR PACE</u>: It was also the same type of thing, where houses were attacked in order to create friction between the two parties.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Do you know an Officer by the name of Wasserman?

MR_PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: How do you know him and in what context do you know him sir?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Because he would be with Oom Jan when they held negotiations.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Negotiations in respect of what sir? MR PACE: The planning of attacks.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So, we have this thing of hostels. How many hostels did you personally participate in launching attacks upon, that you know of, not hearsay or what other people have told you, but where you were directly involved?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Where I personally was involved, that would be four. MR KHOISAN: And this was in Pietermaritzburg?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Pietermaritzburg and - all four of them took place in Pietermaritzburg.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Magadhla?

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Let me sketch a little scenario, what is known to used to happen at times with those kinds of attacks, you would get people like yourselves now painted hands and faces waiting somewhere, close by that place and or you would have the Stability Units who are supposed to attend to those attacks, waiting somewhere close by. Then you would attack, kill, burn and you would then radio them to say we are through and then you would go away and then they would come in.

Did a thing like that happen with you or not? <u>MR PACE</u>: It happened all the time with all the attacks where the Stability Unit would be called in. Trompie Theron did this most of the time, calling them in, and then we would get out of there.

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MR MAGADHLA: Why do you think that was being done?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Precisely to create that friction. Because at that stage, when this occurred ...

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Do you think the Stability Unit would be brought in firstly because they had been briefed already what was going to happen so they can come and do a cover up and or secondly, because they should create an impression that there was an immediate response by the Police and that the matter is being investigated when they know that they are not going to do anything about a proper investigation, because they knew who had been involved?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I think it was both, in order to cover up both sides. <u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: So in other words, if then the Detectives would come the following day to investigate, some members of the senior members would know that in fact, it is not a faction fight, it is yourselves?

MR PACE: Yes, I believe so.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Khoisan?

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Thank you Mr Chairman. Now, we have this picture of KwaZulu Natal, now just in and around the time of the disbanding towards the end of 1993, of Battalion 32, there was a serious upsurge of violence in KwaZulu Natal.

I mean I am talking about serious fire fights. Do you remember during the period of the pre-election period, any orders

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that were issued to you or orders that you issued to anybody else in respect of setting up caches or distributing weapons either to the IFP or to any other political structure, instrument or person in KwaZulu Natal?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: At Richmond it happened that weapons were given to them to the IFP by Oom Jan, and Trompie. The two of them were practically joint at the side when these things together.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Trompie and who?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: Trompie and Oom Jan.

MR KHOISAN: Jan Breytenbach?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. In Richmond weapons were given to them, where weapons were given to Inkatha

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Do you remember any specific incident, something that stands out into your mind, that is identified in your mind as you can point to this particular situation, I remember on such and such a day or in such and such a situation, Inkatha or anybody else came and obtained weapons or were issued weapons, besides this broad statement that you are making?

Because you see, what you are making is a very serious allegation, you see, it is incredibly serious and somebody would we would not be conducting ourselves in a proper manner if we didn't try to test what you are saying. That is why I am trying to see if you could maybe provide us with specifics in terms of how

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you remember that those weapons were issued to any party, institution or individual.

<u>MR PACE</u>: Oom Jan would always make us count the weapons beforehand, and then he would tell us that such and such a person would arrive there with a bakkie, and that we should load the weapons.

At one point, I myself, became somewhat angry because I wanted to know why I had to load the weapons and I had quite an argument regarding that, because while one was there, and there were troops who could do this, I had to do this as well.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: And the problem that you had with that was that you were a Sergeant Major and a Sergeant Major in the Army is a person who is operationally in charge, isn't it?

MR PACE: Yes.

MR KHOISAN: On the ground?

MR PACE: Yes, that is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: In fact in the absence of the Captain, the Major and the Colonel, you are for all intents and purposes, the Officer in charge?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: The highest ranking non-commissioned Officer?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now, what I am trying to understand is to what end I mean, it is true that over a period of time, the policy, or

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from time to time, the policy of any institution, structure or even in your case, Battalion 32 would be explained to you or at least given some indication of to what end you were committing mayhem as you put it to us, because you put it to - what you are describing to us is acts of - deliberate acts of mayhem.

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There must have been some kind of explanation given to you as to why you are engaging in this, what was it said to you about why you are engaging in this kind of activities?

<u>MR PACE</u>: It was said that the ANC was the enemy and that we would not hand over this country to the enemy. Furthermore it was said that we should encourage the unrest and the faction fighting, so that they could kill each other off.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Did you ever in your capacity as a Warrant Officer, as a Sergeant Major prepare any group of persons, soldiers, or any other paramilitary structure for what later turned out to be a calamitous event, like a massacre?

MR PACE: Yes, I did.

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MR KHOISAN: Which one was this?

MR PACE: KwaMakutha.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: This is the KwaMakutha massacre of 1986? You prepared people for the KwaMakutha massacre?

<u>MR PACE</u>: We had them exercise, yes, that is correct.

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MR KHOISAN: Mr Pace, are you telling this Commission that the KwaMakutha massacre as it turned out, was an event which was rehearsed?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Can you tell us how that massacre was rehearsed and what was your role in it?

<u>MR PACE</u>: We did this at a similar house and we made them go through the paces of the same drill every time, so that one wouldn't shoot his buddy while entering the house by means of a window for example.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: How long before the massacre did this drill or rehearsal take place?

MR PACE: Three weeks

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Operationally, who was in charge, your immediate Commanding Officer of this rehearsal project?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Captain Turner, Oom Jan, Trompie was there, Commandant - I have written it down on a piece of paper, but I can't remember the name of that Commandant right now.

CHAIRPERSON: You can get the names later.

<u>MR PACE</u>: I think that I gave that specific page to the Committee.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Okay, we will look for that, we will search for that, but who else was involved?

MR PACE: That is all.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: In this rehearsal, no, in the rehearsal, who were the physical troops on the ground who were involved? Were the Angolans involved?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

MR KHOISAN: Were the IFP members involved?

<u>MR PACE</u>: No, with the rehearsal.

MR KHOISAN: Not with the rehearsal?

MR PACE: No.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: But in the actual event, were the IFP members involved?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I myself would not be able to say, because I did not participate in that personally.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: You were only in charge of the rehearsal as you are putting it to us?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Did the rehearsal involve rehearsing, how to chop with a panga for instance? Can you take us through the drill of the rehearsal, because what we want to do is to get a sense of what the rehearsal was like and be able to compare the rehearsal to the actual event, as it occurred, as it was translated in history. <u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. Usually my people were drilled exceptionally well. In the darkest night they would have been able to enter that house, blindfolded and they would have been able to do what they had to do at that stage.

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We carried the exercise during the day and then repeated it at night, so that they would be acquainted with each and every person's role and function. We started this three weeks before the time and continued with this for 10 days, therefore they knew exactly what they were supposed to do and how they were supposed to do it.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Magadhla?

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: After the KwaMakutha case, the KwaMakutha massacre, certain people were arrested, including General Magnus Malan and other high ranking Army Officers and including some IFP people. Amongst the people who were arrested there, as you would have followed up the case in the newspapers and also on TV because their trial was shown on TV and some of the accused were shown there, did you recognise any one of those people as one of the people that you drilled and you rehearsed?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I never watched the news, and up until this very day, I still do not watch the news.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Now, you say that there was this incident that upset you so much that you threw up and you felt that this thing was not for you.

Did you ever relate this to any other person, your closest relative or closest friend or did you seek some kind of treatment for trauma for these things?

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MR PACE: I was in hospital at the Neuro Clinic in Stikland where I received help.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you tell them what your problem was and that it was these things?

<u>MR PACE</u>: The Doctor who handled my case, had knowledge of this.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Do you remember who the name of the Doctor was?

MR PACE: That is correct.

MR MAGADHLA: Can you give us the name?

MR PACE: Dr Bruwer.

MR MAGADHLA: Which Clinic or Hospital is this?

MR PACE: At Stikland,

MR MAGADHLA: Where is that?

MR PACE: In Bellville. Stikland, Bellville.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Does this Doctor know that you had this trauma because of the killings that you saw taking place and committed by your people?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct, because one would work through it with him. He is a religious psychologist, he is a Pastor and a Psychologist and he assists one in working through these things, however, I don't think that this is the type of thing from which one could ever recover fully.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Do you think or did you do this with the Doctor, did you go through it on the basis that, basis of secrecy or basis of confidentiality? Did you say to him otherwise, Doctor I am going to tell you everything, but some of these things I wouldn't like to be known to other people?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Is it correct that you told the Doctor that, you insisted upon him that you did not want this to be known to any other beyond himself?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct yes. And the manner in which he works is that he regards everything which you tell him, as confidential.

At first, when I went to hospital for the first time, I was with another Doctor, and I didn't speak to him at all because it seemed to me that I couldn't trust him.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: How long did you go to Dr Bruwer after you had left the Army?

MR PACE: I was there in November last year.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: When did you leave the Army?

MR PACE: In 1993.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Immediately after you had left, did you go and confide to someone about your experiences in the Army? <u>MR PACE</u>: No.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Not even to your wife or girlfriend or your father, mother?

MR PACE: No.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Would you have had any reason not to? I mean those are things that you would rather share with someone who is close to you, because they are heavy for you to carry them on your own?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I was too afraid that she would reject me for what I had done, and that is why I never discussed it with her.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: How would they reject you, because you had explained to them that look, it is because of this ANC thing, we wanted to stop the ANC. They all, maybe most people had understood the thing that there was this war with the ANC, so how would it have been difficult to explain it?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I just feel that at that stage I couldn't discuss it with anybody, I couldn't discuss it with her, because it was difficult enough for me to discuss it with the Doctor and then to still have to discuss it with her, would have been impossible for me.

At that point everything was still secret.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: What about attacks on trains, getting involved with taxi violence and also - okay, attacks on trains and taxi violence? Did you ever get yourselves involved in that thing? <u>MR PACE</u>: No. I was never involved in that.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: But did it ever come to you in the way of some of your colleagues talking that they would have been involved in that as well?

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MR PACE: Not that I know of, no.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Khoisan?

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Yes, Mr Pace, did you ever happen during your stint towards the end of your time in KwaZulu Natal in 32 Battalion, have the opportunity to serve with or engage in actions with Commandant Boonzaaier?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, that is the name which I forgot.

MR KHOISAN: The name that you forgot in terms of?

<u>MR PACE</u>: A few moments ago when I gave you the names, Commandant Boonzaaier was the name that was included with those names.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Are you referring to the names of the people who were engaged with you in the attacks on hostels, was he involved in the attacks on hostels?

<u>MR PACE</u>: He was along with Oom Jan involved in the planning of the KwaMakutha incident. And they also held discussions together regarding that incident.

MR KHOISAN: How do you know?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Because I was there when they held these discussions. After they had discussed their stories, they would

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come to me and give me instructions to begin with the drill and exercise for the operation.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So then, let me be clear, in terms of the KwaMakutha massacre, the KwaMakutha drill shall we say, would it be correct to say that the drill and the end product are connected, the drill and the massacre are connected, they are the same thing in your mind?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes. Because if you rehearsed it, you would have carried it out in the way that you had rehearsed it.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So in other words the drill, the KwaMakutha drill and the end product, the KwaMakutha massacre, was one and the same thing, it was successful from your perspective as a military practitioner, in terms of what you were doing there at that time?

MR PACE: Yes.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So the evaluation because you were the Warrant Officer and given the rank of Warrant Officer, Warrant Officer in the military, especially in the Unit like 32 Battalion doesn't carry the same weight as for instance a Warrant Officer in the Police?

A Warrant Officer in the military is central to operations, to what goes on on the ground, right?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So was there an evaluation held with Commandant Boonzaaier, Trompie and Jan Breytenbach and Fred Turner?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: You held an evaluation after the massacre, or an evaluation about the drill?

MR PACE: About the drill, yes.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When did you hold an evaluation about the drill? <u>MR PACE</u>: When we completed the drill for the very last time, before we had completed rehearsal, that very final rehearsal, Commandant Boonzaaier, Oom Jan, Fred Turner and Trompie stood by and watched how the drill was being carried out to see whether it was correctly performed.

They expressed their satisfaction with it and then informed me that they were pleased that the drill had been carried out this well and that the attack could then be launched.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Okay. I don't really want to go on and on about a number of things, but I want to if we have no further, if the Chair and Mr Magadhla has no further questions on KwaZulu, I want to turn our attention and shift gears quickly to the Cape, to what happened in the Cape and other matters, but I don't know if there are any other things?

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Magadhla would like to put a question.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Mr Pace, there is just one problem I have listening to your story. In all that you have said to us now, if we were to go out there to try and find some support to what you have said, some corroboration, you haven't given us maybe two things out of maybe 20 things that you have told us about, where you say to us look, I used to have a colleague, a close friend of mine and we were doing these things, and that person is so and so and he is at such and such a place and if approached properly, that person will give you the same story because he was also there, he was always there in all these places.

If not, look man, when I had all this trouble, when I observed all these things, I used to write this, because these were horrible things, or I used to confide to so and so about these things. I was trying to find out whether you confided to this Doctor and I just posed this question whether it was on a basis of confidentiality that he would not be able to tell anyone else and then you went for that, to say yes it was that, so that you are not making it easy for us in fact by way of saying, look, if you go to that Doctor, you take his chart, you take whatever he has got there, that had to do with my treatment, you will find that what he diagnosed was that I had this trauma because of what I saw, which was the killing of people, this and that and because when he wants to work on you, he works on you on the basis of the

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strength and on the basis of the seriousness of the thing that caused your trauma.

What I am pleading for is if you were to now help us with anything that when we leave this hall, we know we can actually go there and confirm this, go to so and so and confirm this, go to so and so and confirm this.

Most of the things that you are saying are almost untouchable, there is none of them that we can say okay, he has given us things that we will verify easily because there is that, there is that, there is that. Do you see what I am saying? <u>MR PACE</u>: Yes.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Have you got anything that can be verified? Let me repeat it, let me repeat it. <u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, please.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: You see with the help that you are trying to give us, with the secrets that you are trying to share with us, your story is such and is so important that if we were through your guidance, go to somebody, somewhere, who is going to say to us look what Pace told you, I can even tell you more, because he was inside the house and he was outside and I was inside and I even saw more things inside.

You are not helping us by actually guiding us into very fine, or into confirming what you are saying, by then saying go to my father, go to my mother, go to my sister, go to so and so, people

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who one day saw me coming there with blood stains, or people who can say they queried this because I had this blood stain, and people - a lot of those things that can help us verify one of the things that you are talking about.

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<u>MR PACE</u>: The only way in which to do that in my opinion is to consult Dr Bruwer regarding that which I told him, as well as James Wagenaar.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: What about your colleagues and your friends and what about identifying places to say we were based here, before we went to attack that place? What about saying if you go to our duty list of that year, of that month, you will find that my name was listed on the duty list of whatever evening of people who were operating in Richmond at the time.

If you go to my duty list and you tell us where to find that duty list, because you know how these things operate, this is the kind of thing that I am really thing to plead for.

<u>MR PACE</u>: Lists such as those can only be found with Oom Jan in all probability.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Who is Oom Jan? Is he the person who was charged in the KwaMakutha thing?

MR PACE: Jan Breytenbach?

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Is he one of the people who were charged there in KwaMakutha with Malan?

MR PACE: Yes.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: But do you think he would keep a list like that? I mean when you are at these places, you had a base, you have an OPS room, you have all these things. In the OPS rooms and the base, you have these duty lists and they have names of people who are on duty this evening.

Now, if we go to a duty list and we find that you were on duty on such and such an evening in Richmond, then we go to the dockets of the, the Police dockets and we find that a massacre happened that night when you were on duty, then that confirms your story.

<u>MR PACE</u>: Those things such as the orders have all been destroyed. I know that for a fact, they have all been destroyed.

If I at that stage knew that there would be a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I would have kept many of those things.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you have a pocket book? <u>MR PACE</u>: No.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you get extra pay for being on a special duty away from your base and in KwaZulu Natal? <u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. I received danger pay for that. <u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Your base was in, where was your base, where was 32 based when you were inside South Africa?

<u>MR PACE</u>: We were stationed at Ulundi. They took us back to Lohatla and from there, to Ulundi. Lohatla was the chief basis.

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CHAIRPERSON: Where is Lohatla?

<u>MR PACE</u>: It is in the Northern Cape, near Prieska, in that area near Postmasburg. In that part of the world. That is Army Battle School.

MR MAGADHLA: Were you ever at Grootfontein?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: So did you come from Grootfontein to Lohatla?

MR PACE: We moved from Roakhana through Grootfontein.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you ever work, or did you happen to know Colonel Hall in Grootfontein?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. <u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Colonel Piet Hall? <u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Piet Hall yes?

MR PACE: Yes, that is correct.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Did you work with the Khoi or the Bushman trackers?

MR PACE: We had Bushmen working as trackers.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Were these people in your team, in Battalion 32?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, especially when we received information up there from SWAPO, we used them as trackers.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Now, amongst of these trackers when you had them, were they treated just like one of you people, or were

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they treated differently? I mean they were soldiers as well, weren't they?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, they were treated in exactly the same way as any other soldier would have been treated.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Do you know of some of them who unfortunately died there of something in that area?

MR PACE: In combat, no, not that I know of.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Do you know of any of them who died for whatever?

MR PACE: No. Not with us.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Mr Pace, before Mr Khoisan takes you on the direction he has indicated, you said to me you up until today, I still don't watch the news. You said even today you don't look at the news?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I can't handle the level of violence which is displayed on television. I don't even watch that type of movie.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Why is it, because of your involvement in acts of violence over the period that you were in 32 Battalion?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Were you trained in the use of firearms and knives and pangas and what have you for the sort of specialised jobs that you were doing, killing people, children, women, this, that and the next thing? Did you get special training?

<u>MR PACE</u>: No.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: How were people put in the Unit such as 32 Battalion, how were they selected from the rest of the Army? <u>MR PACE</u>: I did a Recce course and according to that, they transferred me to 32 Battalion.

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CHAIRPERSON: I see. Mr Khoisan?

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Mr Magadhla has said is there anybody who can identify you, but you have given us somebody who can identify you, because he is right around the corner, Trompie, Captain Theron? He is a serving Officer of the Security Police, he is the Head of the Security Police in Paarl, isn't he, and he knows you. Does he know you?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, he knows me. <u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Would he recognise you immediately? <u>MR PACE</u>: Probably.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: The fact is that Captain Theron did serve in KwaZulu Natal over a long period of time, isn't that so?

MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: That is recorded, not only in this Commission, but in the Military and Police records, isn't that?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: So there is something that we can go to, there is somebody that can verify. Also your Military records, if I were to pull your Military records, it would reflect your tour of duty in 32, wouldn't it?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now, you see what we are having problems with I think is, establishing some of the other things. You have given us a few names of people, and maybe that is a good starting point to confirm some of the stuff with them, to find out, because it might be, just might be that one of them has applied for amnesty.

In that case, it helps us a long way. But now let's talk about how the relationship between after Captain Theron left KwaZulu Natal, he came, he brought himself back to the Security Police, didn't he, to Paarl? Did you have a relationship with Trompie after you left?

MR PACE: No.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When was the last time you saw Trompie? <u>MR PACE</u>: That was in Natal.

MR KHOISAN: When?

<u>MR PACE</u>: When we were in Pietermaritzburg with the hostel days - three months before we finished there.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now, let me just ask you, did you ever have any time, was there ever any occasion when you were connected to or had a meeting with the now deceased Des Segal?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: And the person who died with him, Huysamer? <u>MR PACE</u>: Huysamer.

MR KHOISAN: Huysamer?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: In which condition and in what situation did you meet these people, these gentlemen?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: Before we finished up there, Desmond Segal came to Trompie and he went to talk to Trompie there in Natal and after that, he left again.

And after I finished, I stayed in Vredenburg and they then approached me ...

MR KHOISAN: Who approached you?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Desmond Segal and Lindsay, I can't remember his name, but he was there.

MR KHOISAN: Where is Lindsay now?

<u>MR PACE</u>: He lives in the Free State somewhere on a smallholding, I think he is a mealie farmer or something like that. That is what I heard.

MR KHOISAN: This fellow is not incarcerated?

MR PACE: No. Not as far as I know.

MR KHOISAN: So he is around?

MR PACE: Yes.

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MR KHOISAN: He is accessible if we can find him?

MR PACE: Yes.

MR KHOISAN: One Lindsay?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes. I did furnish them with the surname right in the beginning, I just can't remember what it is right now. Because I only heard it once on that day.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Why did Des Segal and this fellow Lindsay and later Huysamer, approach you in Vredendal?

MR PACE: Vredenburg.

MR KHOISAN: In Vredenburg, which year was this?

MR PACE: End of 1995, beginning of 1996.

MR KHOISAN: Why did they approach you at the end of 1995 and the beginning of 1996?

MR PACE: They wanted me to act as a courier to bring weapons down.

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But you were no longer a member of the Army,

CHAIRPERSON:

were you?

MR PACE: No.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Was it because they had known you from your days in the Army that you were part of the Specialised Forces? <u>MR PACE</u>: They didn't know me, but they must have found out from someone and I believe, I actually thought about this last night, that they might have found this out from Trompie.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: I think so too. Anyway.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: When they approached you in Vredenburg, at the end of 1995, or somewhere around the beginning of 1996, you had a conversation in a bar?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

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<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: That is according to your evidence, and what was the content of that conversation, besides wanting you to make, to act as a courier? I assume it is a courier for weapons? <u>MR PACE</u>: They wanted me to take weapons to a farm. They were going to give me a plan of a farm in Namaqualand, I was supposed to pick up the arms there and then bring it down to Atlantis.

Just above Atlantis there is a shooting range, a Police shooting range and that is where I was supposed to take the weapons. When I heard what they were talking about and what those weapons were intended for, before I told them no, Lindsay and Huysamer at that stage were talking, while I ordered another beer. At first I said that I would, because there would have been money involved in it for me, I would have received payment for it but when I heard what it was intended for, I said no, I am going to the toilet.

I went around, behind the bar and left before they could find me again and I moved to Velddrif.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now, you begin by agreeing to act as a courier for what I assume are stolen weapons. So let's begin with, it is my assumption, maybe you can fill me in on this, in Namaqualand, did they talk about where in Namaqualand you had to go pick up weapons?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: No, they would have given me a plan of where exactly on this farm in Namaqualand I had to go, if I had gone through with it. But because I heard what it was intended for, I decided against it.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Now, maybe let's get to the last part of it, what did they say would have been the end use of these (indistinct), stolen weapons?

MR PACE: For the gangs on the Cape Flats.

MR KHOISAN: Which gangs?

<u>PROSECUTOR</u>: The Hard Livings, for Rachied and Rashaad Staggie. Their names were mentioned, along with the name Bowtie.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Are you saying to me that you understood the position to be that a Police Officer by the name of Des Segal, was requiring you to courier weapons from the Northern Cape which would end up being supplied to gangs in the Cape Flats, in particular the Hard Livings gang? Is that your clear understanding of what the mission was?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: And by extension, was it your understanding therefore that the intention was to perpetuate the gang violence in the Cape Flats and that this would be so because the Police were involved in the supply of weapons to one group which would then

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be able to perpetuate their gang violence, is that your understanding of the position?

MR PACE: That is correct.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Mr Pace. Mr Khoisan?

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Isn't it true that in and around the time that you refer to, that there were some weapons thefts from Military installations or bases in the Northern Cape?

<u>MR PACE</u>: That is correct. At that point, they were discussing Jan Kempdorp.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: You are talking about weapon thefts at Jan Kempdorp?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Jan Kempdorp is a weapon stock piling location.

MR KHOISAN: And you knew that weapons had gone missing there?

<u>MR PACE</u>: No, I only found out about that subsequently and I read about that in the paper.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: But you just informed this Commission that you do not engage with the news, because the news gives you a sense of being destabilised?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I said that I had read it in the paper.

MR KHOISAN: Oh, in the newspaper? In the newspaper?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: In Jan Kempdorp, so how did you put these two together, are you saying that an allegedly highly decorated

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Officer of the Murder and Robbery Squad of the South African Police Force, was involved in a - are you saying that Des Segal was a dirty Policeman and by extension Huysamer?

MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Are you saying that they were corrupt and crooked cops?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I can't say that, but I do suspect it.

<u>MR KHOISAN</u>: Give us a context of the dialogue from which you extracted that one Des Segal and one Huysamer and a fellow called Lindsay who is yet unidentified by any other thing other than he owns a smallholding in the Orange Free State, in the Free State, were involved in a project of moving stolen weapons to the Western Cape which would end up in the hands of the alleged enemy of Murder and Robbery, which is the gangs? How did they explain that project to you and what was the context?

How did it come that a senior Policeman would create a situation where he would come to a stranger with information that would amount to a conspiracy? How would he trust you, I mean, what is it that preceded that discussion that broke the ice, that allowed you to enter that realm where an Officer could throw away his entire service, good, bad and ugly on a conversation in a bar in Vredenburg?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: They came to me and said to me that they wanted to discuss something with me. He told me who he was, but at that time I already knew who he was, because I had seen him in Natal. <u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: But where did they find you, I think that is what we want to get at? These are total strangers to you, you are a total stranger to them, how was the meeting set up when you met, when they came to you, where were you and how had contact been established? I think that is what we want to get at? <u>MR PACE</u>: They found me at home where I was living. And from there we went down to the bar. Then they asked me whether I was interested in something like that.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Were you out of a job, and were you short of money and did they know that this might be so and therefore they found it easy to approach you? How was it possible for them to make a proposition like that to you?

I now know from what you have said, that when you thought about it last night, you came to the conclusion that Trompie may have set them up onto you, I believe that as well from just what you say about Trompie, but why was it - why did it become possible for them to say look, the best guy for this job should be Pace, Christiaan is going to be interested in this job? This is why I am asking, maybe was it because you were out of a job and they might have known about that, and this was going to be easy money, it was not going to involve loss of life, certainly

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from your point of view, they just want to take weapons from one end to the other. You run a little risk, what was it?

<u>MR PACE</u>: At that point I was working at a garage in Vredenburg, so I wasn't unemployed. It is not that I needed it.

When they spoke to me, he said that he had heard that I was capable of doing such a thing. We sat and chatted there and when they told me what exactly it was intended for, it was then that I decided no, and told them that I was going to the toilet, and slipped out the back and left.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Why didn't you ask them why don't you do it yourself? Were you afraid that they might start to do things to you, why did you decide to just drop them off like that?

You could easily have said no, why don't you do the thing yourself, I am not interested. Thank you for the drink and then you just leave them there?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I was afraid, because I didn't know what they were going to do. That is why I moved from Vredenburg to Velddrif so that they wouldn't be able to get hold of me again.

That very same evening, I went and stayed in the caravan park in Laaiplek.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Did you hear of what happened to Segal? Did you read in the papers of what eventually happened to Des Segal? <u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, I heard that there had been an accident and that he had died.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Did you hear that some heavy calibre weapons were found in the car?

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MR PACE: That is correct.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Did that suggest anything to you when you heard about it?

MR PACE: I beg your pardon?

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Did it suggest anything to you when you heard about that? Did you remember about their approach to you when you know, those weapons were found in the car in which ...

MR PACE: Yes.

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<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Did you think that maybe they had decided to do the job themselves or didn't you link these two events?

You know, Segal dying in a car with those sort of heavy weapons being found in the car and the fact that they had approached you to go and fetch a consignment of arms from this place in the Northern Cape?

<u>MR PACE</u>: Yes, when I read that in the newspaper, I immediately put two and two together. I was under the impression that they were still busy with this whole story.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Magadhla?

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: You were saying that you had targeted the ANC because of what they stood for. What about APLA, did you have anything, did you discuss anything that you felt had to be done to stop APLA because of their activities as well?

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<u>MR PACE</u>: No, that which was constantly drilled into us, was that the ANC was the enemy and that we could not allow the enemy to take over the country.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: What about One Settler, One Bullet, the slogan of APLA?

<u>MR PACE</u>: To me personally, it was very upsetting because even though we did all these things, I know today as I even knew back then, that this country belongs to all of us.

How can one man say One Settler, One Bullet? <u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: If you wanted to orchestrate violence as you say that was one of the aims, maybe if you could be honest about this, if you know anything about it, in line with that kind of idea, would you have wanted to orchestrate violence or instigate a conflict between either APLA and the right wing, those AWB and other right wing armies, or yes, would you have had that kind of mind in your plans or in your thought?

MR PACE: No.

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<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: Do you think that it could happen or do you think it is impossible or it would never happen, that maybe if the far right wing wanted to cause the communities, or the community to feel that people like APLA should be stopped, try a trick whereby they themselves attacked other whites, so that it could be said it is APLA, so that it will be said it had to be dealt with?

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Also that you say how do you go to elections with people like this, what sort of government are you expecting when people are killing farmers or killing other people?

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Would you think that kind of suggestion is maybe very far remote?

<u>MR PACE</u>: I don't understand the question properly, could you please repeat the question?

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: If you wanted the ANC to rise against the IFP, you went and you killed IFP, you killed ANC. Now if you wanted the AWB to rise against APLA or rise against the ANC, what would you do?

Would you exclude that kind of plan?

MR PACE: No.

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MR MAGADHLA: You would not exclude it?

MR PACE: No.

<u>MR MAGADHLA</u>: You would not call someone to kill a white person so that all the other whites would rise against blacks and say you kill whites now, and yet that white has not been killed by a black, but killed by a white, so that all other whites would go up in arms and feel now, we must stop this?

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Let me put it differently. When you gave evidence you said whenever you were going to be attacking an ANC household, you painted yourselves black, you wore balaclavas, you attacked the places, you didn't talk and no sooner

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had you attacked an ANC household, then you would then go and attack an IFP household. You would do the same thing, paint yourselves black, wear balaclavas, don't talk, and the whole aim was for the ANC people to think that they were being attacked by IFP people, and the IFP people should also think that they had been attacked by the ANC people.

This would then make sure that the so-called black on black violence does not stop, it goes on and on. From the point of view of those who were behind this policy, it doesn't matter whether it was ANC people who were dying, or IFP people who were dying, they were all black people, and in some way all black people were regarded as the enemy, now that is what you said.

Now what is being suggested to you is that when certain attacks took place in white communities, like the attack at Heidelberg Tavern, the attack at St James, the attack at High Gate Hotel, those were all attacks on white people. Now, would it have been possible that what in fact appeared to have been attacks by APLA, were attacks that had been instigated by agents of Military Intelligence or Special Forces or any of the security arms of the previous government, where the people would attack white installations as though they were attacks by APLA when in fact they were either instigated by or were in fact carried out by APLA people and elements of the white South African Defence Force members?

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The aim being by their very nature, to create such revulsion in the white community that they whites for instance would say there is no need for an election. If this is what we are coming to when we have an election in this country, when white people are going to be attacked whilst they are at church, when white people are going to be attacked in their bars, there is no need for this, therefore let's oppose these elections and let's make sure that the ANC does not take over, because this is exactly what is going to happen when they are in charge.

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That is what is being put to you, do you know of any plan that had been intended to frustrate elections in 1994 in which the attacks on white communities, could have been instigated by the Army or by the Police in the way in which attacks on IFP and attacks on ANC in terms of your evidence, had been orchestrated by the Army and the Police?

MR PACE: No.

<u>CHAIRPERSON</u>: Mr Pace, I must again thank you very much for having come and I would only once again emphasise and reiterate what I said earlier on, namely that the whole aim of this process which has been put into place by Parliament, and Parliament is not only the ANC and government, Parliament are all the parties, ANC, PAC, Nationalist Party, IFP, Freedom Front, all of those parties put together inn 1995, this Act. They all agreed that the time has come in South Africa for the truth about the past,

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coming out in the open so that when once it is open, you and me but most importantly, your children, and my children, should hopefully never have to go through the sort of things that we had to go through.

You know that you were brought up in a society that led you to believe that there is no way in which you and I can relate to each other on a social basis. You were brought up to believe that even the Bible says there should be no relationship whatsoever between a black person and a white person.

In particular, because of the conflict in our past, for which neither you nor I had been responsible. It was done by people very wise people, who sat in Parliament and made laws. You and I were always told that it is in our best interest to make sure that we were kept apart, that we did not relate to each other, that some people are more important than others, but importantly that some people are enemies.

They must be shot and killed, they must be hacked to death, whether they are infants, children, women, old men, or not.

You must possibly be hearing that throughout the country things are happening. Just this week a Minister of Law and Order, I will repeat, a Minister of Law and Order, a Commissioner of Police, Minister of Law and Order as he then was, Adriaan Vlok, a Commissioner of Police as he then was, Johan van der Merwe, have come to this body to tell a shocked

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world that even as this man was a Minister, he was planning to bomb certain houses, to bomb certain cinemas, to do all sorts of illegal things.

He was a Minister by day, who stood on platforms, and told the world that it was his duty to maintain law and order, at night, he met operatives like you, gave orders to those in command, those in command, met operatives like you, asked them to do things that were totally unlawful.

I am talking about the Minister. The State President at that time, is being associated with the commission of crimes. The whole purpose of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was therefore to let these things come out in the open, not for purposes of demonising those who come forward, and as I said to you, there are those who will pretend to you they have not come to us, but have come under cover of darkness, under cover of privacy of a Section 29 provision, such as you have come, and have told us things that they would pretend to you they have never told to anyone.

That is what worries us. There is such deceit, there is such lack of integrity and in the end, who suffers? In the end it is people like you, people who did these things for their country as they were told, who did these things for the government which was in power, but who have now been betrayed. Who are being

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betrayed day in and day out by some of the people who were their leaders.

It is true there are die-hards, it is true there are people who have not come, but I can't say they will never come. We get continue to get surprised about the number of people, high ranking Police Officers, high ranking Army Officers who come to us in the cover of dark and say we now want to talk.

I can reveal that some of the people who have just died, were very high in the South African Defence Force, had begun to approach me, this is old men, we went to a secret meeting and we began to establish a way in which they can begin to tell us some of the things they couldn't say in public here.

So I just want you to feel that you have not done anything that you should be ashamed of, if anything, you are just helping yourself, to heal yourself because these nightmares are going to continue to be with you for as long as you keep these things to you; and they are going to do so because those people who used to order you to do certain things, will never come to your rescue now.

You yourself, experienced this when you reached a stage when you felt you could take it no more, and you went to Oom Jan and you said listen, I can't take this any more, what did he do? He said you can't get out.

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Has he taken care of your family, I am sure you will say he has not. Has he taken care of your own psychological healing process, has he suggested any counselling of some sorts, no?

This is going to happen, and the only process that can assist you, is this process. I can strongly urge you to come to terms with yourself, you were only an operative. There were people who knowingly did things when they didn't have to do them. You must have read in the newspapers about scientists who sat on that very chair you are sitting in, scientists, medical doctors, people who were the best of the country, who should have been healing people, but who for a period in the history of our country, were involved in research that was intended to produce murder weapons, to produce poisons that would be used to kill so-called enemies.

If people like those who had an education, who had everything that they could wish for, were engaged in activities like those, but what is more, were prepared in public to come and say what they were up to, I cannot see that you should feel ashamed for having come in private to share some of the things that you went through.

I therefore wish to say to you make use of this process, if there is anything that you remember, details of operations that you think you need to talk about, so that you can get them out of your system, grab and make use of this opportunity.

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But for having come at short notice as you have done, I have to thank you. For the moment therefore, you are excused and I am sorry that we have had to take you out of where you are, and sit as late as we have done.

I also want to say if you feel for whatever reason that you need protection, from whoever, as a consequence of you having confided in the TRC, you only need to ask, you only have to communicate to those people who made us aware that you are wanting to say certain things, and we will make it possible.

But in the end, it is you who must come to terms with the realities of the present. You may not do it for yourself, I certainly have no hope that our generation will live to benefit from the fruits of this process, my only hope is that our children, your children and my children, should be able to walk and enjoy themselves in the streets when they meet each other on the basis that they are all human beings.

And that there never shall come a time in this country, when because of their colours or the colours of their skins, they will look at themselves as enemies on that basis, sometimes on that basis alone.

These proceedings are adjourned. Do you want to say anything yourself, Mr Pace? Thank you very much, then we will all adjourn.

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