

**A HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION DURING THE SOUTH AFRICAN
TRANSITION: DOCUMENTING NARRATIVES OF THE 1993 HIGHGATE
ATTACK IN A SUPPORT GROUP CONTEXT**

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ABSTRACT

A support group was formed in November 2006 for survivors and family members of victims of the 1993 attack on the Highgate Hotel in East London, South Africa. The purpose of the support group was to help group members come to terms with new information that had emerged concerning the identity of the perpetrators of the Highgate attack. Since the attack itself, and during the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, at which some of the survivors gave their testimonies, it was assumed that the attack had been planned and carried out by the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress; however, the new information indicated that the attack had been perpetrated by the security forces of the apartheid government. The present study investigates the impact of the new information about the attack on the life stories of group members in the support group context. This study employs theoretical concepts drawn from interdisciplinary studies of trauma and testimony after gross violations of human rights to examine how group members' narratives were shaped by their experiences in the support group. Qualitative research in psychology provides the guiding epistemological framework for this study. Two sets of individual interviews were conducted with group members; and these were then analysed using a narrative method. Narratives drawn from the interviews were presented in the form of narrative case studies, while the interviews were further analysed using thematic analysis and dialogic analysis as analytical tools to examine the relationship between the narratives and the support group context, as well as the continuities and variations across the two sets of interviews. These analyses were then discussed in relation to the literature on trauma and testimony, highlighting the significant role of the group in group members' healing processes.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

On 1 May 1993 armed gunmen attacked the Highgate Hotel, just outside East London, South Africa, leaving five people dead and seven injured. It was an attack on a 'soft', civilian target that, at the time, appeared to resemble other attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), during 1993. This was the way in which the attack was at first understood by survivors and family members of victims. It was also the way in which the attack was interpreted by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which, in its report, positions the Highgate attack as part of a series of attacks by APLA on civilian targets in the Western and Eastern Cape during 1993. However, unlike the other APLA attacks during 1993, APLA did not claim responsibility for the Highgate attack.

Three survivors of the Highgate attack and two family members of victims gave their testimonies to the Human Rights Violations Committee of the TRC in East London in 1996 and 1997. However, the TRC received no amnesty applications in connection with the attack. Furthermore, the TRC did not investigate the incident further following the hearings. The TRC process provided no form of closure for survivors, as the perpetrators of the attack were never identified or brought to trial, and the motivations for the attack were never disclosed. Since the TRC also failed to provide financial and medical support to the survivors, many of them have expressed disillusionment with this process.

Thirteen years after the Highgate attack, on 28 November 2006, survivors and family members gathered in East London for the first meeting of what was then called the 'Highgate Survivors' Group'. The meeting was organised by Spirals Trust, a non-governmental organisation, as an information-sharing meeting for the Highgate survivors. Those present were given the opportunity to meet one another and share their stories, sometimes for the first time since the attack. At this meeting the group was presented with material strongly suggesting that the Highgate attack was co-ordinated and carried out, not by APLA, but by the apartheid state security forces. The publicity generated by

the meeting prompted the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) to re-open the Highgate case.

The first meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group was a life-changing moment for group members who attended: it transformed their understanding of what had happened to them on 1 May 1993. This first meeting also initiated a group process that began with monthly meetings of the Highgate Survivors' Group from November 2006 through into 2007, and continued in other forms and under other names thereafter.

The focus of this study is on the relationship between the stories of group members and the support group context. It explores the impact on group members of the new information concerning the possible involvement of the apartheid security forces in the Highgate attack, and investigates the new meanings that members assign to their trauma. The study traces the ways in which group members' interpretations of their traumatic experiences are altered in light of the possibility that they may have been victims, not of a liberation movement army, but of the security forces of the apartheid government – the same government for which some of the members did military service. The study examines the dynamics of the Highgate group process, and the ways in which group members' narratives are shaped by the narratives of other members as well as by the support group context.

An important aspect of this study is the relationship between the Highgate group and the TRC. Since a few members of the Highgate group gave their testimonies at the TRC's victim hearings, the Highgate group process may be seen, in some respects, as a follow-up to the TRC. However, in contrast to the national TRC process, the Highgate group offers an opportunity for exploring a community-based approach to dealing with trauma resulting from gross violations of human rights. The Highgate group also bears a rather unique relationship to the TRC due to the composition of the group. Whereas the majority of victims who testified at the TRC were black South Africans¹ who suffered violence at the hands of the apartheid state, the majority of the members of the Highgate group are white South Africans. Thus the Highgate group is not representative of the

¹ The assumption behind the use of ethnic and racial descriptors in this thesis is that race is not an empirical or biological fact, but rather an historical construct. In the South African context, this refers to the system of racial classification constructed by the apartheid government, in particular through the South African Population Registration Act of 1950. The use of racial terminology in this thesis is not an endorsement of the classification, but rather an acknowledgement of the ongoing inequalities resulting from it.

TRC process. The experiences of the ‘victims’ who comprise the Highgate group is representative neither of the majority of victims of apartheid, nor of the small fraction of those victims who testified at the TRC. Before they became the victims of the apartheid state, most of the members of the Highgate group were its beneficiaries: they benefited through the implementation of apartheid legislation – and through the longer history of dispossession of the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa – that systematically discriminated against the majority of (black) South Africans. Why then is the Highgate group worth studying? First, because it provides an opportunity to study a group of beneficiaries of apartheid who were involved in the TRC process – a rather unique opportunity given that most beneficiaries did not participate actively in the TRC. Second, it provides an opportunity to study the stories of a group of beneficiaries who came to identify themselves as victims of the apartheid regime; in this way the research may be viewed as a case-study recording a small, but unique, part of the larger narrative of social transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.2 Aims of the Study and Research Questions

The theoretical locus for this study is the field of trauma studies as an area of interdisciplinary research within the humanities. Drawing on concepts developed by theorists such as Felman & Laub (1992) and LaCapra (2001) in relation to the study of testimony and trauma following gross violations of human rights, this study attempts to enquire how these concepts may apply to the narratives of a group of survivors and family members of apartheid-era political violence. In particular, this study seeks to investigate the relevance of such concepts in the context of a support group established in the survivors’ own community in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.2.1 How has the experience of being part of the Highgate group shaped group members’ narratives about their traumatic experiences? How have group members’ stories changed in relation to the stories of other members and the group context?

1.2.2 The study aims to explore the process of ‘bearing witness’ to traumatic experience within the dialogic context of the group (Laub 1992). How effective is the group as a community that ‘bears witness’ to the traumatic experiences of each member through dialogic interaction?

1.2.3 How has the Highgate group, although established after the TRC extended the work of the TRC in a local community setting?

1.2.4 The study aims to explore the dynamics of the Highgate group’s encounters with other groups of survivors who have also endured political violence. How have the group members’ perceptions of other survivor groups changed since they joined the group?

1.3 Research Setting

The Highgate group consisted of seven core members: five survivors of the Highgate attack and two family members of victims. The group was based in East London and co-ordinated by Spirals Trust, a non-governmental organisation based in Grahamstown. Spirals Trust has been given facilitation support by the Lyndi Fourie Foundation, and has been partnered by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), and the University of Cape Town (UCT) Department of Psychology, initially through the work of Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela.

The University of Fort Hare (UFH) Psychology Clinic, under the directorship of Glynnis Martin, has provided counselling and psychological support for the Highgate group members; and for this reason the group has often held its meetings at the East London campus of UFH. The Highgate group has thus had a sufficient support network that included the support of two professional structures: the Spirals Trust which gave organisational support, and the UFH, which gave individual counselling support.

1.4 The Formation of the Highgate Group

The facilitator of the Highgate group, Theresa Edlmann, has chronicled the events leading to the formation of the group. Her report is contained in the paper, *Reconciling Justice: Amnesties, Indemnities and Prosecutions in South Africa's Transition* (2007), and is the main source of information for this section. While this section focuses on the formation of the group itself, the interactions between group members and the TRC will be addressed in the following section.

In 2005 a mediation process between one of the Highgate survivors, Trevor Schippers², and a former APLA commander, Letlapa Mphahlele, was initiated by Frances Morris, a psychologist who was working in conjunction with Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, then of the University of Cape Town's Department of Psychology. It was during this process that it emerged that APLA had not authorised the 1993 Highgate attack. Such was the significance of this information that Trevor Schippers felt that it should be communicated to other survivors and family members. An information-sharing meeting was therefore planned, and the Spirals Trust was approached to help co-ordinate the meeting.

The first meeting of what was then called the Highgate Survivors' Group was held at the Kennaway Hotel, East London, on 28 November 2006. Eleven survivors and family members attended the meeting, where they were given the opportunity to share their stories, sometimes for the first time since the attack. The meeting was facilitated by Ginn Fourie of the Lyndi Fourie Foundation. I attended the meeting myself as a representative of Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela. Other support organisations that were represented at the meeting included the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV), University of Fort Hare Psychological Services Centre and Families South Africa (FAMSA).

The three persons who attended the meeting in order to share information about the Highgate attack with survivors and family members were the following: (i) Letlapa Mphahlele, a commander in APLA at the time of the Highgate attack; (ii) Daryl Els, one of the police investigating officers at the time of the attack; (iii) Louise Flanagan, a

² Names of study participants have been changed in the main text of this thesis and in the appendices.

researcher with the TRC who had conducted detailed investigations into askari activities³ in the Eastern Cape. These three people agreed that it was unlikely that APLA carried out the attack, and that it is more likely to have been operatives related to the state security forces. The issues that were discussed included: ballistics details from the attack; the clothing worn by the attackers; the *modus operandi* of the attack; and the type of weapons used (a full list of these issues is given in Edlmann (Ernest (ed.) 2007, p. 29)).

The information that emerged from the meeting and the resulting media coverage prompted the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) to request a memorandum from the group to re-open the investigation into the Highgate attack. (The renewed investigation never materialised.) Survivors and family members held a follow-up meeting on 9 December 2006 (which I attended) at which the memorandum was drafted. Further group meetings, co-ordinated by Spirals Trust, were held monthly between December 2006 and April 2007.

1.5 The Highgate Case and the TRC

At the first TRC hearings held in East London on 15 April 1996, one of the Highgate survivors, Clive Rhode (case number: EC0035/96 – ELN), gave his testimony. About a year later, on 10 June 1997, at a second set of hearings in East London, two Highgate survivors (Trevor Schippers (EC0167/96 – ELN) who testified alongside his father, Trevor Schippers Snr.; and Maria Van Niekerk (EC52/96 – ELN)), and two family members of victims (Bernice Whitfield (EC101/96 – ELN), and Francina Wheeler (EC729/96 – ELN)) gave their testimonies. (These testimonies are provided in appendix one.) While these testimonies are worthy of careful scrutiny and detailed analysis, in this section I offer only a few brief comments on the testimonies themselves, focussing instead on the way in which the Highgate case is represented in the TRC’s report.

The Highgate case is addressed in two separate volumes of the TRC’s report: In volume two, the case is addressed in chapter seven, entitled “Political Violence in the Era of Negotiations and Transition (1990 – 1994)”; while in volume three the case is

³ In the South African context, the term “askari” refers to a liberation movement cadre captured by the apartheid government, and forced to act as an informant or soldier for the apartheid government army.

addressed in chapter two, which is a regional profile of human rights violations in the Eastern Cape. In both volumes the Highgate case is listed under the operations of APLA, the armed wing of the PAC. Volume two provides the fuller description of this immediate context, positioning the Highgate attack as part of an APLA campaign initiated by APLA's chief commander Sabelo Phama, when he declared 1993 'The Year of the Great Storm.' The campaign involved a series of armed attacks on public places in urban areas, beginning with the attack on the King William's Town Golf Club on 28 November 1992; and including the Highgate attack itself on 1 May 1993, the attack on St James Church in Kenilworth on 25 July 1993, and the attack on the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory on 31 December 1993 (TRC report, vol. 2, ch. 7, pp. 685-686, paragraph 463).

In volume two of the TRC's report, the Highgate attack is dealt with in chapter seven, paragraph 483 with the following statement: "In an armed APLA attack at the Highgate Hotel in East London on 1 May 1993, five people were killed and a number of others injured." This is followed by a list of victims and survivors regarding whose cases the TRC received statements. Paragraph 484 then begins: "Members of APLA who applied for amnesty were Mr Augustine Zukile Mbambo [AM2892/96] and Mr Dumisani Ncamazana [AM2891/96]." This is confusing since, unlike the other APLA attacks of 1993, no-one applied for amnesty for the Highgate attack. The problem has been resolved by Theresa Edlmann (Ernest (ed.) 2007, pp. 27-28) who points out that there was another attack on the Highgate Hotel in 1994 for which APLA claimed responsibility. It was for the 1994 attack (which only involved handgrenades, and in which no-one was killed or injured) that Mr Mbambo and Mr Ncamazana applied for, and were granted, amnesty. The TRC's report thus conflates the attacks of 1993 and 1994. It is a conflation that highlights the fact that the TRC's inclusion of the 1993 Highgate attack in its report as an APLA operation was only an assumption, and that APLA never claimed responsibility for this attack. However, it is worth adding that this assumption was shared by the survivors of the 1993 Highgate attack who gave their testimonies to the TRC. For example, in Trevor Schippers's testimony (Trevor Schippers (Jnr) and Trevor Schippers (Snr) Testimony, p. 4) we find the repeated use of a racial identifier ("black male") in Trevor's description of one of his assailants. This is noteworthy since in subsequent accounts of his memory of the attack, Trevor acknowledged that it was not possible to

attach a racial identity to the gunmen, due to the clothing (including balaclavas and gloves) that they wore. It seems that, in his TRC testimony, Trevor was remembering his attacker as a black liberation fighter – an APLA cadre: the assumption that APLA was responsible for the Highgate attack was present at the level of Trevor’s memory of the event itself.

The events leading up to the formation of the Highgate group (described above) made it clear that APLA was probably not responsible for the Highgate attack, and that another explanation for the attack was needed. Where is such an explanation to be found? The TRC report provides some intimations of an explanation in the broader context it sketches for the Highgate attack. In the introduction to volume two, chapter seven (“Political Violence in the Era of Negotiations and Transition, 1990 – 1994”) the report outlines the TRC’s difficulties in accounting for human rights violations during this period:

The Commission had considerable success in uncovering violations that took place before 1990. This was not true of the 1990s period. Information before the Commission shows that the nature and pattern of political conflict in this later period changed considerably, particularly in its apparent anonymity. A comparatively small number of amnesty applications were received for this period. The investigation and research units of the Commission were also faced with some difficulty in dealing with the events of the more recent past. (TRC report, vol. 2, ch. 7, p. 583, paragraph 1)

The report proceeds to identify two defining features of the transitional period in South Africa, 1990 – 1994. The first was the process of negotiations aimed at establishing a “democratic constitutional dispensation.” The second was the escalation in the levels of political violence in the country. The forerunner to the negotiations was the announcement of “major political reforms” by President FW de Klerk on 2 February 1990: these included the unbanning of political organisations including the African National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP), and PAC; and the release of political prisoners including the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990. A pre-negotiation phase followed during which the government, the ANC and Inkatha engaged in ‘talks about talks’. The negotiations themselves began with the launch of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in December 1991.

The period of negotiations was marked by a sharp increase in incidences of political violence. It is estimated that, from the start of negotiations to the first democratic election in April 1994, approximately 14000 South Africans died in acts of political violence (TRC report, vol. 2, ch. 7, p. 584, paragraph 7). Some of these incidences, which were seemingly random in nature, were ascribed to a so-called 'third force'. In explaining this term, the TRC report notes:

The term 'third force' began to be used increasingly to describe apparently random violence that could not be ascribed to political conflict between identifiable competing groups. Rather it appeared to involve covert forces intent on escalating violence as a means of derailing the negotiations process (TRC report, vol. 2, ch. 7, p. 586, paragraph 16).

The "covert forces" referred to in the TRC's explanation of 'third force' activity were understood to have links to the security forces of the apartheid government. These links were made more explicit in the TRC's findings on 'third force' activity, which are recorded at the end of volume two:

The Commission finds that, while there is little evidence of a centrally directed, coherent or formally constituted 'third force', a network of security and ex-security force operatives, acting frequently in conjunction with right-wing elements and/or sectors of the IFP [Inkhata Freedom Party], were involved in actions that could be construed as fomenting violence and which resulted in gross violations of human rights, including random and targeted killings (TRC report, vol. 2, ch. 7, p. 709).

The TRC here emphasises that, while a 'third force' does not seem to have existed as a formal body or organisation, it does seem to have existed as a more nebulous network of operatives with links to the apartheid security forces. The purpose of 'third force' activities was to foment violence as a way of destabilising the country during the negotiations process. A number of targeted attacks and killings during this period that remain otherwise unexplained have been ascribed to a 'third force'. These now include the Highgate attack itself. The idea that a 'third force' may have been responsible for the Highgate attack was first put to the Highgate group by Louise Flanagan, a former researcher with the TRC who conducted detailed investigations into askari activities in

the Eastern Cape (contained in an unpublished 2001 report). She proposed that the Highgate attack, along with others in the region, was conducted by security force operatives using askaris that were stationed at a base on the outskirts of East London. Although this explanation for the Highgate attack remains unproven, it is one that has been taken up by members of the Highgate group and incorporated into their own stories.

1.6 The Highgate Group and the Institute for the Healing of Memories

Some members of the Highgate group attended a healing of memories weekend workshop in Cape Town in June 2007 along with other groups of survivors of political violence in the apartheid era. The workshop, which was organised jointly by the Institute for the Healing of Memories, Spirals Trust, and the University of Cape Town's Department of Psychology, was an important part of the healing process for the group members who participated.

The Institute for the Healing of Memories was established alongside the TRC in order to offer support to the TRC, as well as offering an informal space where South Africans could speak about their memories of apartheid beyond the conclusion of the formal TRC process. The Institute collaborated with the TRC during the hearings of the Human Rights Violations Committee in 1996 and 1997. After the TRC had visited a certain area, the Institute would follow up by offering a healing of memories workshop to survivors in that area.

Undine Kayser, who has analysed the Institute's workshop model, identifies a number of concepts underlying their "healing of memories" process (Kayser 2000). The most important of these concepts are: (i) the affirmation that "every South African has a story to tell", which seeks to counterbalance the focus of the TRC on victims defined as victims of gross violations of human rights; (ii) the claim that "every South African has been damaged by apartheid", although this claim comes with the proviso that the damage inflicted by apartheid on, for example, victims and beneficiaries, is vastly different in degree and nature. Based on these two concepts, healing of memories workshops seek to address the psychological, emotional and spiritual consequences of the apartheid system

through a group process that is distinct from (and complementary to) the public, testimonial arena created by the TRC.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Epistemological framework

I have chosen a qualitative approach as the guiding epistemological framework for this study because I think it is the most appropriate approach for interpreting survivors' interactions in the support group setting. As Banyard and Miller (1998) note, qualitative research has sometimes been conceived of as a grouping of certain types of research strategies, such as case studies, focus groups, life histories, and in-depth interviews. However, qualitative research may also be viewed as an explicit epistemological paradigm for research. "According to this view, qualitative methods are consistent with... a social constructivist position, in which reality is best understood by studying the ways in which people perceive, experience, and make sense of, the events in their lives" (1998, p. 487). My own study will follow this view of qualitative research as a guiding epistemological paradigm. Using qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviewing and participant-observation in the support group allows me to give attention to survivors' meaning-making capabilities, to the ways in which they speak about their traumatic experiences, and to the impact of the support group context on their understanding of past experiences.

Qualitative researchers have a shared concern with meaning, with the way people make sense of the events they experience in the many dimensions of their everyday lives. They aim to understand the quality and texture of people's lived experience in their community settings (Willig 2001). For these reasons, qualitative researchers study people in their own naturally occurring settings where conditions develop in an ongoing way. Qualitative research is often termed qualitative 'inquiry' to give emphasis to the creative and innovative responses required of the researcher in continuously changing conditions: the aspect of discovery is given prominence within the qualitative research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln 1998).

These shared concerns of qualitative researchers give the approach a natural affinity with social constructionist paradigms. Social constructionism views human experience and perception as being mediated or 'constructed' by history, culture, and

language. In the field of psychology, social constructionist research has critically examined psychological categories to show how they may construct realities of human experience rather than simply reflecting them (e.g. Gergen 1973). Social constructionist paradigms therefore call into question positivist paradigms for research which assert that hypotheses about the nature of reality may be verified or falsified through 'objective' scientific observation. A different theory of knowledge acquisition is put forward, whereby the transactions and interactions between the researcher and the people or group who are the object of the study are highlighted. "The investigator and the investigated object are assumed to be interactively linked, with the values of the investigator inevitably influencing inquiry... what can be known is inextricably intertwined with the interaction between a particular investigator and a particular object or group" (Guba & Lincoln 1998, p. 207).

The qualitative paradigm asserts that researchers cannot remain detached from the research process, and that they are implicated in it through their interactions with research subjects: the historically-situated values and biases of the researcher are viewed as impinging on the research process (Banyard & Miller 1998). Similarly, it asserts that the 'data' generated during the research process cannot be considered apart from the social and historical contexts in which it is gathered, or from the interactions that take place during the research process. Qualitative research methods, such as semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and focus groups, therefore enable collaboration and dialogue between the investigator and the subjects of the inquiry. Since the role of researchers and their interactions with the subjects of their research is inserted so explicitly into the research process, reflexivity becomes an important part of qualitative methodologies. This involves an explicit reflection on the way in which the values, experiences, social identities etc. of the researcher have helped to shape the research (Willig 2001).

Banyard and Miller (1998) view qualitative research as supporting the core values of community psychology, a field which was born out of a commitment to addressing the needs of marginalized communities and helping them to gain access to the resources and institutions that affect their lives. The values they identify as central to community psychology are diversity, a concern with context, and empowerment. The

value of diversity entails trying to understand the multiple viewpoints of members of groups and how these viewpoints arise from a variety of contexts and social identities. Diversity is pursued through qualitative research methods, such as in-depth interviews and focus groups, which seek to provide detailed and extensive descriptions of the breadth of human experience by recording multiple voices and perspectives. The collaborative nature of qualitative methods demonstrates a concern with uncovering 'insider' (or emic) views of diversity. This often involves questioning basic theories of psychology as being imposed from an 'outsider' (or etic) perspective (see Guba & Lincoln 1998). The two additional core values of community psychology identified by Banyard and Miller (1998) are context, which emphasises the ecological or contextual determinants of human behaviour; and empowerment, which involves giving voice to the interests of marginalised groups.

These dominant values in qualitative approaches have developed out of the close relationship between qualitative approaches and social constructionist epistemologies. Social constructionism refers to the idea that human experience and perception is contingent on or 'constructed' by history, culture, and language. This means that our ways of understanding the world are specific to particular cultures and periods of history, and are constructed within particular local contexts. It entails that our knowledge of the world is not obtained through objective observation of an external reality, but is sustained by social processes: social constructionist epistemologies view different versions of knowledge as being produced through the everyday interactions between people in the course of social life.

In her synopsis of this approach to social science, Vivien Burr (2003) reminds us that social constructionism has been characterised by a multidisciplinary nature, drawing influences from various disciplines, such as philosophy, sociology, and linguistics. In the discipline of psychology, social constructionism underpins critical approaches to traditional psychology that have appeared in a number of forms, including 'critical psychology', 'discursive psychology', 'discourse analysis', 'deconstruction' and 'poststructuralism'. A unifying feature of all of these approaches is their function as a critique of mainstream psychology – a critique that is directed towards the kinds of

questions that psychology chooses to ask about human beings and the methods it chooses to investigate these.

Within the discipline of psychology, social constructionism has been involved in a critique of cognitivism, a “critical reflexive movement away from [intrapsychic structures] in each individual’s head towards a socially mediated and historically situated study of action and experience” (Parker 1998, p. 1). This critical movement is usually seen as originating from Kenneth Gergen’s (1973) paper, *Social Psychology as History*, in which he argues for the cultural and historical specificity of psychological knowledge, and encourages researchers to extend their enquiries beyond the individual and into the social, political and economic realms in order to understand contemporary psychology and social life.

At the same time as Gergen’s paper appeared, feminist psychologists were calling into question the research methods of traditional (‘male-stream’) psychology in which women’s voices were silenced. Feminist researchers challenged the use of psychological theories developed on the basis of male research participants’ responses for the interpretation of women’s experiences. One of the reasons for adopting qualitative methods in feminist research was to give voice to women participants, and allow them to put forward their own understandings of their experiences. Carol Gilligan’s (1982) book, *In a Different Voice*, which involved interviews with women who were faced with the decision as to whether or not to have an abortion, was a pathbreaking work in feminist qualitative research. Gilligan used an interpretation of the interviews to develop a contrast between justice and caring as orienting principles towards making moral decisions.

These critical movements promoted the use of qualitative methods in psychology at the same time as other disciplines in the social sciences were also turning towards qualitative approaches. The development of qualitative research methods in the field of psychology has been part of a more general ‘turn’ to biographical methods in the social sciences (Chamberlayne *et al.* 2000). These methods have recognised in the biographies of ‘ordinary’ people a meeting point for individual personality and social history, and have helped to give an account of how socio-economic development and human experiences of social change are interwoven. Through their development by

anthropologists, oral historians and feminist historians in the 1970s and 1980s, biographical methods attempt to reach sections of society whose experiences would not be represented in documentary and survey sources (Chamberlayne *et al.* 2000).

The interest in biographical particulars as narrated by ordinary people has evolved into a particular subtype of qualitative inquiry, known as narrative inquiry, which is a burgeoning field across many different social science disciplines. In her survey of this field, Susan Chase (2005) treats contemporary narrative inquiry as “an amalgam of interdisciplinary analytic lenses” (2005, p. 651), and traces its roots to various sources, including the interest in life histories in sociology and anthropology, the focus on personal narratives in feminist research, and the orientation towards oral narratives in sociolinguistics. Drawing on these divergent sources, research in the field of narrative inquiry is unified through its focus on narrative as a form of meaning-making – a way of understanding one’s own and others’ actions by organising events and experiences into a meaningful whole.

As manifestations of the social constructionist orientation, many of these critical ‘turns’ within psychology and other social science disciplines display the common characteristic of an attention to language as a means of analysis. The focus on language in social constructionism has been brought about through the influences of structuralism and poststructuralism, which are preoccupied with language as a site for the construction of personal and social identities. According to these theories, the self is a product of language, and our experiences may only be conveyed to ourselves and to others through representations in language that are shared in social interactions. Through their emphasis on language as a social phenomenon that occurs between people, these theories have shifted the focus of psychological research from the individual to the social realm.

One of the most popular qualitative methodologies over the past two decades, discourse analysis, has focused primarily on the use of language in social interactions: on how people actively construct accounts of their experiences in spoken interactions for the purpose of building coherent identities or performing various social functions. Within psychology, two different strands of discourse analysis have developed, which can be labelled as discursive psychology (e.g. Potter and Wetherell 1987; Edwards and Potter 1992) and Foucauldian discourse analysis (e.g. Parker 1992; 1999). Vivien Burr (2003)

proposes the terms ‘micro social constructionism’ and ‘macro social constructionism’ as encompassing theoretical forms that are represented by discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis respectively. Discursive psychology is focused on micro structures of language – on social constructionism as taking place in everyday discourse between people in interaction; while Foucauldian discourse analysis sees the constructive power of language as partly derived from macro material and social structures, as well as institutional practices.

The value of social constructionist research has been its pursuit of detailed descriptions of the diversity of human experience and its emphasis on the local and historical perspectives that researchers and participants bring to the research process. The diverse and fragmentary nature of human experience has been emphasised by pointing out the contingent or constructed nature of social categories. And this, in turn, has allowed for the re-thinking of social categories such as gender, race, disability, and illness, for the purposes of progressive social change.

However, social constructionism has generated considerable debate and controversy (see, for example, the contributions in Parker 1998), especially concerning questions of epistemology. These debates have centred on the tendency of social constructionist research to relativize claims about the nature of human experience. Critics of social constructionism have argued that its tendency towards relativism calls into question the relationship between psychological research and its uses for transforming aspects of social life. Burr (1998), for example, inquires on what basis one is to arbitrate between alternative ‘constructions’ of social life if they have equal validity relative to their local contexts? In other words, how does one decide which ‘discourses’ to support for the purposes of social change?

Other critics of social constructionism (e.g. Nightingale and Cromby 1999; Sims-Schouten, Riley, and Willig 2007) have drawn attention to the consequences of the complete subordination of the non-discursive (i.e. the material world and practices) to the discursive that takes place from a relativist standpoint. First, by focusing on the ways in which material practices are produced by discursive practices, discourse analysts have tended to ignore how material practices may themselves impact on various discourses. Second, through an exclusive focus on how discourse constructs social practices,

discourse analysts have marginalized those experiences that occur outside of the realm of language, for example, aspects of embodiment, such as gesture and dance.

Burr (1998) also observes that, through its emphasis on the social function of ‘discourse’, social constructionism tends to reduce any notion of the person or the self to an effect of discourse. The emphasis on ‘discourse’ in this type of research was introduced as an attempt to offset the dominant focus in western psychology on the autonomous individual. However, an exclusive focus on ‘discourse’ erases the concepts of self and of human agency – concepts that seem to be necessary when we talk about personal and social change, and the social outcomes of psychological research.

Parker (1998) proposes that the concept of critical realism may counterbalance the tendency towards relativism in social constructionism. Critical realism “... grounds discursive accounts of mentation in social practices whose underlying logic and structure can, in principle, be discovered” (1998, p. 2). Alongside Parker, another proponent of the critical realist view is Carla Willig (1998; 1999; Sims-Schouten, Riley, and Willig 2007), who explains that critical realism holds that while social practices are, to some extent, comprised of discourses, they also have a material dimension that cannot be described in discursive terms alone. Our discursive constructions of social realities are seen as being shaped by the limitations inherent in the material world. For critical realists, “material practices are not reducible to discourse, or without meaning unless interpreted discursively; rather, material practices are given an ontological status that is independent of, but in relation with, discursive practices” (Sims-Schouten, Riley, and Willig 2007, p. 102).

Critical realism may be seen as an attempt to take into account the social constructionist critiques of realism, by adopting a ‘middle-ground’ position that combines elements of constructionism and realism. While this view acknowledges that meaning is constructed through social interactions, it seeks to maintain that non-discursive, material elements also impact on that meaning. Sims-Schouten, Riley, and Willig (2007) propose critical realism as an “alternative” position: “By positing a complex, non-linear relationship between the ‘real’ or non-discursive (i.e. material structures that exist independently of our understanding of them) and the mediated or discursive (i.e. discursive resources and practices that are available to make sense of human experience)

dimensions of human existence, critical realism constitutes an alternative both to naïve versions of realism and to totalizing versions of relativism” (2007, p. 103).

However, even the considered compromises of critical realism have been unable to resolve the impasse between relativists and realists in this debate. Carla Willig (2001) sums up the situation as follows: “Critical realists have accused relativists of being unable to take up a moral or political position in relation to anything at all. It is argued that if everything is discursively constructed, then we have no grounds for adjudicating between different views. As a result, all views are equally valid and ‘anything goes’. Relativists, in turn, have pointed out that realists’ commitment to ‘bottom line’ arguments means that certain truth claims are ruled out of bounds and cannot be challenged. A principled questioning of truth claims is, therefore, not possible within a realist framework. It is this, however, relativists argue, which is required to promote a genuine spirit of enquiry” (2001, p. 124).

From a relativist perspective, Kenneth Gergen (2001) also expresses reservations about the potential for resolving differences between relativists and realists within the debate as it is currently framed. He finds the process of argumentation in this case to be dubious, since realism and relativism are “... lodged within differing presumptions about the nature of knowledge, reason, and value” (2001, p. 14). The two positions are “inherently incommensurable” since “they cannot properly be compared within the terms of either position” (2001, p. 14). Therefore the debates between realists and relativists tend to entrench opposing positions rather than facilitate constructive relationships.

In some of his earlier writings (e.g. Gergen 1991; 1999), Gergen adopted an emphatic relativist position, arguing that our linguistic descriptions of things and events are not constrained by the material properties of the world. However, in the light of the paralysing confrontation between realists and constructionists, Gergen (2001) proposes that realism and constructionism be considered, not as alternative theoretical positions, but rather as different forms of speaking and writing – that is, as two different discourses – which may be employed by different people at different times. He suggests that this new perspective may facilitate more productive relationships between those who use these different discourses in various settings.

While Gergen's suggestion appears helpful as an attempt to transcend the terms of the debate between realists and constructionists, I think that some realists may see it as a discursive move that shifts the terms of the debate into the realm of discourse alone. This may then seem to favour a relativist outlook.

It is perhaps worth observing that the epistemological contests referred to above have emerged primarily from research using discourse analytic methods. One way of gaining a new perspective on some of these epistemological questions is to look at research emerging from other qualitative methodologies that are not as theoretically polarised as discourse analysis. An attractive option in this regard, and one that is currently popular, is the narrative approach.

Narrative methods have their roots across a number of different social science disciplines, and also encompass a variety of theoretical orientations. In their survey of research in this field, Andrews, Tamboukou, and Squire (2008) find the antecedents of contemporary narrative research in two distinct academic traditions: the first is humanist approaches to sociology and psychology that began to make use of individual case studies, biographies, and life histories; the second is structuralist, and later, poststructuralist and deconstructionist approaches to narrative within the humanities. However, as Andrews, Tamboukou, and Squire (2008) attest, these different streams within narrative research have not yet created deep, theoretical fault lines across the field, and most narrative researchers are influenced by both conceptual histories.

For these reasons, the choice of a narrative approach for this study provides an opportunity for a reappraisal of some of the epistemological problems within social constructionism, as well as a new vantage point from which to respond to some of the criticisms levelled at the social constructionist position.

However, the primary reason for choosing a narrative approach is the focus of this research on the stories group members tell about their traumatic experiences in the contexts of the research interview and the support group. The focus on storytelling is a concern with the meaning-making capabilities of the group members as they construct narratives from their traumatic memories. By using this methodological framework, it is possible to take into account the criticism of social constructionism for tending towards

discourse idealism – the tendency to focus on discourse to the exclusion of other forms of human experience.

This analysis of group members' stories will attend not only to the language they use to describe their experiences, but also to the everyday material realities of their lives as they impinge on their verbal descriptions. This includes the ongoing physical and emotional suffering that group members experience, as well as the embodied aspects of traumatic memory, experienced through flashbacks and re-enactments, that they have extreme difficulty expressing in language. Nevertheless, the dominant focus is on the interpretation of verbal accounts that survivors construct to make sense of their experiences.

Through its concerns with context, diversity, and empowerment, my project reflects the dominant concerns of social constructionism: first, it is focused on the social context of the support group which the group members themselves have formed in their own community (context). Second, it aims to record the multiple perspectives of members of the support group through interviews with individual participants (diversity). Third, it gives the members of a marginalised group the opportunity to tell their own stories in their own words (empowerment). Many of the members of the Highgate group did not have this opportunity at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), and even those who did testify before the TRC often express disappointment with this experience since it did not provide a sufficient degree of acknowledgement for their stories. Many of the Highgate group members express dissatisfaction with the TRC process at a number of levels, including the process of giving testimony at the victim hearings; but also extending to the TRC's failure to pursue investigation of the Highgate case and its failure to provide financial and medical assistance to survivors and family members. These expressions of disappointment and dissatisfaction reflect the position of the Highgate survivors as a marginalised group during the transitional process that took place in South African society during the mid-1990s, of which the TRC process is one of the most powerful representations. As a predominantly white group of victims of apartheid-era violence they do not conform to the dominant narrative produced by the TRC which referred predominantly to black victims and white perpetrators and bystanders/ beneficiaries. The Highgate group provides a unique research opportunity as

a group that was started by survivors themselves after the TRC process had concluded, but as a follow-up to the TRC for the purposes of finding the truth about the Highgate incident, and healing for survivors themselves.

2.2 Methodological Framework

As described in the preceding section, the primary reason for choosing a narrative approach is the focus of this study on the stories group members tell about their traumatic experiences in the contexts of the research interview and the support group. The focus on storytelling is a concern with the meaning-making capabilities of the group members in the act of constructing narratives from their traumatic memories. The use of a narrative approach enables a methodological focus on the interpretation of the verbal accounts that participants construct to make sense of their experiences.

Narrative inquiry is a particular subtype of qualitative inquiry that draws together researchers across disciplines who have a common interest in the stories people tell about their lives in their own community settings. As we have already seen, the emergence of narrative inquiry is related to a more general 'turn' to biographical methods in social science research that encompasses the writings of sociologists, anthropologists, oral historians, sociolinguists and feminist historians. These researchers have found in biographical narratives a meeting point for the study of personal biography and social processes. As Catherine Riessman (2002) observes, the interest in narratives has spilled over from the social sciences into the legal and medical professions, with researchers who study law, medicine, nursing, and occupational therapy embracing narrative approaches.

Susan Chase (2005) identifies a number of general characteristics of the field of narrative inquiry. These include, first, the treatment of narrative as a distinct type of discourse, in which people organise the sequences of events experienced by themselves and others into meaningful form. By connecting these experiences according to human intention and consequences, narrators communicate their own points of view as well as their reasons for telling their stories. Second, narrative researchers view narrative as verbal action – as accomplishing something in a particular social context. By carrying out

a particular action, such as explaining, or justifying, or complaining, the narrator communicates a view of self within a particular social location. Third, narrative researchers treat narrative as interactive performance – as performed in a particular setting, and shaped in part by the interaction with the audience. From this perspective, narratives are viewed as joint productions of narrators and listeners. Fourth, narrative researchers view themselves as narrators as they develop interpretations, and therefore reflect on their own role in co-producing the narratives they study.

How did these general features – such as the treatment of narrative as a distinct type of discourse; the positioning of narratives as verbal actions within a particular social context; and the interpretation of narratives as joint productions of narrators and listeners – come to characterise narrative approaches to social science? In order to answer this question, we need to return to the foundational texts for the field of narrative inquiry. These are clustered in the late 1980s and early 1990s; and, in relation to the discipline of psychology, include Theodore Sarbin's (1986) *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct*, Donald Polkinghorne's (1988) *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*, and Jerome Bruner's (1991) *The Narrative Construction of Reality*.

In his seminal article, *The Narrative Construction of Reality*, Bruner (1991) elaborates on ideas that were introduced in his earlier works, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (1986), and *Acts of Meaning* (1990). Bruner's thesis is that narrative is a distinct form of discourse and our primary form as human beings for organizing our experiences and memories of human happenings, such as stories, myths, excuses, complaints etc. Narrative is a conventional form, transmitted through culture, and is dissimilar to the constructions generated by logical and scientific procedures. In contrast to the logico-scientific form of knowing, which proceeds by the verification and falsification of hypotheses about reality, narrative constructions can only achieve "verisimilitude". Therefore, narrative "truth" cannot be judged by verifiability or correct reference to reality, but only by "verisimilitude".

Bruner (1991) further contends that narratives provide descriptions of people acting in particular settings, linking the events that happen to them to their "intentional states" (i.e. beliefs, desires, values etc.). However, these "intentional states" do not determine the subsequent action in the narrative, and therefore cannot be used to provide

causal explanations for certain sequences of events. Instead, they supply "... the basis for interpreting why a character acted as he or she did. Interpretation is concerned with 'reasons' for things happening, rather than strictly with their 'causes'..." (1991, p. 7). An important implication of this view of narrative is that both the composition of a narrative and its comprehension by listeners or readers depends on the human capacity for interpretation.

Polkinghorne's (1988) theory of "narrative knowing" runs parallel to Bruner's in many respects and interweaves explicit reference to Bruner. Polkinghorne categorizes "narrative knowing" within the realm of meaning, which he emphasises is not a thing, or substance, but an activity. This activity consists in drawing connections or relationships among events in order to ascribe meaning to them. "Narrative knowing", as a type of meaning-making, works by drawing out the connections and relationships among *human* actions and events that affect human beings, rather than the relationships among inanimate objects.

For Polkinghorne, "narrative is the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite" (1988, p. 13). Like Bruner, Polkinghorne makes it clear that people use interpretive processes to understand the "composite" forms made by narratives. In order to emphasise this point, Polkinghorne draws on Bruner's distinction between the logico-scientific and the narrative forms of knowing. The logico-scientific form of knowing "... is used to refer to those discourses that function to demonstrate or prove a statement by linking it to other statements through connectives of formal logic. The term 'narrative' is used for discourses that 'demonstrate' by the type of reasoning that understands synoptically the meaning of a whole, seeing it as a dialectic integration of its parts." (1988, p. 35). As these theorists make clear, the human capacity for interpretive (sometimes called 'hermeneutic') understanding, is a crucial component of the narrative form of knowing.

Theodore Sarbin (1986) echoes the idea articulated by Bruner and Polkinghorne that narrative is a distinct form of discourse, which is used by human beings to organize events into episodes and accounts of actions. Sarbin treats narrative discourse as an "organizing principle" for human action – a principle that helps account for the way in which human beings impose structure on the flow of experience. "I propose the narratory

principle: that human beings think, perceive, imagine, and make moral choices according to narrative structures” (1986, p. 8). Sarbin cites empirical evidence to substantiate his theory: in an experiment investigating people’s story-making capacity, participants were asked to respond to a motion picture consisting of moving geometrical shapes. In their accounts, the participants transformed the geometrical shapes into characters in a narrative, creating narratives that were about people rather than inanimate geometrical forms. These narratives or stories were structured according to identifiable forms such as plots and subplots.

The transformation of a sequence of events into a narrative structure with a beginning, middle, and ending, is closely related to the representation of time as a feature of human activities. A number of narrative theorists have made this point, most notably Paul Ricoeur, in his famous statement that “time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode” (1984, p. 52). Sarbin too reiterates this idea by regarding time (human time rather than chronological time) and the “narratory principle” as interdependent notions. This is an idea to which we will return when we look at narratives of personal experience.

While the work of Bruner, Polkinghorne, and Sarbin, among others, pioneered the conception of narrative psychology, a psychologist from a younger generation, Michele Crossley (2000; 2003), has attempted to mould their ideas into a comprehensive theory. Crossley (2000) positions narrative psychology within social constructionist approaches to the study of self and identity. “... narrative psychology shares the social constructionist commitment to recognising the central and constructive role played by language in the formation and structuring of self and identity” (2000, p. 10). This approach views our experiences of ourselves, others, and the world as being deeply entwined with the linguistic and discursive resources available to us in our cultural settings. In particular, it suggests that the primary means by which we create meaning for our lives (i.e. narrative), emerges from the familial and cultural narratives that we are embedded in from birth. In order to explore the structures of meaning contained by individual and cultural stories, narrative methods employ hermeneutic techniques drawn from literary criticism and philosophy that are appreciative of the social contexts of

narratives, as well as the way in which they relate disparate dimensions of human experience in a unified whole.

Although Crossley (2000) sketches a broad relationship between narrative psychology and social constructionism, she also conceives of her theory as a critique of social constructionist approaches such as discourse analysis and postmodernism. “It is the central premise of this book that when we actually turn to examine the full range of experiences, knowledge and understandings of self that people live and struggle with, therein resides a sense of unity, continuity and coherence which simply does not gel with the radical fragmentation, disunity and absence promoted in the theoretically and methodologically confined agendas of postmodernism and discourse analysis respectively” (2000, p. 41). Crossley argues that these approaches tend to overplay the chaotic and variable nature of self-experience, thereby losing touch with the experiential realities of everyday life. While discourse analysis and postmodernism ‘lose’ the experience of the subject, narrative psychology ‘retrieves’ this subjectivity by attending to the lived experience of the individual. Crossley rests her argument on the claim that the structural unity found within narratives is inherent in human experience – that the meaning created by narrative structures is continuous with that found within everyday experience. It is important to recognise that Crossley is here making a stronger claim than Sarbin’s idea that narrative is an organizing principle for human action, however random or variable it may be in its initial occurrence. She is here promoting, through her conception of narrative psychology, an essentialist conception of a unified self that mirrors the unity found within narrative structure.

In an interesting aspect of her argument, Crossley (2003) refers to her own research on traumatic experiences, such as living with serious illness, including cancer and HIV, to buttress her claim for the narrative structure, or ‘narrative configuration’, of human experience. She contends that the fragmentation of a sense of identity, and the disruption of people’s sense of ‘lived time’ in traumatic experiences, serves to highlight (by its negation) the sense of unified identity and coherent meaning that people more commonly experience in their everyday lives.

I think that Crossley’s emphasis on ‘everyday experience’ is valuable, especially since it orients her theory of narrative psychology to an investigation of self-

identity through the experiential realities of everyday life to which narrative approaches may provide access. However, it is worth noting that her accompanying claim for the narrative configuration of human experience, or the equivalence she draws between an essentialist conception of the unified self and the unity found within narrative structure, is not a necessary consequence of her use of narrative methods. As Andrews, Tamboukou, and Squire (2008) state, contemporary narrative research encompasses a variety of theoretical perspectives. These include the humanist, person-centred approaches, focusing on individual case studies and life histories (which Crossley favours), as well as the postmodern, poststructuralist tradition emphasising the multiple, disunified subjectivities involved in the production and understanding of narratives (which she eschews).

Unlike Crossley, many contemporary narrative researchers prefer to draw on both the humanist and poststructuralist strands to explore new relationships between self, narrative, and the social realm, rather than highlighting the differences between the two traditions. For example, some researchers have investigated the co-construction of narratives between tellers and listeners, exploring the social context in which personal narratives are produced in conversational exchanges. As Vivien Burr (2003) observes, this focus on the social production of narratives between narrators and audiences has developed alongside the concern among social constructionist researchers to position the self within a web of social and historical relationships. Here, the focus is on the self-in-representation – on locating the self in the social domain by showing how it is negotiated and constructed in relationships among people.

In my own study, I take seriously Crossley's emphasis on everyday experience by foregrounding the ways in which the narratives of the Highgate survivors represent their everyday experiences as trauma survivors. However, with regard to the relationship between self, narrative, and the social domain, I follow the broader movements in narrative research towards examining the social production of narratives in exchanges between tellers and listeners, and the social construction of the self in relationships between people. My study will treat the stories of the Highgate survivors as 'interactive performances', both within the context of the research interview, and in the context of the Highgate Survivors' Group. It will therefore attend to the ways in which the survivors'

narratives about their traumatic experiences are co-produced between narrators and listeners, whether between interviewer and interviewee, or among survivors themselves in the support group context.

The conception of narratives as being co-produced by narrators and listeners, or co-constructed in conversational exchanges between interlocutors, has developed from within a rich intellectual tradition. In the social sciences, this is represented by the early work of Elliot Mishler (1986a; 1986b) focusing on the joint production of narratives between interviewers and respondents in research interviews; and in literary studies by the Russian linguist Mikhail Bakhtin's (1986) development of the concept of 'dialogue' in relation to everyday speech.

Elliot Mishler's (1986a) *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative* has become something of a landmark within narrative studies as the first work to recognise narratives as a 'recurrent and prominent feature' in respondents' accounts in research interviews. The primary aim of this work is to uncover some of the underlying assumptions of the mainstream tradition of survey research interviewing (as it was at the time Mishler was writing) and to show how these informed interviewing practice. Summing up the state of research interviewing practice, Mishler claims that "... the mainstream tradition has focused almost exclusively on problems of standardization, that is, on how to ask all respondents the same question and how to analyze their responses with standardized coding systems. This line of inquiry has been accompanied by almost total neglect of the intertwined problems of language, meaning, and context" (1986b, p. 233). Mishler stresses that the problem created by the use of standardized techniques of analysis for interviews stems from the absence of contextual grounds for understanding: many coding systems attempt to ascertain the meaning of respondents' answers outside of the primary context in which they are given – the exchanges within the interview itself.

In developing an alternative approach to the analysis of interviews, Mishler refers to research conducted by himself and his wife, Anita L. Mishler on marriage, family history, and current experiences of middle-aged couples. This included jointly conducted interviews with couples as well as separate interviews of husbands and wives. Borrowing a term from sociolinguistics, Mishler defines these interviews as 'speech

events', signalling an alternative approach to interviews as discourse between speakers. According to this approach, the interpretation of what respondents' answers mean must begin with the question actually asked as a context. The meaning of questions and their accompanying answers is unique in each interview, and therefore the interpretation of questions and answers in relation to each other illuminates how shared understanding between speakers in an interview depends on mutual recognition of the unique speech context for conversation. Mishler gives attention to the way that ambiguities emerging in the evolving interview discourse are resolved through the discourse itself; that is, through the way that interviewers and respondents attempt to mould or 'fit' their questions and answers to each other as the discourse develops.

Mishler's model for the narrative analysis of interviews rests on his conception of meaning as being jointly constructed between speakers in the interview discourse. Interpretation requires recognition of the reciprocal process by which interviewers and respondents reformulate their questions and answers in response to each other as meanings emerge during the interview. As opposed to the stimulus-response model used in traditional survey interviewing, here the question is thought of "... as part of a circular process through which its meaning and that of its answer are created in the discourse between interviewer and respondent as they try to make continuing sense of what they are saying to each other" (1986a, pp. 53-54). For Mishler, the interpretation of interviews requires analyzing the interview process itself in order to understand how meaning is constructed in the discourse between speakers.

I think that Mishler's conception of the joint construction of meaning in interview discourse is given support by Mikhail Bakhtin's (1986) concept of 'dialogue' as presented in his essay *The Problem of Speech Genres*. Among Bakhtin's writings on dialogue, this essay is significant for our purposes since it elaborates this concept in relation to everyday speech. Bakhtin's premise here is that as a listener attempts to understand speech in the context of a conversation, he or she simultaneously adopts a responsive attitude towards it. Therefore any process of interpreting live speech is, by its very nature, a responsive process. Exploring the idea of conversational dialogue more deeply, Bakhtin avers that individual utterances within a speech situation are themselves shaped through the interaction with others' individual utterances. "Utterances are not

indifferent to one another, and are not self-sufficient; they are aware of and mutually reflect one another... each utterance is filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication” (1986, p. 91). An essential feature of utterances is the quality of being addressed to someone – of being composed in the context of the speaker turning to another person. This quality of utterances (which Bakhtin terms their ‘addressivity’) marks them out as being spoken and interpreted within a dialogical context, which is Bakhtin’s central concern.

I draw on Mishler’s concept of the joint construction of meaning in interview discourse and Bakhtin’s notion of dialogue in everyday speech in order to elaborate the first aspect of my method for analysing the narratives of the Highgate survivors. This aspect falls within what Catherine Riessman (2008) labels ‘dialogic/ performance analysis’, and is a recognised method within contemporary narrative research. As I have made clear through reference to the work of Bakhtin, I will be foregrounding the concept of ‘dialogue’ rather than that of ‘performance’ in analysing how the narratives of the Highgate survivors are interactively produced between speakers. Dialogical analysis requires a close reading of the contexts in which narratives are produced and interpreted. The primary context to be considered is the local conversational context. Other important contextual elements are provided by historical, institutional, and discursive factors.

The perspective of sociologist Ken Plummer (1995; 2001) offers a vantage point from which to understand how narratives are jointly constructed in the social realm. Furthermore, Plummer’s ‘sociology of stories’ provides an important tool for integrating the social contexts of narratives into the dialogic approach to analysis. Plummer’s (1995) study of ‘personal experience narratives of the intimate’ emerging from the gay and lesbian community provides the basis for a ‘sociology of stories’ oriented towards the social role of stories, or “...the ways they are produced, the ways they are read, the work they perform in the wider social order...” (1995, p. 19).

The theoretical lense used by Plummer views stories as symbolic interactions (see Plummer 2001). Here the focus is on the interactions that emerge around storytelling in the social realm. Like Mishler and Bakhtin, Plummer regards storytelling as a form of joint action. However, Plummer further describes the various people who engage in

forms of joint action around storytelling in the social realm. These include producers (tellers); coaxers; and consumers (readers; audience). Through his description of the way in which stories are told and received through the joint actions of producers, coaxers, and consumers, Plummer stresses that storytelling does not occur in a vacuum: on the contrary, storytelling is "... grounded in historically evolving communities of memory, structured through age, class, race, gender and sexual preference" (1995, p. 22). The term that Plummer coins for these "historically evolving communities of memory" is "interpretive communities" – the communities that receive and interpret the story in the social realm. I find that this concept of "interpretive communities" is particularly illuminating in relation to this study of the Highgate Survivors' Group. The support group is itself a community of shared memory about the Highgate attack, and may be viewed as an "interpretive community" for the stories that are told by its members. The Highgate Survivors' Group is therefore the primary contextual reference point for the interpretation of the texts of the stories told by the survivors, as they have been transcribed.

The second strand of my method for analysing the narratives of the Highgate survivors is drawn from recent research on narratives of personal experience. From an ever-burgeoning number of studies in this field, I have chosen the recent work of Corinne Squire (2007; 2008) and Catherine Riessman (2002; 2008) as particularly important for conceptualising my analytic approach to the personal narratives of the Highgate survivors.

Corinne Squire (2008) uses her research on the personal narratives of people living with HIV in South Africa as a basis for developing a theory for 'experience-centred and culturally-oriented approaches to narrative'. Squire defines experience-centred narrative research in contradistinction to event-centred research, represented in a paradigmatic form by William Labov's (1972) categorisation of the structural elements of personal event narratives. Rather than employing structural analysis, as is the case in event-centred research, experience-centred research adopts a broader, hermeneutic approach. It broadens the category of personal narratives from event narratives to include all sequential, temporal orderings of human experience that people produce as narratives. These sequential, temporally ordered narratives are regarded as characteristically human,

since the human capacity for structuring experience in narrative form and the concept of human time (as opposed to chronological time) are interrelated. Here we return to Ricoeur's dictum, quoted earlier: "time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode" (1984, p. 52).

The basic technique for analysing personal narratives that Squire proposes is to begin by identifying recurrent themes within the interviews; to proceed from thematic content to the development of theories that provide 'predictive explanations' for the stories; and then to move back and forth between the interviews themselves and the abstract theorisations in a 'hermeneutic circle'. Following this hermeneutic path should allow for a progressive widening of interpretive frames to include the social and cultural characteristics of the narratives.

Catherine Riessman (2002; 2008) has conducted a number of significant interview-based studies in the area of personal narratives. Her work focuses on disruptive life events, or events that 'fundamentally alter expected biographies', and includes studies of divorce, chronic illness, and a study of narratives about marriage and infertility among South Indian women. Riessman's methodological approach to personal narratives complements that of Squire, and she defines personal narratives in similarly broad terms, as "... encompass[ing] large sections of talk and interview exchanges – extended accounts of lives that develop over the course of interviews" (2002, p. 698). Riessman emphasises that storytelling is a relational activity in which listeners are encouraged to respond to the narrator and to share empathically in the storytelling process. Such relational activity is facilitated when researchers relinquish discursive authority in the research relationship and follow participants down the paths their stories take them. Narrative approaches therefore naturally encourage reflection on the way the relationship between researcher and participant, and their interactions in the interview situation frame the stories that emerge.

The construction of narratives is characterised by a process of giving order and temporal sequence to disorderly experience. Riessman stresses that the creation of narrative structures or plots from personal experience often represents a process of personal transformation, since the meaning of life events is not static, and they are progressively re-interpreted in the light of subsequent events. "We continually restory our

pasts, shifting the relative significance of different events..., discovering connections we had previously been unaware of, repositioning ourselves and others in our network of relationships” (Mishler 1999, p. 5, quoted in Riessman 2002, p. 705). Riessman proposes that one technique for mapping the transformation of personal identity over time is to look for narrative ‘turning points’, or moments in a narrative when there is a radical disruption of the expected course of a life. This notion of narrative ‘turning points’ is, of course, directly relevant to Riessman’s research on biographical narratives that have been disrupted by life-altering events. Glancing back to Squire’s conception of narrative analysis, it provides for us an example of a narrative analyst constructing a theory or ‘predictive explanation’ for the narratives that she has examined and analysed. It is from this point that the process of developing a broader, contextually-based interpretation of the narratives can begin.

2.3 Sampling and Validity

In March 2008, about two months before the start of the interview process, I visited East London in order to meet with some members of the Highgate group and present my research proposal to them. During this visit I also gathered contact details for all members of the Highgate group. On returning to Cape Town I contacted group members by telephone to invite them to participate in the research project. Of the eleven survivors and family members who attended the first meeting of the Highgate Survivors’ Group, seven agreed to be interviewed. These seven were the core members of the Highgate group.

A total of seven interviewees participated in this study. One of the interviewees was black African, and had isiXhosa as his first language. He lived in a township outside East London. The other six interviewees were white South Africans, and had English as their first language. Among the white interviewees, the majority were working class, and lived on a small council housing estate on the outskirts of East London. The interviewees ranged in age from early thirties to seventies, and included three women and four men.

The small number of participants in this study raises the question of whether the findings of the study are generalizable, and the related issues of the reliability and

validity of the research. The question of generalizability is one faced by all qualitative, interview-based studies that limit the number of participants for the purposes of an in-depth analysis of individual cases. As Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) attest, the first step towards answering this question is to point out that constructionist and discursive approaches to social science conceive of the production of knowledge about the social world as a socially and historically contextualised process. Therefore, the question of whether the interview findings can be generalized ‘globally’ (to an entire population of trauma survivors, for example) is set aside. Rather, generalization in qualitative research is treated in relation to case studies (Flyvbjerg 2006), focusing on the question of whether the knowledge produced in specific interview contexts can be transferred to other similar contexts. Generalisation from case studies involves “...a reasoned judgment about the extent to which the findings of one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation” (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p. 262). For my own study, this will involve the question of whether the knowledge produced in the interviews is transferable to other similar support group contexts, involving survivors of political violence or other forms of traumatic experience.

The concepts of reliability and validity have been critiqued in social constructionist approaches to social science, which have proposed an alternative set of terms including trustworthiness, credibility, and, in narrative research, coherence and persuasiveness (Riessman 2008). This shift in terminology indicates a movement away from the pursuit of research findings that are objectively verifiable, which is the reference point for the traditional concepts of reliability and validity. Here reliability would pertain to the consistency of the research findings, and the issue of whether they are replicable at other times and by other researchers. Validity would refer to the objective truth or correctness of the findings. When giving up the pursuit of research findings that are objectively verifiable, the concept of validity becomes oriented towards falsification rather than verification. As Kvale & Brinkmann explain, “validation becomes the issue of choosing among competing and falsifiable interpretations, of examining and providing arguments for the relative credibility of alternative knowledge claims” (2009, p. 247). According to this conceptualisation, validity or trustworthiness is enhanced by a continual process of checking and questioning the findings, as well as considering

alternative interpretations. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) propose an understanding of validity for qualitative research projects as quality of craftsmanship throughout an investigation that includes these aspects of checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting the findings. A significant way in which the quality of craftsmanship will be made evident throughout this study will be through the construction of coherent theoretical formulations from the in-depth analyses of participant's narratives. This will also contribute towards the transferability of the findings, since these formulations may be applicable to the narratives of other groups of trauma survivors, in similar contexts.

2.4 Data Collection

Qualitative research interviewing was used as the primary method of data collection in this study for the purpose of understanding the Highgate survivors' stories from their own point of view. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009), in the second edition of the classic text on the subject, conceive of qualitative research interviewing as a particular kind of professional conversation that is based on the conversations of everyday life. Through the title of their book, *Inter-Views*, the writers convey two important aspects of the qualitative research interview: first, that it involves an interaction between two persons, or an interchange of views between interviewer and interviewee. The second aspect refers to the process of knowledge production in the interview, where knowledge is seen as being produced or constructed in the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. (The other features of interview knowledge explored by Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) include contextual, linguistic, narrative and pragmatic features).

The approach to research interviewing employed in this study was a narrative approach. Hollway & Jefferson (2000) contrast the narrative approach to interviewing with structured and semi-structured (i.e. question-and-answer type) approaches. Whereas in structured interviews the interviewer sets the agenda and exerts control over the respondent's answers, in narrative interviews the interviewee is viewed as a storyteller rather than a respondent, and the role of the interviewer becomes that of a listener. In

narrative interviews the agenda, and therefore the interview protocol, is open to development and change.

While I developed a set of interview questions to guide the interviews with participants, this interview protocol was open to alteration and revision during the course of each interview depending on participants' responses. The flexibility of the interview questions was an important part of the interview procedure, and may be clarified in terms of Wengraf's (2001) description of 'lightly-structured depth interviews'. As in narrative interviews, the focus of lightly-structured depth interviews is on eliciting narratives from the interviewees. The interview questions are developed around given topics as story-telling invitations; they are usually open-ended questions, and are flexible, or open to development and change during the course of the interview in order to facilitate the story-telling process.

The questions developed for the interview protocol were open-ended questions, beginning with a request for a narrative (Wengraf 2001) asking about the participant's experience of the Highgate incident. In most cases, the interviews concluded with an open-ended question asking whether there was anything else the participant wanted to talk about. All the interview questions were developed according to the research aims of the study, and, as explained above, they were used in a flexible way in the interview process. As interviewer, my role was to facilitate story-telling, and offer 'non-directional facilitative support' (Wengraf 2001), including techniques of active listening, as well as providing feedback for participants using their own verbal ordering and phrasing. Non-directional facilitative support is derived from the psychoanalytic method of free association, yet is differentiated from this method by framing the interaction as a research interview rather than a session of psychoanalysis.

2.4.1 The Interview Process

The interviews themselves were conducted in two stages. The first set of interviews was conducted over a period of four months in 2008 with seven individual members of the Highgate group. Five of these interviews were conducted at the homes of individual group members in and around East London, while the other two were

conducted at the University of Fort Hare Psychological Services Centre. (The interview questionnaire for the first set of interviews is provided in appendix four.) I conducted the second set of interviews during February 2013 at the homes of individual group members. (The interview questionnaire for the second set of interviews is provided in appendix four.) I was able to interview five of the original seven interviewees (two of the group members, Winston Mzwandile N and Maria V, had sadly died since I first interviewed them). Prior to each individual interview I gave to the participant a summary of the themes relating to survivors' perceptions of the support group which were drawn from the first set of interviews, and read through this summary with them. (The summary is provided in appendix four.) The purpose of the summary was to present to participants some of my interpretations of what they told me in the first set of interviews, and to allow them the opportunity to respond to these interpretations. I used a semi-structured interview schedule to prompt participants to share their responses as well as their reflections on their involvement in the support group. I recorded both sets of interviews using a digital voice recorder. Both sets of interviews were transcribed twice: first, using a transcription service, and second, by myself as a way of checking the first set of transcripts.

2.5 Ethics

Members of the Highgate group who volunteered to participate in this study were asked to provide written consent. The consent form is given in appendix three. The consent form explained that arrangements had been made with the University of Fort Hare Psychological Services Centre to provide counselling to members of the Highgate group should they need it. The form stated that participation in the research project was voluntary, and that participants could withdraw at any time; it was also clarified that a decision not to participate in the study would not preclude members of the Highgate group from accessing counselling and psychological support services. The consent form also addressed issues of confidentiality, stating that the recordings of the interviews, as well as the interview transcripts, would be kept confidential; and further that participants' names would not be used in the research report or in any publications about the research.

2.6 Reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity has become an important feature of qualitative research methodology. Exploring the multiple understandings and practices of reflexivity, Finlay (2003) offers a definition that encompasses multiple perspectives: “In terms of aims, reflexivity can be understood as a confessional account of methodology or as examining our own personal, possibly unconscious, reactions. It can mean exploring the dynamics of our researcher – researched relationship. Alternatively, it can focus more on how the research is co-constituted and socially situated, through offering a critique or through deconstructing pretences of established meanings” (2003, p. 16). In this section, I employ the concept of reflexivity to situate myself in relation to the research project and the study participants, in the process touching on a few of the perspectives mentioned by Finlay.

In relation to the social context of the research and the participants, it is important to acknowledge that I am a beneficiary of apartheid. This is, of course, more than an acknowledgement – it is a confession. I am morally culpable for having received privileges from an unjust system that discriminated against and oppressed black South Africans on the basis of race. I have been privileged on a number of levels: the material, financial, and social; and, significantly, through education and opportunity. These privileges, unjustly received, have a direct bearing on my present circumstances in a free and democratic South Africa. This raises a number of moral questions about how I am to live in the present in a country where large-scale poverty and inequality – a major legacy of apartheid still running largely along racial lines – persists. How am I to make restitution for the privileges I have received at the expense of my fellow South Africans? How am I to reach out to black South Africans who were degraded, dehumanised, and stripped of their dignity by a system that secured my privilege?

The answers to these questions will need to be lived rather than written, and I do not wish to diminish their weight or their urgency for my own life. Nevertheless, I think it is worth pointing out that the life story of each beneficiary is unique (just as the life story of each South African is unique, whether a victim or beneficiary of apartheid). The lines

of silent complicity with and (sometimes) active resistance to the apartheid regime are drawn differently through each life story. The years of transition add further layers of complexity to these life narratives. While I will not tell my own life story in its entirety in this section, I would like to offer a few illustrations of both its ordinariness and its uniqueness. I did not grow up in a wealthy white suburb. I spent my childhood – during the 1980s – in lower Wynberg, in Cape Town, a predominantly coloured community. My family were living there because this was where the Anglican church was located where my parents worked. The 1980s marked the height of the struggle against apartheid, and anti-apartheid movements like the United Democratic Front (UDF) were active in this area of lower Wynberg. As a child I was aware of political protests (although not of their full meaning) since they took place regularly along Ottery road – the road on which the church stood and still stands. The images of the barricades of burning tyres, police Casspirs⁴ and protesters coming to the door to wash teargas out of their eyes are vivid in my memory.

When I started primary school I was transported into a different world – a world of privilege, separateness and racial uniformity as legislated by apartheid. In order to reach the school we had to cross the railway line which marked the boundary between ‘upper’ white Wynberg and ‘lower’ coloured Wynberg. (Geographical boundaries like railway lines were often used by the apartheid government when implementing the Group Areas Act⁵.) My friends from our church community were not able to attend this school since at this time it was reserved for white children only; and so they attended local primary schools in lower Wynberg. As I now realise more fully, our separation at this time was my loss as much as it was theirs. Although the primary school I attended had excellent facilities, the school fees were at first minimal since the apartheid government heavily subsidised the education of white schoolchildren, while spending far less on black (including coloured) schoolchildren.

The year before I completed primary school was 1990, the year that political change began in South Africa with the unbanning of political organisations like the

⁴ Armoured infantry mobility vehicles used by the apartheid security forces.

⁵ The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 assigned particular geographical areas to different racial groups, leading to black people being forcibly removed from areas demarcated as white. Black people were also given self-governing homelands which were small, under-developed areas; and pass laws necessitated that they carry pass books in order to travel out of these areas to find work.

African National Congress (ANC) and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. Schools began to be opened to children of all races, beginning the long process of integration and transformation that continues today. Happily, this meant that I was able to share my high school years (still in Wynberg) with one of my coloured friends, with whom I had previously attended pre-school and church, and even play in the same sports team with him. I like this detail of my story because I find it redemptive in a small way; yet it does not mask the psychological wounds that my friend carries as a victim of apartheid, and that I carry as a beneficiary.

Some of the limitations of this study stem from the fact that I bear similar psychological burdens as a beneficiary of apartheid to the majority of participants in this study, who are also beneficiaries. As a researcher I have had lingering concerns related to this throughout the period of this study. Have I been able to see past my own guilt to identify with the suffering of participants? Or, on the other hand, has my engagement with this study caused me to identify too fully with the suffering of participants, thereby overlooking the suffering of black victims of apartheid, and the one black victim who participated in this study? I do not have definitive answers to these questions; yet I think it is helpful to record them as they may provide signposts to some of the ways in which the interpretations in this study are partial and limited.

2.7 Data Analysis

The term ‘narrative’ carries multiple meanings and is used in a variety of ways in different disciplines. For the purpose of analysing the transcripts of interviews with the Highgate survivors, I follow Riessman’s (Riessman & Speedy 2007; Riessman 2008) understanding of the term for work in psychology and sociology. Here personal narrative “... encompasses long sections of talk – extended accounts of lives in context that develop over the course of single or multiple interviews (or therapeutic conversations)” (2007, p. 430). Riessman positions this definition of narrative on a continuum of definitions linked to discipline. At one end of the continuum, the term ‘narrative’ in social history and anthropology can be used to refer to an entire life story. At the other

end, sociolinguistics has used a restrictive definition of narrative to refer to a discrete unit of discourse, such as an answer to a single question (e.g. Labov & Waletzky 1967). Resting in the middle of this continuum is Riessman's definition of narrative for work in psychology and sociology.

The form of narrative analysis employed in this study gives attention to sequences of action (Riessman 2008). This involves the interrogation of the way in which a particular speaker assembles, organizes, and sequences events in order to communicate their meaning to a particular audience. Analysis is therefore not limited to the content of the account, but rather focuses on the process of representation in language, that is, "...how and why events are storied, not simply the content to which the language refers" (Riessman & Speedy 2007, p. 430).

Since narrative analysis is a 'case-based' approach to qualitative research, it treats extended accounts as whole analytic units (Riessman 2008). This is in contrast to 'category-centred' approaches, such as grounded theory or ethnography, where accounts are fragmented into thematic categories for the purposes of analysis. The thematic coding that is the starting point for analysis in 'category-centred' approaches is unable to preserve the structural and sequential features of narrative; and this has led some theorists to define narrative analysis in opposition to thematic coding techniques (e.g. Riley & Hawe 2005). However, 'category-centred' techniques may also be viewed as complementary to the close analysis of individual cases, as they provide different insights on the phenomena under investigation. Moreover, narrative theorists such as Squire (2008) incorporate thematic analysis as the first step in their analytic strategy. Squire suggests that the analysis should proceed from this point to the development of 'predictive explanations' which are theoretical propositions that are to some degree transferable across cases. In this way, thematic analysis is employed as an analytic technique that is complementary to the analysis of narratives as individual cases, providing insights (especially concerning the social and cultural contexts of the narratives) that may not have been gained otherwise. Where thematic analysis is used in this study it will be employed in a similar way – as a complementary technique to the overarching focus on the narratives as whole analytic units.

By organizing events according to sequence and consequence into a meaningful whole, narrators create plots. A plot is "... the intelligible whole that governs a succession of events in any story" (Ricoeur 1980, p. 171), giving to disorderly experience a coherent, unified form that it would not otherwise possess – a form that usually includes a spatial and temporal structure. Some narrative theorists (e.g. Gergen & Gergen 1988) have created a taxonomy of the different types of plots typically employed by narrators as a tool for analysis.

In this study, I follow the analytic strategy of the theorist Paul Ricoeur (1980), who regards the plot as a meeting point for narrativity and temporality. Ricoeur has undertaken a profound investigation of the relationship between narrative and time which I believe has significant implications for the analysis of the Highgate survivors' narratives. Given that the central presupposition of Ricoeur's argument is that narrative and time have a reciprocal relationship, I would like to suggest a similar presupposition for the analytic strategy in this study, but one which takes into account the nature of the narratives under investigation as narratives about trauma. This presupposition is that there is an interdependent relationship between narrative, time, and trauma.

Ricoeur (1980) provides a critique of the 'illusion of chronology' that is created by the sequencing of events in a narrative structure. The 'illusion of chronology' refers to the ordinary representation of time as a linear series of abstract instants moving in a single direction. In contrast to the linear representation of time that mimics chronology, Ricoeur views narrative time as a dimension containing a number of different levels. The three temporal levels named by Ricoeur are, first, 'within-time-ness', which refers to time as that 'in' which events take place in a narrative. The second level is 'historicality', which refers to the way in which the weight of the past impinges on the narrative through the process of repetition. The third and deepest level is 'temporality'.

At the first level, 'within-time-ness' tends towards the ordinary representation of time "... due to its datable, public, and measurable nature and as a result of its dependence on points of reference in the world" (1980, p. 170). However, 'within-time-ness' is not reducible to the measurement of intervals between abstract instants as in the linear representation of time, since it is marked out by a reckoning with time and a calculating about time. Similarly, the time of even a simple story is not limited by a linear

notion of time. This is demonstrated by the process of understanding a story, which involves more than following successive actions, thoughts, and feelings – it includes the understanding of the beginning of the story in the light of the end, and the interpretation of each event in relation to the unified whole of the narrative.

I would suggest that the deep structures of temporality revealed by Ricoeur in his study of narrative time have a natural application in the analysis of narratives about trauma. This may be demonstrated by linking Ricoeur's theory to the concept of the 'belated temporality' of trauma developed by Cathy Caruth (1995; 1996), and to the concepts of 'cotemporality' and 'wounded time' developed by Lawrence Langer (1991) in his study of Holocaust testimonies. The conceptualisations of time in trauma theory indicate the depth and complexity of the relationship between temporality and trauma narratives, often showing how the temporal structure of trauma narratives is characterised by discontinuity rather than continuity. For the purposes of analysing the narrative structure of the Highgate survivors' narratives, I will therefore take the relationship between narrative, time, and trauma as the starting point for the analysis.

The aspect of the analytic approach to narrative adopted in this study that ties the other aspects together is dialogic analysis. This aspect, which focuses on how narratives are produced through interactions (dialogue) between speakers, has previously been emphasised through reference to the ideas of Mishler, Bakhtin, and Plummer. While the initial focus of dialogic analysis is on the way in which speech is co-produced between teller and listener, the interpretive frame widens progressively to include dialogic interactions between teller and social setting, and between the narrative produced and its cultural and historical contexts (Riessman 2008).

An important exemplar for the dialogic approach to narrative analysis (especially narratives about trauma) is provided by Stevan Weine's *Testimony After Catastrophe* (2006). Weine's study of the narratives of survivors of political violence draws explicitly on a number of concepts from Bakhtin's writings, in particular the concept of 'dialogue' that was referred to previously. By approaching survivors' narratives as 'dialogue', Weine seeks to show how the testimony may be viewed as not only a product of the survivor who tells his or her story, but also of the listener or receiver (who may be a family member, a fellow survivor, psychologist, or researcher)

with whom the stories and memories are shared. Through the process of giving testimony the survivor may be said to be working with a listener or a group of listeners to construct a dialogic narrative that offers the survivor the potential for growth and healing with regard to his or her experience of political violence.

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Narrative Case Studies

This section comprises seven narrative case studies derived from the first set of seven individual interviews with members of the Highgate group. The transcripts of the first set of interviews, conducted in 2008, are given in appendix two, along with the transcripts of the second set of interviews, conducted in 2013. These two rounds of interviews were conducted in the context of the Highgate group, formed a number of years after some group members had given their testimonies at the hearings of the TRC, and following the emergence of new information concerning the identity of the perpetrators of the Highgate attack.

The narrative case studies are constructed on the premise that narrative analysis is a ‘case-based’ approach to qualitative research, which treats extended accounts as whole analytic units (Riessman, 2008). The representation of these whole analytic units in the form of the narrative case studies has both a descriptive and an interpretive aspect. The descriptive aspect involves the presentation of the sequences of action from which the primary narrators (i.e. the participants themselves) constructed the narratives (or what I term ‘narrative threads’) that were given during the course of the interviews. The interpretive aspect involves the intervention of myself as a secondary narrator in the act of constructing the narrative case studies. In this role I constructed the narrative case studies in the following form: a brief introduction to the participant; the presentation of one or more ‘narrative threads’ through quotations from the interviews and descriptive summaries; and the addition of an epilogue in order to give a sense of narrative closure to the case study.

3.1.1 Winston Mzwandile N: Narrative Case Study

The late Winston Mzwandile N was the barman at the Highgate Hotel on the night of the attack. He lived in Mdantsane, a township outside East London, and, by his own account, was one of only two black persons present at the hotel at the time of the

attack (the other was his assistant at the bar). Consequently, Winston was the only black participant in the Highgate Survivors' Group. It is therefore significant that Winston's narrative foregrounds his identity as an employee of the Highgate Hotel, a worker, rather than his identity as a black person; and I have encapsulated the main narrative thread in my interview with Winston as "A Worker's Perspective of the Highgate Attack". My interview with Winston was unique for a number of reasons. First, since I was not proficient enough in isiXhosa to interview Winston in his mother tongue, he was the only interviewee to respond in English as a second language. Second, Winston was one of only two interviewees who referred to their narratives in a self-reflexive way as a "story". It was a story that was broadcast by the media in the immediate aftermath of the attack, and relayed by Winston's friends and family in his community before they came to visit him at hospital. It is also a story that will be remembered by his own children:

Because that thing I thinks it's, it's, it's, it's a *story*, you see... It's a story what's happening Highgate, ja. Nobody can for-, forget that. Even *my* children never going to forget that. It's a story, no matter I die, "my father was shot at Highgate". Still I got something, there's letters there they show them I was shot at Highgate... They will remember, ja, you see, remember. Even my *friends* too... because they *see* me *already* on the TV that thing was happening. [inaudible] that thing happening, they *see* me on TV. As I reached home they said we *see* you on your TV, you was *shot* at Highgate, ja, lot of people. [p] Then some of them they come, when I'm sleeping there they come visit me. My family come visit me at hospital, because they see me already on the TV. Say "hayi Winston was shot Highgate". (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 131, l. 22 – pg. 132, l. 6)

3.1.1.1. A Worker's Perspective of the Highgate Attack

At the beginning of Winston's narrative of the Highgate attack, he makes a concerted effort to describe the scene in the hotel bar at the moment of the attack:

Yes, I remember that night. [p] It was on Saturday, Saturday night, roundabout twenty-to, twenty-to ten, that thing happened about twenty-to ten. I just checked the... one chappie, bust inside. At that time I was sitting in the chair as a barman and my, my bible was sit next to me. Then on the counter were the customers, I

think it was, uh, Charles [inaudible] and, uh, Trevor and, and, and, uh, and Nigel, they sitting the other side in the corner. Another two, two chaps were playing pool other side. So when the chap come inside, then I didn't notice he's got a gun. Then he started firing. Then when they fire on that, "look, hey this chap is firing." I tried to escape but, but shot me already. On my thigh. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 121, l. 27 – pg. 122, l. 8)

In order to describe the scene in the bar, Winston temporarily suspends the narrative action at the moment the first gunman bursts inside: "I just checked the... one chappie, bust inside." He then describes briefly the layout of the bar and the positions of particular patrons, some of whom he names, at the moment of the attack. He begins this description by positioning himself as the barman, an employee of the hotel: "At that time I was sitting in the chair as a barman...". Winston's identity as an employee, a worker, is one that he emphasises throughout his story, and one that is more fully developed in relation to the consequences of the attack on his life. This identity gives Winston a particular relationship with the "customers" in the bar that night. At a later point in the interview, he describes this relationship as one of familiarity with the "regulars" who frequented the bar ("... the people there that drink at Highgate, they are regular customers there, some of them they *know* me, you see, *very well*."). Winston's identity as barman gives him a particular perspective on the events of the attack, such that he describes not only the injuries to himself, but also the injuries to some of the other patrons. Even the detail included by him about the position of his bible next to him at the moment of the attack is a significant one, foregrounding at the opening of his story his religious faith. At a later point in his story, Winston returns to the theme of his faith as a means of developing an understanding both of what had happened to him at the Highgate, and of his path to recovery.

Near the end of his account of the Highgate attack, Winston re-emphasises his identity as an employee of the hotel who was well known among the "regulars". He relates how the fire brigade that rescued survivors after the attack were able to search for him by name as others at the scene who knew him were obviously asking after him. Winston proceeds to describe how he shared a hospital ward with one of the other injured patrons, Charles "Barrington" (his real name is Charles Bodington), whom he would have served that evening:

Then they come to save, come to save us. Then they asking, “where’s Winston, where’s that other [inaudible] chap was knows me there. Where’s Winston, where’s Winston, where’s Winston?” Then they *see* me now with the torch. Now they come help me maybe outside. Because my right, my right leg was broken already. I *can’t* walk, you see. Can’t walk. Even [inaudible] was so like this. It’s just a bullet. And then they take me to hospital. Ja. They take me to hospital. There I sleeping [inaudible] was me and Charles we were sleeping together in the same ward. Charles Barrington, we were together same ward. Ja. [p]. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 122, ll. 27-35)

At another point in the interview, Winston explains that his sense of identification with the other Highgate survivors developed through being treated alongside Charles Bodington, with whom he shared a ward. Through the repetition of the phrase, “in the same way”, Winston emphasises his sense of equality with Charles, demonstrated by the equal treatment given to Winston and Charles by Charles’s wife. Although Winston does not articulate this, perhaps this equal treatment was all the more significant for him since it crossed boundaries of race and social class:

Yes, I feel they are my friends because that thing happened to all of us. Ja. Like Charles at hospital, we, we sitting nicely at hospital. Even his wife, she support Charles and me the same way, you see, in the same way... The same way. Bring up the TV, you can see where we sitting there, sleeping next to each other. Yes. When I got pains, just open the tape, talk to each other, you see. Friendly, you see, ja, friendly. Because the pains are hitting me bad, me and Charles. We crying there at night there, we crying mens, crying. In the same way, you see. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 129, ll. 3-11)

In addition to his sense of equality with another survivor in hospital, it was the mutual sharing of suffering (“We *crying* there at night there, we *crying* mens...”) that forged Winston’s strong bond with Charles, and developed his sense of identification with the other Highgate survivors as one of their peers.

Winston concludes his account of the Highgate attack by relating how he spent three-and-a-half weeks receiving treatment in Frere Hospital in East London subsequent to the attack, followed by a period of three months recovering at home, during which he was able to walk only with the aid of crutches. Later in the interview, Winston describes

the intrusive nature of the wounds caused by the bullet that struck him – wounds that both crippled and scarred his body:

...the bullet it hit me this side on the thigh, but it should hit me both leg. But *luckily* missed this leg now but make a cut. I got a cut this side. Make a cut. Ja. And even here in my private part, my balls, I got a little bit *cut* there. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 124, ll. 3-6)

Winston recalls that, as a consequence of his injuries, he underwent three or four surgical procedures during his time in hospital, including having a metal pin inserted in his leg. Notwithstanding these operations, the physical effects of Winston's injuries have been enduring, including a loss of mobility (he is no longer able to run), an impaired capacity to balance and carry heavy objects, and chronic pain, especially during winter. Winston recounts that when he does engage in physical labour, either during temporary employment or while doing household chores, he requires medication to cope with the resulting pain. All of these ongoing physical effects have had a negative impact on Winston's prospects of permanent employment.

As well as his physical injuries, Winston describes the ongoing psychological effects of his experience of the Highgate attack. He refers especially to his fear at night "at location" (i.e. in the township) where gunshots and other loud noises bring back memories of the attack. As elsewhere in his testimony, Winston here uses a key phrase at the beginning and end of what we may call his 'speech paragraph' ("... I not like before now. I was very strong before... I'm not *strong* like well I was before ...") to encapsulate his thought and underscore his sense of loss:

You see now that my life been changed because sometimes I, I not like *before* now. I was very strong before, now can my, can be *afraid* thinking, especially when I'm thinking at night getting afraid. If I hear something even see that, at location lot of *bang bang bang*, you see at night, I *think*, you see. Sometimes I rush to the door, go to look at toilet door is it closed properly, you see. I'm still *thinking* about that and I'm not *strong* like well I was before. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 130, ll. 7-12)

At another point in the interview, Winston describes the psychological changes that have rendered him “not like before now” in terms of becoming a “coward”. He further proceeds to describe the ongoing psychological effects of the attack that have “changed[d] [his] life, change[d] [his] brain” against the backdrop of everyday life in the township, where violence is a constant threat. In an embedded narrative, Winston sketches three violent scenes from township life: (i) a lucky escape from a shooting by “tsotsis” (i.e. gangsters) on the streets; (ii) an armed robbery on an unarmed family in their home that leads to sexual violence and murder; and (iii) a planned attack on a “spaza shop” (i.e. an informal shop business in the township, usually run from home, and selling everyday household items) or “shebeen” (i.e. township alternative to a pub or bar, run “illegally” during the apartheid era). In each of these scenes the violence is gratuitous, although in the spaza shop/ shebeen scene, the violence takes place in the context of an attempt to eke out a living in a situation of poverty – the reference of the isiXhosa term, “vukuzenzela”. In the same way, the Highgate attack was, in Winston’s understanding, an attack “without reason” on unarmed civilians. For Winston, the incipient violence in the township evokes the memory of the Highgate attack, as well as fear that the trauma may be repeated. However, against a backdrop of everyday violence, the trauma of the Highgate attack, is, to some extent, normalised; and Winston’s fear of a repetition of the attack is rationalised into an expression of good fortune – the good fortune of surviving an attack, as many victims in the township do not (“But you are *lucky*, you see, ja. Because life now is just is dangerous.”). Here is the embedded narrative in full:

Ja, you see the attack changed me, Steve, for the way I, I used to be before, you see. You see something happening too bad, it was very bad, which *change* your life, change your brain, because now you, you *not* like before, you not like before. Especially a gun, a gun is very bad, AK47 shotting you at close blank. You see, ja [laughing]. [p] Even when you walk on the street, Steve, somebody come, a lot of tsotsis come with you to the gun, and then they started shoot at you but *miss* you too the bullets, you see, by luck of God. You always *think* about that. Ja, even when you walking sometimes a little bit dark, you see, you afraid, you think about that thing what’s happening to you. But you are *lucky*, you see, ja. Because life now is just is dangerous. Even when you are home, you un-, unsafe when you at home because [inaudible] come bust the door, hitting you or killing you, raping your child or your wife in front of you, you see. It’s too *terrible* really, in front of you. That time you’ve done nothing, you sitting at home. They come kick the

door, come inside, shooting you, attacking you *without reason*. They come to rob, like it like this, for example, if I got a, you got a spaza shop or got a little bit shebeen, just make for money for yourself, you see, you like when they call it a vukuzenzela, ja. So you make a little bit of money, so as to can't find a job so you must have a shebeen or a little bit, uh, spaza shop. So that time some people watching you, oh this man he must got money, you see lot of people go, always going in there. Then but he close, maybe 10 o'clock he close. So it's quiet, and nobody there now. They jump over, over the fence to come attack you, uh, for that little of bit money of you got, then they *rape* your wife, they *killing* you, you see. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 135, ll. 1-25)

Between four and six months after the attack, Winston returned to his job as a barman at the Highgate Hotel. Winston later clarified that he felt able to return to his job at the Highgate after the hotel had improved its security measures, including the installation of a security camera at the entrance. The heightened security measures helped to allay Winston's fears that a similar attack would recur at the hotel. Winston proceeds to relate that after returning to his job as barman, he remained there for approximately another year, before losing his job due to problems surrounding stock-taking at the bar.

Winston lost his job at the Highgate Hotel around 1994, the year after the Highgate attack. He related that from that date until the date of our interview in May 2008, fourteen years later, he had remained unemployed, apart from temporary jobs. Since Winston's eldest child was fourteen years old and would have been born in the same year that he lost his job, all of Winston's children have grown up in the context of his unemployment. Winston confesses that he "feels bad" that he has been unable to support his children financially. In a reversal of conventional gender roles, Winston has had to rely on his wife to be the breadwinner of the household. By contrast, Winston has had to remain at home to look after his children, since his wife works in Port Elizabeth (P.E.), distant enough from Mdantsane that she is only able to return at the end of each month:

I feel bad because I got children. A wife and my children are still young, they not old they still very young. Because my first born is now, now is, is fourteen years old. End of the year, this year he's going to be fifteen years old...So they *still young*, they still need *support*. Even now I'm worried because I didn't find that job *yet*. I just find piece, piece jobs, you see. Then only my, my wife is working now, she working at PE. She work at PE. She come every end of the, end

of the month. So at home I'm alone with that little one. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 128, ll. 5-12)

When I asked Winston what his wish for the future was, he confirmed that his greatest wish was to make a contribution to the financial support of his children (and therefore to support his wife in the role of breadwinner) by finding work:

My own life to, my future for my own life to I feel to, to just grow up, make, grow up my children, working, or get work, God give me work, helping my, my wife to support our children. You see, that's whole my future I think. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 132, ll. 11-13)

Winston proceeds to explain that his desire to support his children financially is directed towards the goal of giving them the opportunities for good education that he has been denied. Winston then re-emphasises his desire to find employment by expressing it explicitly in relation to his religious faith:

Then help my wife if God give me a job, 'cause I know this time, these days to get a job, it's very hard to get a job. But I thank God, uh, one day God gonna give to me, yes. I believe in my heart God will give me one day. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 132, ll. 24-26)

Sadly, Winston died in June 2008, only two months after I interviewed him, and before he found permanent employment.

3.1.1.2. Epilogue

One of the significant aspects of Winston's narrative is the way in which he foregrounds his identity as a worker rather than his identity as a black person. And when I asked Winston how he felt about being the only black person in the Highgate Survivors' Group, he continued to play down this aspect of his identity:

No, I don't feel that. 'Cause God make this happen, then I'm only the *black* man there who, who, who with, with white people, you see. Because at that time I *was* with white people. Only two chaps still there, was me and my bar boy. You see. Then that thing *happening*. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg, 128, ll. 26-29)

By his response, Winston seems to insist that it was only natural that he was one of only two black people present at the Highgate Hotel at the time of the attack (the other being his assistant at the bar). In this way, Winston seems to ignore the social divisions created by the apartheid regime that contributed to this circumstance.

Winston does, however, acknowledge that it is important to him to establish the racial identity of the perpetrators, especially since the new information about the attack has created uncertainty about whether it was carried out by APLA, or, as seems more likely, by the SADF. Winston mentions a number of reasons for his strong desire to find out the identity of the perpetrators, one of which is finding out whether he might come into contact with them, either in the township, or "when we walking in town":

Still feel me un-, feel me unhappy because all I like you know, Stephen like, make me feel unhappy because I don't know who's the people they shoot, they shot us. I think I can be glad if I can *see* them, then they apologise... Maybe we passed each other when we walking in town, I don't know. Maybe, and he *knows* me but I don't know him, you see. Or is he black or is he a white chap, I don't know. But all I like [inaudible] just to *see* him then I see what he going to say, why he shooting us. Because that time we unarmed, we didn't think about people they shooting. We had no guns, we were just sitting. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 126, ll. 3-12)

Winston proceeds to explain that his desire to establish the identity of the perpetrators (in his words, to "see them") is prompted, not by a desire to take revenge, but by the desire to find out from them why they had carried out the attack, and, specifically, why they had targeted unarmed civilians. The urgency of this desire arises from the lasting consequences of the attack in Winston's life. Winston's hope is that a meeting with the perpetrators, regardless of their racial identity and political motives, would lead to an apology from them for the human suffering they had caused.

3.1.2 Maria V: Narrative Case Study

There are three main narrative threads in my interview with Maria V. The first is the story of Maria's experience of the Highgate attack. The second is the story of Maria's everyday life and struggles as a survivor of the Highgate attack. The third is the story of Maria's developing understanding of the political and racial aspects of the attack. An epilogue to Maria's story is provided by her reflection on the recent loss of her granddaughter, and how her grief has become linked to her memory of the Highgate attack.

3.1.2.1. The Highgate Attack

Maria's story of the Highgate attack opens with the introduction of Dougie Gates, "the late Dougie Gates". Although at this point Maria does not describe her relationship to Dougie Gates or his significance in her life, she gives him a central role in the initiating event of her story: Maria and two of her friends ("myself, Clive, Megan Boucher") go to East London airport to fetch Dougie Gates, who had arrived in the city to fetch a car which he was intending to drive "up country" the next morning. By positioning Dougie Gates at the beginning of her story, Maria ascribes a meaning to her involvement in the Highgate attack, an event which might otherwise have seemed like a tragic co-incidence. Through the repetition of Dougie's name in the following sequence – the events leading to the group's presence at the Highgate Hotel – Maria resists a presentation of the events as co-incidental or accidental:

From the airport we went down to the Dolphin, he booked in there, and on our way back – they were going to drop me off and Dougie was going to take the car – Clive said let's just pop in at the Highgate so him and Dougie can have a beer... (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 22, ll. 26-28)

The central position of Dougie Gates in Maria's story of the Highgate attack indicates to us Maria's experience of the attack as the tragedy of losing Dougie. This becomes clear later in the interview when Maria describes her relationship to Dougie:

I knew him from Durban days, many many days, years ago. And, umm, he was a good person, he loved his sport and he used to come to the SPCA quite often and we used to go out together and you know, have a drink, things like that. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 31, ll. 11-15)

Dougie Gates was obviously a romantic partner at the time of the Highgate shooting (this was confirmed by another survivor who referred to him as Maria's "boyfriend"). Maria communicates the tragedy of losing her partner by telling a nested story about how Dougie, who was previously divorced, had been estranged from his daughter and grandson for many years, and only met up with them shortly before the shooting:

And you know he used to always come and talk about this little boy and his daughter was expecting again and it, it was, it was *very sad* to lose him, he was a very very good friend of mine. A very good friend. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 31, ll. 19-21)

Throughout her narrative of the Highgate attack, Maria repeatedly stresses her relationship to Dougie and her two other friends. One of the ways in which she communicates this is through the description of the exact orientation of her own and her friends' bodies as they lay under the table in the bar during the shooting. She emphasises this detail through repetition and through hand gestures during the interview ("Clive lay there..."). Maria describes in excruciating detail how she was shot in the back of her leg as she was going to lie down "...between him [Clive] and Dougie".

Maria describes the details of the Highgate shooting in close-up, as if magnified. Although she mentions seeing one (and perhaps two) gunmen at the door of the bar with balaclavas on doing the shooting, her focus is on herself and her friends lying in their blood after they have been shot. One of the more excruciating details related by Maria, which captures visually the mutuality of her experience of victimhood along with her friends, is her description of how her friend Clive put his elbow into the hole in her leg to stop the bleeding.

The concluding event of Maria's story of the Highgate attack is her description of how she thought she heard Dougie's last breath (at this point in the interview, Maria mimicked the action of someone breathing their last) and how she speaks to Clive next to her to tell him that she thinks Dougie has died. While Maria does relate briefly how she

was taken to hospital following the shooting, it is the significant event of Dougie's death that effectively concludes her story.

3.1.2.2. Everyday Life as a Survivor

The story of Maria's everyday life and struggles as a survivor of the Highgate attack is the story which she elaborates in most detail during our interview. Maria relates how the attack has affected a number of different aspects of her everyday life, and emphasises the difficulties that she experiences daily through a meticulous record of details. She begins accumulating these details of her suffering in her description of the physical injuries she sustained, and the medical treatment she received subsequent to the Highgate attack.

Maria was in hospital for a month after the attack, and went to surgery every day for a week to try to repair the hole in her leg. She now has a metal pin from her hip to her knee, and despite two bone grafts the hole in her leg has not completely healed. Following the attack, Maria needed to use crutches for two-and-a-half years while undergoing intensive physiotherapy treatment in order to regain some mobility. She now walks only with constant pain, and is unable to have the knee replacements she needs since she has become a chronic diabetic. Furthermore, her hearing has been impaired by the shooting, and she has arthritis in one of her hands (she specifies that this is the hand she fell down on when she was shot). Once again, it is the sheer weight of detail in Maria's story that emphasises her suffering. As she reiterates: "I'm in constant pain, I'm in pain all the time".

Maria relates that her injuries and her loss of mobility have led not only to a loss of independence and an inability to perform everyday tasks, but to a foreshortened sense of the future:

[p] No this shooting is, it's really, it's, it's, it's changed one's life completely. There's nothing to look forward to in life, I can't walk very far, I've got my knees bandaged up, when I go out I've got to bandage both my knees up because when I walk a short distance my knees collapse and down I go. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 27, ll. 29-32)

Maria communicates at another point in the interview that her sense of the future is bound up with her doctor's prognosis about her mobility ("He said *definitely*, he says I'll end up in a wheelchair because I can't *walk*, I can't stand long on my legs..."). The import of Maria's story here seems to be the loss of a future to look forward to, and her constriction in a present of constant suffering.

Another significant loss that affects Maria's everyday life has been the loss of employment and an income with which to support herself. Maria, Clive, and Megan Boucher were all employees at the SPCA at the time of the Highgate shooting, and subsequently lost their jobs there. Maria emphasizes this point through repetition ("Uh, we lost our jobs, myself and Clive, we were at the SPCA, we lost our jobs, we had no more jobs."). Due to her incapacitation and loss of a livelihood, Maria had food delivered to her every day by Meals on Wheels for two years after the Highgate attack. She continues to have food delivered to her by Meals on Wheels as she struggles to exist on a meagre old-age pension with her high medical expenses. Maria comments on this loss of livelihood and the inability to support herself financially by questioning the value of her life:

And I mean, *my life* has, you know at my age my life has, has *changed*. It's altogether, it's, sometimes you think is it really worthwhile living? (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 24, ll. 22-23)

It is evident that Maria's view of a "worthwhile" life links value closely with meaningful employment and financial independence. An aspect of Maria's financial difficulties that exacerbate her loss of employment as well as her physical injuries sustained in the Highgate shooting is the fact that she has no medical aid, and is burdened by paying for medication to treat her chronic diabetes. This is an aspect of her everyday life that Maria returns to repeatedly, and she states that, along with finding out who perpetrated the attack, her wish for the future is that the survivors should be given some financial compensation as well as medical aid.

3.1.2.3. The Political Aspects of the Attack

The story of Maria's developing understanding of the political and racial aspects of the Highgate attack begins with her response to the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) at which she gave her testimony in East London two years after the attack:

Well we didn't get very far there either, I mean we stood up and we spoke and they asked us questions and, and that was that. I mean we got no help, nowhere. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 26, ll. 24-26)

Maria describes her experience of the TRC solely in terms of its failure to provide financial and medical support to victims who testified. She even went so far as to hire an attorney to try to secure financial support from the government subsequent to the Highgate attack, although this was unsuccessful.

A significant precursor to Maria's disappointing experience at the TRC was her experience of being visited in hospital after the attack by officials (perhaps even cabinet ministers) of the apartheid government:

You know I mean when I was in hospital we had all the, the big boys from *Pretoria* and *Cape Town* that came to my bed: don't worry Mrs Van Niekerk, we'll sort everything out, you won't want for *anything*. Came there and where are they? We haven't, nothing, they haven't helped us with *nothing*. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 26, ll. 6-10)

In Maria's experience, both the apartheid government and the TRC failed to provide adequate financial and other support to the Highgate survivors. She proceeds to query whether this failure was a result of the political transition in South Africa from the apartheid regime to ANC-led democracy, which occurred in the year after the Highgate attack. She describes the transition in explicitly racial terms:

You see after, after I had the, I had to wait to have my bone graft done, the white government was in when we were shot and then the black government came in after I had my bone graft done so I don't know if, if we might have got help if the white government was still in, I don't know. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 27, ll. 6-9)

Underlying this quote is the question of whether the Highgate survivors have been overlooked for receiving government compensation because they are white, unlike the majority of black survivors of political violence from the apartheid era.

Maria also describes her fear subsequent to the Highgate attack in explicitly racial terms:

You know after I was shot for *six months* if I was with somebody in a car and no, and a black taxi just came up and pulled up, I tell you I used to slide down as far down as I could and cover myself over with a blanket because I was, I was so scared. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 28, ll. 12-15)

It is worth noting that, at this time, the survivors still thought that the attack had been carried out by APLA, the armed wing of the PAC. While her racialised feeling of fear is evident, Maria describes her dominant emotion towards the perpetrators as one of anger at their inhumane actions.

Later in the interview Maria described a feeling of relief at finding out that the attack had not been carried out by APLA, even though questions remained about the identity of the perpetrators. And towards the end of the interview I prompted her to expand on this description by asking her about her feelings towards other victims of political violence, particularly black victims, who also suffered at the hands of the apartheid regime. Maria was able to attest to a feeling of empathy, particularly towards other survivors who hadn't received any help:

I feel very sorry for them because I know what *I'm* going through so they must be going through *the same thing*. *I feel* for them because I'm sure they are going through exactly what *we* are going through. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 36, ll. 12-14)

However, since Maria proceeds to name another white survivor with whom she identifies strongly, there remains an ambiguity about whether her empathic identification extends to black victims of the apartheid regime. Perhaps, in her case, this is a development that is yet to happen.

3.1.2.4. Epilogue

An epilogue to Maria's story is provided by her reflection on her grief at the recent loss of her granddaughter, a week before her third birthday:

Ja. A little girl, ja. She had very bad ear infection and, umm, it turned to encephalitis and she was brain dead within, within two days. That was very traumatic that, very sad. You know even now when I think about it, it brings tears. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 32, ll. 28-30)

When I asked her about this aspect of her grief, Maria agreed emphatically that her sadness over the death of her granddaughter brought back memories of the Highgate attack:

Oh yes, oh yes, definitely. [p] I mean you know, she was just at a nice age, she wasn't even three years. It was a week before her third birthday and she was at that lovely age, *talking*, starting to *talk* and running all over and... When you go to bed at night you know you, things, these things flash through your mind, the Highgate and the shooting and lying there in all that blood and you couldn't get out... (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 33, ll. 7-12)

This experience of a subsequent trauma bringing back memories of the original event is common among trauma survivors, demonstrating the ongoing impact of the traumatic event on the survivor's life:

you couldn't get out and guys standing at the door and with a balaclava on and they shooting all over. (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 33, ll. 12-13)

3.1.3 Clive R: Narrative Case Study

Clive R was one of a party of four employees of the SPCA who were present at the Highgate Hotel at the time of the attack. The other three members of the party were Maria V, whom I also interviewed, Dougie Gates, who was killed in the attack, and Megan Boucher. Clive was shot in both elbows during the attack, and as a result, had to have one of his arms amputated, while reconstructive surgery was required on the elbow and hand of his remaining arm. My interview with Clive was unique in that he spoke at much greater length than the other participants and produced well-constructed narratives from his experiences with little or no prompting from myself as interviewer. This may

have been due to his previous experiences of telling his story in other settings, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Khulumani Support Group. I identified four main narrative threads in my interview with Clive: first, his account of recovering from the Highgate attack and coming to terms with his disability; second, his account of investigating the Highgate attack in order to find out who was responsible for organising it; third, his account of meeting other survivors of political violence in South Africa; and fourth, his account of finding employment as a disabled person. In an epilogue to his narrative, Clive tells of his experience of doing compulsory national service under the apartheid regime.

3.1.3.1. Recovering from the Highgate Attack

Clive introduces his narrative of loss and recovery by referring to it in a self-reflexive way as a “story” – “it’s like a, a story that, that fits in...” He was one of only two interviewees in the study to make this identification:

It’s like a, a story that, that fits in... you know, we actually left... I was actually working at the SPCA as a senior inspector, umm, at the time. And we had a guy, Dougie, that was with us that night that was killed. Umm, he was a livestock inspector, where he would go from town to town visiting all the abattoirs and that. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 68, ll. 17-20)

When introducing new characters into his story, Clive frequently refers to their job description or professional title. This is the way he introduces himself at the beginning of his narrative as a “senior inspector” at the SPCA, as well as his male colleague Dougie, a “livestock inspector”. These details sketch an important context for Clive’s story, since he later identifies a significant aspect of his losses as a consequence of the Highgate shooting as the loss of a career and the ability to support himself and his family financially.

Interestingly, when Clive introduces his two female colleagues at the SPCA, Maria and Megan, he does so without including their job descriptions. (We also know from Maria’s story that she speaks of Clive and Dougie as a friend and partner

respectively rather than as colleagues). This completes the group of four SPCA colleagues that was present at the Highgate Hotel on the night of the attack.

In his description of the lead-up to the attack, Clive continues to weave in details about his career at the SPCA that was foreshortened that night. He mentions that the car in which he, Maria, and Megan drove to East London airport to collect Dougie, who had just flown in from Cape Town, was his “company car”. Clive also mentions that, after booking Dougie in at the Dolphin Hotel where he was staying, the four colleagues were “...on our way back, where I stayed. I, I lived on the SPCA premises, so I had a company house there.” It is on their way back to Clive’s “company house” that he suggests to Dougie that they stop off at the Highgate Hotel to have a drink.

After describing how the group arrived at the Highgate Hotel, made their way into the “ladies bar”, and found a table at which to sit (“...there was a table in the middle, which was sort of mounted to a pillar, and that’s where the four of us sat.”), Clive proceeds to describe the moment at which he realised that the hotel was being attacked:

...And I came back *in* and we ordered a round of drinks. And just got to the bar, ordered the drinks. And I turned around, and I, I heard something, something, as if crackers were going off. And obviously, you know, being in the army, I, I realised what it was. It wasn’t sort of someone throwing crackers, it was automatic fire, someone shooting. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 69, ll. 17-21)

Clive’s experience of “being in the army” – an experience that he relates in more detail later in his story – is an important aspect of the observations he makes during the shooting. He is able to describe the shooting from the perspective of someone who was himself familiar with handling automatic weapons.

One of the features of Clive’s account of the attack is that he adopts the perspective of an observer rather than a victim. The sense of detachment that he conveys as an observer extends to his failure to register the impact of the bullets into his body:

And I fell down. And Dougie was lying on the side of me [gesturing] and Maria was over there. And I, I don’t know if I had been shot or, or, or something had happened to me, but I, I called to Maria, and she had a big hole in her leg. I put my elbow in there to try and stop the bleeding. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 69, ll. 30-33)

The action of putting his elbow into the gaping wound in Maria's leg is the only action Clive performs during the course of the shooting (and is also described by Maria in her account). Since Clive was shot in both his elbows, it is perhaps the final active use of this part of his body. Apart from this action, Clive's attitude during the shooting is overwhelmingly that of a passive and indeed powerless observer. Lying prone on the floor of the bar, he is deprived of all the agency he would have exercised as a senior inspector at the SPCA, and even as a serviceman in the army.

Clive's conscious awareness of what was happening during the shooting, and his ability to adopt the role of an observer, is closely related to his experience of time during the shooting, which he perceives as being extended:

And it was really strange because I wasn't far from him you know. I could see, you know. I, I knew what was happening then. But it happened so *quick* that it, it felt like it was the whole evening that this thing was going on. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 69, ll. 26-29)

Lawrence Langer's (1991) statement that trauma "stops the chronological clock" provides an explanation for the apparent contradiction in Clive's perception of time during the shooting ("... it happened so *quick* that it, it felt like it was the whole evening that this thing was going on."). In the process of remembering the overwhelming event, Clive enters an elongated dimension of time that is not chronological – what Langer referred to as "wounded time". In this dimension of "wounded time", Clive is able to adopt the attitude of an observer, and record the minute and agonising details that he does.

Clive's account of the shooting includes a close observation of the clothing worn by the gunman. He mentions that the gunman wore a balaclava as well as "blue combat boots". These two details were also referred to at a meeting of the Highgate survivors in 2006 as indications that the gunmen were not APLA cadres. Since my interview with Clive was conducted two years after this meeting, it is interesting to ask whether Clive has given these details greater prominence in his memory since finding out the new information about the attack. In order to try to answer this, I compared Clive's

description of the gunman in my interview with him in May 2008 with the testimony he gave at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Clive testified before the TRC's Human Rights Violations Committee at the first hearings of the TRC in East London. In his testimony, given on 15 April 1996, Clive includes a brief description of the gunman, as follows: "I couldn't identify the guy as he had a sort of bluish overall on with balaclava, with doves [gloves] on his hand" (Clive Rhode, TRC testimony, pg. 2). In my interview with him about twelve years later, Clive gives a significantly longer description of the clothing worn by the gunman:

But while this was all going on, I was, I was watching this guy. I, I could see, I couldn't see his *face* but I could see he had a balaclava on. He had, uh, blue combat boots which the police wear. That's the first thing that caught my eyes, the blue combat boots. And he had like a blue, umm, hard material sort of pants on. And I don't know if it was a jersey or an overall type of thing that he had on. And he had *gloves*. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 70, ll. 1-6)

All of the details given in Clive's TRC testimony are here verified, indicating the consistency in his memory of the details of the event: the "bluish overall", the gloves, and the balaclava which made it impossible for him to identify the man. However, in our interview, Clive adds one significant detail to his description of the gunman's clothing given at the TRC: "He had, uh, blue combat boots which the police wear. That's the first thing that caught my eyes, the blue combat boots". Clive himself points out the significance of the "blue combat boots" as indicating police involvement in the attack. Furthermore, the "blue combat boots" were "the first thing that caught my eyes", demonstrating that the new information that was given to the survivors in 2006 about the possible involvement of the apartheid security forces in the attack, had, by 2008, been internalised by Clive to the extent that he had linked this information to the smallest detail of his memory of the event itself. In this tiny detail of his narrative, Clive seems to be re-remembering the Highgate attack as a victim of the apartheid government.

Clive also observes a pause in the shooting as the gunman ran out of ammunition; then, while still standing near the door of the bar, reloaded his weapon with another magazine and started shooting again. It is at this point of his account that Clive's observations reach their greatest level of detachment as he describes his contemplation of

death while lying helpless on the floor of the bar, as well as the bodily sensations associated with this experience of the imminence of death:

And you know I was... I, I, I didn't hear anything. It's, it's something you can't really explain to anybody, you know, when you're lying there and what's going through your mind at that time. I mean death is the first thing that, that you know... I, I, I just closed my eyes and... I, I don't know, you know, my, my body sort of *lifted*. And I mean, it's all I thought of. And while he was still shooting I, I just lay there, and I just thought of, you know, of, of dying because... it was s-, *strange*, you know I was, I just closed my eyes and I could feel my body rising. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 70, ll. 26-32)

Clive describes how, once the shooting had stopped, he heard an object rolling towards him, and, thinking it was a hand grenade, once again thought he was about to die. However, it turned out to be a tear gas canister. And with the consciousness of “an awful smell” came the awareness that he was lying in blood. At this point in his narrative, Clive's attitude shifts temporarily from observation to engagement as he recognises one of the policemen who arrived at the scene:

And it wasn't long after that a, a guy came in, umm, a police guy, that I, that I *knew*. Working with the SPCA when the cattle trucks come, and I recognised his face. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 71, ll. 22-24)

Significantly, Clive recognises the man from interactions he had with him at the SPCA – the world of his employment from which he was being torn. Clive goes on to relate how the man helped to carry him out to the ambulance “on a canvas sail” as there were not enough stretchers for all those who were injured.

Immediately after the attack, Clive was taken to Frere Hospital in East London along with the other survivors. It was found that both his elbows had been shattered by bullets. Fortunately, doctors were able to save one of Clive's arms by taking an artery from his leg and implanting it into the arm. The elbow joint was reconstructed by means of a bone graft from his hip and a metal plate that was screwed into the bone.

Clive's other arm, however, was amputated within forty-eight hours of the attack. He relates that when he was lying in the operating theatre after having been given an epidural that paralyzed him “from the waist up” he still had some visual awareness of

what was happening as the scene of the amputation was reflected back to him on the operating theatre lights:

I didn't realise then what they, what was happening, but I could you know... I, I wasn't sort of registering what was going on, but I could *see*. And I went in to theatre and, and, uh, I was lying there... And, and the worst part about it is they had these big operating theatre lights, and I was reflecting *back* on to these silver lightings where the lights were... And I could see them going like this [mimics sawing motion], you know, and I didn't then know that, what they were doing. But uh, it's funny enough... I didn't *realise* what they were doing, but I could *see*. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 73, ll. 14-32)

Although not fully conscious of what was happening to him, Clive was a witness (in an exclusively visual sense) to the amputation of his arm. Just as at the scene of the attack itself, where Clive was reduced to a helpless observer on the floor of the bar, so once again Clive is a powerless observer to what is being done to him. As his arm is being surgically removed, so his agency as a person is being stripped away from him.

The next portion of Clive's narrative tells of the long process of recovery from the injuries he sustained in the attack and from the loss of his arm. He was moved from Frere Hospital to St Dominic's Hospital, where, at first, he was unable to do anything for himself. While he had to learn to use his remaining arm and hand again, he also had to learn to walk again, due to the bone graft that was taken from his hip.

At this point in the interview, Clive paused to show me the scars from the entry and exit wounds of the bullet on his elbow, as well as the place where the metal plate had been inserted to hold the elbow joint together. It was as if he was appealing to me as the interviewer to bear witness to the *bodily* suffering he had endured:

[p] [gesturing] That's where the bullet went in, on the side, and it came out over *here*. You just lift it up, you'll see there's a mark there, *small hole*. It came out there, ja. Mmm. And then they had, I had a plate put in there with, with eight pins. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 74, ll. 31-33)

Clive proceeds to relate how surgeons re-routed the nerves in his arm to the top of his elbow to relieve the pressure when he performed certain actions, like writing. Clive's hand required extensive reconstruction and rehabilitation. He travelled to Cape

Town twice a year over a period of three years to visit a hand specialist who performed the reconstructive surgery. The operations included having a pin inserted into his thumb, and having tendons taken out of his last two fingers, and put into his thumb and forefinger to strengthen them.

A turning point in Clive's narrative of recovery occurs in an interaction with the hand specialist in Cape Town. Clive relates this interaction in direct speech, giving it a dramatic effect:

Ja. And then, it was actually *very clever*, Doctor Boom. He's, he's actually gone back to America now. And he said to me... I closed my eyes, and he, umm, he said, "put your hand in a box," – when I went to Constantia. And I felt something but I could feel it was *soft*. I didn't have that much feeling in the fingers then, so I couldn't sort of identify what it *was*. And he said, "can you tell me what you've got in your hand there." And I said, "it's something little bit rough but I, I can't, I don't know what it is." And he said, "open your eyes," and then it was a piece of *chalk*. And he, he drew on my hand and he said, "that's what they're gonna do." He says, "within 365 days you'll be able to use these fingers again." And it wasn't even, it was *before* that... (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 75, ll. 16-26)

The action of the doctor, in drawing with the chalk on Clive's hand, and predicting that he will be able to use his fingers again within a year, marks the moment when agency begins to be restored in Clive's body and his person, after his experiences of complete powerlessness at the scene of the attack, and subsequently in the operating theatre. Clive emphasises that he was able to use his fingers again even within the one-year time period predicted by the doctor. However, it took Clive much longer to gain 'full' functional use of his arm and hand. He tells how, over a period of three years, he had to put in "hard work", including painstaking strengthening exercises for his fingers, to achieve a 'full' recovery. Even then, some relatively simple everyday actions, like getting in and out of a bath, remain beyond him.

3.1.3.2. Investigating the Highgate Attack

The second narrative thread in my interview with Clive begins with his observations during the shooting of the clothing worn by the gunman, including the "blue

combat boots”, gloves, balaclava, and “navy blue” outfit. As has already been explored, these details were mentioned at the meeting of the Highgate survivors in November 2006 as indicators that the attackers were operatives of the apartheid security forces rather than APLA cadres. Reflecting on his original observations at the scene of the attack in the light of the discussion at the group meeting in 2006, Clive finds the conclusions that were reached at the meeting to be appropriate:

You know and it, it was *strange* but at the time I don’t think one really registered when something that was happening. But when everything was sort of put into a picture, then the ideas came in that these okes were, could have been SAP guys, SADF guys or the askari guys, ja. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 78, ll. 6-9)

At the meeting of the Highgate survivors in November 2006, the original investigating officer of the Highgate attack, Daryl Els, drew to the attention of the group details from the ballistics report of the attack. The report recorded the number of rounds of ammunition that hit the bar counter in the hotel, showing that the shooting was highly accurate, and therefore that the gunmen were highly skilled. The group accepted the details as they were presented as indicators that the gunmen were not APLA cadres, who were usually untrained. Clive therefore refers to the information as indicative that the attackers were “well trained, professional guys”. However, he adds the caution that the perpetrators had not yet been identified:

I don’t know. You know, I think one must also... uh, it’s hard to sort of, uh, say. You know we haven’t caught the perpetrators yet, umm, but you know the, the way it was *done*, it was professional people that had *planned* this. It wasn’t just a hit-and-run. Ja, it was, ja, planned. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 78, ll. 13-16)

In the next portion of Clive’s narrative he relates a few anecdotes or “stories” that he heard after the attack, all of which seemed to implicate the apartheid security forces. Clive learned from one of the anecdotes that the police, seemingly deliberately, “took their time” to respond to the shooting:

And I believe... it was also a strange thing that someone told me, if it was just to be sort of brave or to say you know, *we* were there as well, involved in this. I believe they, they didn't respond to the shooting straight away. It's like they, they took their time, umm, to get to the Highgate. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 79, ll. 3-6)

Another of the anecdotes Clive heard indicated that the police deliberately set out for the scene of the attack without the necessary equipment, even though they had been told that the Highgate was "like a war zone":

Umm, ja, but you know, this is what I heard from, from someone to say that when they were radioed, or, or the, the thing had come out to say that the Highgate was under attack, it was like a war zone. They had to prepare themselves as if they were going to war... The *funniest* thing is, you know if, if it *was* a *war zone*, you know, you go there well equipped, you don't come there without teargas masks. It's strange. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 79, ll. 10-17)

The reason that Clive points out the failure of the police to bring tear gas masks to the scene of the attack is that the use of tear gas was one of the elements that ruled out APLA involvement. A former APLA commander, Letlapa Mphahlele, confirmed at the meeting of the Highgate survivors in November 2006 that APLA did not use tear gas in their attacks.

Clive proceeds to compare the Highgate attack to other attacks in the Eastern Cape region between 1992 and early 1994 that were attributed to APLA. He points out that while hand grenades and tear gas were used in the Highgate attack, they were not used in some of the other attacks in the region, such as those on the King Williamstown Golf Club (on 28 November 1992) and the Queenstown Spur Restaurant (on 3 December 1992). Clive suggests that this distinguishes the Highgate attack as a "different attack altogether". The comparison with the King Williamstown Golf Club attack is appropriate, since APLA claimed responsibility in this case and applied successfully for amnesty from the TRC. However, in the case of the Queenstown Spur, just as in the case of the Highgate Hotel, no-one applied for amnesty from the TRC. Louise Flanagan, in an unpublished report on "The East London Askari Unit" remarks that, in both cases, security force involvement is possible (2001, p. 21).

The possibility that the apartheid security forces were involved in the Highgate attack leads Clive to speculate about whether the investigation into the attack was bound to be “just a cover-up” from the moment the police investigators arrived at the scene:

So ja, you know, it's umm... you come to a place and you're not equipped, I mean it just didn't make sense. Did they *know* about it? You know, the, the guys that went in there the next day, uh, were they *part* of it, you know?... You know, and, and it's just strange that they, they just can't link anything up to the Highgate Hotel, which I don't believe because there, there must have been *a lot* of evidence there that night. It's just that the police never investigated it. It was just a cover-up. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 80, ll. 3-13)

Following the first meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in November 2006, the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) asked the survivors to draw up a memorandum requesting that the NPA re-open the investigation into the Highgate attack. The memorandum was composed at a follow-up meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in December 2006. Clive relates that when the case was re-opened, the NPA obtained the documentation for the case from the police. Clive was surprised that the files were in the possession of the police, since he had previously made a number of unsuccessful requests to the police for the files. Initially, he had been told that the files were in the possession of the TRC. But this was shown to be “a lie” when the NPA re-opened the case.

Through his experience of the TRC process, Clive became aware that the TRC conducted its own investigations into some of the cases brought before it. Clive states his wish to gain access to the files from the TRC investigation as well as the police files, in order to compare them. However, contrary to Clive's assumption, it appears that the TRC did not investigate the Highgate case. The TRC report does not refer to any investigations, merely noting that “The Commission did not receive any amnesty applications in connection with this matter although it has been routinely ascribed to APLA” (vol. 3, ch. 2, p. 147, paragraph 410).

One of the consequences of the unsuccessful investigations into the Highgate attack – both the original police investigation and the subsequent investigation by the NPA – is a profound lack of closure for the survivors of the attack. They still have no

clarity on the identity of the perpetrators or their motivation for the attack. This lack of closure is demonstrated in the structure of Clive's narrative about 'Investigating the Highgate attack': the narrative begins to take on a circular structure that resists closure. Clive circles back from the unsuccessful NPA investigation to the days immediately after the attack when, lying in hospital, the survivors were approached by police investigators. Clive describes how the policemen brought to the weak and severely injured survivors large collections of photographs of APLA cadres, asking them to identify the perpetrators:

...I mean, you know, when I was in hospital, umm, I was... I think within a matter of a week, they were bringing us photo's, to identify APLA cadres. You know, a big thing of photo's. "Is that the guy? Is that the guy." So, you know, it, it was like sort of putting... if, if you *think* about, you know, at *that* time, no. But if you think about it *now*, it was obviously like putting us on to a... trying to like *force* us to *identify* these guys. I mean how could you? You know, *I* couldn't. I mean we were in hospital. I was on pain killers. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 83, ll. 8-17)

Since the gunmen wore balaclavas throughout the attack, it was impossible for the survivors to identify the perpetrators from the police photographs. Reflecting on this incident in the light of the new information about the attack, Clive considers it likely that the policemen were trying to "force" the survivors to link the attack to APLA. He emphasises this by recalling how the nursing staff at Frere Hospital "chased away" the policemen because they were harassing the survivors.

In another circular movement in his narrative, Clive returns to a series of interactions he has had subsequent to the attack with people whom he has approached to find out more information about what happened. All of these interactions are with people linked to the police in some way. Clive interprets the meetings as significant, especially the way in which his interlocutors appear to withhold information. One of these interactions has additional significance since it involved the first person to assist Clive at the scene of the attack:

And also when I spoke to a guy, funny enough, *funny enough* the same guy that came into the hotel that night when I was lying on the floor and I was still

conscious. I could see and remember *everything*. It was only until they put me in the ambulance. *That same guy* and he's still around. And he's still with the police... I saw him, shuh, I think it was just after the memorial service or before the memorial service. And I *called* him. I was, I was going to a, a, a place and I stopped. And he was parked over the road. And, uh, he wasn't in police uniform. And I called him and I said to him, "you know, *don't* you know anything about the Highgate?" "You've been in the police for a long time, you know, you guys talk." He turned around to me he says, "Clive, I've got a family and a wife to look after." (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 84, l. 29 – pg. 85, l. 11)

Clive remarks how the man "just like dashed off", leaving him to seek out an interpretation for the meeting. He wonders whether the man's reaction means that he actually does know who was involved in the attack and what happened:

'Cause it's strange the way he approached me, you know, in a, in a way to say, oh he knows who it is, but he's not gonna *talk*. You know? And then again in way to say, well, ja well, you know, we all know, and that's that. So it was strange, ja. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 85, ll. 25-27)

Since there has been no closure about who was responsible for the attack and the circumstances surrounding it, Clive faces the problem of interpreting the silences of people who appear to withhold information. He circles around these silences, trying one interpretation after another and finding none completely satisfactory.

Clive draws his narrative of 'Investigating the Highgate Attack' to a close by revealing that one of his motivations for finding out the truth is to discover whether there were involved members of the police and SADF whom he knew personally. He then restates his frustration that the NPA investigation has reached a dead-end, and, in particular, that the NPA has not followed up on the information given to it by the survivors themselves. Clive here refers to investigations that were carried out by Louise Flanagan, a journalist and former TRC investigator, on the activities of an askari unit just outside East London in the late 1980s to early 1990s. Flanagan presented her findings at the first meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in November 2006. Her unpublished report (2001) details the existence of a base for the East London unit on a small farm in Summerpride, an industrial area on the outskirts of East London. (Summerpride also happens to be an area where some of the survivors live). The East London unit was in

operation at the same time as the notorious Vlakplaas unit, near Pretoria. Among other sources, the commander of Vlakplaas at the time, Colonel Eugene de Kock, confirmed the existence of the East London unit (2001, p. 9).

Clive feels that Flanagan's findings have provided the NPA with sufficient material to prompt further investigation. However, since the NPA investigation has come to a halt, Clive himself speculates on the *modus operandi* of the attackers, assuming they were operatives of the East London askari unit. He ends his narrative by tracing possible escape routes from the Highgate Hotel that may have been used by the attackers. It is an ending that resists closure: although Clive mentally traces one escape route after another, none of these routes lead him closer to the truth:

You go over Badenpowell bridge there, and once you're over there, boy, there, there are *so many* little roads, linking off to Komga, King Williamstown, and anywhere you want to go, Transkei... once you get on to that road you *gone*, ja... (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 90, ll. 5-7)

3.1.3.3. Experiences of Meeting Other Survivors

The third narrative thread in Clive's story tells of his experiences of meeting other survivors of political violence. This narrative is, to some extent, a continuation of Clive's narrative of 'Investigating the Highgate Attack', since one of Clive's primary motivations in his initial interactions with other groups of survivors was finding out the truth about the Highgate attack. Clive's first experiences of meeting with groups of black survivors of apartheid-era atrocities came through his involvement with the Khulumani Support Group. (The Khulumani Support Group was formed in 1995 by survivors and families of victims of South Africa's political conflict. It was set up in response to the TRC by victims who felt that the TRC should be used to "speak out" about the past). Clive refers particularly to a workshop he attended on Robben Island with ex-combatants from a number of black liberation movements. At the time of the workshop, Clive was "the only white" involved in Khulumani:

And the, the strangest thing about it all is, is we, we got put up at Robben Island for a week, umm, by Khulumani. And we *stayed* there with the most *wanted terrorists*. Now if I was with *them*, *eating* with them, *drinking* with them, you know, and *nothing* was said... You know, it's, it's strange. I mean we were put up with them. Uh, myself and Thora were only two whites. Well actually, I was actually the only white involved with, with Khulumani at the time, I was involved with them. I'm still a member. And, you know, you meet these guys. And, and they're all ex-APLA guys and Umkhonto-Wesizwe guys that have now, sort of turned the wheel. They want to now, sort of start a new life and, and forget about what they've *done*... And I mean nothing was ever said. It was like they were *friends* of mine. It's like I'd known them for *years*. You know, I mean, you know... nothing was just mentioned. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 90, ll. 17-32)

Clive's attitude towards the other survivors here seems to fluctuate, as he shifts from the language used by the apartheid government for liberation movement fighters ("terrorists") to the language of friendship ("It was like they were *friends* of mine").

I queried Clive about whether there was a shift in his attitude towards black survivors of political violence after he found out that APLA was probably not responsible for the attack. He answered by comparing his experience at Khulumani with his experience at the healing of memories weekend attended by the Highgate survivors in June 2007:

And especially when, especially when you went to, from *there*, from Khulumani now to, to, uh, the healing of memories which was like two years ago, or a year ago... And you were with *other people*, umm, that were *also* sort of victims. Ja, it quite hurt, it hurt a lot, hey. You know, to, to, to realize what, what had happened to *them*. And here all along we were thinking it was, it was APLA, umm, when I was with Khulumani. And then when we went to the healing of memories, and we realized, oh, some time back it wasn't APLA, I mean you like *united* with these people, hey. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 92, ll. 24-32)

Clive expresses the capability of identifying empathically with the experiences of the black survivors he met at the healing of memories weekend. This capability seems to stem from the identity of victim ("that were also sort of victims") – victimhood at the hands of the apartheid government – that he is able to share with the black survivors since the new information about the Highgate attack.

However, Clive traces the origins of his capacity to empathise with black survivors of apartheid atrocities to an experience he had at the TRC. During the period when the TRC was holding hearings in the Eastern Cape, Clive was invited to a workshop that was also attended by the chairperson of the TRC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the deputy chairperson, Alex Boraine, and Yasmin Sooka, a commissioner. Also present at the workshop were the family members of the ‘Cradock Four’. (After their deaths, the United Democratic Front activists, Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata, and Sicelo Mhlauli, who were killed by the South African Defence Force in Port Elizabeth in 1985, became known as the ‘Cradock Four’). During the workshop, participants were given the opportunity to share their stories in a reciprocal way:

And ag, when, when we *sat* and listened to people’s stories... and *from that day* – the workshop, I think it was for three or, three days in King Williamstown – that’s... they came to me and said I was like a *white son* to them, the Cradock Four. Not only *them*, like a white son to them, because what had happened to *their* sons, you know, that were taken away from them, and what had happened to *me*, and that I was still alive. It felt like I was one of their sons now, and that’s what they *called* me. They said I was *their white son*. That, that what had happened to their sons, and how they were tortured by the apartheid regime and, and, and I was part of their family now. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 93, ll. 19-29)

The words spoken by the family members of the Cradock Four to Clive (“They said I was *their white son*”) had a powerful effect on him as is shown by the way he repeats them here three times. The metaphor used by these survivors is one of adoption, of making Clive “part of their family now”. The symbolic adoption of a white survivor into a group of black survivors seems to be made possible through the mutual sharing of stories. Each group adopts the personal history of the other as their own: Clive receives the stories of the family members of the Cradock Four, “what had happened to *their sons*, you know, that were taken away from them... how they were tortured by the apartheid regime...”; in turn, the family members receive Clive’s story, “... what had happened to *me*, and that I was still alive”. The mutual sharing of stories in a context of empathic listening seems to facilitate the creation of a remarkable picture of survivors of apartheid atrocities united as a single human family despite their differing backgrounds.

3.1.3.4. Finding Employment Again

Clive's narrative about 'Finding Employment Again' is, to some extent, a continuation of his narrative about 'Recovering from the Highgate Attack'. He begins by enumerating the losses he incurred as a result of his injuries in the attack. These included the loss of a career at the SPCA where he had been employed for thirteen years prior to the shooting; the loss of the "company house" and "company car" that the SPCA had provided for him; and the loss of the ability to support himself and his daughter financially.

Clive relates how he registered these losses step by step after the attack. First, when he was given two months notice to leave his house; then, when he was forced to write to his daughter's school explaining why he was unable to pay her school fees; and finally, when his company car was re-possessed. Clive explains how these losses were "degrading" to his sense of self:

And they'd given me *two months* to get all my stuff out the house. And said, you know, they can't keep this house empty anymore. You need to take your stuff out so we can find someone else to do your job. And ja, I had to, I had to *leave*. I mean, you know, there was... I had a daughter at school, I couldn't pay school fees. I, I had to go down to the school, I had to write letters to the school and say to them I could not afford the school fees. And this and that, and... ja, it was quite like *degrading*, you know. It's... your life, you had what you had and everything was just taken away and now you're pleading poverty. And ja, I had a car, that was repossessed. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 95, ll. 16-24)

Elaborating on the way in which his self-identity was "degraded", Clive describes how his masculinity was threatened by his inability to fulfil the role of breadwinner and provide for a wife and children. He also describes how an identity that he didn't choose ("which I don't say I am"), that of a "disabled person", was socially imposed on him. The identity of "disabled person" not only diminished his opportunities for finding employment, but also diminished his identity in the eyes of others ("now I'm *looked upon* as a disabled person"):

You know I think for, for me being a man it's, it's different. It's, umm... I should be a bread winner. And, you know, where would have my life been, if, if I *wasn't* shot? You know, and now I'm *looked upon* as a disabled person. When I look for a job, and by *being* physically disabled, which I don't say I am, people will *treat* you as if you, you don't have a brain that can function. So you would be offered a job where you would get paid peanuts, and you haven't got an option, you've got to *take* it. So this is maybe where, where *I* feel a little bit *different*, being a bread winner and I no longer *can be one*. You know, I can't support, umm, a wife and children one day. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 105, l. 31 – pg. 106, l. 8)

Since his only source of income immediately after the attack was a disability grant of R280 per month, Clive required assistance from friends and family to support himself financially. The process of finding employment again and becoming financially independent began when Clive joined what he called “rehab”, a rehabilitation programme for physically disabled people. A facilitator at “rehab”, after discovering that Clive was unemployed, asked him to do a housesitting job for her. Subsequent to this, the facilitator put Clive in contact with a company looking for operators to monitor CCTV cameras. Clive relates how he travelled to King Williamstown for an interview, and later accepted the job as an operator. After some years on the job, Clive was promoted to the position of “supervisor”, and presently (at the time of the interview) works as an “operations manager”, overseeing 30 to 40 staff, and working across 18 to 20 sites:

And ja, I went down there and, and it just got better and better. And I got a company car, and sites got bigger. And I travelled to the Transkei. I used to do it once a week. And we had PE, we, we've got sites in Cape Town. And ja. And, and then I took this, that position where I am now and it's... ja, and that's where I am. So I'm like an operations manger now, looking after all the sites and all the staff. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 108, ll. 16-21)

Through finding employment again, Clive has not only regained the ability to support himself financially, but also regained the opportunity to build a career. He has been able to build a new identity described by the professional title of “operations manager”, and given substance by the real responsibilities he bears for overseeing staff and various sites. In this way, Clive has restored his identity as a man capable of fulfilling the role of breadwinner. Yet he has also, in some sense, restored his identity as a disabled person.

Through the focus of his job on employing disabled people as camera operators, he has the opportunity to promote the rights of disabled people. And in giving dignity to other disabled people in this way, he is also restoring dignity to his own identity:

And what we do is, funny enough, is we employ a lot of the physically disabled people. Most of our guys in Cape Town that are operating the cameras at Pick n Pays are in wheelchairs, ja. So that's one of our profile... on our profile is that we *do* physically disabled... ja. So we, we've got a few in East London as well, physically disabled people. So ja, it's, it's nice giving them something to do, and they enjoy it. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 108, ll. 27-32)

3.1.3.5. Epilogue

When I asked Clive near the end of our interview whether there was anything else he wanted to say, he began to talk about his upbringing, and especially his memories of doing compulsory national service. Clive began by sketching only a few details of his childhood: the fact that he was born in Cape Town, and that his family moved inland “where the climate was dry” because he suffered from asthma. He was schooled in Grahamstown, and he emphasises that, at that time, his parents were not involved in political activities in the country:

And it's strange, you know, we were never politically [p] -minded or anything. I can't remember my parents even going to political party meetings, or, or *going* anywhere. You know, I can't. I, I, I can't even remember my parents *voting*, it's funny enough. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 109, ll. 24-28)

Clive's schooling in Grahamstown indicates that he benefited directly as a white person living under apartheid. His lack of awareness of his own political status as a beneficiary of apartheid and the political status of his parents (“I can't even remember my parents *voting*”) mirrors his isolation from the broader political realities in the country at the time.

It is interesting that when Clive proceeds to give the account of his experience of doing national service, this theme of his isolation from the political realities in the

country is sustained. For Clive, the army yielded only a growth in personal awareness, rather than political awareness. The opportunity for personal growth (or otherwise) is perhaps signalled by Clive's fear when he was first called up for national service:

So ja, you know, I was 18 years old and I went to the army. And, I mean, I, I didn't know *anything* about life. I mean, I'd just left school, and I was with grown-up men. It was frightening. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 110, ll. 1-3)

Clive emphasises that, at that time, one year of national service was compulsory for white men in South Africa. However, in the year that Clive was conscripted, the apartheid government lengthened compulsory national service to two years. Clive was therefore part of the first group of conscripts to complete the two years of service. During this period, he participated in army camps all over the country. Clive relates how he became "tired" of the army, and when he was called up for yet another camp, decided that he had had enough. Under the pretence of doing a medical examination, he caught a train home and never returned to the army: "I went home and I never heard from the army again. *Never ever.*"

Clive's lack of awareness of the political realities in South Africa while doing national service extended even to his working life after he left the army. He attests that it was only through his involvement in the Highgate shooting, and his subsequent experience in survivor groups like Khulumani that his eyes were opened to the political realities under apartheid:

...it's funny when I *left* the army and started working and all that, it didn't really worry about what was happening in the country, politically wise. Really, it didn't even concern me. And only until I got involved with the Highgate shooting... I realized *then*, what was happening, I mean what the apartheid regime were doing, you know, I never *knew* about it. You know, I'd never even heard of Eugene De Kock. It's only until when I belonged to Khulumani and I heard these stories, that I realized what the apartheid regime was all about. Ja. And it's strange, you know, when doing my national service there was, there was nothing ever *mentioned* about Wouter Basson poisoning people. You know, you never *heard* of those things... Ja, so there, there were, there was, I mean Soweto Uprising, I never even... I was physically running around as a soldier and I didn't even know what was happening there. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 112, ll. 1-16)

Clive's account of 'not knowing' what was happening in the country at that time is reinforced here through repetition: "I never *knew* about it"; "I'd never even heard of..."; "...there was nothing ever *mentioned*...you never *heard* of those things..."; "I didn't even know what was happening there". Perhaps Clive's account of 'not knowing' is given a degree of legitimacy by his experience of being cut off from the political events in the country while he was doing national service. Yet there is a tension between the emphatic negative statements in his account ("I never *knew* about it" etc.) and his opening statement about his attitude towards the political circumstances in the country after he left the army ("...it didn't really worry about what was happening in the country politically wise. Really, it didn't even concern me"). It is evident that Clive's account of 'not knowing' is closely related to his lack of concern about what was happening in the country. I would suggest that this lack of concern was a consequence of his position as a beneficiary of apartheid, not only in terms of education, but also in terms of economic opportunities. I would venture that it was Clive's material privileges that prevented him from developing a real concern for the circumstances in which the majority of black people in the country were living.

It was, of course, through the Highgate shooting itself that Clive's life of sheltered privilege was shattered and the political realities in the country suddenly burst into his personal life. Even though Clive was told at first that APLA was responsible for the attack and was therefore unaware that he was probably a victim of the apartheid government, he could no longer keep the political struggle in the country at a distance, since it was inscribed on his maimed and scarred body.

Clive attributes his development of real concern (where previously there was only indifference) for the suffering endured by black victims of the apartheid government to his experiences of meeting other victims in the settings created by the Khulumani Support Group and the TRC. Clive recognises that the TRC de-legitimised his account of 'not knowing' what was happening in the country under apartheid ("that opened my eyes too"). This was perhaps also a general function of the TRC, that it de-legitimised the narratives of white beneficiaries of apartheid who claimed that they 'didn't know what was happening' by broadcasting the testimonies of victims of apartheid into the public

sphere, and validating their suffering. However, it was Clive's experience of meeting with black victims in person and listening to their stories that allowed him to develop real concern for what they had experienced:

But then when I actually got involved with Khulumani and, and I sat down with *victims* and *heard* what the apartheid regime did to *them*, then I only realized, you know, what was happening, or what, ja, what was actually still happening in the country... And, and also when I got involved with the TRC, *that* opened my eyes too, when I sat and listened to people's stories, of, of how *they* were tortured and, and people's sons just disappeared and, and they've never been found. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 112, ll. 22-29)

3.1.4 Shereen L: Narrative Case Study

There are three main narrative threads in my interview with Shereen L, the sister of one of the victims of the Highgate attack, Deon Harris. The first is Shereen's story of her grief at losing her brother, who was one of the first patrons to be shot when the gunmen opened fire in the Highgate Hotel. The second is the story of how Shereen's family relationships have been affected by the loss of her brother. The third is the story of Shereen's experiences of meeting with survivors of other incidents of political violence, and the growth of a capacity for empathy with other survivors. An epilogue to Shereen's story is provided by her reflections on the emotional journey that the loss of her brother initiated for her, and her unique identity as the sister of a victim.

3.1.4.1. A Sister's Grief

At the beginning of her account of the night her brother was killed in the Highgate attack, Shereen attests to the clarity of her memory of that night, suggesting the proximity of the past event to her in the present:

It's still so clear. Umm, I actually remember hearing sirens like this, that are going now. From here I could hear them and it was about after ten and then my mother phoned to tell us that there had been an attack at the Highgate. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 50, ll. 9-11)

By using the verb “I remember”, Shereen signals that, despite the proximity of the past event to her in the present, she is able to distinguish between the person who experienced the trauma of hearing of her brother’s death and the person in the present (at the time of the interview) who is doing the remembering. Shereen highlights this distinction by comparing the sirens that were sounding as we conducted the interview at her home in East London in 2008 to the sirens that were sounding on the night of the Highgate attack (“I actually remember hearing sirens like this, that are going now”). The ability to make this distinction between the person who experienced the trauma and the person in the present doing the remembering, indicates the operation of what Charlotte Delbo (2001 [1985]) called “common memory”, which is rooted in the intellect and in language. Certainly this portion of Shereen’s narrative displays a degree of linguistic mastery over her memory of the Highgate incident that surpasses that of many of the other survivors (although Shereen was obviously not present at the Highgate Hotel on the night of the attack as many of the other survivors were). It is significant that Shereen repeats the verb “I remember”, signalling her linguistic mastery over her memory, on three more occasions before the conclusion of her account:

My mom and dad arrived here at twenty past two in the morning to tell us the news and I remember my mom coming in with a little packet in her hand and a tablet. And just seeing her walking like that I knew straight away. I remember *losing* my legs. I always see that on TV, people just like fall down and lose their legs, well it happened to me. Now I believe it’s not put on. I lost my legs and I just remember shouting and shouting his name, [crying] tears. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 50, ll. 15-20)

It is noteworthy that Shereen’s initial intimation of the loss of her brother was in the bodily posture of her mother as she came to tell her the news (“and just seeing her walking like that...”), for Shereen’s own reaction to the news shows how trauma is inscribed at a bodily or sensory level. Shereen’s memory of her reaction as “*losing* my legs” seems to describe the reduction of her consciousness to the confines of her collapsing body, an “emptying of consciousness” delineated by Elaine Scarry (1985) in her research on victims of torture. However, Shereen’s ability to reflect on her reaction and to characterize it as a typical grief reaction (“I always see that on TV, people just like

fall down and lose their legs...”) once again displays her mastery over her traumatic memory. Her tears at this point in the interview also suggest a degree of integration of her traumatic memory into autobiographical memory, since the memory itself is attached to an appropriate emotional response.

Shereen proceeds to signal prematurely the conclusion of her account of the night of the Highgate attack by separating her clear memories of her reaction to the news of her brother’s death from the uncertainty she experienced before the news was given to her:

And anyway that’s, that’s my memories of that night. Ja, strongest memories I have of that night of them coming home with a tablet. And watching TV all night and also thinking yes if we phoned home all the time in case he had run *away* and maybe he’d, he’d got home, left his car there, maybe he got a fright and he ran home, you know, we, we were praying for that.

...

So we had that kind of maybe, just *maybe* he wasn’t there. That’s all I really remember of that night. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 50, ll. 21-25; pg. 50, ll. 30-31)

When I asked Shereen whether attending a memorial service at the Highgate Hotel on 1 May 2008 (the day of our interview) brought back memories of the night on which her brother was killed, she said that this was not the case:

I actually don’t mind going into the Highgate. I’ve got past the feeling of terrible despair, I’ve got past that, ja, it doesn’t sort of bother me too much anymore. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 51, ll. 3-5)

This comment, taken together with what we noticed earlier – Shereen’s linguistic mastery over her memory of the night her brother was killed, and a degree of integration of the traumatic memory into autobiographical memory – suggests that Shereen has worked through the experience of losing her brother to the extent that she has “got past the feeling of terrible despair”, and “it doesn’t sort of bother me too much anymore”. However, at the time of her brother’s death, this was not the case. Shereen attests that the process of mourning for her brother was arrested due to the fact of her being pregnant at the time of her brother’s death, and the advice that was given to her by her doctors:

...I never, I never had a chance to actually mourn my brother's death because of the timing of being pregnant and losing him at the same time because the doctors had told me, or people had told me don't *cry*, don't *cry*, you've got to think of your *baby*. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 51, ll. 31-34)

At a later point in the interview, Shereen relates how she internalised the advice of her doctors and set aside the mourning process:

So I just, I don't know, as I said I actually, I put it behind me for quite a few years because of how it was all don't cry, carry on with life. Umm, I sort of put it aside and I carried on, you know. I did, I put it all aside and I carried on. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 53, ll. 17-20)

In Shereen's experience, it is only through participation in the Highgate Survivors' Group (since its formation in 2006) that she has been able to complete the process of mourning that was arrested on her doctors' advice:

So the Highgate now, I mean I, my first real mourning was now last year I started because I kept everything inside me for all this, I mean I only start talking about it and I get tears, I must admit. Umm, so they've helped me in that way, they're the strength, they, they know what I'm talking about, they understand, so for me it's wonderful. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 52, ll. 1-5)

3.1.4.2. Family Relationships as the Sister of a Victim

Shereen's story of how her family relationships have been affected by the loss of her brother begins with her emphasis on a particular emotion that she experienced in relation to losing her brother – an emotion that then began to permeate her other intimate relationships:

...I just feel so *cheated* because I haven't got that, I haven't got a brother, I've got no, I've got nothing, it's just my dad and I now so I feel very cheated. Umm, like I was talking to my daughter on the way home today, I said ooh you know if, if uncle Deon was here he would be spoiling you and doing this with you and doing that with you, and they cheated, they've been cheated. Ja, so I feel very cheated, I haven't got that, I will never have a niece or nephew, my own niece or nephew. Umm, I feel terribly cheated so that's the main feeling I feel. I feel cheated. And that best friend, I mean he was, we were only 18 months apart so he was like my

friend, he was, he was very good friends with me. He used to come to me with all his problems and I used to go to him with my problems and some, I've lost that. And it's only my dad and I now. It's hard. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 52, ll. 16-28)

Shereen's feeling of having been "cheated" through the loss of Deon as a brother, friend, and confidante is registered in her close family relationships in the following ways: she has been left without a brother in her immediate family ("it's only my dad and I now"), without the possibility of becoming an aunt ("I will never have a niece or nephew"), and without an uncle for her children. This last-mentioned loss – of her brother as an uncle to her children – is one that Shereen seems to carry on behalf of her children, and one that she communicates to them directly ("like I was talking to my daughter on the way home today..."). For Shereen, the significance of losing Deon in his role as an uncle to her children is heightened by the fact that she was pregnant with her first child at the time of Deon's death. This is a detail on which she elaborates:

Because I really feel they've been cheated on something that, I can't explain it, because he was *so excited*, *my brother*, he was *so excited* about this new baby because my son was expected on his *birthday* which is the 13th, my brother's birthday was the 13th of May and my son was expected on his *birthday* so like for him it was *wow*, you know. So he never got to see him. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 52, l. 33 – pg. 53, l. 3)

Just as the loss of her brother Deon has affected Shereen's relationship with her children, so it has affected her relationship with her mother, who herself had to mourn the loss of her son:

But it affected my mom badly, it affected her terribly. Umm, like she wanted to, she wanted to sort of make a shrine of my brother and I used to get quite not jealous, quite upset thinking I'm still *here*, you know, so it was quite a hard time. Umm, I'm still alive. Umm, I felt *jealous* of someone who wasn't here because she was, umm, she was treating him like he was a God now that he had gone and I felt terribly jealous, I really did. I think she sort of forgot I was still here and she said to me but you've got a husband, you've got a family, you okay, you can carry on, you know. So it was very, I was pushed aside and I also stayed aside because of what happened. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 53, ll. 21-29)

It is interesting to explore the interconnections in the relationships between Shereen, her mother, and her children. On the one hand, in her relationship with her mother, Shereen both witnessed her mother's deep grief over the loss of her son ("it affected my mom badly") while also experiencing intense jealousy at being displaced in her mother's affections by a brother who was no longer alive ("I was pushed aside"). On the other hand, in her relationship with her children, Shereen responded to her brother's excitement prior to his death about the imminent birth of her first child ("he was *so excited*"), by later communicating this excitement to her children. Shereen herself acknowledges that she has "overcompensated" for the loss of her brother as an uncle to her children by bearing, on their behalf, a loss that they did not experience directly. It seems as if, like her mother, Shereen has herself, to some degree, displaced her children from the centre of her affections through the memory of their deceased uncle.

At a later point in the interview, Shereen confirms that, since her mother's death five years previously, she has taken on the role of her mother, not only in mourning for her brother, but also in searching for the truth about the Highgate attack:

...Well, ja, my mom, because that was her, I've sort of taken over from her with this Highgate thing because she was the one who, who joined Compassionate Friends and who also looked for answers and who was, how can I say, very involved, very involved. Umm, and also a horrible thing was when she died, she died of cancer, a lot of people said to me oh it must have been *easier* than Deon because at least you *knew*. How can people *say* that? At least she knew she was going to die but Deon was terrible, it was a tragedy, but how can people even compare two people's deaths, you know. Uh, no, umm, because I mean there it was nine months of her knowing she's going to die, you know, and it was *hard*, it was harder than Deon. Deon was a tragic *shock* but to know that this person that you've loved all your life now is going, you don't know when but she's dying, ooh no, that's difficult. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 58, ll. 7-20)

3.1.4.3. Experience of Meeting Other Survivors

Shereen's story of her experiences of meeting with other survivors of incidents of political violence and other survivor groups begins with her reflections on a particular event, facilitated by the Institute for the Healing of Memories, an NGO based in Cape Town. This weekend event involved encounters between the Highgate survivors and

groups of black survivors who suffered violence sponsored by the apartheid state; and it included opportunities for sharing of testimonies across the different survivor groups.

Shereen comments as follows:

I thought it was wonderful. Honestly I thought it was wonderful because I only thought of myself, you only think of *yourself* and the people that are affected from your one incident, you don't look further than what's, that something's happened to someone else. So it opens your eyes and to think that you're not *alone*, you know, because before it was just shame us poor Highgate people, us poor Highgate people but now there's lots of other people out there being affected in their own ways. So it's sort of opened my eyes. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 55, ll. 23-30)

For Shereen, the experience of meeting with other survivors at the healing of memories weekend held in Cape Town in June 2007 has “opened her eyes” to the suffering of others, allowing her to explore the altruistic capacity for empathy with other survivors, and particularly, other groups of survivors who have suffered in a similar way. Shereen even expresses a desire to reach out to other groups of survivors which have not yet been approached:

I see that as a definite, yes. I'd like to do that. Especially the groups that *haven't been* approached, the groups that are just sitting, that have never been approached like the King Williamstown Golf Club and Fort Beaufort and Queenstown and all those groups. It's so, the only thing is I don't know how people will react because it's so far, it's so *long ago* and a lot of them have got answers so maybe they want to just say okay I'll carry on with my life now. So I don't know how people will react, you know, that's the only thing that worries me because I can see where, if they had to *say that* where they coming from, they might have made peace with everything and, so. My only worry. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 55, l. 33 – pg. 56, l. 8)

Through the expression of her desire to reach out to other groups of survivors, Shereen displays a capacity for empathy with other survivors who have endured similar experiences. Yet she also demonstrates that her capacity for empathy is oriented towards the healing of other survivors, since she shows a deep sensitivity to the particular journey of suffering and healing of each survivor and each group, following a unique trajectory that is distinct from her own.

Shereen's development of the capacity for empathy with other survivor groups, particularly black survivor groups, represents a remarkable personal transformation given her initial reaction when she was informed that the Highgate attack had been carried out by APLA. At the time, she refused to be treated by black nurses when she was in hospital having her first child, and consequently had to be put in a private ward:

I was very angry at black people as a whole. I will be very honest with you, I was very angry at black people as a whole. Umm, ja, no I was ooh, ja, because also in hospital when I was having Degan, because we thought it was APLA I didn't want to see a black person so the hospital wouldn't allow a black nurse in my room, I was put in a private ward, you know, uh, uh, really it was hard. It was very difficult because they had to also, there they were very *careful* about who I saw, umm, it changed a lot. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 56, ll. 19-26)

The information that was given to the Highgate survivors in 2006 suggesting that the attack was not carried out by APLA, but rather by the apartheid security forces, evoked in Shereen intense feelings of anger and betrayal, arising from the sense of having been attacked by what she would have regarded as 'her own government'. While she had "learnt to live with" the original explanation of the attack as an operation of APLA, the new information evoked a desire to find out the truth about what had happened. Shereen describes the desire to find out the truth about the attack as a unifying factor among the Highgate survivors – one which gives them a common purpose as a group.

The new information about the Highgate attack, indicating the involvement of the apartheid security forces, seems to have opened the possibility for Shereen of empathic identification with other survivor groups, especially black survivors who were also targeted by the apartheid government. However, it has required the nurturing environment of the Highgate Survivors' Group, and later the Highgate United Group, to allow this capacity for empathy to grow and develop to the extent that was demonstrated through Shereen's experience of the healing of memories weekend in 2007.

At another point in the interview, Shereen identifies the capacity to empathise with other people who have also endured suffering as a new capacity that has emerged within her as a result of the experience of losing her brother. She views this empathic capacity as a sort of "gift" left to her by her brother that she can use to help others:

In that I'm able to help other people, definitely, and I don't say I know what you going through because I do know what you going through, I'm not just saying it, you know, so it's, it's great in *that way*.... Yes I've gone through something and it's changed me in that way, it's made me more empathetic. Umm, ja.

....

It definitely is something that I've, I always, I always said after Deon died, I always said Deon's left me with something, he's left me with something, the *ability* to help other people who are going through something similar, you know, it's a gift he's given me in a roundabout way. It's a gift I got from him, and ja, I'm able to speak to people, I find it easy. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 59, ll. 4-12; pg. 60, ll. 20-24)

3.1.4.4. Epilogue

An epilogue to Shereen's story is provided by her answer to a question I asked her about how she would tell her life story. She responded as follows:

I know, as from when? Ja, ja, I don't know where I would start. Umm, I always just look at my emotions of that time and I talk a lot about them because there were so many *different* emotions, cheated as I say. Umm, the one is *guilt*, I felt terrible guilt. I felt guilt because I was *happy*, I had a *baby* and I wasn't mourning my brother and I felt guilt because I was *mourning* my brother in a small way towards my baby, I felt guilt because I should be happy. So that feeling, there's no-one else I know in this group has got that feeling that I had of guilt and it's *horrible horrible horrible* feeling because you want to be happy but you can't be happy because I'm, I know I can't do that, I should be, I should *not* be happy, I should be sad. You know, so that, not my life story I know, but that *feeling* I don't think will ever go away of the *guilt* I felt, it's a horrible feeling. It's a *horrible horrible* feeling because you happy and then you sad, I mean in a matter of two minutes you can be totally, you know, ooh no, it's *horrible*... Ja, because I mean when you sad you should be sad for a *while* but now you sad, happy, sad, happy, sad, happy, you don't know where you are. I mean, ooh emotionally it was, it was *terrible*, and I never *accepted* it, I always thought my brother was coming back. I always thought he was coming back, and when I heard a car I used to jump to the window and look out, wait for him because everybody saw him, they all went to go and see him at the funeral home and I wasn't allowed to, I was told no and in my whole family everybody went and I didn't have that chance to see him, that it was really him. So in my mind I always thought well maybe, you know, he's still alive, you know, so it took a while for me to actually accept that he had gone, you know. So it's a very very different feeling, it's, I always say I wouldn't wish it on *anybody*, I wouldn't wish it on *anyone*. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 57, ll. 1-28)

It is interesting that Shereen chooses to relate her life story in terms of the various emotions she experienced in response to her brother's death. She tells her story from the perspective of a mother who was pregnant with her first child at the time of her brother's death. Indeed this story of her own grief at her brother's death and the emotional confusion arising from her joy at the subsequent birth of her son, is the very story that was suppressed at the behest of her doctors, who advised her not to grieve for her brother in the interests of her unborn baby. The part played in Shereen's story by guilt as the emotion underlying both her "sadness" at the loss of her brother and her "happiness" at the birth of her son seems to be an ongoing consequence of her doctors' advice at that time. Shereen even identifies this emotion of guilt as an emotion that is unique to her story, distinguishing it from the stories of the other Highgate survivors.

3.1.5 Trevor S: Narrative Case Study

Trevor S has had the opportunity to tell his story on a number of occasions in a variety of contexts. Perhaps as a consequence of this, the narrative he creates in our interview is well-developed and complex in terms of its structure. There are two main narrative threads in my interview with Trevor. The first is the story of Trevor's experience of the Highgate attack. The second is the story of Trevor's search for the truth about the Highgate attack. A short epilogue is provided by Trevor's reflections on the experience of telling his story.

3.1.5.1. The Highgate Attack

Trevor himself signals clearly the beginning of his story, and proceeds to describe the turn of events that initiated his journey to the Highgate Hotel on the night of 1 May 1993:

Ok the story was it was my best friend's birthday that night, so I had made plans on going out. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 1, ll. 14-15)

Trevor relates how he had made reservations for supper at a specific restaurant for his friend who was on holiday from the army that weekend. However, the plans fell through as his friend had made prior arrangements for the evening with his girlfriend, and so Trevor phoned his cousin Nigel to tell him he was picking him up to take him out for the evening. On arriving at Nigel's house an unexpected event occurs – in the form of an interaction with Nigel's father – that, on reflection, Trevor identifies as a premonition of trouble:

...and, uh, *strange* thing was – it doesn't normally happen. His father walked out with us and he still said to us you know walking out to the car: You guys must be careful now tonight don't get into trouble or anything like this. I still thought, you know, what's he talking about? We never get into trouble – so, you know we are not that type of, you know, guys. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 1, l. 25 – pg. 2, l. 2)

Trevor and Nigel laugh together about Nigel's father's uncharacteristic comment as they drive away; and, after stopping at a number of hotels and restaurants that turn out to be unsuitable venues, they make a reasoned decision to go to the Highgate Hotel:

So then we decided ok the closest place would be the Highgate because he stayed in Morningside and I stayed in Summer Pride so it's like in between. It wouldn't be far to travel if we have too much to drink. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 2, ll. 26-28)

Trevor proceeds to describe how, as the pair approach the Highgate, a cassette tape that is playing on their vehicle's tape player becomes jammed. The song that is playing when the tape player jams provides for Trevor a second premonition of the trouble that awaited them that evening:

...Just before the Highgate, I had a cassette playing in the car and it was one of my favourite tapes playing and the one specific song that was playing was a song from Prince, [sings] All seven and you watch them fall type of, you know that song. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 2, ll. 29-32)

Later in the interview, Trevor points out the significance of the song's lyrics, "all seven and you watch them fall", as a reference to the seven people who were injured in the

Highgate attack (five were killed). At this point, Trevor describes how he struggles to pull the tape out of the player before leaving the car – a detail which, in the light of the song’s lyrics, suggests a symbolic wrestling with the fate that awaited him.

From this point in the narrative, where the cassette sticks in the player, the narrative time of the sequence of events is extended, such that successive actions within the scene of the attack are described as if they occur in slow motion. Although successive actions are described in a linear sequence, the narrative time of the sequence is significantly extended given that the attack itself lasted only a few minutes. This elongation of narrative time is one of the aspects of what Lawrence Langer (1991) calls “wounded time” in the experience of trauma survivors.

One of the ways in which the narrative time of the sequence is extended is through inserted reflections on the significance of a particular detail, as if this significance has only belatedly been recognised. For example, at the beginning of the sequence, Trevor describes his reaction to hearing a shuffling noise at the door of the bar:

I think Winston had just put the change down when I heard a shuffling noise you know by the door, you know, the entrance. And umm, I still turned around to look you know because normally, you know, you got the odd fights at the Highgate - they were well known for a barney here, you know whatever, with guys. And that’s what I thought was happening, so I still turned to look, you know what’s going on. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 3, ll. 10-15)

Trevor goes on to describe how the real reason for the noise was a gunman wearing a balaclava running into the bar. After relating how he hits his cousin next to him off his barstool and himself falls backwards as the gunman turns his gun towards them, Trevor emphasises the extended time the shooting seemed to take:

The shooting [deep breath] it took sometime. I remember turning onto my side making as if I was dead, you know, like just lying still. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 3, ll. 24-25)

After describing the impact of the bullets into his body (Trevor clapped his hands together in the interview to demonstrate the numbing impact), Trevor seems to enter a world of the living dead. This movement in his narrative may be compared to the operation of what Charlotte Delbo (2001 [1985]) calls “deep memory”, which is

primarily a memory of the senses, and is opposed to “common memory” which resides in the intellect. It is certainly sensory memory that is dominant at this point in Trevor’s narrative:

And the whole place went *pitch* dark. You couldn’t see anything. And then we heard this, this canister go off there [mimics sound], you know we knew it’s tear gas. [p] And I kept on laying, the shooting had stopped, it felt like the whole building had, you know, you were actually stunned, you know with the grenade going off.

...

It felt like everybody was killed around you. Like you were the only person there. There was not a soul in the place. You don’t know if anybody knows that you’ve been attacked. You don’t know if you are going to die there. How bad you been hit, because you feel nothing. You know you shot, but you feel no pain at the time. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 3, ll. 30-34; pg. 4, ll. 4-8)

At this point, Trevor describes how he shook Nigel next to him, and thought he was dead (although he had only been knocked unconscious by falling backwards off his bar stool). Once again, Trevor inserts into the narrative his own reflection on the incident:

And I kept on thinking oh my god how am I going to tell my aunt and them, Nigel’s dad. Now I like dragged him there to go for couple of drinks and now I’m going to tell them that, you know, he’s dead. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 4, ll. 12-14)

The next portion of Trevor’s narrative is taken up by his passage through this world of the living dead where it felt like “everybody was killed around you”. He describes how he drags himself along the bar counter towards a doorway to try to escape from the choking tear gas. There he encounters another person, “this figure of a person on his haunches”, whom Trevor presumes to be one of the gunmen, but who turns out to be another patron. The man helps Trevor into the adjoining room where Trevor then collapses.

Trevor is then jolted out of this world of the living dead, the world of “deep memory”, by Nigel’s screams from the next room:

I was lying on my back and in my mind at the same time I’m thinking about now Nigel that’s dead you know and all this. And it was seconds after I hit the ground when I heard Nigel shouting, you know screaming inside there. *First*

thing that came to my mind is oh my god I'm dying, you know, I can hear him. And then I realized he's not dead. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 5, ll. 8-12)

At this juncture in the narrative, a noticeable shift occurs from the extended or “wounded time” of the description of the shooting itself, to a temporal structure that more closely resembles chronological time. Trevor himself indicates this shift by employing a chronological reference:

And in the distance we could hear ambulances, you know, well sirens were coming. [p] And that must of, from the shooting till then it took about an half an hour, plus minus half an hour. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 5, ll. 30-32)

Similarly, there is a shift back from “deep memory”, the memory of the senses, to “common memory”, which is rooted in the intellect, and is perceptible in Trevor's realistic account of his rescue:

And then Nigel managed to get two bystanders that heard the attack that came to look what was going on. They came in and they grabbed me by my shoulders and my legs, and they dragged me out over the broken glass to the stairs, and that's where the ambulance took over and got me onto a stretcher and then put me into the ambulance. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 6, ll. 4-8)

The remainder of Trevor's narrative of the Highgate attack tells of his experience of receiving medical treatment in Frere Hospital in East London up until the point that he goes into theatre. Here Trevor again gives a chronological reference, and clearly signals the conclusion of his narrative (“that was the night I know”):

I was one of the last to go to casualty, no well to theatre, that was after twelve I went to theatre that night. It happened about ten past ten, the shooting. And I was conscious all the way right up until the theatre door. And I remember when they were wheeling me to the theatre from the casualty, my parents still came to me they wanted to talk to me and I said please I can't talk. If I can't get there now I know I am going to die. I could feel myself actually sinking. It's a weird, well, feeling. You in your body but you feel yourself just sinking, like fading away, and there is no stopping it and you know you dying.

...

That's all I remember. And I passed out at the theatre door. I could feel there I was going. And then my medical report I read when I went into theatre I had no oxygen in the blood, I had no blood left. It was all nil. I was like dead, I was clinically dead. So how they got me back again I don't know. [p] That was the night I know. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 7, ll. 1-8; pg. 7, ll. 14-18)

3.1.5.2. The Search for the Truth

At one point in my interview with Trevor he relates how when he was lying in hospital receiving treatment three days after the Highgate attack, he dedicated himself to finding out the truth about what had happened. However, a formal investigation into the attack was only launched by the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) following the first meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in November 2006, more than a decade after the original event. Asked to comment on this investigation, Trevor highlights his own frustration with its inadequacy:

I feel they haven't done enough. Personally I feel they got enough leads, they've got enough roads to look down, you know, enough. They haven't done enough, that's what I feel. They just haven't done their work. This is a case that we've picked up that a lot of people are scared to take on for some reason we don't know. I think this is bigger than big. That's what I feel. Behind all this it's bigger than big, and that's the way I feel... that we've hit a brick wall. I don't feel they've investigated every avenue. There's stuff we've given them which they haven't checked up on. They haven't checked up on the hammer unit. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 7, l. 29 – pg. 8, l. 4)

Trevor's predominant feeling about the way in which the investigation has "hit a brick wall" is that there is something – an interested party – that is blocking the progress of the investigation.

Trevor's strong feeling that the NPA investigation is being deliberately foiled, and that "behind all this it's bigger than big", is heightened by his feeling of betrayal at finding out that the attack was probably not carried out by APLA, the armed wing of the PAC, but rather, as he puts it, by "your [his] own people":

It's made me angry. Really angry to know that it's your own people. It could be your own people that's done this. I mean, I could still live with the terms that it was APLA and we came to the, you know, we actually came to accepting it was APLA, that they were fighting for, you know, freedom, it was war we were in. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 8, ll. 17-20)

The Highgate survivors were only made aware of the strong possibility that APLA was not responsible for the attack in 2006, thirteen years after the shooting. Therefore the survivors had, over a long period of time, come to “live with the terms that it was APLA”, and to appreciate the broader context of the struggle for liberation in South Africa in which APLA was involved. Nevertheless, Trevor refers back to his initial reaction, directly after the Highgate attack, to being informed that APLA was responsible. The news induced intense racial hatred in Trevor, to the extent that his treatment in hospital was affected:

I mean after what they done to me, in the early times of the shooting it made me racist, it made me anti-blacks, didn't want to see them. I didn't want black nurses working with me. It made *my* time in hospital more of a hell because they were the nurses and that that had to work with me and it just made things harder and then, you know, it made life hard in hospital. They had to nurse you, you would say things. Who do they take it out on? They take it out on you. You can't go anywhere. You know, that type of thing. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 9, ll. 1-8)

Trevor's self-acknowledged feeling of racial hatred in the early days following the attack later modulated into a “living with the terms that it was APLA”, and a developing understanding of APLA's role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. Through a mediation with Letlapa Mphahlele, a former commander of APLA, Trevor discovered that the attack was probably not carried out by APLA but rather by operatives from within the apartheid security forces (a so-called “third force”). The discovery elicited a feeling of betrayal on at least two levels. First, towards the apartheid government for falsely informing the survivors directly after the attack that APLA was responsible:

They really messed our minds up. Making us believe who it was, at that age of 20 years old. You know your youth was taken away from then. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg .9, ll. 9-11)

At a second level, Trevor describes a feeling of betrayal towards the perpetrators of the attack, who may have been members of his own community:

It's hard to accept. Makes you angry. Makes you more determined to find the answers. Very difficult. I would have liked to believe it was still APLA, you

know, we weren't as hurt then by knowing it was APLA. We came to live with it. But to have heard it wasn't APLA, this could be your own people [tapping arm of chair]. Could have been people that went to school with you. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 8, ll. 25-29)

Following the mediation with Letlapa during which it emerged that the attack was probably carried out by a "third force", Trevor made some investigations of his own into the possible identity of the perpetrators. Based on the *modus operandi* of the attackers and the clothing that they wore, Trevor believes it is likely that the Highgate was attacked by the "Hammer Unit", a group that was active in the Eastern Cape where they trained on farms. This is one of the leads that Trevor feels the NPA has failed to investigate.

Trevor's discovery that the attack was probably not carried out by APLA, but rather by a unit within the apartheid security forces, has been accompanied by a marked shift in his attitude towards black people, and, in particular, towards other groups of black survivors of political violence perpetrated by the apartheid regime. This is evident in his response to the experience of encountering other survivor groups on a healing of memories weekend held in Cape Town in June 2007:

Being, meeting other survivors. The Gugulethu Four, the Gugulethu Seven, the Mamelodi. It's, no really, that is something. Ja. That's something good. That's a positive, it's not a negative. [p] More victims and survivors should go through that.

...

And it's a healing of its own, for black and white. For racist, non-racist. You walk away there changed in some way. Definitely. [p] In this country I think we need more of it. We'll have a better country. To interact with other groups. To be able to tell your story, and to give *you* an opportunity to listen to other stories. To make you realize. Although what you went through was bad, there's always somebody that's worse off than you. That's gone through the same thing as you. You not alone. That type of a thing. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 13, ll. 3-6; pg. 13, ll. 8-14)

The growth of a new attitude towards black survivors of political violence is signalled by Trevor's positive experience of the interaction and the mutual sharing of stories that the healing of memories process involves, as well as by his identification with the suffering

of other survivors. Later in the interview, Trevor describes the inner dynamic of the process of identification with other survivors:

There's just some connection, automatically. You *connect* when it comes to pain, suffering, depression. Those things you can relate to: anger, hatred. All that is linked in to the suffering a victim or whatever has. That you relate to. Ja. [p] I mean it's like a car accident. How can you relate to me in a car accident if you've never been in a car accident. You, you don't have that experience, you don't know what the hell I'm talking about, you know. So by talking to somebody that's gone through the same trauma, although it might not have been the exact same attack, but you make that connection, straight away. [p] And that's what we felt at healing of memories, [p] which was *very moving*. Really, that was a weekend to remember. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 15, ll. 24-33)

Trevor even goes on to suggest that he would like the Highgate survivors to build on the experience of the healing of memories weekend by initiating similar groups themselves in the future. His experience of the healing of memories weekend stands in stark contrast to his experience at the TRC, which Trevor viewed as a vehicle for perpetrators to apply for amnesty, and which further disappointed him due to its failure to provide financial, medical, and psychological support to victims as it had promised.

3.1.5.3. Epilogue

When I asked Trevor about his life story and the way in which he chooses to tell it, he offered some profound reflections that tie together his storytelling with his suffering:

Now, if somebody had to tell me to tell them my life story now, it would have been different to what I would have said to you last year.

...

There's a lot we've tried to block out, since the shooting. Umm, a person does, to try move on. You try block out the hurt, the pain, what you *really* went through, but you know, Stephen, to go back to the pain, I can't describe it. It is, yoh, the *worst* I've ever experienced. And I wouldn't wish it on my worst enemy. That, after a while it felt like I was a guinea pig. I thought I was in a lab and they were experimenting on me. That's how it felt. I couldn't answer to anything. I wasn't even asked, do you want to go to theatre. I was just told, you going to theatre, it's life and death. I had no choice. You know, choices were made without you, well that's how bad it was. You either going, or you gonna die, that's it. I was going

up to three ops well a week in theatre. That's why my heart just said, woh no more, you know started to get too weak. Really, where are the people *then* to see what you going through, fighting for your life on a daily basis. Pain, loneliness, lonely nights, when you sitting with that pain, can't sleep. Crying out there in the dark. Where are the people? They don't get to see things like that. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 16, ll. 24-25; pg. 17, ll. 5-20)

Trevor's sense of powerlessness, of a loss of agency over his own injured body and his own life, is conveyed visually through the image of a guinea pig being experimented on in a lab. Perhaps the power that he has as a narrator, to tell his life story in a different way in each new context, and to select which aspects of his pain to include in his story, and which aspects to "block out", has, to a very limited extent, assuaged these losses. Yet the tragedy of Trevor's story is that he is still left alone with his pain, as he was in the aftermath of the attack, "crying out there in the dark". The only people who "get to see things like that", and acknowledge Trevor's suffering are those of us who are privileged to listen to his story.

3.1.6 Nigel H: Narrative Case Study

Nigel H is the cousin of Trevor S, with whom he was present at the Highgate Hotel on the night of the Highgate attack. Unlike Trevor, Nigel was not physically injured in the attack, apart from a ruptured eardrum sustained when a hand grenade exploded nearby. The fact that he was uninjured in the attack is a central element in Nigel's story, and is closely related to his strong expressions of feeling marginalised by the other Highgate survivors and excluded from the status of a victim of the Highgate attack. Therefore, the main narrative thread in my interview with Nigel may be captured in his words, "I just want to be acknowledged as one of the victims there". A shorter narrative embedded at the beginning of Nigel's story is that of the Highgate attack itself, while an epilogue to Nigel's story is provided by his reflections on how his experience of being marginalised by the other Highgate survivors has affected his interactions with survivors of other acts of political violence.

3.1.6.1. "I just want to be acknowledged as one of the victims there"

As already indicated, Nigel's story begins with an embedded narrative about the Highgate attack itself, given in response to a specific question I asked him about his experience on the night of 1 May 1993. Nigel responded as follows:

Umm, we were there for not even [p] ten minutes. I only had four sips out of my beer, and then I just heard this [mimics sound by tapping on table] up the stairs. And then as we looked up like this, I just saw the sparks shooting out the, umm guns. And then I remem-, I remember – I don't know if I fell or if Trevor pulled me or whatever – but I remember falling on the ground. Umm, I must have been unconscious for a couple seconds because I woke up with umm, the, the teargas in my eyes – it was like burning and that in my, in my head. And then all of a sudden we just heard this big explosion which was the hand grenade that went off. And then, umm, when I came around, Trevor was *gone*. I was there all by myself. And then I ran *past*. And then there was a guy that was on the end of the bar there, umm, I don't know if he was busy *dying* or whatever, but he grabbed me on my leg and then I pulled away scared and that. And then I went to the *door*, and then I ran out in the parking lot. And when I ran out in the parking lot that guy in the other side bar thought he was shooting at the umm, people. Meanwhile he was shooting at me, so he fired another three shots at me in the parking lot, so then I ran back inside. *Then* I tried to find Trevor and them and I couldn't find them. And then this one door came flying down, which was umm, Keith Baling – he kicked the door down. And then the first police van came and I said: “come guys, come and help us here”, and they wouldn't help. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 138, l. 23 – pg. 139, l. 14)

Nigel's account of the Highgate attack is remarkable since it consists mainly of a catalogue of the events and actions that took place on that night, linked by a series of temporal conjunctions (“and then”; “and when”). There is hardly any space within this tightly-packed catalogue for reflection on the significance of events, nor does Nigel mention, with one exception, the emotional impact that the events had on him. During the interview, the way in which Nigel recited the events – events which should have evoked fear and terror – in a monotone voice and without reference to emotional affect, suggests the operation of dissociation, or the splitting off of the emotions associated with the event from the traumatic memory itself. In the one instance in which Nigel does refer to an emotional response, it appears that this response is rather inappropriate to the situation he describes (“And then there was a guy that was on the end of the bar there, umm, I don't know if he was busy *dying* or whatever, but he grabbed me on my leg and then I pulled

away scared and that”). Events that invite reflection or comment, such as the remarkable incident of the police officers who arrived at the scene refusing his request for help, are simply stated without reflection.

The nature of Nigel’s account of the Highgate attack as a catalogue of events drained of any appropriate emotional content and without reflective comment is partially explained at the conclusion of the account, where Nigel refers to his purposeful forgetting of the trauma:

[p] And then I didn’t get *anything*, I didn’t get any medication from then [tapping lightly on table] un-, until now, I’ve only just gone on medication now for the post-traumatic stress. I actually started working it *completely* out of my head. I mean I started going to the Highgate, and all the stories and forgetting about it. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 140, ll. 18-21)

The way in which Nigel “started working it *completely* out of my head” provides an externalised explanation for the psychological process of dissociation that is evident in Nigel’s account of the Highgate attack. His purposeful forgetting of the traumatic event would have contributed to his eventual diagnosis of PTSD, which he received at a psychiatric hospital in the week prior to our interview. However, in Nigel’s view, there were a number of other contributory factors to his “nervous breakdown”, which he refers to in quick succession. Interestingly, one of these factors is the Highgate Survivors’ Group itself:

Then when this umm, Highgate support group whatever was formed and I decided to join and whatever. But there’s *a lot of things* which I was not happy about in this story, and I think that’s why I had a nervous breakdown which I discussed in St Marks on the weekend. Being is that with me not, not being injured in the attack everyone’s like pushed me aside and is making as if I’m not a victim. Meanwhile they, they were all hurt, fair enough, but they were on medication and in hospital and everything. I was mobile, I wasn’t on medication, that’s the way I see it. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 140, ll. 22-29)

The central reason for Nigel’s unhappiness with the Highgate Survivors’ Group and a strong contributory factor, in his view, to his “nervous breakdown” is his sense of being marginalised (“pushed aside”) by the other members of the support group through not being accorded the status of a victim of the Highgate attack. In Nigel’s interpretation,

this is due to the fact that he was not physically injured in the attack, like the majority of the other members of the group. However, Nigel contests that, having lived through the original trauma of the attack, and through being a conscious witness to others' suffering, he ought to have been accorded the status of a victim as well: "Although we weren't hurt umm, we were victims as well".

At a later point in the interview, Nigel explains that his witnessing of others' trauma extended to the time subsequent to the attack, when he visited the other survivors in hospital. Nigel emphasises his consciousness of the suffering of the other survivors, and his awareness of the full extent of the horror caused by the attack:

I was in and out the hospital all the, all the time. I mean they were all lying there on *medication*... I knew all the time what was going on and I never had not *one* tablet. So my brain was thinking 100% all the time, theirs were thinking like 20%. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 147, ll. 5-8)

Nigel proceeds to offer a concrete example of his marginalisation by the other Highgate survivors: his own name and the name of another survivor who was not physically injured in the attack were omitted from a plaque that was unveiled in the Highgate Hotel at a memorial service on 1 May 2007:

And then I was also very hurt when they put the plaque up and they didn't put *my* name and *Keith's* name on there. I don't know if *Keith* feels the same way, but I feel that it's unfair. Although we weren't hurt umm, we were victims as well. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 140, ll. 30-32)

For Nigel, this omission of his name from the plaque indicated in a symbolic way his exclusion from victim status by the other survivors. Nigel returns repeatedly to this matter of the plaque throughout his story, marking it out as a symbolic event of particular significance for him. Perhaps this is because the omission of his name from the plaque silenced his story of suffering and effectively erased his original experience of trauma in the Highgate attack. Nigel proceeds to emphasise that the omission was a matter of "principle" that excluded him from victim status. Since Nigel viewed the incident as stripping him of the identity of a victim, the recurrence of the matter of the plaque in his

story is often accompanied by a refrain, expressed here as: “Although we weren’t hurt umm, we were victims as well”.

In addition, Nigel describes how his sense of exclusion was demonstrated at the memorial service at which the plaque was unveiled where he felt that he was physically “pushed aside” when he was not invited to sit with the other survivors:

I mean I was pushed right to the one, the one *corner*. I wasn’t even... everyone else was standing in the *front* and sitting in the *front* when we had the memorial. I sat with the crowd of *people*. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 141, ll. 5-8)

At another point in the interview, Nigel relates how he foresaw how he would be pushed aside at the memorial service by the rest of the group:

We had breakfast there. Umm, they all went through. I distanced myself from them because I knew what was going to happen. They all like a one sided thing. I was pushed into the one *corner* there behind the speakers and my parents picked it up as well. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 146, ll. 23-26)

During the course of the interview, Nigel mentioned three additional situations in which he felt marginalised by the other Highgate survivors and excluded from victim status. One of these situations occurred at a conference on human rights attended by some of the survivors in 2007. Nigel was shown a book, probably an academic study, on human rights violations in South Africa under apartheid which included the Highgate attack and listed the names of the victims, but excluded Nigel’s name from the list. In another incident, an investigative television programme in South Africa, *Carte Blanche*, invited some of the Highgate survivors to be interviewed for a feature they were producing on the Highgate attack. Once again, Nigel was overlooked, and was not invited for an interview. The third situation concerns the TRC itself, at which a number of the survivors gave their testimonies. Nigel, on the other hand, was not invited to give his testimony at the TRC:

I mean I was never even *asked*, I was never *told*, I was never told anything about it. I mean they all went and testified there, I was never even *told* about it. For the reason being is they said no I wasn’t *hurt*. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 145, ll. 9-11)

Since the TRC employed a specific definition of a victim as a person who suffered gross violations of human rights, Nigel was not accorded victim status by the TRC, and was not given the opportunity to share his testimony. However, Nigel experienced this exclusion as yet another instance of being denied the status of a victim in a broader sense, i.e. someone who suffered as a result of his experience in the Highgate attack. Nigel reiterates that he seeks the identity of a victim in order that his suffering may be acknowledged:

I mean I don't expect anything out of it. I don't expect anything. All I expect is and all I want is just to be acknowledged as one of the victims. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 145, ll. 28-29)

As previously mentioned, Nigel suffered a nervous breakdown a few weeks prior to our interview, and consequently spent two weeks in a psychiatric hospital. In his view, the nervous breakdown has been caused by the accumulation of incidents that stripped him of the status of a victim and left his story of suffering unacknowledged. On the other hand, Nigel describes his work as a coping mechanism that he has used to prevent a nervous breakdown up until this point:

I mean it's, that's why I actually had a nervous breakdown, because of all these things happening and *work* pressure and that. *Although* I can say one thing my, my work actually has made me cope. If it wasn't for my job I think I would have snapped long, long time ago already. Because like when you get up your mind's taken off the whole day. You come home at night then you un, well unwind. Umm, I, I, I tried not to think about it. And then now with them bringing back all the stories and that, it's like starting to come, come back and it's coming back with a vengeance. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 141, ll. 21-28)

At another point in the interview, Nigel describes in detail the everyday routine of his work at a used car dealership in East London, which helped to "take his mind off" what had happened to him. He emphasises the seriousness with which he regards his work, and the way in which he made it an all-consuming focus of his life subsequent to the Highgate attack:

You see what happens is, I'm, I'm, how can I say, very involved in my work. Well, umm, when I get to work at 7 o'clock in the morning I keep myself *busy*.

Although I got drivers, I actually work *with* my drivers. And that's why I get so much out of them. So with me working with them it's actually taking my mind off everything that revolves *around* me. I mean if my dad phones me during the work, I say, "dad I can't talk now, we'll talk when I, when I get home," because I take my work very, very serious. So umm, I've actually taken my work *first* over, over everything. Umm, and with me being like living only, only for work umm, and with these issues that have occurred maybe that's why I took that bit of a knock. Because I'm only living for work and I'm not living for anything else. And it also takes your *mind* off everything because when you get to work there, you don't think of... you'll be riding past here and you'll think, "okay no I must just go here quickly," "okay I must just do this." So you not thinking of, "oh I wonder what so and so is doing, I wonder what so and so is doing." So you not thinking of that, you only thinking of work. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 148, ll. 13-29)

The next portion of Nigel's narrative tells of his experience of how "it's like starting to come, come back, and it's coming back with a vengeance." Nigel relates his experiences in a psychiatric hospital after suffering a nervous breakdown, referring to interactions with a psychiatrist as well as with fellow patients. Nigel explains how, in the hospital, he began to come to terms with his experiences of the Highgate attack and its aftermath, and began to understand his condition, through the diagnosis that was given to him, as "post-traumatic stress". He also relates how he withdrew from all social activities and interactions in the period subsequent to the Highgate attack:

Umm, I well I still don't trust anyone, I, I don't trust anyone. I only trust myself. And I only live for myself; I don't live for anyone else *but* myself. Well I know the psychiatrist said I mustn't look at it that way, but I said well that's the way I want to go. Because I formed a, umm, how can I say, a cocoon. And like I formed a space and no-one must come into my, my, my space. Umm, I mean I don't go out. I haven't been like to a night club or whatever. My parents go eating out quite a lot, they ask me: "do you want to go?" I say: "no I don't want to go." They actually have to *beg* me to go and I won't go. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 142, ll. 21-29)

Through the time he spent in the psychiatric hospital, Nigel was able to identify his withdrawal from social situations as one among a number of symptoms of post-traumatic stress:

Umm, like say for instance someone talks to you and you like all nervous and you don't want to talk, talk back, that's all part of post-traumatic stress. Not going

out, umm, not trusting people, there's a whole lot of things. It's all, umm, forms of post-traumatic stress. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 143, ll. 1-4)

Nigel proceeds to explain his own understanding of some other symptoms and conditions he learnt to identify at the hospital. The way in which he dwells on the medical terminology gives the impression that he is discovering a language in which to express his suffering. It appears that the diagnosis of post-traumatic stress has given him a language through which to express the suffering that he was silent about for so long, as well as medical validation for suffering that was, in his experience, invalidated and ignored in the support group context.

The period Nigel spent in the psychiatric hospital seems to have given him an opportunity to reflect on the impact that the Highgate attack has had on his life and the losses he has incurred as a result. Near the end of our interview, he shared some of these thoughts:

I think it *has*, ja, quite, quite drastically. Because if I wasn't involved in the Highgate, maybe I would have been married, had kids. Umm, how can I say, had maybe a better, better job. Maybe I would have *studied* further, things, things like that. Umm, but now with being in the Highgate, it's actually like push-, pushed me down and into the ground. Nearly as if, umm, how can I say, as if I was a tramp. Although I wasn't a tramp, but I mean it's like push-, pushed me back a couple, couple steps. Now, how can I say, I'm busy crawling out the gutter now, now I'm becoming stronger now. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 157, ll. 1-10)

3.1.6.2. Epilogue

In the context of Nigel's "nervous breakdown", it is interesting that when I asked him about his experience of meeting other survivors of political violence at a healing of memories weekend held in Cape Town in June 2007, he attested that although "just hearing other people's stories was an experience for me", he was unable to empathise with the emotions expressed by the other survivors when they told their stories. Indeed, the emotional outbursts of some of the survivors on the weekend disturbed him to such a degree that he was on the point of another breakdown:

I enjoyed it, don't, don't get me wrong. It was not as if I didn't enjoy it, umm, but just hearing the other people's stories was an experience for me. But even now during the week when we hear those other people, when they start screaming and shouting and crying and thing, it starts making me get worked up.

...

Umm, I was about to crack then on Sunday already. I think it was as if I wasn't used to of people like lashing out and *crying* and all that story. I'm not used to it... it doesn't, it's not in my nature, I don't like it. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 151, ll. 12-15; pg. 151, ll. 20-22)

Although the emotional aspect of the storytelling at the weekend disturbed him, Nigel found the content of the stories “actually interesting” as they were stories that revealed to him an aspect of apartheid South Africa that he says he “never knew existed”. Nigel proceeds to relate some of the stories that he heard – stories about the political and social repression that took place under apartheid:

That was actually interesting, because a lot of the stories which we did hear was, how can I say, stories which I've never heard of and I didn't know, how can I say, existed. Umm, like I mean when they tied the guys together and they blew them up with a landmine and they only gave the parents like a piece of a *bone*, and stories like that. Umm, I didn't even know those stories existed, until then. And people like they were evicted from their houses and when they get home now to see their parents, and they just see an empty house. And then he discovers that he couldn't find his parents for about a year and a half, two years. And then he eventually found his parents, so that was like also a *touching* thing. And then the one woman in that group of ours, her son was killed in Soweto because he was playing with white kids. So they killed her son because he's black and he's playing with white kids. So that was also like... (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 153, ll. 1-13)

It is interesting that, at the end of the second story he relates, about a family that was forcefully removed from their home by the apartheid government, Nigel includes an emotional response (“so that was like also a touching thing”) when he tells how the family was re-united years later. This is despite Nigel's repeated assertion that exuberant expressions of emotion, such as crying, during the storytelling were upsetting for him and even induced panic attacks. It seems that Nigel was able to express empathy in a quiet and restricted way for other survivors of political violence. The emergence of empathy in this restricted way for black survivors is also interesting to consider in the light of a detail that Nigel mentions later in the interview – that he had completed one year of military

service for the SADF in 1992, the year before the Highgate attack. The new finding about the Highgate attack – that it was probably carried out by operatives linked to the SADF rather than by APLA, has altered Nigel’s perspective of the country he served through military service:

So, how can I say, to serve my country and then my country does this to me and nearly, nearly kills me. Although we didn’t shoot anybody or kill anyone or whatever, it still as if I served my country. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 153, ll. 27-29)

That Nigel has come to regard himself as a victim of the apartheid government through the new information about the Highgate attack, is an important aspect of the capability he has begun to demonstrate of identification with other *black* victims of the apartheid government. As we have seen, this has even led to the emergence of an empathic response to the stories of black victims.

3.1.7 Nora S: Narrative Case Study

The narrative given by Nora S in our interview is, to some extent, complementary to the narrative given by Trevor S, her son, a survivor who sustained permanent injuries in the Highgate attack. Indeed, the dominant narrative thread in my interview with Nora is her story of living as the mother of a survivor. While this narrative thread runs through the interview in its entirety, Nora embeds two shorter narratives into her story, one at the beginning, and one at the end. The first embedded narrative is Nora’s brief account of the night of the Highgate attack; the second embedded narrative is Nora’s story of how her house was flooded and her household furniture ruined in an incident subsequent to the attack. An epilogue to Nora’s story is provided by her reflections on the way in which the Highgate attack has affected her life in relation to the identity she has assumed as the mother of a survivor.

3.1.7.1. Living as the Mother of a Survivor

Nora's story of living as the mother of a survivor opens with her embedded narrative about the night when her son Trevor was injured in the Highgate attack ("Chappie" is a nickname for Trevor):

Ok, when I heard about it, we were at the house. Umm, my son and Nigel went out that night. And umm, I was watching TV, Terry-Ann was at the house that night, she didn't go out, and the phone rang. I can't remember what time it was, but she answered the phone. And it was my brother-in-law, Nigel's father. And he said that umm, Chappie and Nigel were shot and we had to get down to the hospital, the Frere Hospital. Anyway, Terry-Ann put down the phone and she said: 'Come Ma'. We got my husband, we went down to the Frere Hospital and there, boy oh boy, it was, we just saw blood. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 38, l. 26 – pg. 39, l. 6)

This opening portion of Nora's account of the Highgate attack is remarkable since it reconstructs the events in a sequence devoid of emotional or affective content (this is emphasised by the monotone voice in which Nora recites the account). This may indicate the operation of the psychological process of dissociation, which entails the 'splitting off' of the emotional aspects of the traumatic event in memory.

It is only near the very end of her embedded narrative of the Highgate attack that Nora describes an emotional reaction to her son's life-threatening and debilitating injuries:

But he could feel himself going, going, losing, 'cos as he was losing blood, so his pressure went down, you know? But he did go into theatre, into theatre and thank heavens he did make it. But it was *very sad*. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 39, ll. 22-24)

Even here, Nora's emotional response is limited to a single phrase and a single adjective ("...it was *very sad*"). This phrase is twice repeated in the conclusion of the embedded narrative ("It was very sad"; "That was very sad"), indicating Nora's limited ability to articulate an emotional response. Since our interview may have been Nora's first opportunity to tell her story in its entirety, it is understandable that she should have difficulty in attaching the appropriate emotional responses to her dissociated traumatic memories, and articulating these responses as part of her narrative. A solitary variation on Nora's largely undifferentiated emotional response to the Highgate attack is provided by her comment on the loss of life ("...I felt sorry for the people that had died..."). The

conclusion of Nora's embedded narrative does, however, display the emotional capacity for empathic identification with other surviving family members, as well as with the hospital staff who were providing medical care for the survivors ("the nurses were working *terribly hard*").

Following her embedded narrative, Nora proceeds to relate how, in the immediate aftermath of the Highgate attack, the routine of her everyday life was structured around caring for her son in hospital and sitting next to his bed each night:

I used to come from work at night, go straight down to Chappie at the hospital. He had so many drains and the nurses couldn't sit by him all the time, so I would come from work, be dropped down at the Frere, be with Chappie *the whole night*. 'Cos he had so much uh, drains, 'cos he was *septic*, he was going septic. And I would stay there until five o'clock in the morning and then Terry-Ann would come and fetch me and I would go home and get showered and go to work. Then I couldn't stay at home to look after him when he came home, so we got a nurse to look after him in the day time and I was a nurse at night. So I hardly slept. That was very hard for me, very hard, very hard. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 40, ll. 4-12)

Nora repeats the phrase "very hard" here to express her physical and emotional exhaustion at having to work twenty four hours a day – first during the day at her regular job to support her family financially ("And my job... 'cos I worked at Johnson and Johnson, they were very good to me"), and second at night ("*the whole night*") at the hospital to offer her son medical care and emotional support.

In retrospect, Nora expresses incredulity at being able to survive such a punishing work schedule that allowed her no time to sleep or rest. As she suggests, her schedule was more taxing even than the schedule of the nurses at the hospital:

And the nurses, when they see me coming, then they would get ready to take their clothes, even if I got off a half an hour earlier, thinking I'm just going to have a bit of a break, they want to go home, you know?

...

So I had *no break*, I mean I still had to do my home, my, my *house work*, do *washing*, you know? Cleaning. But my husband was very good to me, he helped me, Terry-Ann did her share so, all that did help you know? But if I look back, I don't know how I did it... I could never do it again. If, if I could, well if I had to

do it again I don't think I'd be able to do it. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 40, ll. 25-27; pg. 40; ll. 29-32)

Nora's re-organization of her everyday life around the priority of caring for her son in the immediate aftermath of the Highgate attack has been accompanied by a re-organization of her intimate family relationships. Nora now regards her relationship with her son as the central relationship in her life. She indicates that the reason for her seemingly permanent re-organization of her intimate relationships is the suffering that Trevor has endured, which isn't shared by the other two members of her immediate family (her husband and daughter):

Mm, I'm more for umm, I'm always looking at him to see if he is ok. 'Cos he's my *main* person, I've even sort of pushed my husband aside *for him*, because my husband hasn't suffered, my son has. So my son to me, needs me more, even still today I look at him to see if I could help him. Whereas my husband, I mean he's sixty three, gonna be sixty four, he *needs* my help, I do *help* him, but my son comes first. My daughter too. I had, mm, I mean she was, Chappie was twenty, she was tw- she's three years older than him. But she *knew* that she couldn't expect *me* to anything for her, she had to do it herself, you know? She was there *for me*; I couldn't be there for her. [sniffing] And we weren't *eating* because going to hospital, coming back at five o'clock in the morning, I wasn't eating. So I had lost *a lot of weight*. And one night she said to me: 'You are *not* going to hospital, I am taking you and dad out'. She took us out for a meal, but then I couldn't eat. I was more, I was *crying* more than I was eating, 'cos I was thinking of my son you know lying there, not eating. Just your *whole life* is around *them*, you know? (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 41, ll. 10-25)

Nora's acknowledgement of her inattention to her own health while she was caring for her son, as well as her inserted story about being unable to enjoy a family meal while her son was still in hospital, indicate the extent of her emotional co-dependency on her son. Nora proceeds to express clearly her co-dependency on Trevor as a persistent emotional state since he was injured in the Highgate attack:

It wasn't so bad today, 'cos *he* was ok, but if *he's* down then I'm very down as well. [p] It actually all depends how *he* feels. If I see he's down, oh, then I'm also so down. [p] He's my whole life: wherever he goes, I go. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 42, ll. 1-3)

Nora proceeds to describe one of the aspects of her emotional co-dependency on her son as the sense of loss she bears on his behalf for his loss of a livelihood and of financial independence:

‘Cos he’s not like he used to be, he used to go to town, go and do shopping, come home, say: “Ma, look what I bought, look at the clothes I bought Ma.” You know? Today, he can’t do anything of that... His livelihood has been taken away.

...

Ja, you hoped your son had a job, he *did* have a job, and that was taken away from him. [sniffing] Now he gets a little pension. And you see other people earning so *much* money, and your son’s earning just a little bit [crying]. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 42, ll. 22-26; pg. 42, ll. 31-33)

Nora registers the fuller meaning for her own life of Trevor’s loss of a livelihood and financial independence by describing how her husband stopped working a year after the Highgate shooting when he suffered a series of strokes. With her husband and her son both dependent on her (apart from Trevor’s meagre pension) Nora overcame significant obstacles, including being retrenched from her job on two separate occasions, to provide for her family financially in the years subsequent to the Highgate attack. This part of Nora’s story displays her notable courage in persevering through adverse circumstances.

Near the end of our interview, Nora gives another embedded narrative that effectively concludes her story of living as the mother of a survivor. In this embedded narrative, Nora relates how the house she bought for her family after being retrenched from Johnson and Johnson was flooded one night causing the household furniture, which was uninsured, to be damaged beyond repair. As a result of the flood, the family had to sell the house and buy a new one, thereby stretching their meagre finances once again. Although the traumatic incident of her house being flooded did not bring back to Nora memories of the Highgate attack itself (at which she was obviously not present), it did bring to mind the empty promises of financial assistance made to the survivors subsequent to the attack, which have exacerbated the losses inflicted on survivors and their families. These losses are embodied in Trevor’s debilitating injuries and the resulting loss of a livelihood and financial independence – losses which have had an

ongoing impact on his mother's life. Here is the concluding embedded narrative in its entirety:

Well you know, you *would think* of Highgate, thinking, when are these people that's offered to help, when are they coming forward? Just to help, I mean, we went through a *flood*. I can't tell you that, the, the, the year. We stayed in Dale Street, Amalinda. We bought a house there with my pension that I got from Johnson and Johnson [sniffing]. And we were living there, and uh, we had the floods one night. And it always happens at night, early hours of the morning. We had to get out of our house. Thank heavens Martin came and helped us that night. Our, the water was above the window in our home. We had no insurance on our goods. *We* got pieces of furniture from different people, in that house that we stayed in. We *don't* have new furniture. All our furniture that we had was bugged up. You know furniture that gets wet, it breaks apart, so we had to throw it away. So the furniture we've got here is a chair given from, say Martin, and a chair given from here. Then we *left* that place, we sold that place, the banks helped us fix it up and we sold it. And we bought this place where we stay now, so. [p] Ja, Stephen, where's it gonna end? Ja, like usually you ask me, do I think about the Highgate a lot, I said, "Ja, I did", 'cos so many people have offered, "I'll, do, I'll do this for you people", "I'll do that", and nobody's done anything. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 45, ll. 4-24)

3.1.7.2. Epilogue

When I asked Nora near the end of our interview how the Highgate shooting had affected her life, she responded that she thought the experience had made her a better person, as through it she had developed the altruistic capacities of empathy and generosity:

And it's affected *my life*. [p] I think I'm a better *person*. I don't think I would think of other people, if *nothing* had happened to my ch-, to my family. You know, you just carry on working and just carry on with your own life and not worry about anybody else. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 47, ll. 20-23)

Nora's story of living as the mother of a survivor shows how these capacities for empathy and generosity have been demonstrated in her experience of caring for a survivor of the Highgate attack. At an earlier point in the interview, Nora also points towards empathy as the defining feature of her identity. She proceeds to position her own identity as a person

with the capacity for empathy in diametric opposition to the identity of the perpetrators of the shooting, who she sees as being defined by their lack of the capacity for empathy:

[p] They didn't realize when they pulled that trigger, how that other person would feel. To *hurt anybody with whatever*, you don't know what that person would suffer from. I mean, I wou-, well I wouldn't even hurt a,a,a, *bird*, knowing what that bird will go through. How could you hurt, uh, s-, something that *breaths*? (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 46, ll. 20-24)

3.2 Thematic Analysis: Survivors' Perceptions of the Support Group

In the previous section I examined the narratives given by members of the Highgate group during my first set of interviews with them using a 'case-based' approach. In the present section I examine the same set of narratives using a different analytic lense – here provided by thematic analysis. Although a 'category-centred' technique (as opposed to a 'case-based' approach) thematic analysis may be employed as an analytic technique that is complementary to an overarching focus on narratives as whole analytic units. This is the way in which thematic analysis is employed by the theorists Riessman (2008) and Squire (2008); and the same understanding underlies the use of thematic analysis in this section.

In her discussion of survivor support groups in *Trauma and Recovery* (1992), Judith Herman outlines three group models for survivors of trauma. Each group model has a therapeutic task and set of parameters that is related to the successive stages of recovery that Herman identifies in her book: groups for safety; groups for remembrance and mourning; and groups for reconnection. Comparing the Highgate group against these three models, we find that it does not easily exemplify one of the group models, and seems to bear features of all three. Since the Highgate group was formed about thirteen years after the original event, one might at first think that it would most closely resemble a group for reconnection, assuming that survivors would have had an opportunity to

reconstruct a safe environment for themselves and work through aspects of their traumatic experience in the intervening years. However, at the first meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in November 2006, it became clear that many of the survivors had not had a previous opportunity to tell the story about what had happened to them in a supportive environment; moreover, many of the survivors were encountering one another for the first time at this meeting. Therefore, as it developed, the Highgate group began to take on features of a group for safety, a group for remembrance and mourning, as well as a group for reconnection.

These observations about the Highgate group were conveyed by survivors themselves when they spoke about their experiences of being part of the support group. I subsequently conducted a thematic analysis across the individual survivor interviews to draw out themes relating to survivors' perceptions of the support group. The groups of themes that emerged from this analysis are related to all three therapeutic tasks of safety, remembrance and mourning, and reconnection. The first group of themes may be identified by survivors' perception of the group as a "family" – referring primarily to the environment of safety, mutual support and care created by the group. The second group of themes is related to survivors' experience of the group as a means of reconnection with other people, in particular through opportunities afforded to survivors to meet with other groups of survivors of political violence. The third group of themes is related to survivors' perception of the group as a basis for future social action. A fourth theme refers to a negative case of a survivor's experience of feeling excluded from the group.

3.2.1 The support group as a "family"

The first group of themes that emerged from the thematic analysis was identified by survivors' perception of the group as a "family", and is discussed in this section. One of the primary functions of a support group for trauma survivors is the restoration of social bonds that have been damaged by the traumatic experience. Judith Herman describes this function eloquently: "Traumatic events destroy the sustaining bonds between individual and community. Those who have survived learn that their sense of self, of worth, of humanity, depends upon a feeling of connection to others. The

solidarity of a group provides the strongest protection against terror and despair, and the strongest antidote to traumatic experience. Trauma isolates; the group re-creates a sense of belonging. Trauma shames and stigmatizes; the group bears witness and affirms. Trauma degrades the victim; the group exalts her. Trauma dehumanizes the victim; the group restores her humanity” (1992, p. 214). The notions of solidarity and belonging that Herman here emphasises are also referred to by survivors through their identification of the support group as a “family”. Survivors seem to use this term to express the special nature of the bonds they formed with other survivors in the group: bonds that were not arbitrary or merely functional; but rather intimate, human bonds having the quality of familial relationships.

Trevor S: Well the Highgate group is more of a family – that’s how we see ourselves. Those that’s committed to, you know, our group, that we are more as family members, we are linked in somehow. We are, how can I say, we are not outsiders or you know, well strangers to each other. And I think that’s what’s making us *stronger* as a group... I see Shereen as a sister, Clive as a brother. Not as a friend or associate, or whatever you want to call it. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 11, ll. 1-11)

Shereen L: Just, I *love* the Highgate group, they my family. Umm, they feel like family to me, they, they my friends. Umm, ah, I can’t explain it, we’ve just been through so much *together* that we’ve got this *bond* that is, is wonderful. Umm, ja. I enjoy them. Everybody complains about this one dropping out and that one dropping out and I always say if it’s only two of us so what, you know, I mean we still a group, you know, it doesn’t worry me. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 61, ll. 19-24)

3.2.1.1 The safety, support, and care offered by the support group

For a number of the survivors, the support group experience was one of restored community, as it created an environment in which they found safety, mutual support and care. The experience of community was characterised by a sense of inclusion and

belonging (as in a “family”), and demonstrated through a network of human relationships through which survivors were able to share common life experiences in a supportive space, “build” one another “up”, enjoy one another’s company, learn from one another, and even express gratitude for a second chance at life.

Shereen L: And I feel part of it even if I’m just the sister, I feel very much part of it. I feel very included. [p] And I must say I’ve got lots of support from my husband otherwise I wouldn’t be doing this. If I didn’t have his support I wouldn’t be able to do what I do with them. So I’m so lucky, I’m very very lucky. I think your, if your family support you on, with a group effort like this, I mean it’s the only way you can do it otherwise. I’m very lucky. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 52, ll. 7-13)

Trevor S: Ja. I mean I can phone Shereen whenever. Depressed, down, I don’t have to tell her. Just by her listening to me over the phone. Ah, Trev what’s wrong, you know. And that type of thing and we build each other up. Clive too. You know you can see, you know, there’s something, you try build each other up. That’s what we’re there for. We there to support each other, you know, through thick and thin till the end. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 11, ll. 13-18)

Nora S: It’s helped me to be with the other group. I miss their com-, their, their, ‘cos I know what they’ve gone through, so it’s *good* to be with them – just to have *fun* with them. Like when we went to Grahamstown now, just to be with them, laughing with them. *They* know what *he’s* going through. Shereen knows all about it, I’ve spoken to her, she can see where, she’s a *mother* herself... so she understands him. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 43, ll. 8-13)

Winston Mzwandile N: I love to be [inaudible] survivors. I’ve no problem to be with them. I *like* to be with them, and I *learn* also... Because you know what... we were... so, so I think about what happening to *us*, then God give us a life, a life again. [inaudible] that day saying that other people there they lose their life, but we didn’t lose their life, our life, we still alive. So I must be part of them, you see, as a group. Yes. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 125, ll. 9-15)

Maria V: It’s a very good thing that we, we do meet as a group say like once a month, once in two months. And then we talk about it and... it’s a

very good thing. [p] You know we get together and then we discuss certain things and, and to talk about it and sort of get it, you know. I often phone Trevor and we have a good old chat over the phone and we talk about what happened and how we battling in life to live and... (Maria V 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 25, ll. 19-24)

3.2.1.2 The resources of the support group for mirroring or acknowledging the experiences of each member

One of the most powerful effects for survivors of being part of the network of relationships in the support group was the sense of being acknowledged by the other members of the group. As one survivor attested, referring to his fellow group members: “They know where you coming from. They know what you talking about. They understand what you talking about.” The process of acknowledgment or mirroring is a characteristic feature of support groups, as Judith Herman explains: “When groups develop cohesion and intimacy, a complex mirroring process comes into play. As each participant extends herself to others, she becomes more capable of receiving the gifts that others have to offer. The tolerance, compassion, and love she grants to others begin to rebound upon herself” (1992, pp. 215-216). Survivors described acknowledgment as occurring through a number of relationships in the group, showing how their own investment in these relationships “rebounded” to them with a multiplying effect.

Trevor S: They know where you coming from. They know what you talking about. They understand what you talking about. What you going through. You not talking to somebody that got no experience and that might think, ah, you know he’s not right upstairs. He’s making it up, or, you know, he’s exaggerating. I can relate to Clive. Clive can relate to me. Same with Shereen, although she wasn’t there, but she went through a hell of a trauma *losing* her brother through the Highgate. You know, we are connected in some way or some how. We can relate. I can be open with Clive, you know, on things that I can’t be with anybody. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 11, ll. 21-28)

Nora S: It helps, it, we know what we’ve gone through and yet we still enjoy ourselves and... when we want to be alone, that group understands us. If we want to go lie down, or if we want to go sit in

a corner, they understand, when the other people don't understand, *they* understand. If he's in a mood, if he doesn't want to talk, they *understand*... If he *cries* about, if he gets tears or something, he [sighing] they understand. So we miss each other's *company* you know? ... Thora, we *know* what Thora is going through with Clive. And Thora knows sometimes how *he* is. We all know each other's little *things*, you know? (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 43, l. 21 – pg. 44, l. 3)

3.2.1.3 The support group environment has enabled mourning

One of the group members, who lost her brother in the Highgate attack, related how being part of the support group allowed her to mourn her brother's death for the first time. The way in which group dynamics can facilitate mourning is indicated by Judith Herman: "... group members can help one another to bear the pain of mourning. The presence of other group members as witnesses makes it possible for each member to express grief that would be too overwhelming for a lone individual" (1992, p. 228). This survivor was pregnant with her first child at the time of the Highgate attack, and suppressed her grief over the loss of her brother at the advice of doctors, who told her that grieving would have a deleterious effect on the wellbeing of her unborn child. The presence of fellow group members as supportive and sympathetic witnesses has allowed her at last to mourn the loss of her brother.

Shereen L: It's, it's helped me, umm, it's helped me because I never, I never had a chance to actually mourn my brother's death because of the timing of being pregnant and losing him at the same time because the doctors had told me, or people had told me don't *cry*, don't *cry*, you've got to think of your *baby*. So the Highgate now, I mean I, my first real mourning was now last year I started because I kept everything inside me for all this, I mean I only start talking about it and I get tears, I must admit. Umm, so they've helped me in that way, they're the strength, they, they know what I'm talking about, they understand, so for me it's wonderful. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 51, l. 31 – pg. 52, l. 5)

3.2.2 The support group as a means of reconnection with other people

The second group of themes that emerged from the thematic analysis is related to survivors' experience of the group as a means of reconnection with other people, in particular through opportunities afforded to survivors to meet with other groups of survivors of political violence. In June 2007 some of the Highgate survivors attended a healing of memories weekend workshop in Cape Town. The workshop was organised by the Institute for the Healing of Memories together with the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, represented by Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, and Spirals Trust, an NGO based in Grahamstown. The Institute for the Healing of Memories is an NGO that was established in parallel with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in order to complement the work of the TRC, especially in the context of local communities. The Institute facilitates workshops for "encounter and remembrance" where South Africans from different backgrounds are invited to share their testimonies about how the country's past has affected their own life experiences (Kayser 2000). The workshops create a space where participants may share their stories with one another through a process of "testimonial dialogue" that occurs in small-group setting (Kayser 2000). At the workshop in June 2007 the Highgate survivors encountered other groups of predominantly black survivors of acts of political violence under apartheid in the process of story-telling.

3.2.2.1 The experience of the healing of memories weekend

Group members described their experiences of meeting with other groups of survivors in terms of positive emotions arising from identification with other people who had endured similar traumas to their own. Although the context of the traumas may have been different, identification was made possible through the shared experience of victimhood and the emotions associated with it. Group members emphasised that it was the common experience of trauma that allowed them to identify with other groups of survivors – an identification that extended across cultural and racial divides. One white group member related that her identification with other black survivors was made easier because she had learnt that the perpetrators of the Highgate attack did not represent a

black liberation movement, and therefore she did not associate the other groups of survivors with the perpetrators of the Highgate attack through their racial identity. Another survivor explained that he understood the testimonies that he heard from other survivors in the historical context of the apartheid system, as well as the armed struggle against apartheid. This particular survivor, Winston Mzwandile N, told me in our interview that he did not participate in any way in the struggle against apartheid, and therefore his implication is that the healing of memories process taught him to position the testimonies of other black survivors in the context of the struggle against apartheid. One survivor, who had also had the opportunity to share his testimony at the TRC, compared the healing of memories process to the TRC, indicating that he saw the potential in the healing of memories process for continuing the work of the TRC, by facilitating social healing in the aftermath of apartheid.

Trevor S: Ja, definitely, and that's why you can relate to people in the healing of memories. Although you never met them in your *life* before, but when you hear their story you can relate. There's just some connection, automatically. You *connect* when it comes to pain, suffering, depression. Those things you can relate to: anger, hatred. All that is linked in to the suffering a victim or whatever has. That you relate to. Ja. [p] I mean it's like a car accident. How can you relate to me in a car accident if you've never been in a car accident. You, you don't have that experience, you don't know what the hell I'm talking about, you know. So by talking to somebody that's gone through the same trauma, although it might not have been the exact same attack, but you make that connection, straight away. [p] And that's what we felt at healing of memories, [p] which was *very moving*. Really, that was a weekend to remember. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 15, ll. 21-33)

Nora S: And, [sniffing], it was nice. It was *happy* that we could speak to another person that had gone through more or less the same thing as you did. And *knowing* that it wasn't a black person that did it, it was one of *our* people that did it. And they were black people that was there at that thing. You could relate better, you know? ... More people in South Africa should go through that. [p] Then you would find out how other people have suffered, not only *you* yourself, other people as well. (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 47, ll. 1-12)

Winston Mzwandile N: Some of them they told them their sufferings, know what I mean? Some of them they were killed with their, their husbands, see, and children, you see. You see. It's part of the, the *apartheid*. I think, I think it was the armed struggle. [inaudible] an armed struggle they say so, some of the people I meet at Cape Town, when we talk each other there. Ja. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 126, ll. 28-32)

Trevor S: Oh, now well that's now something. I would rather go through more healing of memories than even a TRC. That is a big help... That's something good. That's a positive, it's not a negative. More victims and survivors should go through that... Definitely. And it's a healing of its own, for black and white. For racist, non-racist. You walk away there changed in some way. Definitely. [p] In this country I think we need more of it. We'll have a better country. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 12, l. 30 – pg. 13, l. 10)

3.2.2.2 Connection with other survivor groups involves giving up an exclusive victim/ survivor identity

A number of group members emphasised that their experience of identifying with other groups of survivors at the healing of memories weekend was made possible by giving up an exclusive victim/ survivor identity as the Highgate survivors, and opening up to the experiences of other survivors. By listening to the stories of other survivors, many in the Highgate group realised that other survivors had endured similar suffering to their own. This experience of “commonality” (Herman 1992) is similar to that of individual survivors when they first join a support group; yet in this case it occurred at the level of the group, with the Highgate group opening up to the experiences of other groups of survivors who were largely from a different cultural background. It is also worth noting that identification with the other groups of survivors was made easier since the new information about the Highgate attack indicated that the Highgate survivors, like the other groups of survivors, had suffered at the hands of the apartheid government.

Winston Mzwandile N:experience like, because I did talk to those people there from other side of places, different places and to talk to them. Then they told me what's happening to them. Same, same year, you see. So I think, no, it, it's not *us*, only *us*. A lot of people they, they've been

affected with this, you see. Ja. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 126, ll. 21-24)

Shereen L: I thought it was wonderful. Honestly I thought it was wonderful because I only thought of myself, you only think of *yourself* and the people that are affected from your one incident, you don't look further than what's, that something's happened to someone else. So it opens your eyes and to think that you're not *alone*, you know, because before it was just shame us poor Highgate people, us poor Highgate people but now there's lots of other people out there being affected in their own ways. So it's sort of opened my eyes. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 55, ll. 23-30)

Trevor S: To interact with other groups. To be able to tell your story, and to give *you* an opportunity to listen to other stories. To make you realize. Although what you went through was bad, there's always somebody that's worse off than you. That's gone through the same thing as you. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 13, ll. 11-14)

Nora S: It was *scary* because they were looking at us you know, up and down. But by the time we went, we were *hugging* each other, because they didn't realize what we went through, we didn't realize what *they* went through. And we landed up knowing that we, that we, we all suffered, you know? (Nora S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 46, ll. 28-31)

3.2.2.3 Forgiveness towards the perpetrators of the Highgate attack as an outcome of the healing of memories process

One of the survivors reported that a personal outcome of his experience of the healing of memories process was his readiness to forgive the perpetrators of the Highgate attack if they were ever identified. It is worth noting that this survivor had attended a number of healing of memories workshops; and he had further experience of meeting with survivors of apartheid-era atrocities through his involvement in the Khulumani Support Group. These previous experiences would most probably have played a role in his journey towards forgiveness. He explained that his willingness to forgive the perpetrators of the Highgate attack was influenced by the example of Father Michael Lapsley, whom he encountered at the workshop in June 2007. Lapsley, the founder of the

Institute for the Healing of Memories, lost both his hands in a 'letter bomb' attack carried out by the apartheid security forces.

Clive R: Umm, the healing of memories, I've done two. I'd go to another one. It's just to be with different people and, and different stories. I mean Father Michael [Lapsley]. I was with *him* in, in a group, in the, in PE when we did the healing of memories. And I was, I was with two APLA cadres, and two Umkhonto weSizwe guys. And they physically killed people. And if you sit and listen to *his* story, you know, and he's got no, umm... he was angry at the *time* when it happened, but, you know, obviously he's forgiven. Umm, but when you sit and listen to *him*, you know, your whole outlook sort of changes. That if you had to... if the perpetrators had to be caught, you know, there would be forgiveness. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 114, l. 26 – pg. 115, l. 3)

3.2.3 The support group as a basis for future social action

The third group of themes that emerged from the thematic analysis is related to survivors' perception of the group as a basis for future social action. Judith Herman (1992) affirms that when survivors recognize that there is a religious, social or political dimension to the trauma that extends beyond their personal experience, they may discover an opportunity to transform the meaning of the traumatic experience through social action: "While there is no way to compensate for an atrocity, there is a way to transcend it, by making it a gift to others. The trauma is redeemed only when it becomes the source of a survivor mission" (1992, p. 207). Since social action requires collaboration with others based on a shared purpose, a support group provides a natural environment where it may emerge. Social action may take various forms in different group and societal contexts. In this particular context, one survivor expressed the wish for the support group to make a contribution to racial reconciliation and transformation in South Africa.

Trevor S: To keep this group together as long as possible. And to see how we can change, I would like to see, I know it is impossible. No one's ever done it, and I don't think anybody can do it, but to get

involved and see what changes we can make in this country. Try change something. Change the view of what people have. Race-wise, hatred, you know that type of thing. That's my wishes, you know, and that's what you see, well for the future. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 14, ll. 8-13)

3.2.3.1 The survivor mission of finding out the truth about the Highgate attack

Group members emphasised that the survivor mission around which the support group had unified was the mission of finding out the truth about the Highgate attack. The survivor mission had altered the “whole concept” of the group and given it “a new sense of purpose”, since group members were no longer focused solely on their personal experience and personal wellbeing. Rather, by pursuing the truth about the Highgate attack (and perhaps also pursuing some form of justice), survivors were exploring an aspect of their shared trauma that had ramifications for the broader society. Group members found that, through pursuing this common survivor mission, the support group became unified in a new way. One survivor referred to the importance of raising public awareness about the survivor mission, especially awareness of the intention of survivors themselves to initiate investigation into the Highgate attack.

It is important to understand group members' comments about their common survivor mission in the context of the history of the support group itself. Following the first meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in November 2006, the NPA contacted the survivors requesting that they draw up a memorandum requesting that the NPA re-open the investigation into the Highgate attack. At the second meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in December 2006, the survivors drew up the memorandum jointly and asked the group facilitator, Theresa Edlmann of Spirals Trust, to fax the memorandum to the NPA. This joint action not only initiated the renewed investigation into the Highgate attack; it also symbolised the new sense of unity within the support group that group members referred to when they spoke about the investigation.

Shereen L: I think our whole group as well has changed in that before it was all what we going to get out of it? I'm not saying everybody but a

few of the group, what we going to get out of all this? I think it's now *all changed* to we've got to find out who it is, we need *answers*. I think the *whole concept* of the group has changed and the people that are left, who now have only got one thing in mind is to find out who it is. Before [tapping table] there was lots of little things, you know, we could get this and we can get that, and, you know, and I think the whole concept of the group has changed, I really do... They were all hoping at one stage I think to be compensated by the government and all that was *all* been spoken about. With, I won't mention names, but particular people in the group but now that is being *pushed aside* and they now we want answers, that's our main goal is we want answers, it's no longer what we going to get. It's actually *wonderful*, I'm actually so pleased. Because my whole aim from the beginning is I want to know who it is and other people had other ideas, you know, what we going to get out of this and it's all changed into okay now. So I'm very pleased about that... Mmm, there's a new sense of purpose. A year ago I wouldn't say that. Now I definitely say it. Mmm, we sort of aiming for the same thing now. Before it was someone looking at that and someone looking at that but now we all sort of going on the same, which is wonderful. (Shereen L 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 54, l. 28 – pg. 55, l. 19)

Clive R:

But there *is* so much. And I don't think we should sit *back*, umm, for too long, of months and months. There sh-, there should be more publicity about not *what* we doing but how we feel about it, and, and, and that we *know* that this won't come to rest. I think the more publicity we get from the people who open the papers, the better, ja. I mean, this is what we've got to do. You know, obviously we need money to do a lot of *things*. But when it comes to fundraising, I mean, the most important thing is, is to get the word out there and let these okes see, that we are still *heavily* involved in trying to find out who's involved, with the Highgate. And that *we will take* it through on our own, to, to investigate it and find out. You know, that's how involved we wanna be. Ja. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 100, l. 29 – pg. 101, l. 8)

3.2.4 A survivor's experience of feeling excluded from the support group

One of the survivors, Nigel H, told me of his negative experience of the support group, relating that he felt marginalised by the other Highgate survivors and excluded from the group. Nigel's story is explored in greater depth in the previous chapter, where

the main narrative thread is entitled “I just want to be acknowledged as one of the victims there”. Nigel’s predominant feeling is of being marginalised by the other members of the support group through not being accorded the status of a victim of the Highgate attack. In Nigel’s view, this is due to the fact that he was not physically injured in the attack like the majority of the other members of the group. A concrete example of his marginalisation by the other survivors that Nigel refers to was the omission of his name from a plaque that was unveiled at the Highgate Hotel on 1 May 2007. For Nigel, this omission indicated in a symbolic way his exclusion from victim status by the other survivors.

Nigel H: Then when this umm, Highgate support group whatever was formed and I decided to join and whatever. But there’s *a lot of things* which I was not happy about in this story, and I think that’s why I had a nervous breakdown which I discussed in St Marks on the weekend. Being is that with me not, not being injured in the attack everyone’s like pushed me aside and is making as if I’m not a victim. Meanwhile they, they were all hurt, fair enough, but they were on medication and in hospital and everything. I was mobile, I wasn’t on medication, that’s the way I see it... And then I was also very hurt when they put the plaque up and they didn’t put *my* name and Keith’s name on there. I don’t know if *Keith* feels the same way, but I feel that it’s unfair. Although we weren’t hurt umm, we were victims as well. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 140, ll. 22-32)

It is interesting to note that Nigel’s experience of exclusion from the support group is accompanied by an inability to empathise with the suffering of other survivors of political violence. This becomes apparent through Nigel’s account of encountering other groups of survivors during the healing of memories weekend in June 2007. It is as if the dearth of acknowledgment and support that Nigel received in the support group is projected outwards in these encounters with other groups of survivors, resulting in a manifest failure of empathy.

Nigel H: Umm, that was a nice, nice experience. Umm, maybe I *shouldn’t* have gone to it. I was, umm, I don’t know if you can remember

Theresa said we mustn't go if we not like 100% stable. Umm, maybe I shouldn't have gone. I enjoyed it, don't, don't get me wrong. It was not as if I didn't enjoy it, umm, but just hearing the other people's stories was an experience for me. But even now during the week when we hear those other people, when they start screaming and shouting and crying and thing, it starts making me get worked up... Umm, I was about to crack then on Sunday already. I think it was as if I wasn't used to of people like lashing out and *crying* and all that story. I'm not used to it... it doesn't, it's not in my nature, I don't like it. (Nigel H 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 151, ll. 9-22)

3.3 Dialogic Analysis

3.3.1 Introducing dialogic analysis: selected examples from the first set of interviews

In chapter two we discussed 'dialogic analysis' as an approach within contemporary narrative research (e.g. Riessman 2008); we also discussed significant conceptual antecedents for this approach in the work of Mishler (1986) and Bakhtin (1986). It is worth reiterating briefly that while Mishler's theorising focuses on the joint construction of meaning in interview discourse, Bakhtin elaborates the concept of 'dialogue' in relation to everyday speech. Bakhtin's premise is that as a listener attempts to understand speech in the context of a conversation, he or she simultaneously adopts a responsive attitude towards it. Therefore, any process of interpreting live speech is, by its very nature, a responsive process. Furthermore, individual utterances in a conversation are themselves shaped through interaction with others' individual utterances: "... utterances are not self-sufficient: they are aware of and mutually reflect one another ..." (1986, p. 91).

An example of a recent theoretical work that develops Bakhtin's concept of 'dialogue' as a form of narrative analysis is Stevan Weine's *Testimony After Catastrophe* (2006). It is significant for our purposes that Weine's focus is on the narratives of survivors of political violence. Weine himself is a psychiatrist; he was also a student and later colleague of the psychoanalyst Dori Laub, who is well known for his work on

Holocaust testimonies. In *Testimony After Catastrophe*, Weine offers a re-appraisal of the literature on trauma and testimony in relation to testimonies of political violence.

Weine acknowledges his debt to scholars such as Laub for their recognition that medical or clinical perspectives on trauma testimonies are valuable, but not sufficient in and of themselves. Developing this work in a new direction, Weine regards testimonies not only as clinical or professional practice, but as part of the broader structures of human meaning-making, which are embedded in history and culture. Weine proposes an understanding of testimony as narrative, which “...improves its capacity for engaging in the living worlds of survivors... Only when the testimony is a story do we really learn the perspective of the survivor, the subjective experience of political violence, the survivor’s analysis of his or her situation...” (2006, p. xxii).

In developing a narrative approach to testimonies of political violence, Weine employs a number of concepts from Bakhtin’s writings, including the notion of ‘dialogue’ that we have looked at already; and also the notion of ‘polyphony’ that refers to the interaction of multiple voices. Weine’s interpretations of these concepts are addressed seriatim below:

(i) ‘Dialogue’: an understanding of testimony as dialogue shows how the testimony can be viewed not only as a product of the survivor who tells his or her story, but also of the listener or receiver (who may be a family member, a fellow survivor, or perhaps a psychologist or researcher) with whom the stories and memories are shared. Through the process of giving testimony, the survivor may be said to be working with a listener or group of listeners to construct a dialogic narrative that offers the survivor the potential for growth and healing with regard to his or her experience of political violence.

(ii) ‘Polyphony’: the concept of polyphony helps to clarify how survivors often live with a number of different points of view (expressed by a number of different voices) regarding the experience of political violence. Even within one survivor’s narrative there may appear multiple points of view about the memory of what they suffered and other aspects of their lives. In a polyphonic and dialogic approach to giving testimony, the survivor works together with the listener or group of listeners to put together the many different aspects of the survivor’s experience: “...the different positions and voices are

given the chance to interact with or even speak to one another, which creates the possibility of new positions and meanings, and thus growth” (2006, p. 104).

The main outcome of the dialogic interactions that took place in the research interviews are the narratives that participants told me, as recorded in the narrative case studies. However, in this section I will analyse a few carefully selected instances from the interviews in which the dialogic nature of the interview setting – the co-construction of participants’ narratives between teller and listener – becomes explicit. The first such instance comes from my interview with Trevor S:

Stephen: If you, if someone had to ask you to tell your life story today, where would you, how would you tell that?

Trevor: Now, if somebody had to tell me to tell them my life story now, it would have been different to what I would have said to you last year. [Laughing] If somebody had to ask me that now, I’ll tell them to just wait another year and get the book, and then they can read, but if it was last year, I don’t know. I would just tell them what they would like to know, because you can tell three people the same story in different times, you know, like I can tell you today, Pumla tomorrow, and Theresa the next day, and each day I would find something different. Like I might tell Pumla a bit more than what I tell you today, ‘cause I’m digging a bit deeper. And that’s what I’ve realized with Gill. She’s been coming down, ongoing, and sometimes we go back and then you just dig deeper, or after she has left, you know, things start coming: ah, you know, I forgot to... you know that happened, you know that type of thing. So, it’s hard to... There’s a lot we’ve tried to block out, since the shooting. Umm, a person does, to try move on. You try block out the hurt, the pain, what you *really* went through, but you know, Stephen, to go back to the pain, I can’t describe it. It is, yoh, the *worst* I’ve ever experienced. And I wouldn’t wish it on my worst enemy. (Trevor S 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 16, l. 22 – pg. 17, l. 8)

Trevor S here communicates his awareness of the dialogic nature of the interview situation. He is aware that each interview or dialogue is unique, and therefore each time he tells his life story it is uniquely constructed, and is dependent on the temporal setting of the interview, and the identity of the interviewer. (The support persons whom Trevor identifies here are: “Pumla” is Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, who has worked with the Highgate survivors for a number of years; “Theresa” is Theresa Edlmann, who has provided facilitation support to the survivors;

and “Gill” is Gillian Rennie, an author who has been working with Trevor on his biography.) Trevor explains that the process of constructing his life story is made even more complex by the difficulties of retrieving traumatic memories and disabling the coping mechanisms that make everyday life bearable as a trauma survivor. And he even appeals to me directly as the interviewer to bear witness to the deep painfulness of both the traumatic memories themselves and the storytelling process.

As we have seen from the example above, participants sometimes demonstrated the dialogic nature of the interview setting by appealing to me as interviewer as a witness. This sometimes occurred outside the boundaries of the interview recording, such as when Shereen L and Clive R asked me to look at photograph albums and newspaper clippings – physical artefacts that testified to their experience at the Highgate Hotel. However, this also occurred during the recorded interviews themselves, such as when Clive R asked me to bear witness to the bodily suffering that he had endured. Clive’s body was inscribed with the scars caused both by the bullets of the attackers and by the scalpels of the doctors as they sought to reconstruct and rehabilitate his remaining arm and hand following the attack:

Clive: ...You know, I went there to physiotherapy with this hand. And I’ve had how many splints. I had splints *made*, special splints. And, and they didn’t *work*. And what they *did*, is they ...I’ve got a... I’ve got a pin in, in *there* [gesturing]. It’s from here to here. I’ve got a pin in there... this thumb can’t bend in. I can’t bend my... You haven’t seen my plates hey?

Stephen: No, I haven’t. No.

Clive: [p] [gesturing] That’s where the bullet went in, on the side, and it came out over *here*. You just lift it up, you’ll see there’s a mark there, *small hole*. It came out there, ja. Mmm. And then they had, I had a plate put in there with, with eight pins. And what they did is they...I couldn’t sit like this because it kept, I kept on getting *pain* every time because I was writing. I kept on getting pain, so what they did is, they took my nerves and they re-routed my nerves to the top. So they... instead of pressing and putting pressure on the nerves there [gesturing], they turned them around and put them on the top of my, my elbows, so they up here. And then my thumb and them... there was no control. Everything was just sort of falling in. So they put a pin in, in this thumb from there to the, to the end here. And they took the *tendons*... these two fingers I can’t use, they are like that permanently. I can’t close my, my hand. If I go into a shop and people give me change it just falls through. Ja, it’s quite awful. And those fingers I can’t use. So

what they did is they took the tendons out of these fingers and they took them and put them in *these* fingers, to make them stronger.

Stephen: I see. (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 74, l. 25 – pg. 75, l. 15)

Part of my role as interviewer in the interview dialogue was to bear witness to survivors' suffering, both bodily (as in the example above) and psychological. At one point in my interview with Winston Mzwandile N, he explicitly invokes me as a witness to the psychological damage inflicted on him by the Highgate attack, and how his experiences of violence in the township environment trigger memories of that event:

Stephen: [p] And has, has the attack changed the way that you, you relate to your children?

Winston: Ja, you see the attack changed me, Steve, for the way I, I used to be before, you see. You see something happening too bad, it was very bad, which *change* your life, change your brain, because now you, you *not* like before, you not like before. Especially a gun, a gun is very bad, AK47 shotting you at close blank. You see, ja [laughing]. [p] Even when you walk on the street, Steve, somebody come, a lot of tsotsis come with you to the gun, and then they started shoot at you but *miss* you too the bullets, you see, by luck of God. You always *think* about that. Ja, even when you walking sometimes a little bit dark, you see, you afraid, you think about that thing what's happening to you. But you are *lucky*, you see, ja. Because life now is just is dangerous. (Winston Mzwandile N 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 134, l. 33 – pg. 135, l. 11)

One of the events that introduced a number of new perspectives – and new voices – into the stories of the Highgate survivors was the revelation, at the first meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in 2006, that the Highgate attack had, in all likelihood, not been carried out by APLA, but rather by the apartheid security forces. One of the survivors, Clive R, describes the impact of the new information in terms of a narrative turning point – a shift to a new “chapter” in the survivors' collective story: “Ja, it was strange, [inaudible] the whole story just turned around. It wasn't APLA so now you were on to another chapter now. And that's the chapter we've just been following all the way through now. Ja.” (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 92, ll. 11-14). The new chapter in survivors' stories that was opened by this new understanding of the identity of the perpetrators of the Highgate attack, included a number of new voices. Significant among

these are the voices of other victims of political violence who also suffered under the apartheid regime. Following his description of the opening of a new chapter in his own story, and those of the other survivors, Clive demonstrates his capacity for empathy with the suffering of other victims of the apartheid regime, and incorporates their voices into his own story in a polyphonic way:

Clive: ...It was awful what had happened. I mean, when I sat there amongst them, and their stories were told, you know you were *quite hurt*. And especially when, especially when you went to, from *there*, from Khulumani now to, to, uh, the healing of memories which was like two years ago, or a year ago... And you were with *other people*, umm, that were *also* sort of victims. Ja, it quite hurt, it hurt a lot, hey. You know, to, to, to realize what, what had happened to *them*. And here all along we were thinking it was, it was APLA, umm, when I was with Khulumani. And then when we went to the healing of memories, and we realized, oh, some time back it wasn't APLA, I mean you like *united* with these people, hey. I mean, it's, it's funny, ja, Khulumani was like, it's... If, if they went to places they'd invite me, and I, I sort of clicked with everybody in Khulumani it was, it was *amazing*. I was like part of the family there. And the stories that were told, umm, how *they* were affected... (Clive R 2008, Appendix 2, pg. 92, l. 23 – pg. 93, l. 3)

In this section so far I have employed the nomenclature of dialogue and polyphony to identify some crucial features of the interview setting and of the narratives that survivors told me in that setting. I have chosen this nomenclature because I believe that it may be used to identify precisely how participants' narratives were affected by the experience of being part of the support group: it is a taxonomy that traces the linguistic aspect of the human encounters that made the experience in the support group meaningful and beneficial for participants. Indeed, many of the themes relating to survivors' perceptions of the support group, identified in section 3.2 above, could be re-categorised in terms of dialogue and polyphony. However, instead of pursuing the analysis in a mechanical way I decided to return to the group participants themselves and extend the dialogue with them about their involvement in the group.

3.3.2 Extending the dialogue about the group: the second set of interviews

One of the ways in which this research project was constructed in a dialogic way was that I returned to interview group participants five years after I first interviewed them in 2008, asking them to reflect on some of the interpretations I had made of the first set of interviews. I conducted the second set of interviews during February 2013 at the homes of individual group participants in and around East London. I was able to interview five of the original seven interviewees (two of the group members, Winston Mzwandile N and Maria V, had sadly died since I first interviewed them). Prior to each individual interview I gave to the participant a summary of the themes relating to survivors' perceptions of the support group (i.e. of section 3.2 above) which were drawn from the first set of interviews, and read through this summary with them (the summary is reproduced in appendix four). The purpose of the summary was to present to participants some of my interpretations of what they told me in the first set of interviews, and to allow them the opportunity to respond to these interpretations. I used a semi-structured interview schedule to prompt participants to share their responses as well as their reflections on their involvement in the support group (the interview schedule is reproduced in appendix four).

The second set of interviews yielded a high degree of continuity in relation to participants' perspectives of the support group. Continuities in participants' accounts were evident across the three main groups of themes drawn from the first set of interviews: 'the support group as a "family"'; 'the support group as a means of reconnection with other people'; and 'the support group as a basis for future social action'. As an introductory example we may reflect on the way in which the third group of themes recurs in the second set of interviews: The notion of 'the support group as a basis for future social action' recurs through its sub-theme, 'the survivor mission of finding out the truth about the Highgate attack' which appears in my interviews with Trevor and Clive. For example, in my interview with Trevor:

This year I want answers. If it means they must lock me up to shut me up I don't give a damn. I'm not waiting another 20 years. When we started I was told by Theresa, by Dr Frances, okay we've started this, let's get some time, and let's see what they're going to give us. Just, just give them time. Well I've given them time, how much more time do they want? If they haven't got any answers by now they're not going to get any answers. But I know they've got a lot. I know a lot is

missing from the NPA, and I want answers there too. There, there's a *lot*, there's a *lot* that I want answers. And I'm going to *use* this opportunity, I don't know what Pumla's planned in Bloemfontein. In the past I had to watch what I had to say when it came, it comes to the investigation and how *far* the investigation is, and up to what point the investigation is. I'm not holding back. I'm *saying* my say and as much as I *know* I'm going to talk it. Because what I say *now* cannot mess anything up than what is already *messed* up by the national prosecutions. They have *messed this case up* like you will not believe. I am not going to hold back on names when it comes to Advocate MacAdam. I've already signed a, a written... I've signed an *affidavit* that he is a *liar*. I've, I've accused him as a *liar*. He's *lied* to me and he's *lied* to Theresa over the telephone. And I *challenge* him on that, he can *charge* me if he thinks I am taking him on. He's an advocate, he's the *head* advocate of the national prosecutions. Because there's things *he* said to me over the phone and there's things he said to Theresa which he now denies, which was in Daryl's report. Which now they say they never received the report from Daryl. They're trying to make *me* look like a fool, but I've got a *witness* that spoke to Advocate MacAdam where Advocate MacAdam *admitted to things that was in the report*. And Theresa, I don't know if you... well you *know* her, but I don't know *how* well you know her but I know Theresa *will not lie for anybody*. If it's black it's black, if it's pink it's pink. She's not going to give some other story. And I believe what she says because I, the *same things* was mentioned to me and he denies it. So I called him a liar and I said come, I'll sign an affidavit now, *on black and white*. And I've done it. So I'm challenging them from all sides. I, I, I want to put pressure on them like they've *never* had before. *This year* is my year for answers. Like you see when it goes into... I get *very* worked up. But not with the people I'm talking to and I don't know how it's going to be in, in Bloemfontein but if we go into *depths* with this I get *very, very* worked up because I know they can't – in plain English, well bullshit me when it comes to *this* investigation. I don't need papers, I don't need... everything's here [pointing to head], from day one up until now. [p] Okay, I suppose we've side tracked what we were talking about. (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 170, l. 7 – pg. 171, l. 11)

And also in my interview with Clive:

Umm, I *would* love to know who was responsible for the Highgate. That's *one* thing I *would* like to know. And, and *meet* these guys, whoever they are. You know, we, we've had so much of information from *this* one and *that* one, it was *these* people, it was *those* people. Now they're saying it's *this* one again, and they're saying it's *this* one again. You know, we don't know *what* the hell is going on. You know, maybe Trevor's had some *more* information. I haven't *seen* Trevor for some time. But ja, I don't know, I *really*, I really don't know what's happening with the investigation. I think it's very *poor, poorly* investigated, it *is*. Umm, there's just *no* interest shown, umm, even although at one stage we were *told* that it's being investigated and they are still *following* enough leads. But ja, I don't know, 20 years, it's, really is... a case in South Africa that's taken 20 years

for them to solve? I doubt it. Except the Heidelberg, not the Heidelberg, that aeroplane, that *boeing* that crashed, they haven't come, that has never been... So ja, I, I don't believe them, honestly I don't. It's, it's *impossible* to think that after 20 years there's just *nothing* that they have come forward with, *nothing, nothing, nothing*. It's, umm, you know it's, it's... I don't know, it's a bit strange, *very, very* strange. You know, this lead that we got was a lot of *crap*. I *do feel* that *someone* – umm, I won't mention names – that still to this day has an *idea* of what happened at the Highgate Hotel, I *do*, umm, and I don't know. I do feel that that person has *some* information about what, what was actually... I don't know, I could be wrong but it's not impossible. So ja, it's been a difficult ride, hey, but you sort of try and, ja, just let it go on as it wants to, hey. Time might tell. I might be *dead* in years to *come* and nothing's ever happened, but hopefully my *family* will still be there, if anything ever happens one day, to, to *meet* the perpetrators. You know, ja. And they feel the *same* way I do, there's no hatred or anger or anything. You know, it's... they feel the same way, the truth, that's it. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 208, l. 26 – pg. 209, l. 18)

It is worth noting that when the theme of 'the survivor mission of finding out the truth about the Highgate attack' recurs in the second set of interviews, it does so with variations since group members' attitudes towards the investigation fluctuated during the intervening five years between the first and second rounds of interviews. Similarly, the other two main groups of themes ('the support group as a "family"'; 'the support group as a means of reconnection with other people') also recurred with variations in the second round of interviews. So, for example, when Shereen revisits the theme of 'the support group as a "family"' in the second interview, she does so with a deepened understanding of her identity as the sister of a victim. Nevertheless, it is the continuity across the two sets of interviews that prompts me to represent the second set of interviews in the form of case studies, as I did with the first set; in this way I seek to emphasise the continuities in participants' narratives.

3.3.2.1 Clive R 2013

Clive begins the interview by positioning himself in relation to the network of relationships created by the group. Since the group process ended, and the group fragmented and dissolved, he has been in contact with only one group member, Trevor. Clive keeps in contact with Trevor for the purposes of finding out about new

developments in the investigation into the Highgate attack. Clive proceeds to reflect on his experiences in the group by connecting these experiences to one of the themes that I presented to him from the first set of interviews: he views the group as a source of mutual support, care and comfort through providing a meeting space for people who had endured a common experience of trauma. Clive describes this beneficial aspect of the group in terms of facilitating healing dialogues between different members:

Ja, I think when we were a group we were all sort of supporting each other, umm, at that time. And, and I'm sure we can still support each other *now*. But, you know wh-, when there was still a group around and we still all got together and had meetings and went to these healing of memories and all over, I think *being* with each other and, and gone through the same experience that we all *went* through I think it was just, there was *comfort* for each one of us from different people in the group that were with us at that time. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 196, ll. 17-23)

Clive then proceeds to offer some contradictory expressions of relief and regret that the group no longer exists: relief because the group was a source of “strain” and “stress” when new information that was brought to the attention of the group led them nowhere in relation to the investigation; regret because the group was a source of mutual support and a space to “share the same problems in life” (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 197, ll. 2-3). Clive then describes his own orientation as a survivor in relation to the conclusion of the group process: he has “moved on one step to carry on with life” (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 197, ll. 9-10). Although the Highgate is not something he would “delete” from his life, he has decided to “move on” rather than live with anger. Clive here articulates an understanding of the break-up of the group in relation to his own healing process:

You know it's *my* decision if I want to wake up tomorrow morning and say I got *nothing* to do with Highgate any more, that's how *I* feel about it. You know, it's, do I *live* for the rest of my life with, with anger in me or do I move on with life. You know, I've *moved on*, but prepared to *be there* when people need assistance. It's, it's not something I would sort of delete from my life, and say well I'm finished with it now, it's, it's there for the rest of my life but I've moved on one step to carry on with life and to... ja, that's *my* opinion. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 197, ll. 4-10)

Responding to my question on what he found helpful about his interactions with other members of the group, Clive speaks about “happy times” and “happy memories” shared with other group members, and the development of friendships that were not based solely on the Highgate incident. He also talks about what group members were able to learn from one another in the group. For example, those who lost family members in the attack were able to learn from survivors in the group what they went through during the attack. Through his positive experiences in the group, Clive has been given a new, balanced perspective on the effect of the Highgate incident on his life:

Ag, I think it was *happy times* hey, with the group. We all shared something different although we've all been through the same thing. But we could all sit around a table and joke, laugh and speak about different things *besides* the Highgate, not just the Highgate. There were some *happy* memories; I mean we were taken to Grahamstown by Theresa where we had a *blast*. So ja, it's been, umm... I think we shared *a lot* in common, umm, but also some people had a lot of *differences* about how they would *accept* the Highgate if it had come to a point where the perpetrators were caught or somebody had come up and claimed responsibility for the Highgate. Some people had *different* perspectives about *that*. But, ja it's each one for their own, hey... I think as a group I mean we, we learnt a lot from *each other* and, you know, even if people were *not there* but had family members that were killed, umm, *we* were there to sort of *tell* them what happened that night and what we all went through, that they could *feel*, you know, the same pain that *we* were going through. So ja, it's umm... I think just *sharing* with each and every one there, umm, was... well it's like part of the family, hey. I mean we, we could share it *with* them. As I said them not being there but ja it's... And I think we grew *closer*, umm, as, as, as *friends* and there were a lot of good memories we've had together, umm, *because* of the Highgate I think it brought a lot of happiness to our lives *as well* being with everybody and then a lot of sadness as well. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 197, l. 22 – pg. 198, l. 9)

Clive attests that the fact that both survivors and family members of victims were members of the group gave rise to certain tensions within the group. According to Clive, these tensions issued from the question of how a family member of a victim could speak on behalf of “the Highgate massacre” when they were not actually present at the massacre? However, these tensions were “always solved within the group again” (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 198, ll. 31-32). The group's dissolution was rather, in Clive's view, due to the fact that group members needed to get on with their lives. Clive proceeds

to describe the difference between “being there” on the night of the attack and losing a family member in the attack. He considers whether these different experiences have the same effect on those involved, and comes to the conclusion, after some wavering and hesitation, that the effect is different. It is for this reason that, in his view, family members should not speak on behalf of survivors:

Ag you know, it's difficult umm, you know for someone to *be there* or someone not to be there. I mean, you've lost a, a family member in the Highgate massacre but you've physically *been there*, you know, obviously I don't know how... if it would affect the person the same way as a family member being lost at the Highgate or one actually physically *been* through the shootout. But if you look at it again, umm, it obviously has the same effect on everybody, you know, it, it *must*. I mean, if, if, if *my* family member was at the Highgate obviously it would have the same effect, you know, on *me* as what someone else went through. Umm, I don't know, it's, it's just that, you know to the point of the guy standing by the door, the shooting carrying on, the tear gas, people shouting, blood all over the show. Taking out another AK47, shooting again, you know, *watching* that... I mean it's... you know it's, I, I don't know. For someone else to say... you know, *I don't know*, I can't explain how someone else would feel. For me it's, it's *different*, it's completely different. If you *have* a family member that has *been* there I know what they went through and I know what I went through. They went through *exactly* the same as I went through. But they *cannot* speak on behalf of, of *me* and say what *I* went through that night. I know exactly what I went through. I was there, it happened in front of me, within five metres. Ja, it's difficult but obviously, you know, I can't speak on behalf of someone else, it's, it's not for me to do that. To lose someone in a massacre like that, it's, it's difficult, it's not easy, it *can't* be. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 199, ll. 6-28)

Clive proceeds to explain that he feels a commitment to support Trevor in his endeavour to pursue the Highgate investigation. However, Clive states that he holds a different perspective to Trevor in relation to the investigation. If the perpetrators of the Highgate attack were to identify themselves, he would offer them forgiveness (a position he also made clear in the first set of interviews), whereas he surmises that Trevor is still very angry. According to Clive, living with anger is untenable in the long term: “And you can't go on living like that for the rest of your life” (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 202, ll. 19-20).

Concluding his reflections on the group, Clive reiterates that he does not want to be “100% involved” in the Highgate (and, by extension, the group), as he deems this to

be psychologically destructive. For Clive, his withdrawal from the group is part of his healing process. Indeed, the conclusion of his involvement with the group, and of the group process itself, seems to be part of what it means for Clive to “move on” with his life.

I wouldn't say I'm 100% okay. Umm, I think it *has* affected me a certain way, but ja, as I say it's... I don't want to be part of the Highgate 100%. You know, I think if you're involved in it *all* the time, day after day, for the *rest* of your life, it's actually going to *break* you. I think to be a *part* of it, to *help* others where you can is, I think, for me the way forward. But to sit and be *everyday* for the *rest* of my life *year after year* worry about the Highgate and what's ever going to happen about *perpetrators*, if they're *ever* going to come forward, for me it's a waste of time. You know, I'm not interested in going that way. I know, I know Trevor's very *set* in *his* ways of what *he* wants and I'm, I'm *surprised* he can still take it all. That he, that *he* hasn't broken down. Because *really* it's, it's something you've got to *live* with and you've just got to carry on with life. It's nothing, it's something you can't just, umm, let it pressurise you day after day for the rest of your life, hey. I mean it's, it's... I don't know, that's, that's how I look at it, ja. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 206, ll. 13-27)

3.3.2.2 Shereen L 2013

Shereen begins her reflections by suggesting that the group split up because the members of the group had different goals. She has remained in contact with Trevor because of their friendship, but also because they shared the same goal of finding out the truth about the Highgate attack. While Trevor pursues this goal through his own initiative, Shereen supports him and keeps in contact with him to find out about new developments.

In response to my question about what she valued about her experiences in the group, Shereen speaks about the friendships that she made in the group, and the way in which the group allowed her to connect with other people “on the same level” when it came to mourning. However, she qualifies this by reflecting that she was the only long-term member of the group who had lost a family member in the attack, and that this made her mourning process unique.

I do value the *friendship* I made, totally, I really value them. Umm, I value that I was able to connect with people on the same *level* when it came to mourning. ‘Cos you know, we all had the same tragedy in our lives. Actually I didn’t, you know, that’s the only thing. I didn’t really connect with people that actually had *lost* someone. I think I was the *only one* that actually stuck in that big group. Fran was there for a little while, she had lost her husband. But there was *no one* that actually had lost anyone. It was, you know, it was just really *me*, when I think of it. Mmm, ja. Denise [Bernice] and Fran were in and out, there was no sort of constant thing with them being in the group, it wasn’t *constant*. Umm, and, and you know when you lose a, to me when you lose a husband, a husband *can be replaced*, I’m not saying, I’m not saying that *bad*. But a husband can be replaced but a brother *can’t*. You can’t get another brother, so it’s a different sort of... you know, they do *move on*, not that they’ve forgotten about that person but they can move on. I can’t get another brother back. So it’s a different kind of... I think so. (Shereen L 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 187, ll. 6-21)

Shereen explains that during her time in the group she felt like a bit of an “outsider” as a family member of a victim of the Highgate attack rather than an actual survivor. Other group members made her feel like an “outsider” by emphasising that she wasn’t actually present at the Highgate attack and therefore didn’t experience what the other survivors went through. However, Shereen stood up for herself, declaring to the other group members that her role was that of speaking on behalf of her brother who, unlike the survivors, was no longer alive to tell his story.

It *did* in a way but also in a way it was... I used to always think you people are *lucky* because you’re still here to talk about it. That’s how *I* felt too. I’m not running anybody down, but I think you’re still *here* to be able to say it, tell everybody how you feel and what you’re going through. My brother’s not here to do that. I’ve got to do it for him. You know, so it was a little bit... and then people didn’t look at me in the same way, because you weren’t there so what do *you* know? So it was a little bit of a difficult thing to get through to people. [p] Mmm. It was.

...

It was. Umm, I always used to think these people are still here, you’re *lucky* to be alive. Okay, I’m sorry you’ve, you’ve got all these *problems* in your life and all that but you’re *here*. You should thank God you’re *here*, my brother’s *not* here. You know, that’s, that’s how I used to think at that stage, *I did* think like that. It was... as I said people used to look down at, people used to *say* things to me like, *you weren’t there, you didn’t go through it*. You should, you know, you’ve actually got nothing to say. So I also felt a little bit on the *outside* as well, when I look back on it now, ja. So I did feel a little bit of an outsider. Because

they could all relate to each other because they were all *there* in that situation, I wasn't. (Shereen L 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 187, ll. 24-31; pg. 188, ll. 1-10)

Shereen reiterates that her role in the group was questioned by other group members on the basis that she was not actually present at the Highgate attack and, in that sense, was not involved in it. She distinguishes her role in the group from that of other family members of victims who merely attended group meetings (albeit infrequently) but did not take a specific standpoint in the group or speak up for themselves. In Shereen's view, this was due to the fact that these family members had "moved on" by replacing the husbands or boyfriends whom they had lost in the attack. Shereen, however, could never replace her deceased brother. She therefore viewed her role in the group as speaking on behalf of her brother – being "his voice". She performed this role actively in the group, not allowing herself to be silenced or marginalised.

I would say, as I said, they've *moved on* in life. They had husbands or boyfriends or fiancées, they had *moved on* in life. Do you know what I mean... it's, they're, not that they're replacing the person that's gone but they're on to *another life* with *someone else*. Umm, I, I *can't* go on another life with another *brother*, I'm not going to get another one, it doesn't *happen* like that. Immaculate Conception maybe! But I'm not going to have another brother, you know, so for me he's always going to be my brother, that's not going to *change*. I can't *move on* from him, he's still, he's *still* my brother. He's *still* my brother. They can have a new *husband*, a new *boyfriend*, a new... you know, so it is a little bit *different*, I think. It's, it's, it's blood, I don't know, it's blood. But I can't, I can't get a *new* one. You see, that's, I think, different. I'm not saying they never *loved* their husbands or they didn't go through a lot of pain. I'm not saying that *at all*, really I'm not. But they *can* move forward, in that way, you know what I mean?

...

I stood up for myself. I didn't *let* them do that. I didn't *allow* it. I always had something to *say*. I was very *cheeky*, you know. I, I spoke up for my *brother*, bottom line, I, I did *his* talking. And ja, I spoke up for *him*. So I didn't feel sorry for myself and sit in the background and complain about everybody around me. I, I did his talking. I *could have, easy*, but who was going to talk for him, there was only *me*. (Shereen L 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 191, l. 23 – pg. 192, l. 4; pg. 192, ll. 7-12)

3.3.2.3 Trevor S 2013

In relation to the group, Trevor feels that his situation is the same as it was before the group came into existence: “I’m now on my own again” (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 162, l. 20-21). While he is in contact with one group member (Shereen) he operates in isolation when it comes to the investigation into the Highgate attack. This is especially so since the Highgate United Group (HUG) as an organisation is no longer in existence, and therefore Trevor is no longer answerable to other group members for the decisions he takes, as he was as chairperson of HUG. Trevor attests that this has given him greater freedom to pursue the investigation.

Trevor identifies Clive as the chief instigator of division within the group and the cause of the group’s eventual dissolution. In order to demonstrate Clive’s divisive role, Trevor tells an anecdote about the interactions among group members following the donation of a sum of money to the group by an overseas donor. Trevor stresses that he has largely withdrawn from other group members when it comes to pursuing the investigation into the Highgate attack.

Then there was a time, umm, we got a donation through Theresa but it was a group somewhere overseas that donated in dollars. But if you worked it out it was only... I think at, at the end of the day when it was converted into *our* bank account into *rands*, it was R1800. *Clive* heard that there was a *sum of money* donated to the organisation. And *he* went behind *our* backs and he was telling the rest of the group – and Bernice is one of them, he went to Bernice at work – that *we* were paid a substantial amount. I don’t know *what* he told them, if he said it was... I, I, well I don’t know but *he* told them *some story* and it was just before Fran died. Fran, you’ve met Fran... Fran phoned me, because Bernice would never phone me. Bernice got hold of Fran. Fran phones me to find out about this money. They were all excited, you know, we were paid a lot of money from overseas. I said, Fran, *what are you talking about?* No, she heard from Bernice, and Clive told her. I said well what did Clive say? No, she mentioned this, that we were paid so much money. I said Fran, we were paid R1800, there’s no *secret*. I can go and show you the, the, the, the statements and that. I said is R1800 *so* much money that we must go and tell the whole *group* we were donated... can’t you’s wait for the next meeting, we would have told you’s. We weren’t paid hundreds of thousands or, or, or millions, the way *they* were thinking. She was *shocked* when I told her R1800. Now *that* is the type of person Clive was, and he was putting things into the group’s *head* that *we* were... I mean Shereen’s got the books, she’s still got all our, our legal stuff that *we* done as an organisation. Nothing was done illegally. So that’s how he corrupted the group as an organisation. And then it just got smaller and smaller. (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 164, ll. 7-33)

Trevor proceeds to describe how the Highgate United Group collapsed as an organisation. This was mainly due to a lack of co-operation among group members, and a lack of commitment to their positions within the organisation, as well as to group meetings. Trevor once again ascribes blame to Clive for causing discord and division within the group, and for agitating against himself and Shereen.

Ja. Because, I mean if you can see in our papers, we first had... uh, I was, I was chairman, then you had a vice chairman, then you had secretary and treasurer. Do you know how many times those positions were *changed* within the group? It was first Clive as vice chairman, then he *withdrew* for some reason. Then it was Thora, then she *withdrew* for some reason... I, we've got all the, the, the, the paperwork and the letters and all that. And then Nigel came on board. And same thing with *treasurer*. It was Maria, then Maria had that heart attack. Then *she* had to with... so there were so many things happening *within* the organisation. And then when we wanted to set up *meetings* we couldn't always use... umm, remember we used to go to Glynnis at Fort Hare and have meetings there. We couldn't always have it there at Glynnis. So the *next best place* was at Shereen's house, there by the braai area, we could go sit and have meetings. That wasn't good enough for Clive. Clive couldn't take Shereen. Shereen at that stage couldn't take Clive. So if we had it at Shereen's house Clive wouldn't come and, you know, that type of thing. And it just started getting *worse*, when we started being *accused* of things; people weren't attending the meetings but they were *demanding* answers. And then *I* was getting upset because they not attending the meetings. That's where we should be *discussing* what your, *your* questions are. *Ask* us in the meeting. *Don't* come to me afterwards and demand over telephone that you want *proof* where that money's gone to or, or stuff. And that is what Clive well used to do. He didn't want to attend the meetings where he can ask us openly, but then he'll send you dirty SMS's that we must have printouts made of *this* and he wants *that*. And I said to him no it's not working like that. You're not going to phone me and start demanding things from me when you had an opportunity to be at the meeting and *then* ask me. *We had* a meeting there and I could have showed you. But now you're coming and you are now *accusing* us over a telephone or SMS. And that's how it went. (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 165, l. 15 – pg. 166, l. 10)

Trevor then tells an extended anecdote about a fundraising event that he organised on behalf of the Highgate United Group. Although Shereen, who was the only other group member holding a position in the organisation at this stage, promised to support him, she failed to fulfil her promise. All the other group members (apart from

Maria, who was elderly and frail) failed not only to offer Trevor help in organising the event, but also failed to attend the event. Trevor relates how, against the odds, he organised a successful fundraising event. However, he identifies this incident as the moment when he realised that he “stood alone”. Following this incident, the Highgate United Group became dormant.

Trevor suggests that he may try to re-open the organisation at some stage, but in this case would ask the other group members to “sign off” so that he is no longer answerable to them. However, Trevor emphasises that his priority is not the group or the organisation, but rather finding answers to the question of who is responsible for the Highgate attack.

Trevor attests that his experience in the group has made him a “better” and “stronger” person. Through the group he has also discovered what his capabilities are: “it’s shown me that I can do more than what I thought I could do” (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 177, ll. 1-2). This process of self-discovery has taken place through various challenges and “predicaments” he has faced through the group, including opposition from other group members.

I’ve learnt a lot. [tapping table] Uh, what I value out of it is it’s shown *me* that I can do more than what I thought I could do. They put me in predicaments which I was left to do *on my own* and *hoping* I failed. And I *know* a lot of them wanted me to fail. And I proved them wrong. So it has made a better person out of me, *I* feel. It’s made me see things differently. Umm, [p] how can I say? I can’t think now. There’s a lot I could maybe say but those are the main ones. It’s made me a stronger person. *They* done actually more good than harm. Where they might think they’ve *harmed* me. But by what they’ve done it’s actually made me a *stronger* person. I’ve learnt *more* than what I suppose I would have. So that’s what *I* value out of it. I’m not sorry we *tried* it. I *have* thought about it at times and thought, you know, we should never have done it. I’m actually glad we did do it. We’ve seen, we’ve tried it and it didn’t work. And I’ll *never* do it again with them. But I know where I stand with each individual as a group member. (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 177, ll. 1-15)

Trevor notes that he followed a longer “process” than other group members prior to the formation of the group. By this “process” Trevor refers to interventions by researchers like Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and Dr Frances Morris. He also refers to a mediation process involving himself and Letlapa Mphahlele, a former APLA

commander. Trevor feels that this process prepared him for what was to come in the group. The other group members, who did not have the advantage of such preparation prior to their involvement in the group, may have taken into the group some of their own expectations which the group could not meet.

I suppose knowing that they've got more problems than what I've got to *deal* with. I also see that I've *used* the time I've had since 2005. But I also feel... uh, but let's go back a bit more, what I *feel* is I had a bit longer process than the rest of the group to start coming to terms and dealing with what's happened. Meeting with Pumla in 2005, with Dr Frances, and having the, the *privilege* of, umm, meeting with Letlapa, the, that, uh, mediation. And I suppose I had an advantage, *more* of an advantage than the rest of the group. So I suppose that's where I benefit than, well to, well to the rest. I don't know, that's just my, my point of view. I know in the beginning, Dr Frances, she *prepared* me for what's going to happen and what's going to come. And, you know, a lot of the group was not prepared, they were just *thrown* into different things. And by that... that's what comes of it I suppose, I don't know. I think they *went* into things with expectations, or *expected* things and didn't receive them. I don't know, I'm just... I mean, *I* sit and I think back. I don't know. I've tried to think about it a lot, *where* did things go wrong? But I know they've got issues *they* need to deal with, maybe bigger than mine. (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 177, ll. 19-35)

Trevor states that the opportunities that the group has opened up for him, like an opportunity to speak at an academic conference in 2006 (organised by Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela at the University of Cape Town) has given him "more confidence to take on bigger things" (Trevor S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 179, l. 3). He is now able to address large public gatherings and approach the media to tell his story.

3.3.2.4 Nigel H 2013

Nigel begins by telling me that he had been able to deal with the experience of feeling excluded from the support group (the main theme in my first interview with him) by looking into the future rather than dwelling on the past. Although the experience of exclusion remained with him psychologically, and memories of it were evoked when he met with other group members, or travelled past the Highgate Hotel, he had been able to "move on" from this experience. It was Nigel's changed personal circumstances, in

particular his marriage, that had allowed him to “move on” and start “thinking of everything in the future” (Nigel H 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 211, ll. 32-33).

Nigel attests that one of the aspects of the group that he valued was being given the opportunity to talk about his experiences just as “everyone else spoke about their problems and their issues”. Nigel identifies this opportunity for survivors to talk about their experiences in the support group setting as a significant part of the healing process.

I think it was a good thing, well the, well the reason being is, umm, how can I say, you've got to *talk* about it. If you bottle it up it just makes it worse and worse and worse, it makes you sick. But the more you talk about it the more you get it out and the better you feel. So if you hold it in, you, you know what I'm saying, if you, if you don't talk about it, and you bottle it up and you don't tell anybody or you just think... it makes it *worse* than what it really is. But once you talk about it and you get it out it feels better. So it was actually a *good*, a good experience because everyone else spoke about *their* problems and their issues and I also had a chance to speak about mine. So the *more* you speak about it the *better* it feels. (Nigel H 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 212, ll. 11-20)

Nigel gives the example of the healing of memories workshop as an instance where he received acknowledgement for his story. Nigel describes the environment created by the workshop as one of mutual acknowledgement: “you experienced their problems and then you gave your output and everybody was supportive” (Nigel H 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 213, ll. 2-3). Acknowledgement was especially powerful in the healing of memories setting because each participant came from a different background and had a different set of experiences.

Nigel relates that one of the ways in which the group experience had benefited him was in helping him to get out of his house, where he had shut himself off from the world after the Highgate attack, and in helping him to “mingle” with other people again. Nigel observes that this “mingling” involved meeting people from different backgrounds and different parts of South Africa (here he refers once again to the healing of memories workshop). Nigel suggests that the opportunity to reconnect with other people in the group has opened up other opportunities in his life, for example being promoted at work and meeting his future wife.

Umm, well let's put it, put it that way, if, if, if we never had that group and we never went to those things maybe, maybe I wouldn't have met my wife, maybe I would still be stuck here at the, at the house. So it actually got me out, got me... how can I say, *mingling* with people again? And *spoke* about, umm, how can I say, we, we all spoke about the, the, the same thing and we mingled with people from different, umm, how can I say, different *parts* of South Africa. (Nigel H 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 213, ll. 13-19)

Nigel describes how, after the Highgate attack, he shut himself in his house and did not socialise with other people or engage with the wider world apart from going to work. He was afraid that if he went out what had happened at the Highgate would happen again. It was the formation of the group that encouraged him to begin reconnecting with other people again; and Nigel identifies his involvement in the group as a turning point in this process – a significant shift in his view of the group process when compared to the views expressed in his first interview. Nigel's marriage is the site where he has continued the process of reconnecting with the world and other people.

Umm, the only thing I can, I can actually, actually say is that the Highgate was actually a big turning point in my, in my *life* because I mean it *happened* and I was like stuck here for maybe ten, fifteen years, until this group was formed, and then I eventually started getting in-, involved. Because believe me when I say I didn't move here, I, I *stayed* here. I went to work, back, work, back, *every* day. I never went out here; I stayed here at the house. Now I go out, I mingle with people. Because you always had in the back of your mind is, you're going to go out and this is going to happen again. Okay, it *might* happen, it might not happen, that's the way... you might go out, you might be killed in a car accident. It might never happen again to you again. It was just that we were in the wrong place at the wrong time. (Nigel H 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 215, ll. 14-25)

3.3.2.5 Nora S 2013

Nora describes the experience of being part of the group in terms of mutuality and shared experience. Time spent together as a group and shared emotions were given meaning by the common story of the Highgate attack: “we used to laugh and then we used to sit and talk about the stor[y], about what happened. And we would shed some tears and we would *all* feel the same and then *when* we were laughing we all laughed together” (Nora S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 182, ll. 28-31). Nora suggests that the Highgate

group was “more” than a group because of the members’ capacity for empathy: “That’s how I felt, I felt as if we were *more* than a group, we used to *get* together and we used to...sometimes we cried together, we laughed together, because we *could*, you know, we, we *knew* what the next one was feeling, you know. They had their up and their down days and we had our up and down, down days as well” (Nora S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 183, ll. 4-7).

Nora recounts in detail (as she did in our first interview) how she nursed Trevor day and night when he was recuperating at home in the aftermath of the Highgate attack. She feels that through her efforts in nursing her son she earned the right to be part of the group as the mother of a survivor: “So I felt I had that duty that I could be one of the group members. I worked hard for that. [p] He wouldn’t be here today if I didn’t do what I had” (Nora S 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 184, ll. 21-23).

3.3.2.6 Conclusion

The complexity and conflict within group members’ relationships with one another in the group and within the group process cannot easily be resolved in a single theoretical conceptualization of the helpfulness or effectiveness of the group. Similarly, participants’ reflections on their involvement in the group stand as continuations of their life narratives (in the way that I have presented them) and cannot easily be condensed into any final, authoritative statements about the group. Nevertheless, it is possible to return to the concepts of dialogue and polyphony that we have used in the course of this discussion as a means of understanding how group members’ narratives have been influenced by their involvement in the group. It is one of the participants, Clive R, who draws us back to these concepts in my second interview with him.

At one point in our interview, Clive relates two anecdotes about dialogic interactions – chance meetings with people who were familiar with the Highgate incident that resulted in him telling his story to a receptive, sympathetic audience. Clive states that his ability to speak openly about his experience of the Highgate attack in social situations has contributed towards his healing process.

I'm very *open* about the Highgate. Umm, you know I went... I, I go, I sell a lot of stuff like surveillance cameras, and I get *speaking* to people. People have been in *trauma* as well. People have been in house robberies where family members have been shot, and I'll say to them, you know, it's not easy, I've been through it too. I've *lost* my arm. And then they will look at me and they'll say... and then I'll *say* to them what happened and we'll have a *long* conversation about the Highgate Hotel. And, you know I went to a bed and breakfast in Bedford one night. And I was... I booked in there, and it was *late* afternoon, it was raining and the people, umm, said to me would I like supper? I said ja, you know, I'd love supper. They said would you like to come through to the lounge, it was a husband and wife, and have an Old Brown Sherry? I said ja, it was cold. And we started talking and the guy said to me what happened to your arm? I said, you know the Highgate Hotel, the Highgate massacre in 1993. He said were *you* involved in that? I said *ja*. He says *we know all about it*, you know, *we saw it on TV, we saw it in the papers*. And it's strange now *you* sitting here with *us*, and telling us about the Highgate massacre and you were *there*. And it, it happens all over... I go to Fort Beaufort, I go to PE... so some people haven't ever *heard* of it. On Facebook I got chatting to a woman in, in *Botswana* not so long ago and I, I said to her, you know... umm, she started talking about something and I said to her, you know, I'm also in something that's very *politically* involved. And she said, what, are you an *AWB*? I said *no*, I said I was in a massacre, the Highgate massacre. And she said, you know what, my child was *two years old*, I was in Cape Town and I heard about the Highgate massacre. Were you one of the *victims*? And I said ja. She asked me what happened to you? I said I was shot in both arms. And it's funny how you just, you can *openly* speak about it, I mean, I don't *mind*. You know, I think that's where straight after the shooting as well I could just walk into a pub with a short sleeved shirt and *guys* would ask me what happened and I could speak to them about what *had* happened. And I still *do*. And I think I was very *open* about it and it's *healed* me a bit also in one way, than just to sit back and not, umm, *speak* about it, and just *hide* from what had happened. But I was very open about it, and I could communicate with people exactly on *how* I'd lost my arm and what had happened that night. And still to this day I can say *how* the Highgate Hotel investigation has proceeded and *this* has happened and *that* has happened. So ja, I'm very, very open about what happened at the Highgate, I think it's just to remind, just to put yourself at peace, ja. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 202, 1.23 – pg. 203, 1. 25)

Clive relates another story of meeting with other survivors of political violence on Robben Island through the Khulumani Support Group (a story that he also told in our first interview). He even uses the metaphor of story-telling to express the inspirational nature of these meetings: "... we here together with them to share the same story."

Ja, I don't know if you remember I was invited to go and stay on Robben Island for a week with Shirley and them. And I mean, we stayed *there* with the biggest *terrorists* that were running around in the, in the apartheid era, that were *fighting* the apartheid government. And, I don't know, it must have been one of the *best* weeks I've ever had in my *life* with, with *those* guys. You know, and Thora would say to me be *careful* you know, they're the most wanted terrorists. I said *no* don't worry about it, I said, we here *together* with them to share the *same* story. And, I mean, I went *drinking* with them on the island there, there's a little pub there, until the early hours of the morning. We had *braais* with them, and it was *strange*, it was like part of a family. It's like I have, I had *been* with these guys for, for *years* and I had only known them for a week. It all started at the Holocaust Centre, I think. And from there, *ja*... so *ja*, it was, you know, it didn't worry, it didn't worry me *who* I was with, umm, it was just that we communicated with each other and we were sharing the *same* sort of trauma in our life, *ja*. And I became very good friends with some of them and then when I did healing of memories in PE, umm *some* of them were there again. And *ja*, it was like... some of the *best* moments of my life with those guys, I think. PE was the same, the museum, and the parties we went to and all that, was... *ja*, it was *fantastic*, it was amazing, *ja*. So *ja* it was... PE with everybody. I mean Khulumani support group *opened* my eyes. When I joined Khulumani support, support group it was still *fresh*, the Highgate was still *fresh* then, only three... it was like *six years* and obviously I was still a little bit of an angry person. But I *joined* Khulumani support group because there were more *blacks* in the group, I was the only *white*. And I joined it for that purpose to see what *they* had gone through and how *they* were affected. How the apartheid regime... and it was very *strange* because I did my national service in '77 and I had *no idea* of what was happening in this country. And I was in national service for two years: I joined in '77 and I came out in '79. And, you know, when, when I joined Khulumani support group and I realised what was, *what had actually happened* in the apartheid eras I was actually quite *shocked* to see *at that time* while I was a *soldier* in the SADF that *this* was happening. And I just didn't know about it, it was just like a hidden agenda that they were up to. *Ja*, that's why I joined Khulumani support group, is to *be* with these guys and to see, you know, what trauma *they* had gone through and how *I* was affected and to share our stories with each other. (Clive R 2013, Appendix 2, pg. 203, l. 28 – pg. 204, l. 30)

Clive emphasises that he joined Khulumani for the specific purpose of racial reconciliation in the aftermath of the Highgate attack. He explains how the process of reconciliation was facilitated through story-telling: "Ja, that's why I joined Khulumani support group, is to be with these guys and to see, you know, what trauma they had gone through and how I was affected and to share our stories with each other." The "sharing" of stories implies dialogue both in the sense of a meeting between persons (what a great philosopher of dialogue, Martin Buber, conceptualised through the I-You and I-Thou

relationships) and in the sense of the overlapping or co-construction of narratives. Encompassing both these meanings, dialogue is at the heart of what made the group, although not without conflict or difficulty, a significant part of participants' healing processes.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the results and analyses of the two sets of interviews conducted with members of the Highgate group. I did this by constructing narrative case studies based on the first set of interviews, as well as by employing the analytical tools of thematic analysis and dialogic analysis to explore the relationship between group members' stories and the support group context. In the present chapter I discuss these results and analyses further in relation to the literature on trauma and testimony.

The study of life-shattering events and their impact on human lives and communities is a fragile endeavour, as even a brief overview of trauma studies reveals. In the professional field of psychiatry, the study of trauma has been beset by attempts to suppress the traumatising effects of real-life events, and to ignore the suffering of victims. Judith Herman (1992) reads the history of trauma in psychiatry as a history of episodic amnesia: a habitual forgetting that requires us to make repeated attempts at recovery. We must constantly contend with the pull towards silencing victims and erasing their suffering from human consciousness. To hold traumatic reality in the consciousness of society requires more than isolated voices, whether those of victims or witnesses. It requires the support of political movements that create spaces of safety and nurture for victims, and draw victims and witnesses together in supportive relationships.

During the last century, each time a form of psychological trauma has emerged into public consciousness, it has done so through its affiliation with a political movement (Herman 1992). The first form of psychological trauma to emerge was the study of hysteria which grew out of the republican political movement in late nineteenth-century France. Problematically, this movement did not challenge the patriarchal norms of society, and therefore the study of hysteria involved the objectification of women in the eyes of men of science (such as in Charcot's public demonstrations at the Salpêtrière). However, the work of Charcot and Janet challenged the view of hysteria as a condition

inherent to women, since it proposed that the symptoms of hysteria had their origins in traumatic experience (van der Kolk, Weisaeth, & van der Hart 1996). Janet, in particular, developed a psychological view of trauma that focused on the impact of vehement emotions, such as fear and terror, in traumatic experience. He also developed the first theory of traumatic dissociation.

Between 1892 and 1896, Freud developed the ideas of Charcot and Janet, acknowledging the aetiology of hysteria in traumatic experience. Together with Breuer, he published his findings on the link between hysteria and childhood sexual abuse, known as seduction theory. In this case, argues Masson (1985) Freud's society was unable to accept the implications of his research that sexual abuse was taking place in families in the upper classes. Freud was made to endure the censure of his peers, and without a broader social movement to support his claims, abandoned the seduction theory in favour of the Oedipus prototype in 1896. As much as this was a theoretical about-turn by Freud, it was also an act of social repression which shifted the focus of much subsequent study of trauma from the external traumatic event to the internal psyche of the victim.

The second form of trauma to surface in public consciousness was "shell shock" or war neurosis. This emerged during the First World War when the British Army sought to account for 80 000 cases of soldiers breaking down under the stress of combat situations. A controversy arose over whether war neurosis had organic or psychological origins as psychiatrists attempted to provide honourable explanations of why soldiers were breaking down in order to release them from the charge of 'cowardice'. The psychological aspects of war neurosis were acknowledged by William Rivers (1920) during World War I and Abram Kardiner during World War II, psychiatrists who advocated more humane therapeutic methods for war veterans. They showed that war neurosis was caused not by a frailty of will but by the response of a person to overwhelming fear. Kardiner (Kardiner & Spiegel 1947) developed a comprehensive theory of war neurosis, compiling a list of symptoms that became a forerunner for the symptoms grouped under post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Public awareness of the suffering of war veterans was swelled by the anti-war movement that surrounded the Vietnam War. The work of psychiatrists like Chaim Shatan (1973) and Robert Lifton

(1985 [1973]) with Vietnam veterans in New York led to the classification of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as an anxiety disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM III* (1980) of the American Psychiatric Association.

The form of trauma that has emerged most recently in the public sphere is sexual and domestic violence. Given impetus by the feminist movement, researchers in the 1970s and 1980s began to focus on two neglected groups of survivors: women and children. Their work revealed that the sexual abuse of women and children was endemic in Western society: 25 per cent of all women had suffered rape, and 33 per cent of all female children had been subjected to sexual abuse (Herman 1992). In 1974, Ann Burgess and Linda Holstrom at Boston City Hospital formulated the diagnosis of rape trauma syndrome, listing symptoms such as flashbacks that were similar to those of war neurosis. Lenore Walker's work with women who had experienced physical, sexual, and psychological abuse led her to group the psychological symptoms she observed under the battered woman syndrome (Walker 1984; 1991). Like rape trauma syndrome, the battered woman syndrome became one of the sub-classifications of PTSD, along with the Vietnam veterans' syndrome and the abused child syndrome.

The diagnosis of PTSD drew together the trauma of women in the domestic sphere and the trauma of men in the public sphere of politics and war, showing how the two spheres are interconnected (Herman 1992). The strength of the diagnosis was that it seemed to be grounded in the social realities of men and women, and identified the cause of the symptoms in an external traumatic event rather than an inherent pathology. However, feminist psychiatrists continue to draw attention to the way the DSM IIR (1987) and DSM IV (1994) definition of trauma as 'outside the range of usual human experience' overlooks women's everyday experience of domestic abuse (Brown 1995).

The medical model of trauma embodied in the PTSD diagnosis has been subjected to strong critique by psychiatrists working with traumatised people in conflict situations in the developing world. Theorists such as Summerfield (1995) argue that the PTSD paradigm is a particular way of understanding trauma that largely ignores social, political and cultural factors. He calls for a deconstruction of the PTSD diagnosis in order to understand the role played by social, political and cultural contexts in the way trauma is experienced and dealt with in various cultures.

Other critics have shown how the PTSD diagnosis inscribes certain cultural assumptions, rooted in Western psychiatry, that limit its relevance to communities outside the Western world. In their study, Bracken, Giller & Summerfield (1995) interrogate the relevance of PTSD to victims of political violence in communities in Uganda and Nicaragua. They argue that PTSD follows the focus of Western psychiatry on the individual as existing prior to society and culture, thereby reflecting a particular cultural conception of self-hood. In many other cultures, by contrast, the conception of the self and its relation to others is oriented less towards the individual and more towards the community. In these settings, the experience and perception of trauma is often quite different: internalised emotions are not emphasised, while greater weight is given to somatic processes, supernatural forces, and social processes. Furthermore, it is often problematically assumed that Western therapeutic models are appropriate for trauma survivors in different cultural contexts. Such therapeutic models usually revolve around the exploration of internal emotions in a client-therapist relationship; and they may be of doubtful relevance in societies which hold to a different conception of self, and where healing is viewed as being intimately bound up with the restoration of the wider community rather than being focused in a single relationship.

Research among refugee populations in South-East Asia and Eastern Europe (Eisenbruch 1991; Summerfield 1995; Bracken 2002) indicates that although some of the symptoms of PTSD, such as the intrusive-avoidance symptom complex, occur in many different settings, they do not necessarily have the same meaning across these different cultural settings. This is an important aspect of this critique of the PTSD paradigm, emphasising that it provides a limited framework for validating the social and cultural aspects of human responses to trauma. Eisenbruch (1991) proposed a new term that would more closely describe the distress suffered by refugees who had been uprooted from their homeland communities. He coined the term 'cultural bereavement' to refer to the loss of social structures, cultural values, and self-identity by refugees. The experience of being uprooted from their homeland communities through war and organized violence involves massive social losses for refugees, including the loss of traditional ways of life and cultural institutions. This often leaves refugees without a meaningful framework in which to structure their suffering and rehabilitate their lives.

In their studies conducted among refugee groups, Summerfield (1995) and Becker (1995) make the significant point that refugees have often undergone multiple traumas, and it is not easy to predict how they will prioritise these traumas in the way they identify themselves. By way of example, Summerfield (1995) observes that “there are proposals for rape counselling projects for Bosnian refugees arriving in European countries. These women have all experienced multiple traumas, and we cannot necessarily assume that it is ‘rape victim’ that primarily defines them in their own eyes” (1995, p. 20). Refugees fleeing from political violence in their countries of origin often have the disorienting experience of being displaced from their home communities added to the experience of violent atrocities like rape and torture. The way in which different layers of traumatic experience interact with one another, and even merge, is often overlooked, especially since the diagnosis of PTSD that is usually used by Western health professionals provides limited means for describing this cumulative nature of trauma in refugee survivor groups.

Bracken (2002) develops a philosophical argument in order to demonstrate the limitations of the PTSD diagnosis in describing multiple traumas. The key point Bracken makes is that PTSD works with a notion of linear causality: the diagnosis assumes a linear cause-effect relationship between traumatic experience and symptoms, as it not only describes a group of symptoms, but also determines what has caused them. PTSD is thus one of the few psychiatric diagnoses where the aetiology is identified in the diagnosis itself. Since the diagnosis involves the identification of some particular traumatic event(s) that caused the symptoms, and from which the symptoms flow in a single direction, it is difficult to take into account factors that were in place before the event (e.g. biological vulnerability; life experiences; cultural, political, and religious contexts. However, as Bracken notes, these factors may account for more of the variance in symptoms of PTSD than the characteristics of the traumatic event itself.) By referring primarily to a single traumatic event, the PTSD diagnosis provides a limited framework for describing how multiple traumas interact with one another in the experience of refugee survivor groups. The distress and trauma of refugees is often experienced by them as cumulative and continuous, and does not separate out a single traumatic event from their present experience as the PTSD diagnosis seems to require.

In this study the Highgate group is conceived of as a support group representing a community of survivors who shared a collective experience of trauma. Survivors voluntarily came together in the group to share their traumatic experiences with one another, and to try to make sense of these experiences in the context of their everyday lives in their communities. This study demonstrates that the critiques of the PTSD model of trauma that refer to the multiple layers of trauma experienced by survivors have particular relevance for the Highgate group. As their narratives record, many of the group members have experienced multiple traumas as a result of the attack on the Highgate Hotel in 1993, while some group members (e.g. Winston, Maria, Nora) have also had subsequent traumatic experiences added to these traumas. Many group members have lost family members (e.g. Shereen), jobs (e.g. Winston, Clive), houses, and other sources of security. Most group members who were present on the night of the attack have had to adjust to the effects of some level of disability on their everyday lives; they have also had to face up to the limitations this imposes on their opportunities for employment. Thus the narratives recorded in this study delineate how the group members experience their trauma as cumulative and continuous.

4.2 Trauma and Testimonial Narratives

In their introduction to *World Memory: Personal Trajectories in Global Time*, Jill Bennett and Rosanne Kennedy (2003) trace the emergence of trauma studies as an area of interdisciplinary research within the humanities to the seminal work of psychoanalytic theorists Cathy Caruth (1995; 1996), Dominick LaCapra (1994), Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub (1992), focused predominantly on the testimonies of Holocaust survivors. In subsequent scholarship, the field of trauma studies has diversified to include work on truth commissions and the politics of giving testimony in relation to cultural traumas; however, it was the publication of the book *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* by Felman & Laub (1992) that introduced into academic debate the concept of testimony in relation to traumatic experiences, particularly the trauma of gross human rights violations perpetrated by repressive regimes. The scholarship on testimony and trauma has shaped our conceptions of the way

in which people transform their traumatic experiences into a narrative, and the role of this process in coming to terms with the traumatic past. These concepts – of testimony and trauma narratives – are used in this study for the purpose of exploring how group members share and listen to one another’s testimonies in the context of the Highgate group.

At the forefront of modern trauma studies, Cathy Caruth (1995; 1996) has articulated the relationship between trauma and narrative, especially historical narrative. Caruth conceives of trauma as an ‘unclaimed’ experience, an event “experienced too soon, too unexpectedly, to be fully known and... therefore not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor” (1996, p. 4). The unassimilable nature of the traumatic experience results in the survivor’s fated re-enactment of the trauma. Re-enactment is a means of remembering an event that cannot be fully integrated into consciousness. For Caruth, the intrusive and repetitious nature of traumatic memory indicates that the trauma cannot be located completely in the original event. The defining feature of trauma is therefore its belatedness, or the fact that the full meaning of the trauma can only be recovered subsequent to the event.

The sensory, non-linguistic nature of traumatic memories has long been noted by psychiatrists such as Janet, Kardiner, and Terr (for an overview, see Kaminer 2006). More recently, Van der Kolk and Van der Hart (1995) have described the inflexible nature of traumatic memory – its resistance to integration – as arising from the disruption of the functions of the hippocampal region of the brain under severe stress. The neurological disruption disconnects traumatic memories from their contexts. In consequence, the survivor often manifests amnesia for the specific details of the traumatic event, and is unable to attach to the experience the feelings associated with it. The disconnection of the traumatic memory from its spatial and temporal contexts is accompanied by speechlessness: the survivor is unable to organize the memory in language and thereby transform it into a chronological narrative. Since the traumatic memory cannot be expressed in words it is organized on a somatic, sensory level and manifests itself through behavioural re-enactments and flashbacks.

Van der Kolk (1996) has also researched extensively the psychobiology of PTSD, demonstrating how PTSD patients' difficulties with translating their traumatic memories into language are mirrored by actual changes in brain activity. For example, in patients undergoing a re-experiencing of their trauma through being exposed to traumatic reminders, Broca's area, the part of the left hemisphere of the brain that is responsible for translating personal experiences into communicable language, showed a significant decrease in activity. Van der Kolk concluded that PTSD patients undergoing traumatic recall may suffer from "speechless terror" in which the traumatic memories can only be registered at a bodily, sensory level rather than in language. In Van der Kolk's phrase, it is the body that "keeps the score" for victims of trauma.

Van der Kolk, Van der Hart, & Marmar (1996) have written authoritatively on the concept of dissociation – the concept that captures most accurately why traumatic memories are resistant to expression in language and integration into a coherent sense of self. Dissociation, as Van der Kolk, Van der Hart, & Marmar observe, refers to the fragmentation or compartmentalization of experience: "Elements of a trauma are not integrated into a unitary whole or an integrated sense of self" (1996, p. 306). The term dissociation is used to refer to related mental phenomena that occur at three different levels. Primary dissociation describes an adaptive psychological mechanism in persons who are confronted by an overwhelming, traumatizing experience that they are unable to integrate into consciousness. The sensory and emotional aspects of the traumatic event are split off from ordinary consciousness, and may not be integrated into personal memory and identity. According to Van der Kolk, Van der Hart, & Marmar, where primary dissociation is accompanied by ego states that are distinct from the normal state of consciousness, this condition is a characteristic of PTSD, in which the intrusive symptom complex – including such symptoms as nightmares and flashbacks – are manifestations of dissociated traumatic memories. Once an individual is in an already traumatized, or dissociated state of mind, a further disintegration of elements of the personal experience can occur. This is referred to as secondary dissociation, a phenomenon that manifests itself as a dissociation between observing ego and experiencing ego; and it has often been noted in traumatized persons such as incest survivors and combat veterans. At a further level, tertiary dissociation refers to the

development in trauma survivors of distinct ego states that contain the traumatic experience, and consist of complex identities with distinct cognitive, affective, and behavioural patterns. An example of tertiary dissociation is the development of multiple identity fragments in patients suffering from dissociative identity disorder (DID).

In order to understand how the sensory, non-linguistic nature of dissociated traumatic memories is related to the temporality of trauma, we need to return to the work of Cathy Caruth (1995; 1996). This is especially so since the temporality of trauma has been a focal point for the interdisciplinary study of trauma that theorists such as Caruth have pioneered. Caruth's theory starts from a reflection on the intrusive nature of traumatic dreams and flashbacks, involving the literal return of the traumatic event to the witness. Caruth contends that it is the "literal" and "nonsymbolic" nature of traumatic dreams and flashbacks that "resist cure" (1995, p. 5). The "literal" force of the traumatic flashback re-enacts an overwhelming experience that could not be assimilated into consciousness in its initial impact. The inability of the victim to assimilate or integrate the traumatic event makes trauma, in Caruth's conception, an "unclaimed experience": "trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way that its very unassimilated nature – the way it was precisely not known in the first instance – returns to haunt the survivor later on" (1996, p. 4). Trauma therefore possesses a belated temporality, since the survivor only comes into knowledge about the event subsequent to its initial impact when he or she re-experiences it through traumatic memory.

The literary critic Lawrence Langer (1991) has addressed this problem of temporality in survivors' narratives in his reflections on the videotaped testimonies of Holocaust survivors. He refers to traumatic memory as 'timeless': "Trauma stops the chronological clock and fixes the moment permanently in memory and imagination, immune to the vicissitudes of time" (1991, pp. 174-175). This idea of traumatic memory helps us to understand how survivors re-live their traumatic experience in a 'timeless' present. 'Timeless' traumatic memory is sensory and unspoken. It is defined in opposition to narrative memory, a faculty that transforms traumatic experience into a story with a beginning, middle, and end, placing it in time. Langer is here commenting on Charlotte Delbo's (2001 [1985]) distinction between common memory which resides in

the intellect and is a result of reflection and expression in language, and deep memory which is a memory of the senses. Langer claims that the sites of struggle in witness testimonies are the places where the distinction between common memory and deep memory becomes blurred. At these points, survivors struggle to integrate into a normal life narrative their abnormal experiences in the camps. Testimonies are always clouded by the potential for deep, sensory memory to erupt into the externalized narrative of common memory.

These thoughts suggest why survivors struggle to speak about the traumatic memories that they carry with them, and also show why survivors are always vulnerable to being silenced or having their testimonies discredited as inconsistent. Part of the work of survivor groups like the Highgate group is to create sympathetic environments that are sensitive to the obstacles survivors face in speaking about their traumatic experiences. This study demonstrates that the creation of such a sympathetic environment was an important function of the group in group members' own perceptions. The thematic analysis of the first set of interviews drew out a group of themes under the heading of 'the support group as a "family"', each of which addresses this function of the group. The themes ((i) 'the safety, support, and care offered by the support group'; (ii) 'the resources of the support group for mirroring or acknowledging the experiences of each member'; (iii) 'the support group environment has enabled mourning') were also developed and elaborated by participants in the second set of interviews, demonstrating that this was an enduring perception of the group for group members.

What is the work done by the common or narrative memory, and how may the narration of a traumatic memory be a healing experience for a survivor? In a recent review of psychological literature from different theoretical paradigms, Debbie Kaminer (2006) identifies six processes of recovery through giving a trauma narrative. These are: (i) emotional catharsis; (ii) creation of linguistic representation; (iii) habituating anxiety through exposure; (iv) empathic witnessing of injustice; (v) developing an explanatory account; (vi) identification of value or purpose in anxiety. While a number of these processes may occur during any act of narration, I would like to focus on the development of a causal or explanatory account of the traumatic event which often involves a re-working of survivors' assumptions about themselves and the world. In the

context of the Highgate group, this study investigates the importance for survivors of developing trauma narratives as explanatory accounts in which they are able to integrate their traumatic experiences into their life stories, thereby reviewing the meaning of their lives in their present contexts. The narrative case studies constructed from the first set of interviews present group members' trauma narratives in this way.

This concept of giving a trauma narrative runs parallel to Colin Wastell's (2005) notion that the re-telling of a trauma narrative is also a reconstruction of the survivor's identity, which he locates in autobiographical memory. The distinct scenes in autobiographical memory are called self-defining memories, characterised by affect intensity and their linkage to similar memories. The result of trauma is that memories of the event become split off or dissociated, a process that is marked by the development of a phobia for memory. The dissociated memories need to be reintegrated into autobiographical memory, otherwise they will themselves become self-defining memories (what Freud termed 'fixation' on the trauma) that disrupt other self-defining memories and thereby permanently disrupt a coherent self-identity.

What I think is questionable in this process is that the self-identity reconstructed through the trauma narrative is not defined in relation to others. Therefore the social and communal aspects of healing through the sharing of trauma narratives are ignored. These social aspects of healing are important for work with a survivor's group, like the Highgate group, where testimonies are shared among different members; and they are a focal point for this study on which I concentrate in greater depth in the subsequent sections of this discussion. The work of Judith Herman (1992) and Susan Brison (1999) describing the transformation of traumatic memory into testimony, which has both private and social aspects, is important in this regard.

Judith Herman (1992) stresses that constructing a verbal account of the experience of trauma is a process of transforming the traumatic memory. The survivor's initial attempts to recount the traumatic experience may be repetitious, stereotyped, and devoid of emotion. For this reason, the survivor should be encouraged to talk about the web of relationships, involvements, aspirations, desires, and struggles that characterised their life prior to the traumatic event, so that the event itself might be placed in a meaningful context. Then the traumatic event should be reconstructed as a chronological

recitation of facts. The narrative should describe not only the events themselves, but also the survivor's responses to the event as well as the responses of others. Therefore, throughout the process of its construction, the trauma narrative is linked with the narratives of others in the survivor's community.

Herman (1992) also claims that for the narration of the traumatic memory to be experienced as healing, it should include traumatic imagery and bodily sensations associated with the events, as this allows the survivor to articulate the relationship between what they felt in the past and their present state in the process of reliving past emotions. This is to say that the narration of trauma gives the survivor a historical consciousness that upholds the distinction between present and past. Through this historical consciousness, the traumatic memory is transformed into a testimony, which has both private and public, or social, aspects.

Susan Brison (1999) describes the social significance of giving testimony as a remaking of the survivor's self in relation to others. By giving testimony, the survivor shifts from being the object of someone else's speech to being the subject of their own. The narration of traumatic memories empowers survivors to gain control over traces left by trauma since narrative memory gives shape and temporal order to the events recalled. However, re-empowerment is not the only aspect of healing or re-making the self that is facilitated by piecing together a narrative of the trauma. Traumatic experience shatters the relationships of interdependence in communities on which the people in those communities are dependant for their being and identity. Sustaining connections between the self and the rest of humanity are severed as victims are reduced to objects by their tormentors, their personhood treated as worthless. Through recounting a trauma narrative to a suitable witness or group of witnesses, the survivor begins the process of remaking the self by re-establishing sustaining relationships with others. The way in which traumatic events are remembered and the extent to which the narration of traumatic memory may be experienced as healing by the survivor depends on the capacity of others to listen empathically to the testimony. This process of bearing witness to testimonies of traumatic experience will be the subject of the next section of this discussion.

4.3 "Bearing Witness" to Trauma

The notion of “bearing witness” was introduced into the discourse of trauma through the study of Holocaust testimonies, and in particular through research emerging from the Fortunoff Video-Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University. The archive was founded in 1981 by a group of researchers and psychologists with the aim of recording for future generations the testimonies of an aging group of Holocaust survivors. Dori Laub (1992), the psychoanalyst who acts as interviewer for the collection at Yale, has described the role of the listener as “accompanying” the survivor in bearing witness to the trauma, and as sharing in the responsibility for witnessing. “Bearing witness” was a vital aspect of the social context of the Highgate group, suggesting that the support group could be viewed as a community of witnesses or listeners. This study explores the process of “bearing witness” to traumatic experience within the dialogic context of the group.

Laub (1992) sees the first task of the listener as accompanying the survivor on a journey of coming to knowledge about the traumatic experience. As the trauma lies beyond the usual meaning-making capabilities of the survivor, the emergence of the trauma narrative is the process by which the survivor first comes to acknowledge the impact of the experience. A great deal of fear attaches to this process as the impulse of the survivor is to shrink away from this knowledge, and to shrink away from the impact the account might have on others who are listening. Laub emphasizes that survivors are drawn towards silence as a means of protecting themselves and others from the knowledge of the trauma. The task of the listener is to attend to the silences in and beyond the survivors’ speech, and to respond to the tension in the narrative between the desire to fall silent and the desire to tell. The listener has to respond subtly to cues given by the survivor in order to prevent him or her from silencing themselves or being silenced. This requires a significant emotional investment by the listener, to hold and to share in the trauma narrative.

Elsewhere, Laub (1991) says that the task of the listener is to share in the responsibility for bearing witness to the trauma – a responsibility that was previously carried by the survivor alone. Part of the shared responsibility is for becoming involved in the struggle to move beyond the traumatic event and not becoming caught up in its

repetitive re-enactment. This involves a commitment to facing loss together with the survivor, and to share in their process of grieving. By exploring with the survivor the differences between the life that was destroyed by the traumatic event and the life that remains, the listener helps to orient the process of witnessing towards possibilities for recovery.

Laub's work on "bearing witness" to testimonies about trauma can be encapsulated as an investigation of the dialectic between "knowing and not knowing" about trauma: "We all hover at different distances between knowing and not knowing about trauma, caught between the compulsion to complete the process of knowing and the inability or fear of doing so" (Laub & Auerhahn 1993, p. 288). By its very nature, trauma overwhelms our capacity to organize it and understand it, thereby tending to elude our knowledge and draw us towards silence. The chief faculty involved in our coming to knowledge about trauma is language – the language used by victims as they remember their traumatic experiences and transform them into narrative form, and the language heard and acknowledged by listeners. Implicit in language are the capacities for analysis, elaboration, and re-formulation that signify the presence of an observing ego or "detached sensibility" usually obliterated by trauma. Laub & Auerhahn (1993), through their experiences of working with trauma survivors in therapy sessions, have categorised the different forms of remembering or knowing trauma. These include: not knowing; fugue states; fragments; transference phenomena; overpowering narratives; life themes; and witnessed narratives. Each form of knowing represents a deeper and more integrated level of knowing; and in witnessed narratives, which is one of the deepest levels of knowing, an observing ego or "detached sensibility" is present – a person who bears witness not only to the experience of trauma but to the experience of remembering as well.

This study demonstrates the pertinence of Laub's ideas of "bearing witness" to traumatic experience to the context of the Highgate group. Group members' stories, presented in the narrative case studies drawn from the first set of interviews, and continued in the second set of interviews, provide personal perspectives of group members' processes of coming to new knowledge of their traumatic experiences, especially after the emergence of the new information about the Highgate attack. Group

members' stories were jointly constructed in the group context as they accompanied one another (playing the role of listeners) in coming to a new knowledge of their shared traumatic experience. The thematic analysis of the first set of interviews highlighted the importance of group members' accompaniment of one another as listeners, for example through the theme identified as 'the resources of the support group for mirroring or acknowledging the experiences of each member'. The role of language in group members' coming to knowledge about their traumatic experiences was evident in the way in which group members (re)told their stories, with at least two group members (Winston and Clive) demonstrating a self-reflexive awareness of their trauma narratives as stories.

Alongside the ground-breaking work by Dori Laub and others on "bearing witness" to the testimonies of Holocaust survivors, another important strand of work on the testimonies of survivors of political violence has been carried out by the Danish mental health professionals, Inger Agger and Søren Jensen (1990; 1996). The contribution of Agger and Jensen has been to describe "the testimony method" in their work with political refugees, particularly those fleeing from military dictatorships. Agger and Jensen's work has helped to broaden the function of testimony beyond the professional, clinical setting through their recognition of testimony's social and political value.

In his survey of the literature on testimony, Stevan Weine (2006) positions Agger and Jensen alongside Laub as scholars who have advanced our understanding of testimonies of political violence beyond clinical perspectives. Weine, himself a psychiatrist, and a former colleague of Laub's, has a particular conception of "clinical testimony": "Clinical testimony is an approach to testimony that is dependent upon clinical theory and methodology from the fields of trauma mental health, psychiatry, psychology, or psychoanalysis" (2006, p. xvi). One of the ways in which Agger and Jensen (1996) broadened our understanding of testimony beyond the notion of clinical testimony, which is circumscribed by the medical and mental health professions, was to develop a new model of trauma in their book *Trauma and Healing Under State Terrorism*, based on testimonies about political violence in Chile. This model set out to explain the traumatic effects of repressive political strategies at different levels of Chilean society – the individual, family and group levels. For example, through interviews with

family members, Agger and Jensen detailed the effects on families when family members were “disappeared”. The model also described a number of therapeutic strategies for dealing with the trauma of political violence, including clinical work and also community-based work by survivor groups and humanitarian organizations.

Agger and Jensen (1990) focus more explicitly on the concept of testimony in a paper entitled *Testimony as Ritual and Evidence in Psychotherapy for Political Refugees*, in which they propose that receiving the testimonies of victims of political repression in a psychotherapeutic setting implies that private, subjective pain is seen in political context. Like Judith Herman, Agger and Jensen claim that the term “testimony” has a double connotation, referring both to the subjective, or private realm, and to the judicial, or public realm. On the one hand, the private or cathartic aspect of testimony is what Agger and Jensen term a “healing ritual”. On the other hand, the public aspect of testimony involves an exploration of the cultural contexts of both the political refugee and the therapist, in order to compile evidence of the regime’s repressive techniques. Summarising their “testimony method” Agger and Jensen write: “when we... seek to aid political refugees to heal their trauma by bearing of testimony to the injustices suffered, this can be seen as a trans-cultural therapeutic tool and as a joint advocacy against political oppression and the violation of human rights” (1990, p. 118).

In the light of Agger and Jensen’s work, this study explores the process of “bearing witness” to the testimonies of the Highgate group members as a form of advocacy on behalf of the group members and their community. The particular form this advocacy takes is that of allowing group members the opportunity to tell their stories in their own words, which was a significant motivation for the interviews conducted for this study. Concomitantly, it is important to acknowledge group members’ testimonies as a form of “evidence” of the apartheid state security forces’ activities, especially given the developments in the Highgate case prior to the formation of the Highgate group. Group members’ testimonies invite this kind of acknowledgement, especially by the way in which the details of the Highgate attack and the investigation into the attack are narrated in the first set of interviews. The theme of the investigation into the attack was also revisited by group members in the second set of interviews. The importance of approaching the group members’ testimonies as “evidence” is further magnified by group

members' own view of their position as marginal among victims of political violence in South Africa. By recording group members' testimonies, we are contributing to the evidence of repressive activities carried out by the apartheid government, as well as to the history of a community that was traumatized by these activities.

By sharing with the survivor the responsibility for "bearing witness" to the trauma, the listener bears a significant emotional burden, facing the losses caused by the traumatic experience in the survivor's life and sharing in the process of mourning. This empathic sharing may give rise to ethical questions if the listener finds that they desire to identify fully with the survivor's testimony. Dominick LaCapra (2001) has given a subtle analysis of the ethical dilemmas facing listeners and secondary witnesses, arguing for listening to take place within the arc of "working through" rather than "acting out" trauma. Expression in language (the means of "working through" trauma) provides a measure of conscious control over the process of recalling the past, thereby counteracting the intrusive and compulsive reliving of the traumatic memory ("acting out" the trauma). By giving testimony, the witness is able, through language, to distinguish between two temporal realities: he or she both remembers the traumatic past and is aware of existing, acting, and speaking in the present. LaCapra claims that this awareness, given by the critical distance of language, opens the possibility for the witness of ethically responsible behaviour, including consideration for others. He is saying that "working through" traumatic memory should be oriented towards reconnection of the witness with others as an aspect of recovery. The task of the secondary witness or listener is to participate in the process of working over and through the traumatic memory.

According to LaCapra, the listener must consider how to respond to the witness testimony, and how to call into question the desire to identify fully with the victim. This desire to identify fully with witness accounts is ethically problematic as "the forces of this desire may occlude the problem of agency in one's own life and desensitize one to the problem... of attempting to move, however incompletely, from victim to survivor and agent in survivors themselves" (2001, p. 98). LaCapra argues for a response of empathy or "empathic unsettlement" from listeners which finds its way between objectification of and identification with witness accounts. This kind of empathic response has the effect of

drawing the listener into a circle of relationship in the witnessing process. “Empathic unsettlement” qualifies objectification and identification by exposing listeners to their own implication in the past. By recognising the nature of their own relationship with the witness, the listener becomes involved in the process of reconnection.

The ethical orientation towards empathic listening that LaCapra refers to was particularly important in the context of a support group with a shared history of trauma like the Highgate group. Within a group context, empathic listening involved a commitment by individual members to share in the process of “working through” the effects of the traumatic experience in one another’s lives, and so share in a process of recovery. In this context there was no strict distinction between the roles of the expert therapist and the suffering patient. Group members alternated between the roles of witness and listener as they gave and received their testimonies; and as they had undergone very similar experiences to their fellow group members, they had a natural basis for a commitment towards sharing in one another’s journeys towards recovery. This study shows that group members themselves recognised the beneficial effects of empathic listening within the group. This was evident from the thematic analysis of participants’ perceptions of the support group, conducted across the first set of interviews, which identified the perception of ‘the resources of the support group for mirroring or acknowledging the experiences of each member’. Group members also recognised the operation of the process of empathic listening within the healing of memories workshop in which they participated as a group. A central component of the workshop was the mutual sharing of testimonies with other survivors from different backgrounds. Group members spoke about the healing of memories experience during both the first and second sets of interviews, also referring to other group contexts in which empathic listening had taken place, such as the Khulumani Support Group.

4.4 “Bearing Witness” at the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearings

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) provides a conceptual model for the process of giving testimony and “bearing witness” in a public

setting. The importance of this model for the Highgate Survivors' Group is underlined by the fact that a number of the survivors gave their testimonies at TRC hearings, making this a formative experience for them. A significant aspect of this study is the investigation of how the public and political process of the TRC may illuminate the process of giving testimony and "bearing witness" in the community-based context of the Highgate Survivors' Group, where the group itself may be viewed as a community of listeners.

The formal context of the TRC hearings introduces a range of political and social factors into the process of giving testimony and "bearing witness". Martha Minow (1998) discusses some of these factors, focusing particularly on the process of amnesty and the relationship between truth commissions and judicial trials. The TRC attempted to use amnesty as a truth-finding mechanism by making it conditional rather than offering a blanket amnesty to erase the offences of particular groups entirely. Amnesty was offered to individuals who applied for it on the condition that they disclose fully the details of their misdeeds and that these could be characterised as having a political objective. Prosecutions and civil suits remained an option against perpetrators who failed to apply for amnesty and against those whose applications were denied. The conditional amnesty system was an outcome of the negotiations between the apartheid regime and the ANC and allied liberation movements. Minow's claim is that the TRC transformed amnesty from a political necessity into a truth-finding process by using it to overcome ignorance among the general community and among government officials, and to trace the responsibility for human rights violations along the chain of command. Whether or not the amnesty process was successful in this regard is a matter we will touch on later as it is much contested in current research. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that amnesty, together with the TRC's aim to devise recommendations for reparations, provide the main political context for the process of giving testimony at the TRC. In line with the postamble to the Interim Constitution of 1993, the overall aim of the TRC was national reconciliation. "Its goal is to express government acknowledgment of the past, to enhance the legitimacy of the current regime, and to promote a climate conducive to human rights and democratic processes" (Minow 1998, p. 57).

The trade of amnesty for testimony afforded the TRC the opportunity to pursue the goals of individual and social healing by side-stepping the adversarial process of

judicial trials. Victims were given the opportunity to tell their stories in their entirety to a sympathetic audience without having to endure cross-examination. We have already seen the importance of allowing victims to piece together their own narratives of trauma. As Minow attests, one of the assumptions on which the TRC operated was that the official acknowledgement of individuals' stories would facilitate healing. The concealed nature of human rights abuses perpetrated by repressive governments often magnifies victims' suffering through the denial of their stories by their communities. The official acknowledgement of victims' stories in the arena of the TRC allowed them to integrate their personal traumatic suffering into a larger context of political oppression, thereby enabling healing. This study demonstrates that the Highgate group mirrored the TRC context by providing acknowledgement of group members' stories. This is particularly apparent from the thematic analysis of group members' perceptions of the support group conducted across the first set of interviews. Although the Highgate group was not able to provide the sort of acknowledgement that comes from an official, statutory body, it was able to validate the details of group members' local context, by bringing together survivors and family members from the same community. This is particularly important for those members of the Highgate group who testified at the TRC, yet felt that their stories received only a limited form of acknowledgement.

TRC hearings at which victims shared their testimonies offered some of the same services to victims as offered in the therapy setting, especially the Human Rights Violations Committee hearings where victims were able to tell their stories to sympathetic listeners. However, this support fell short of full therapeutic services. Brandon Hamber (1998), in a special edition of *American Imago* dedicated to the TRC has drawn attention to the limitations of the psychological services offered by the TRC. He states, "It is apparent that inadequate follow-up, limited referral and sporadic support of individuals who have testified or made a statement to the TRC has occurred across the board" (1998, pp. 16-17).

Psychological services offered at TRC hearings included debriefing for victim-witnesses, journalists, and Commissioners in recognition that listening to testimonies of trauma begins a sequence of pain events in secondary witnesses. Fiona Ross (2003a) uses this recognition to question the efficacy of the process of testifying at the TRC. She

observes that the transmission of pain from witness to listeners allows pain to ‘slip past the boundaries of bodies’. Ross notes that in this sense the dislocation of pain from its original locus in the witness brings hope through “the possibility that emerges for a social imaginary based on constructive engagement” (2003a, pp. 153-154). However, the dislocation of pain from the bodily memory of the witness may result in the pain of witnesses being appropriated and put to other uses.

Ross has elsewhere developed this critique of testimony at the TRC (Ross 2003b; 2003c). She observes that TRC testimonies have been widely disseminated to satisfy the interest of the media, the public, politicians and academics. This process involves testimonies being transcribed as texts, being separated from the person of the testifier, being sold as “commodities” and analysed independently of the lives of suffering out of which they come (for a fully documented example, see Ross 2003c). For Ross, this raises questions about the relationship of witnesses to their testimonies, and the sense of self that is embedded in testimonial narratives. If the witness experiences the testimony and the self as congruent, then the alienation of the testimony from the self in exchange for resources is an ethically questionable process.

Ross’s critique highlights the vulnerability of witnesses in sharing their testimonies before the TRC, and raises important ethical questions about the use of witness testimonies beyond the context in which they were given, and about the sort of support that official processes like the TRC should provide for victims. However, I would question the relationship between story or testimony and self that Ross’s analysis assumes. While witness testimonies have certainly been used as texts beyond the formal arena of the TRC, Ross’s concern that story may be alienated from self and sold as a commodity seems to be a rather strong description of this circulation. It assumes that story and self are ‘congruent’. It does not allow that stories, like selves, may always be in the process of being given and received; and it does not conceive of the self in relation to others – an underlying assumption in this study.

A number of studies that examine the extent to which witnesses at the TRC benefited from giving public testimony have yielded inconclusive results. For example, the results of Catherine Byrne’s (2004) qualitative study of victims’ experiences of testifying before the TRC register a mixture of positive and negative themes. One of the

recurrent negative themes for respondents was the unmet expectation of hearing the truth about the details of the violation they had undergone and the circumstances surrounding it. Many felt that the expectation of hearing the truth from perpetrators' accounts was legitimated by the conditions of amnesty (i.e. "full disclosure"). Other unmet expectations included the expectation of receiving material, economic, and medical assistance (perhaps in the form of reparations) and the expectation that perpetrators would come forward and provide new information (here respondents were disillusioned by the failure of perpetrators to apply for amnesty and the relatively low-level status of those who did apply). Over against these negative themes, respondents' positive feelings included being given a public voice in the TRC arena for the expression of their stories (i.e. official acknowledgement) and, in some cases, the sense of perpetrator remorse for the acts they had committed.

Some of the Highgate survivors who testified before the TRC echoed the concerns of the respondents in Byrne's (2004) study. Their dominant response to the TRC was disillusionment, especially with the practical or material outcomes, as they did not receive the financial and medical assistance promised to them by the TRC. As I have mentioned, these survivors also felt that their stories have been given only a limited form of acknowledgement by being shared at the TRC hearings. This feeling was magnified by the TRC's failure to investigate the Highgate case: the TRC report states simply that "the attack has been routinely ascribed to APLA" (vol. 3, ch. 2, p. 147, paragraph 410).

To some extent, the Highgate group provided for the group members what the TRC was unable to provide. It offered an environment of mutual support, based in the group members' own community, in which members could share their stories with others who had endured a similar experience of trauma. As a group established by the group members themselves, it also provided a forum through which members could seek the truth about the Highgate attack, and who was responsible for it. Group members also took the step of establishing a non-profit organisation, the Highgate United Group (HUG) in order to raise funds to support the truth-finding mission, as well as other causes.

A group of critiques of the TRC (Posel 2002; Mamdani 1996; Van der Merwe 2002) show that in pursuing a shared national narrative of violation that would facilitate national reconciliation, the TRC limited its engagement with local community histories.

The TRC's tendency to pass over the details of community histories perhaps issued from tensions within its mandate for truth-telling. Deborah Posel (2002) has highlighted the multi-faceted character of the TRC's mandate in her appraisal of the report. As stipulated in the enabling legislation for the TRC, The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act no. 34 of 1995, the TRC's mandate was to establish "as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights which were committed during the period from 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date [10 May 1994], including the antecedents, circumstances, factors and context of such violations, as well as the perspectives of the victims and the motives and perspectives of the persons responsible for the commission of the violations" (quoted in Posel 2002, p. 147). The TRC's mandate for truth-finding included both a comprehensive history of gross human rights violations and explanation of the antecedents and causes for such violations. On the one hand the descriptive aspect of the mandate involved the assembly of an official, authoritative version of the past that could be ratified as objective. The explanatory aspect, on the other hand, involved the creation of a shared national history that would pass moral judgment on the past in a way that facilitated reconciliation. These two aspects of the mandate often pulled against each other since the creation of a shared national history did not require the detailed description of individual and community histories – the level at which different perspectives of the past were most conflicting.

The descriptive aspect of the TRC's mandate was limited to gross human rights violations rather than to human rights violations in their entirety. As Mahmood Mamdani (1996) has argued, the TRC's definition of injustice was therefore limited to abuses perpetrated *within* the legal framework of apartheid, such as detention, torture and murder. Excluded from this definition was the routine violation of people's human rights through apartheid legislation – through, for example, the pass laws and forced removals. The TRC defined victims as those who were victimised in the struggle against apartheid, rather than the majority of citizens whose families and lives were torn apart by apartheid legislation. Mamdani argues that these definitions affect efforts towards reconciliation in present-day South Africa; yet they also affected the way in which the TRC engaged with local community histories. The TRC often used accounts of violations as exemplary of the experience of a whole community rather than engaging with the complexity of local

histories as part of broader structures of oppression. The TRC also often obscured or completely passed over the complex interweaving of resistance and complicity in local histories. Hugo van der Merwe (2002) has illustrated the way in which the TRC's engagement with these aspects of local community histories was limited by the pursuit of a national narrative of violation.

One of the purposes of the Highgate group was to reclaim the community history represented by the lives of survivors and their families that was so deeply damaged by the Highgate attack. This involved the re-opening of the investigation into the Highgate case by the National Prosecuting Authority (this happened after the inaugural meeting of the Highgate Survivors' Group in November 2006). Group members themselves reclaimed their local history more actively as they bore witness to one another's testimonies in the support group context, making possible forms of acknowledgement that the TRC was unable to give them. Through its involvement in forums like the healing of memories workshop, the group has also represented the community history of its members among the diverse community histories of other groups of survivors of political violence.

The literature on the work of the TRC is vast, ranging from critical overviews of the TRC process (e.g. Tutu 1999; Boraine 2000; Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd 2000; Posel & Simpson 2002), to work that deals with the amnesty process (e.g. Doxtader & Villa-Vicencio 2003). In an important study of the narratives of perpetrators undertaken while the amnesty hearings were underway, Foster *et al.* (2005) have taken a novel approach to analysing the narratives of perpetrators from all sides of the political conflict in South Africa. Their observations point to significant limitations in the amnesty process. Other research on the TRC relates to its outcomes, including studies on reparations (e.g. Doxtader & Villa-Vicencio 2004), reconciliation (e.g. De Gruchy 2002; Gibson 2004), and forgiveness (e.g. Gobodo-Madikizela 2003; Kaminer 2005). My study will be a small, but unique, contribution to this vast literature.

4.5 Cultural Trauma and “Working Through” Traumatic Loss

Jeffrey Alexander (2004) defines cultural trauma as a group's experience of a shattering event that is inscribed in collective consciousness and memory in such a way as to change group identity. Alexander here elaborates on Kai Erikson's idea of collective trauma as "a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality" (Erikson 1976, p. 154, quoted in Alexander 2004). In developing a sociological model of trauma, however, Alexander emphasises the matter of representation, arguing that cultural trauma does not arise from the harmfulness of the traumatic event itself, but from the way in which the group *represents* the event as having harmed collective identity. It is therefore the representation of a painful event as entering into a group's collective consciousness that transforms a social trauma into a cultural trauma.

The consequences of cultural traumas, including wars and oppressive political regimes, continue to be played out after the political and legal systems in the society have changed, especially when perpetrator, victim, and bystander groups are attempting to forge a new, unified society following political violence. Vamik Volkan (2006) identifies five psychological phenomena that persist in victimized groups after oppressive political regimes have been removed from power, often attaching themselves to problems in the emerging new society, such as continuing poverty. Included in Volkan's list of phenomena is the shared difficulty or even inability to mourn losses. This point is important for the purposes of seeking out ways in which victims of traumatic experiences may come to terms with traumatic loss. Mourning is an extended process: it is distinct from the immediate grief reaction that attends the loss of an important person or thing. Volkan proposes a cognitive view of individual mourning as the mental activities of the bereaved person in reviewing the mental representations of the lost person, and assimilating aspects of the lost person in the self. In a constructive mourning process, the mourner is able to take on some of the functions of the deceased person. On the level of social trauma, the collective mourning process shared by members of a group has to deal with the loss not only of family members, friends, and relatives, but also homes, land, cultural institutions and the dignity and shared identity associated with them. Such losses are compounded by the continuation of feelings of shame, humiliation, and guilt in victimized groups even after an oppressive regime has changed. These feelings, together

with what Volkan calls “identification with the oppressor” make collective mourning a complicated process, as members of the victimized group struggle to assimilate mental representations of aspects of their traumatized selves and their shared social life that have been lost. Mourning may become a seemingly unending process.

Volkan’s description of collective mourning is helpful in understanding some aspects of a shared mourning process. From a more philosophical perspective, Dominick LaCapra (2001) has formulated the concepts of “acting out” and “working through” as modes of responding to historical losses. In acting out, the past is relived repetitively and compulsively, and the person is possessed by the traumatic memory as if it were fully present. We have already noted, earlier in this discussion, that compulsive reliving of an overwhelming experience is a feature of traumatic memory. Acting out describes how a traumatized person or society may become locked into this repetition compulsion, identifying fully with the traumatic loss in a way that makes mourning a difficult or even unending process. Working through, on the other hand, begins with the narration of the traumatic memory and the testimony to the traumatic event. It involves a different relation to the past: the mourner simultaneously remembers the past and also takes leave of it, allowing for critical judgment of it. By facing the past from a critical distance, the mourner is able to begin to reinvest in social life – to begin life again rather than being locked in perpetual mourning.

While the acting out of the traumatic memory may never be fully overcome, working through provides a measure of critical distance that allows the survivor to begin to re-engage in social and civic life with its responsibilities and requirements of consideration for others. Working through thus allows survivors to begin to establish relationships of trust within their communities that do not depend on an identity of victimhood. LaCapra’s notion of working through provides an important ethical orientation for understanding the process of sharing testimonies of trauma in the Highgate group, as it suggests that this process should be oriented to reconnection with others and to the reforging of bonds between survivors and their communities. This study has attempted to illustrate the ways in which this has indeed come about in and through the Highgate group.

Working through traumatic memory is oriented towards the reconnection of survivors with others, especially others within their own communities. Judith Herman (1992) observes that reconnection occupies a particular place in the recovery process from traumatic experience. It can begin when the survivors have been through the process of mourning the loss of their former selves through the traumatic event, and have achieved a critical perspective on the past that allows them to see clearly the damage done to themselves by the trauma. Survivors can then begin to exercise imagination and initiative to re-create new selves not paralysed by repetitions of the trauma. As they begin to rebuild their lives, they are also letting go of aspects of their selves formed by the traumatic environment. This allows survivors to be more forgiving of themselves, since they are more able to acknowledge the damage done to their traumatized selves in beginning a new life: “The more actively survivors are able to engage in rebuilding their lives, the more generous and accepting they can be toward the memory of the traumatized self” (1992, pp. 203-204). Graciousness towards themselves allows survivors to let go of their victim identities, which often serve to isolate them from others in their communities. When survivors are able to acknowledge their ordinariness and limitations, they are also able to recognise their inter-dependence with others and recover the capacity for trusting relationships.

Reconnection with others was the central concept in one of the main groups of themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of participants’ perceptions of the support group (‘the support group as a means of reconnection with other people’). However, reconnection with others may also be seen as an outcome of the successful functioning of the group in the experience of group members. This study has attempted to illustrate the ways in which the group has provided a space in which members have been able to work through their traumatic experiences, and make progress towards letting go of their victim identities and reconnecting with others in their own communities. It has done this by recording these steps towards healing within the arc of participants’ stories.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate the relationship between participants' stories and the Highgate group context. It sought to understand how group members' narratives about their traumatic experiences were shaped by their experiences in the group; how the process of "bearing witness" to traumatic experience operated within the dialogic context of the group; how the group extended the work of the TRC in a local community setting; and how group members' perceptions of other groups of survivors of political violence changed through their participation in the group. In this study I attempted to achieve these research aims by conducting two sets of individual interviews with members of the Highgate group. Participants' narratives given in the first set of interviews were presented in the form of narrative case studies; and subsequently I employed thematic analysis and dialogic analysis as analytical tools to explore further the relationship between participants' stories and the group context across both sets of interviews. These results and analyses were then discussed in relation to the literature on trauma and testimony.

By pursuing the research aims of this study, I think I have been able to point towards some of the ways in which the group has contributed towards participants' healing processes. Thus the creation of a sympathetic environment in which group members were able to overcome the obstacles to speaking about their traumatic experiences was found to be an important feature of the group context. This study was able to show the value group members attributed to the process of "bearing witness" to one another's testimonies – accompanying one another in coming to a new knowledge about their traumatic experiences – in the group context. The group was able to take forward the work of the TRC in a local community context by providing forms of acknowledgement the TRC was unable to provide; and by allowing group members the opportunity to relinquish their exclusive victim/ survivor identities through their encounters with other groups of survivors of political violence. These steps towards healing, as participants' narratives attest, were inextricably linked to the group context.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: TRC TESTIMONIES

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

SUBMISSIONS - MEMBER OF PANELS AND ANSWERS

DATE: 15.04.96 NAME: CLIVE RHODE

CASE: EC0035/96 - EAST LONDON

DAY 1

CHAIRPERSON: We invite Mr Clive Rhode to take the stand please. Please do be seated. We would like to welcome you very warmly to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Do you wish to take the oath or to make affirmation?

CLIVE RHODE: (sworn states).

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Rhode, five years ago will stand for ever in your memory, not only in your mind and in your spirit, but also on your body. It was a very tough and difficult time for you and many others. We are grateful that you have come to us because we still don't know who did this to you and why, and we're hoping that your presence here and the evidence that you lead will be of some assistance to you. Mr Ntsiki Sandi will lead the evidence and I'll ask him now to take over, thank you.

MR SANDI: Hello Mr Rhode.

MR RHODE: Hello.

MR SANDI: How are you today?

MR RHODE: Fine thanks.

MR SANDI: Mr Rhode, you have made a statement to the Commission in which you set out what happened on the First of May 1991 when you were on your way home and you visited High Gate Hotel.

MR RHODE: That's correct.

MR SANDI: I will ask you to tell us briefly about yourself. What your life entailed, where did you work

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before, what sort of work you were doing, then I'll go on to ask you about the actual events, as you have related them pertaining to the First of May 1991. Now I start off asking you about your personal life. What were you doing before this thing happened to you.

MR RHODE: I was employed at the Animal Health Organisation in East London for nine years, where I worked as a senior inspector to the cruelty of animals. At the time of the accident I was employed up until May 1993. Then on the first of May 1993, I went to the East London Airport to pick up a friend of mine that had arrived from Cape Town to spend a weekend in East London on business. I arrived at the airport at approximately 08H30 that evening where I picked him up and took him down to the Dolphin Hotel in East London where he was going to stay during the course of his business that he had to do during his stay in East London.

At approximately a half an hour to an hour after that, we decided that it was time for me to go home where my residence was in a suburb on the northern side, Summer Bride, East London. On the way home we, myself, him and two other friends, stopped at the Highgate Hotel to have a refreshment. We were sitting there, ordered our first drink and we heard what sounded like automatic firearms which was in the bar next to us which was the mens' bar, and long after that we heard a bang as if a hand grenade or something had gone off. At that time someone shouted that we were under attack. We then realised that we were under attack but before any of us could fall down or take cover, this guy was standing by the entrance door, he had an AK 47 on his hip and he was swinging the firearm around and sprayed bullets throughout the bar.

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At that time we had both fallen down, not realising who had, what the injuries were, and I had fallen down next to the friends of mine and I fell down with my head facing the door where I was watching this guy all the time. After this he stopped for a moment, I don't know if he was going to reload or what but as I turned around I could see he was busy with a magazine. He then took another magazine, reloaded the AK 47 and started shooting again. It carried on for some time, a couple of seconds or a minute, whatever it was, and at this time, I was still looking at this guy, I could see that now he had now done what he wanted to do. I couldn't identify the guy as he had a sort of a bluish overall on with balaclava, with doves on his hand. After he'd finished shooting he took this AK 47, he slung it over his shoulders and he folded the but up and he threw a canister of tear gas into the bar.

After that time I he'd realised that there people were seriously injured and wounded in this. I was lying there realising that I couldn't move but with the tear gas I couldn't breathe, so I asked them to cut my clothes off me. After they had taken the clothes off me and I was just lying in underwear, everybody, the police and ambulance people had already arrived at the scene and they had started to give treatment to the injured people, and then after that I woke up in ICU in Frere Hospital East London.

MR SANDI: It was yourself and your friend. Were there any other people around?

MR RHODE: Were there any, I'm sorry.

MR SANDI: Were there any other people around at the table where you were sitting?

MR RHODE: Yes there were, he was killed with five other

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people who were sitting in the ladies' bar with us.

MR SANDI: Is there any one of those people here today?

MR RHODE: There are two people that have come to the secondary hearing.

MR SANDI: Did the police do anything about it. I suppose the police took a statement from you, what happened, were there any investigations?

MR RHODE: Well as a result I lost my left arm, it was amputated from the elbow, below the elbow, I've got 60% use of my right arm plus three fingers are not in operation and there were statements taken from us by the Murder and Robbery Unit in East London at

the time while I was in hospital. Still up to this day we've had no contact where no one has come forward to say that a guilty party had been arrested or been found.

MR SANDI: Do you think you would be able to recognise the people who did this thing to you if you were to see them?

MR RHODE: No, as I say the gentleman had a balaclava over his head. It was as if this attack was planned and they were well prepared and dressed so as not to identify the guys, the one guy.

MR SANDI: Mr Rhode, you were working, you were a man who was leading an ordinary life and all of a sudden you find yourself in this sympathetic situation. How do you feel about this, if I can ask you an awkward question. How do you feel about this?

MR RHODE: Well my life was changed overnight, being a disabled person and it's taken some time. One has to sort of, accept, I've accepted it and I have to carry on with the daily routine of my life. It's not something that will be forgotten about and it's something that I think justice

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should be done about. I'm not speaking on behalf of myself,

I'm speaking on behalf of the other victims that were there, and living, financially with a disability grant of R410, I don't think anybody can see or live on that amount. Where I was an employed person, had my own privacy, now I have to rely on charity and friends to look after and help me. So it's a change overnight and it's...

MR SANDI: Are there any people who are dependant on you and what has happened to those people now?

MR RHODE: I have got a daughter, I'm not married, that is at school. Financial wise, I've asked for assistance from the State and have had no correspondence from anybody to try and sort a way out financially wise.

MR SANDI: If you had to meet the people who did this to you, what would you tell them? Do you have any lesson or moral lecture that you would give them?

MR RHODE: You know, there's law and order in this country, it's not for me to decide to take the law in my own hands. This is why I approached the Truth Commission, hopefully it will be investigated further, and from there it's the justice that will have to be

done and to see it. It's not for me to decide what I would like to do to the perpetrators or the people that did this to me.

MR SANDI: Can you tell the Commission more about the medical operation you've had to go through and the financial implications of that?

MR RHODE: I was in hospital for plus-minus two weeks, I had no use of my right arm. It was a lot of work up and down to Cape Town to a specialist that could do operations on fingers. I've been back and forth three times on my own expense, all expenses paid for on my behalf. I've had eight EAST LONDON HEARING TRC/EASTERN CAPE

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pins and plates put in my elbow which was, the bone graft

was taken out to put in there to restore the use of the arm which was just about off as well, it was shattered completely. I still have further operations to go through, removing the fixtures in my elbow and straightening my right fingers.

MR SANDI: Can you please tell the Commission more about the physical limitations, specifically the kind of things you can't do now.

MR RHODE: I can't do on my own?

MR SANDI: Yes things that you can't do on your own.

MR RHODE: Ja it took me plus-minus a year to teach myself how to get dressed, to feed myself. There are things I can't do. I can't get to the right hand side of my face because of the fixtures in my elbow. I need assistance when I need to be shaved, I need assistance when I need to be bathed and there are many other things that I need to be helped with which I can't do, I've tried to sort of cope on my own but it's a bit difficult. So there is someone that assists me, helping me with things and...(intervention)

MR SANDI: Is there anything else that you would like the Commission to know about you and the state you are in as of today?

MR RHODE: Well as I said, it's, I've accepted the condition, I mean, it's changed my life overnight but I've learned to do things, I've learned to accept a few things and there are still other things that have to be done to improve the conditions of myself on doing certain things, yes.

MR SANDI: I may be asking you the same question as I've asked you before, but maybe in a different way. What do you

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expect the Commission to do? What would you like the Commission to do.

MR RHODE: Well I've come through up until now with aid from friends, family, unemployed and financially wise it is a strain, as I say I'm living on R410 a month, whereas I've got to put a bit of support in towards the people that are looking after me. As I say, I can't accept charity for the rest of my life, I can't accept to be looked after for the rest of my life. I want to be independent and I want to lead a normal life again.

MR SANDI: Thank you Mr Rhode that is all I've got to ask you. I don't know, the members of the panel will have one or two questions maybe to clarify something.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. Questions?

MEMBER OF PANEL: Mr Rhode thank you very much indeed. You say that you would not be able to identify the person or persons who did this to you. In the course of the investigation, did the police at any time show you photographs or ask you to attend an identity parade or anything of that kind at all?

MR RHODE: I was shown several photographs of guys that were responsible for a few attacks in Eastern Cape which could have been linked to the Highgate Hotel. I was in a state of shock in hospital where I was brought the photos to identify. As I say if I had seen or identified the guys, it would have been a problem with the guy wearing a balaclava, having all the necessary equipment to do such a thing, so at this time I could say I can't identify them.

MEMBER OF PANEL: Just one other question, you mentioned some of the responses which you would welcome from the Commission and you've talked very bravely about your own

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determination to try to lead a normal life, would you want the Commission to investigate further, to find out who did this to you?

MR RHODE: Ja, I would like to, you know, I would like justice should be done. I don't feel someone can do this and just walk away a free person, and it should be fully investigated as to what political organisation, who was behind this? What the reason was, who gave the orders to do such a thing? And I feel that, as I say again, justice should be done.

MEMBER OF PANEL: So you would not object us, the Commission taking this matter further.

MR RHODE: Not at all.

MEMBER OF PANEL: I'm sorry I have one other question, it's not an easy thing to do what you've done, there are other people that you know who were hurt, injured, in that or perhaps similar operations in this time of conflict. Would you encourage them to come to the Commission if they ask you to, how do you feel about that?

MR RHODE: Yes I would. You know it's hopefully something to start a new beginning. Hopefully things will become of what everyone who's sitting here, telling the Commission of what has happened in the past to them, to myself and to other victims, and I would advise or suggest people to come forward, if they can't testify, to give statements.

MEMBER OF PANEL: Thank you very much Mr Rhode, that's all I have.

MR RHODE: Thank you.

ARCHBISHOP TUTU: Can I just ask one question please, what would be your attitude to perpetrators of this sort with regard to the whole hope for unity and reconciliation in

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the country?

MR RHODE: What my attitude would be?

ARCHBISHOP TUTU: Yes.

MR RHODE: As I say it's not for me to decide, there are laws in courts for this. I've got a normal life to lead, I've got to think about myself. What happens to the guys that did this to me is for the courts to decide, not for me.

CHAIRPERSON: Wendy?

MEMBER OF PANEL: If in the course of the Commission's investigative process, the perpetrators were to become known, and they applied for amnesty in terms of the law, and the Commission, which has a committee to look at that, were to be satisfied that they've made a full disclosure and that

in terms of the tests for the granting of amnesty, they are entitled to amnesty, what would your attitude be? If they were granted amnesty in terms of the law?

MR RHODE: This has happened to me, it's not forgotten about, it never will be forgotten about. It would be deep down inside, hurt to know that the guy would be a free man on the street if he applied for amnesty. To walk away a free person where he has killed innocent people, disabled innocent people and one just has to, if it is granted, to accept it. I'm not a magistrate or someone to stand up and give my say, what should happen to the guys but I think they should be tried and hear what their side of the story is before amnesty is granted to the perpetrators or to find out from them what their purpose of it was for doing innocent people with friends.

MEMBER OF PANEL: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much.

ARCHBISHOP TUTU: I had suggested that we might go on till EAST LONDON HEARING TRC/EASTERN CAPE

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five, but it probably is right to accept the suggestion of the Regional Commissioner, not the National Commissioner. The proposal had been originally that we end this session for today at four o'clock. The two witnesses have very graciously agreed that they would be willing to stand over until tomorrow and they would be the first two witnesses to be taken tomorrow. We would not normally want to do this but I think that we, as the first day and the pressure of hearing the stories, order please, will you please sit down until we've finished, nobody should leave. Can you just stop the people going out whilst I address the Commission. We will be breaking to resume at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning. Thank you very much.

COMMISSION ADJOURNS

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

SUBMISSIONS - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

DATE: 10TH JUNE 1997

NAME: MRS BERNICE ELIZABETH WHITFIELD

HELD AT: EAST LONDON

CASE: EC101/96 - ELN

DAY 2

REV FINCA: We will now call Bernice Whitfield.

MRS BERNICE ELIZABETH WHITFIELD: (sworn states)

REV FINCA: Welcome Bernice Whitfield Tiny Maya will raise a few questions to you with regard to your statement.

MISS MAYA: Thank you Mr Chairman. Before we start I need some assistance with this blind as I'm not able to see her properly. I need to have this moved aside thank you. Good morning Mrs Whitfield I see that the testimony that you're going to give this morning is about your husband Deric John Whitfield, is that correct?

MRS WHITFIELD: Yes, that's correct.

MISS MAYA: According to the statement in front of us your husband was only forty two years old when he was killed in the shooting that took place at High Gate Hotel, is that correct?

MRS WHITFIELD: That's right.

MISS MAYA: I want to give you an opportunity to present your testimony uninterrupted and then maybe I will come back to ask you a few question just to clarify things that may not be clear. You can continue.

MRS WHITFIELD: At the time of the shooting we were staying in Vincent Gardens North and when I came to hear about the shooting I was totally devastated knowing that I had to bear the financial situation myself. The rental we paid there was R1 300 which I was unable to afford with the death of my husband. I got R1 200 out of my salary as I

wasn't being paid correctly for my qualifications. I couldn't pay for the funeral. My mother-in-law paid all the costs. To this day I haven't been able to pay her back. I had to change jobs because as I said financially I could not cope. I had three children at that stage.

Ten months after my husband was killed my daughter was killed in a car accident. The guy had no licence and he was speeding and drunk. He was fined R750. That was what her life cost. He got off scott free which tells me in this world. There's no justice in that the people were killed at the High Gate didn't have to die they weren't ill, they weren't sick. I managed to get the cheapest flat in Baysville which was Seven Hundred Rand at the time which I could not afford either but it was better than sitting somewhere where there was no place to stay with three children. In the end that building was sold and I had to move again. Just bear in mind that the first time I had Seven Hundred Rand plus Seven Hundred Rand maintenance deposit plus lights and water which was Five Hundred and something Rand at that stage. It came to over a Thousand Rand which I had to have spot on to move into Baysville from the house. Then I had to find another flat because the building was sold so I had to make another loan for the next lot of maintenance deposit, lights and water etc.

I didn't have any food or money. The Red Cross and God bless them were the only people who phoned me and said we have a food parcel for you because I didn't even have a slice of bread. They had a food parcel for me and Six Hundred Rand and one day when I'm on my feet I want to bless somebody to give them something, to bless somebody who's in need because I was very grateful for that.

As I say in the Daily Dispatch I read that one of the guys (and his picture was in the paper) that was responsible for the killing at the High Gate got fourteen years suspended for thirteen years. What kind of justice is that? If anybody steals a loaf of bread in a shop because he's hungry he gets three months jail sentence or doesn't even get out there but if you rape, murder and kill you get a Two Rand fine and you walk scott free and enjoy the facilities of life. I just say to myself the renegades that were responsible for various attacks are being paid by the Government. At the moment they're sitting in high positions like big heroes and we've got to face a financial battle.

Why do we waste our time in listening to what everybody has to say and opening up our wounds here. Nobody feels anything for us. I'm speaking for all races not because I'm White and this one is Pink, Yellow and Green. I'm speaking for all of us. There's a lot of people that are in the same position that I find myself in. Let us just take the King William's Town Golf Club the guy who's responsible there for the killing is sitting in a fantastic position to-day earning money. Mr So and So from Mc Goo's bar who was responsible for that disaster is sitting in a high position in the Government sector and after all this I say to myself you've got to be a criminal to get ahead in life. All these renegades who've completed their murders and brutal violence are being looked after in high positions in the Government earning fat salaries and we the victims sit with a financial battle to make ends meet. The Truth Commission too I'm sure you get compensated for what you are doing. It's been four years now but has anybody asked me

do you need a loaf of bread? No. If I look at all the victims sitting here from the High Gate and everybody that I've seen on TV that has come to testify and nobody has done anything. You've only got the Lord to look up to and I say the human race hasn't done anything for you but God has looked after you, God has looked after us.

At the moment my daughter has been chosen to go overseas to represent South Africa in the United Kingdom and I need R10 000 but I trust in God for he has provided for me up to now and he will provide for us when she leaves in November. Must you be a criminal to get to the top? Do people like us have to pay the price where our families get brutally murdered for the sake of political power. What power have we got? What power has any political party got or any ordinary man in the street. God create us and this is the word that God has given me because I prayed. I don't want to be here because I'm wasting my time but I'm here for God I'm representing him here to-day and this is the word he gave me. God created us. He gives us his power and wisdom to do his will. God is love and anyone walking in the Spirit of love has the qualities of the Spirit which is love, kindness, compassion and understanding. When you look at the world to-day where people go about killing murdering and raping for the sake of recognition and status be it for political reasons or whatever then the truth about them is that they walk in darkness for the evil one is a destructive force for if they walked in the Spirit of God some only has the name of Jesus on their lips. If you genuinely have God's love in your heart you would demonstrate the Spiritual qualities which is love, kindness, compassion and understanding and striving for inner peace and peace, goodwill to all man. You have no power. Nothing on earth belongs to us it is all on loan for the earth is the Lord's and all that is in it. The things on earth are given to us to enjoy to choose between right or wrong. You might be a man or a woman in a high position with all the authority you can have but the day you fall down and die, where is your power? You have no power. Where is your wisdom? When you walk in darkness you have no wisdom you act like a fool. God has eternal power and he has the last say. My one and only hope is in the Lord who is the only ruler of this world and the only one who has power when he will come in all his glory to judge the world. There might be no justice on earth, people get away with deceitfulness, brutality to human beings and they just walk away without justice being done but one day when you meet Jesus face to face you will have to stand and answer and God will ask of you not how you won but how did you play the game. Don't be trapped in a sick society where true morals and standards and values get thrown by the wayside for the sake of status and power for you have no power. We can only have power in God and as an ordinary person, an ordinary man in the street I want to say to all of you to-day that God wants us to focus on him. Two wrongs don't make a right. Have peace, God's peace, do good to mankind, help your friends. We are all God's people irrespective of who or what you are and the Holy Spirit will come down on each and every one and all the nations must look up to Jesus because if you know God's love how can you hurt the person next door to you. That is all I have to say.

MISS MAYA: Thank you Mrs Whitfield, I would like to ask you just a few questions as I said earlier. It is obvious that the death of your husband has affected you has changed your life and the life of your family and especially financially.

MRS WHITFIELD: That's right.

MISS MAYA: I would you to share with us the effect that his death has had on you and especially your children and also tell us how many children you have, their ages and whether they are schooling or not.

MRS WHITFIELD: Okay. I've got a daughter in Standard Eight. She's fifteen, Natalie and I've actually applied for assistance with School Fees. I've got to pay One Thousand Nine Hundred Rand and they gave me Two Hundred. I stand to correction I think it's Two Hundred discount that they give me which doesn't actually make a difference because I might as well pay the whole amount. I've got to see to all her schooling, her clothes etc. She's doing drumming which is a very costly sport but I feel I cannot deprive her from that. My son has been unemployed for a while and I'm supporting him as well. He's looking for a job but you can't just find a job. I myself I work and I will have to work until the day I die because I need money. I'm staying in Southern Wood which is not an area I would like to stay in. I would like to stay in a clean flat as my flat is very dilapidated. It's got holes in the kitchen and the taps don't work. Coming from a place where I lived comfortably I ... I don't know I just had to give up a lot of comfort and easy going living if you know what I mean. I don't want to be rich as money doesn't mean anything to me but I would like to be more comfortable.

MISS MAYA: Thank you. You said something earlier about seeing a report in the daily dispatch that one of the people involved in this shooting had been sentenced to fourteen year imprisonment?

MRS WHITFIELD: Yes, fourteen years suspended for thirteen years. They had a picture of the gentleman in the paper and they said that they managed to catch this guy and it was a Black gentleman and they said that he got fourteen years suspended for thirteen years. I just tore the paper up and I said you know this is justice and I'm not even interested.

MISS MAYA: Does that mean that you don't have details that you can give us so that we can follow the matter up?

MRS WHITFIELD: No, I haven't. That is all I saw in the paper and other than that I don't know anything what happened to the rest or what is happening. I just thought the whole story died down and we go onto the next one.

MISS MAYA: Mrs Whitfield if you were to come face to face to this person or if you were given an opportunity to convey a certain message to him or to them what would you like to convey to them?

MRS WHITFIELD: As the Lord said to me when he gave me this word he can walk away from us with the deeds that he's done but one day when he comes face to face with Jesus he will have to answer because when the Lord deals with you it hurts, if I deal with him he won't feel anything and that is my hope.

MISS MAYA: Thank you. Are you able to tell us at all what the nature and the extent of injuries your husband sustained in the shooting?

MRS WHITFIELD: I think it was either three or four bullet wounds in the chest. He was alive for a while but he drowned in his own blood. That's when he died.

MISS MAYA: Thank you. Would you like to place a request or a recommendation before us so that we can convey that to the State President?

MRS WHITFIELD: As I said before in East London nothing has been done and nothing will be done and I really don't expect anything to be done because nothing will be done.

MISS MAYA: Is that all?

MRS WHITFIELD: That is it.

MISS MAYA: Mrs Whitfield would you like maybe to request an indulgence just for your children if not for yourself? Their education, their welfare and their well-being?

MRS WHITFIELD: I actually expected financial help but as I said it's been four years and nothing has been done so that is why I say nothing will be done because there's nobody that does anything for us. It's been four years and we've coped on our own, we had to take on the financial battle ourselves. Financial assistance would be appreciated very much so but that also depends on the human hearts of the world.

MISS MAYA: Thank you very much. I'm going to hand you back to the Chairperson but there could be other questions from the rest of the panel. Thank you Mrs Whitfield.

REV FINCA: Mr Sandi?

MR SANDI: Thank you Mr Chairman. Mrs Whitfield I may be asking you the same question but maybe in a different way. I don't seem to get your attitude too clearly as to how you would relate to those who perpetrated this gross human rights violation. Let us suppose the people who did this to your husband and other victims of the tragedy were to come to you and say to you they are asking for forgiveness, how would you respond to such a request?

MRS WHITFIELD: I've got no grudge against anybody I feel if I have then I cannot call myself a child of God because if God forgives us we can forgive others. I cannot judge the man Jesus is going to judge him although it takes forty years, forty years is like a wink of an eye to the Lord and he will have to come face to face with Jesus his judge and what happens to him then is between him and the Lord. He'll have to answer then. Here on earth there is no justice. I've never seen justice in this world but when he comes face to face with the Lord that is the day he is going to get judged and that is my only hope.

MR SANDI: Thank you very much Mrs Whitfield. Thank you Mr Chairman.

REV FINCA: Reverend Xundu? Okay the question is withdrawn. Just one question from me Mrs Whitfield. You have painted a very gloomy picture of our future and even your coming to the Commission has been put in a context which has a lot of pain and doubt about the validity of doing that and I've got very serious respect for that in that you have been honest, you have been forthright in talking to us and that is very helpful. It reminds us that we are a Truth Commission and if people come to us in truth although it may be painful to listen to that truth but it's also very helpful. I've got one question for you, do you have any hope at all for the future of this country?

MRS WHITFIELD: Yes, I do have a lot of hope and because I don't put my hope in people I put my hope in the Lord I see a lot of hope in the world. As I said if we focus on God because it's only God that can give you inner peace ... you know I help and encourage so many people who come to me with broken heart and I say to them the world might reject you but Jesus will always love you and you know that gives us so much hope. If nobody on earth treats us fair or treats us with respect or what we deserve and we've never seen Jesus, you feel that love flowing through from above to you. You don't find that in the human race so if we treat each and every person with the love of God there will be peace, there can be nothing but peace and nothing but mutual friendships and relationships. This is what I believe in. (end of tape) ... As far as I'm concerned I'm wasting my time I'm here for Jesus. As I said to June Crichton when she phoned me I said I'm not interested in coming here because you don't get anywhere here, you won't get anywhere here but I'm here because God has told me to beme here and say these words to everybody.

REV FINCA: Thank you very much. We will call our next witness and convey our thanks to all of you together.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

SUBMISSIONS - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

DATE: 10TH JUNE 1997

NAME: MRS MARIA VAN NIEKERK

HELD AT: EAST LONDON

CASE: EC52/96 - ELN

DAY 2

REV XUNDU: Can I ask you to stand whilst I swear you in Mrs Maria Van Niekerk.

MRS MARIA VAN NIEKERK: (Sworn states)

REV FINCA: I welcome you Maria Van Niekerk and June Crichton will direct your questions to you on behalf of the panel.

MISS CRICHTON: Thank you Mr Chairperson. Good morning Mrs Van Niekerk are you comfy?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Very nervous but I'm comfortable thanks.

MISS CRICHTON: I can see that I want you just to relax. Your testimony will not take as long as we've hear the full story and so it won't be necessary for you to go through the whole thing except for you to add any points that you'd like make that perhaps Mr Schippers Senior and Junior left out about what happened to you. Would you like to just tell us what happened and then we'll ask you questions at the end of that time.

MRS VAN NIEKERK: On the evening of the first of May 1993 two friends and I went to the airport to fetch a fellow colleague. From there on our way back we called in at the High Gate Hotel for a quick drink. We went in and the four of us sat at a table at the centre of the bar. We ordered drinks and were sitting talking, laughing and joking when we heard something like crackers going off. Not long thereafter someone shouted, get down the hotel is being attacked. Soon after that I heard shots being fired and looked towards the door and saw a man wearing a black balaclava with an automatic rifle firing from left to right in the bar. I ran around the table to lie down where my friends were and I was shot in the back of the leg. I fell down and noticed that from the top of my right leg above the knee blood was spurting out of a wound about the size of my hand. Then

someone from behind the bar fired shots back and after a while the firing stopped. I said to my friend on my right, I've been shot and he said lie still pretend that you're dead because they may come back. My friend on the left was lying face down. I shook him and called his name but he lay very still. Everybody was screaming and lying in pools of blood. They were choking as a result of the teargas. The blood was still spurting out of my leg and my friend attempted to stop the bleeding by putting his elbow in the hole but without success.

I heard someone shout phone for an ambulance and the police. I tried to slide myself into a corner thinking that the attackers may return and shoot at us again but I couldn't move my leg. I could feel myself getting very weak as I was losing a lot of blood. After some time the ambulance arrived and my friend and I were taken to hospital. I was in terrible pain and the blood kept on spurting out. I can't remember what happened thereafter. I woke up in the ward the next morning and remained in the hospital for plus minus a month. I underwent surgery four times. A pin was placed in my injured leg from the hip to the knee and cannot be removed.

After leaving hospital I went daily for physiotherapy for a year and during that period I went for another operation, a bone graft. I walked on crutches for two and a half years and had to depend on other people for assistance. My life was changed overnight. I lost my job and my medical aid. I had to go to a psychologist for counselling and was put on medication for nerves and depression but I could not continue because my medical aid had expired. I am still on medication after a period of four years and I still have problems with my injured leg being slightly shorter and I walk with a limp. I still experience a lot of pain and I can't walk very far as my knee and my ankle collapse. I also have absolutely no feeling in my foot due to the fact that the nerve had been damaged. My right hand was also injured when I was shot and I will have to have surgery done in the near future. My hearing in the right ear has also been affected due to the gunshots. I am a diabetic and this has further aggravated it by the trauma of this incident. I will be sixty one years of age in July and have no husband to support me therefore I have to depend on others for financial aid as I am only receiving a grant of Four Hundred and Thirty Rand a month. I feel that those responsible for killing and injuring innocent people should be found and brought to justice.

MISS CRICHTON: Thank you Maria, you're saying that you still need treatment?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Yes I still need treatment.

MISS CRICHTON: And part of that treatment will be surgery in the future. What is the prognosis for that surgery, are they anticipating that it's going to help considerably?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Not the foot, my hand.

MISS CRICHTON: For your hand.

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Yes, I have problems here at the wrist and my thumb.

MISS CRICHTON: And you say that you're not on any medical aid?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: No, I'm not on medical aid.

MISS CRICHTON: So how would you anticipate paying for surgery such as that?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: I don't know. I go to the State Hospital, the Frere Hospital.

MISS CRICHTON: You say you lost your job, what kind of work were you doing?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: I was working at the S.P.C.A. at the animal sanctuary.

MISS CRICHTON: And you are not working now?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: No, I can't work. I can't stand very long on my leg.

MISS CRICHTON: You mentioned that your attitude towards the perpetrators is very similar to that of Mr Schippers, would you like to explain on that any further or add to that?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Well I just feel that innocent people were shot and injured that night and I just feel that they should be found and brought to justice.

MISS CRICHTON: So you are saying then that if you ... Would you or would you not like to meet the perpetrators of this event?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: To meet them?

MISS CRICHTON: Yes.

MRS VAN NIEKERK: No please, I wouldn't like to meet them.

MISS CRICHTON: What are your expectations from the Commission Maria?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Sorry?

MISS CRICHTON: What are your expectations from the Commission?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Well I would like help financially and I would like help with a medical aid.

MISS CRICHTON: Did you approach any attorney at all as Mr Schippers did?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Any attorneys? I did go to an attorney but he said that he couldn't help me.

MISS CRICHTON: Who was that?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: I can't remember his name now it's such a long time ago but I can look up and let you know.

MISS CRICHTON: If you could just give that information to our panel thank you. Is there anything else that you wish to say about that attack that you haven't covered now?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: I still have terrible nightmares. I wake up in the night and I see this man standing in my doorway with a gun.

MISS CRICHTON: You mentioned that you had psychological treatment but it's now completed because lack of medical aid.

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Yes, my medical aid has expired.

MISS CRICHTON: So that would be something that you would wish to continue?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: Yes, I would, yes please.

MISS CRICHTON: Thank you very much Mrs Van Niekerk I'm going to hand you back to the Commissioner now.

MRS VAN NIEKERK: I have a photograph here but I don't if you want to see it?

REV FINCA: Mr Sandi?

MR SANDI: Thank you Mr Chairman. Mrs Van Niekerk I notice that in your statement you make mention of a certain group with the name APLA. Did you know about this group before the shooting?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: No I didn't.

MR SANDI: What did you know or hear about them after the shooting?

MRS VAN NIEKERK: I didn't hear anything I haven't heard anything of them. I don't know if they've been found or ... I've heard nothing.

MR SANDI: Thank you. Thank you Chairman.

REV FINCA: Maria Van Niekerk thank you very much. We will take the statement that you have read to us and incorporate it with the statement that is already with us here which is a written one. We will request you to perhaps give us a copy of the photograph if it's possible because the Commission is going to be collecting all the photographs that have given to us in this period of our work which depicts the pain that we have gone through in this country. We would like to have that preserved somehow for the next

generations to look at our history and see what has happened. If it's possible for you to do that we will be prepared to pay for getting a photograph made out of this one. Thank you.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

SUBMISSIONS - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

DATE: 10TH JUNE 1997

NAME: MRS FRANCINA WHEELER

HELD AT: EAST LONDON

CASE: EC729/96 - ELN

DAY 2

REV FINCA: Our next witness is Mzwandile Nikelo. It looks as if Mzwandile Nikelo is not here so could we call Francina Wheeler?

REV XUNDU: Francina Wheeler will you stand to take the oath?

MRS FRANCINA WHEELER: (Sworn states)

REV FINCA: June Crichton?

MISS CRICHTON: Thank you Mr Chairperson. Good morning Francina, you are here to-day to tell us about your husband Boyce Michael and his death on this day on the first of May '93, is that correct?

MRS WHEELER: That's correct.

MISS CRICHTON: How are you feeling are you feeling relaxed?

MRS WHEELER: Nervous.

MISS CRICHTON: Nervous. Well just relax and I'm going to ask you one question before you start and then I'd like you to go through you story. I see you have a statement there do you, that you'd like to read?

MRS WHEELER: Yes.

MISS CRICHTON: The question I want to ask you relates to something that is in your statement which I'd like to clarify. How did you hear about your husband's death?

MRS WHEELER: Through his friend that was with him.

MISS CRICHTON: I see because in the statement it says something different. Will you continue now and tell us exactly what happened.

MRS WHEELER: My children and I were at home watching videos and my husband had gone to the High Gate for the first time. One o'clock came and the children had gone to bed so I went to bed. I was fast asleep when I heard banging on my door so I got up thinking it was my husband who had lost his key. I opened the door and saw my husband's friend who had gone with him to the High Gate and he asked if he could come in. I opened up and we went through to the lounge and sat down. I knew something was wrong. He said to me Dave is gone and I didn't understand and when he said Dave is dead I apparently fainted. When I came around he told me what had happened. He said they were sitting having a drink and their backs were facing the door. They heard like fire crackers and apparently my husband still said someone is happy they are shooting fire crackers. Just then they burst in and started shooting. My husband saved my friend's life because he was sitting next to her and he pushed her down on the floor and that's when he was shot. He died instantly.

For two weeks I was on tranquilisers and I didn't know what was going on. People came to see me but I cannot remember who came. From then on we suffered. I lost my car because I could not afford to pay it as my husband used to pay it. I couldn't afford the rent so I had to sell some of my furniture and move in with my father who had a small house. My children suffered at school. Their marks were down as they were out of school for two weeks and they are still very bitter.

MISS CRICHTON: Is that your statement completed?

MRS WHEELER: Yes.

MISS CRICHTON: Alright. Some questions to you, what was the age of your husband when he died?

MRS WHEELER: He was about forty two.

MISS CRICHTON: Was he working?

MRS WHEELER: Yes, he was working.

MISS CRICHTON: Where was he working?

MRS WHEELER: He was working at Grosvenor Ford.

MISS CRICHTON: Were you assisted by the firm after his death?

MRS WHEELER: No.

MISS CRICHTON: Not at all?

MRS WHEELER: No.

MISS CRICHTON: You've spoken about the effect on you from an economical point of view but how has it affected you emotionally?

MRS WHEELER: I'm still very bitter and upset because of what we've had to go through and what we've lost.

MISS CRICHTON: In terms of treatment for that have you had any psychological treatment, any care in that respect?

MRS WHEELER: No.

MISS CRICHTON: Was your husband on a medical aid?

MRS WHEELER: Yes, but the day he was killed the medical aid fell away.

MISS CRICHTON: So he wasn't on any kind of pension scheme at work either?

MRS WHEELER: No.

MISS CRICHTON: You've heard the other witnesses from that event being asked questions about their attitude and you've said that you're bitter but just as they were asked I would like to ask you too what your feeling would be about being faced with the perpetrator asking for forgiveness for what they did? How would you feel about that?

MRS WHEELER: No, I wouldn't like it.

MISS CRICHTON: You wouldn't want to either receive a request such as that or to accept it.

MRS WHEELER: I wouldn't like to see them, I wouldn't like to come face to face with them.

MISS CRICHTON: Are you feeling the same way as the other witnesses about amnesty?

MRS WHEELER: Yes.

MISS CRICHTON: Would you like to just explain what you're feeling?

MRS WHEELER: I think that those who were involved should actually be punished.

MISS CRICHTON: So you're not happy about the amnesty process not for anybody?

MRS WHEELER: It doesn't matter what colour you are everybody must pay for what they do wrong.

MISS CRICHTON: What are your expectations from the Commission Mrs Wheeler?

MRS WHEELER: I would like financial help for myself and my children.

MISS CRICHTON: Would you like to explain what kind of financial help, in what area for our children?

MRS WHEELER: School fees and medical aid.

MISS CRICHTON: Are you working at the moment?

MRS WHEELER: No.

MISS CRICHTON: Where you working before?

MRS WHEELER: Yes, I'm starting work on the first of July. I've been out of work since October last year.

MISS CRICHTON: As a result of the effects this has had on you?

MRS WHEELER: No, the company closed down.

MISS CRICHTON: Oh I see so you are actually starting another job?

MRS WHEELER: In July yes.

MISS CRICHTON: I'm glad about that. Is there anything else you would like to say Mrs Wheeler to the nation because you are speaking to the nation about this event?

MRS WHEELER: I just hope there's going to be peace in the world amongst all of us.

MISS CRICHTON: Do you have that hope that there will be?

MRS WHEELER: Yes, I'm sure that there will be.

MRS WHEELER: And in this country particularly?

MRS WHEELER: Yes.

MISS CRICHTON: Thank you very much I'm going to hand you back to the Chairperson now.

REV FINCA: I wanted to say a word of thanks to all the people who have testified from the High Gate Massacre but I see that others have already left the room. We are talking about a tragic event and I think we all have sensed the pain and a lot of anger which has come out in the hearing of this matter this morning. We are dealing with an event which has been roundly condemned as a brutal act of senseless violence and I think a number of people in this region and throughout the country have condemned it as such and what has been very difficult to come to terms with is the fact that the event happened at the time when negotiations were taking place for a peaceful transformation of this country. So we are dealing with an event which causes a lot of pain and indeed we have heard this morning how much bitterness and anger there is from those who testified to us. I want to say just for the sake of the record that the APLA command has made a request to the Commission that they would like to have a meeting with the victims and that is why we have been raising the question constantly about how those who have testified to-day feel about meeting the perpetrators. The APLA Command has requested us to facilitate such a meeting because they believe that having done what they have done they would like to meet with the victims in a spirit of reconciliation. We will pursue that discussion. From what we have heard here to-day it is not going to be a very easy decision. The pain and the bitterness has been made evident in the testimonies that we have listened to but we are committed to a spirit of reconciliation and our task will be to continue to knock on your doors and even after our time has ended I'm sure there will be somebody who will continue this process because it looks to me as if there is no alternative. The country has no alternative we either come to terms with the ugly past in which we have inflicted pain on each other in various ways and begin to say to each other we are sorry and those who have been hurt to begin to say we forgive you. It's going to be a very difficult route judging by the testimonies that we've heard this morning. We are extremely happy that you have come and we are pleased that you have spoken so frankly and so openly and I think that it's brilliant that it has happened here in Mdantsane that we hear you rather than anywhere else. These are two communities which have suffered tremendously.

Yesterday we were at the Eggerton Station where we were listening and hearing the stories of the pain of people who were brutally killed in a senseless act of violence which in many ways is similar to this one. People were going to work and they were forced not to board the train which they usually used for their transport, forced to go into buses. We heard a story of a mother who was sitting at home doing her washing and was hit by a stray bullet which messed up her life. These are stories of pain and I would hope that somehow this country finds a way in which those who have done these things own up to what they have done and begin to say they are sorry and how by God's grace perhaps it possible for those who have experienced extreme pain and continue to suffer the anguish like the gentleman who was here this morning who continues to suffer the consequences in his own body of what has happened perhaps to find the grace to say for the sake of the future of this country we are prepared to forgive. We thank you very much.

We will be taking an adjournment and we will be going to High Gate this morning to go and just remember what happened there. Thank you. If we can adjourn for lunch right now and the victims can go straight to lunch we'll start again at one thirty, thank you.

HEARING ADJOURNS

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

SUBMISSIONS - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

DATE: 10TH JUNE 1997

NAME: TREVOR SCHIPPERS (JNR) /

TREVOR SCHIPPERS (SNR)

HELD AT: EAST LONDON

CASE: EC101/96 - ELN

DAY 2

REV XUNDU: Opens hearing with a hymn and a prayer.

REV FINCA: We are going to remember those that you're going to talk about, those who have passed away in different ways. We'll light the candle to reflect their presence amongst us as we are going to witness about them.

Could you please stand while I read their names with reverence. We remember Deric John Whitfield, Boyce Michael Wheeler, Virginia Panziso, Jeff Wabena, Gerge Botha, Arnold Gush, Leon Meyer and Jacqueline Ann Quinn. May they rest in peace Lord and give them everlasting light. Amen.

We welcome everybody here to-day on the second day of our hearings in East London. We welcome those that are going to be testifying before this Commission, those people who are going to tell the stories of their lives, the oppression and depravation of their as human beings. This hearing to-day will be live on radio and we ask that you will co-operate so that there is order in this hall so that all South Africans can get a clear understanding of the hearings to-day.

There are attorneys here, legal representatives who will appear before the Commission. They will be representing perpetrators as we sent them notices under Section 30 of the Truth and Reconciliation Law. If these attorneys could please approach the panel so that we can give them a stipulated time. We are going to start with perpetrators with legal representatives from mid-day however if there are people with special requests or if they want to change their time they can approach the panel so that we can organise it.

I'm going to hand over to Miss Maya to read the list of people who are going to appear before the Commission to-day.

MISS MAYA: Thank you, Mr Chairperson. This morning the tenth of June 1997 I'm going to read the list of people who are going to appear before the Commission, people whose rights were violated. I'm going to read these names in a chronological order. I'll read the witness's name, the victim, the nature of violation and the are of violation and then I will read the year of the incident.

The first five people that we have are people falling under the same incident when a hotel in High Gate was bombed. Maria Van Niekerk who will be speaking about herself - attempted murder, Bernice Whitfield will be speaking about Deric John Whitfield who was murdered, Trevor Schippers will be talking about himself - attempted murder, Mzwandile Nikelo will be speaking about himself - attempted murder, Francina Wheeler will be speaking about Boyce Michael Wheeler who was murdered. These are all the High Gate cases.

Norhoza Yenana will be speaking about Virginia Panziso who was murdered in East London in 1988, Nomakhosazana Mavubengwana will be speaking about Jeff Ngxeke Wabena who was murdered in East London in 1988.

Pralene Mora Botha will be speaking about George Botha who was murdered in Port Elizabeth in 1976, Mxolisi Leleki who will be speaking about himself - severe ill-treatment in East London in 1993.

Mandla Tobezwi who will be speaking about himself - tortured in Mdantsane in 1987, Mandla Engelani who will be speaking about himself - severe in East London (Duncan Village) in 1985.

Mxolisi Monakali will be speaking about himself - attempted murder Mdantsane in 1981, Naledi Gush-Nkula will be speaking about Arnold Gush - murdered in East London in 1990.

Christian Peter Meyer who will be speaking about Leon Lionel Meyer and Jacqueline Ann Quin who was murdered in Lesotho in 1985.

Zwelakhe Bkikitsha who will be speaking about himself - tortured in Mdantsane in 1987.

Joseph Cochran who will be speaking about himself - severe ill-treatment in East London in 1989.

Mawonga Gom who will be speaking about himself - tortured in Mdantsane from 1982 to 1986.

Mr Chairperson, number eight in our list excuse me, number seven in our list Nomakhosazana Mavubengwana has requested that she comes and gives evidence to-

morrow rather than to-day as she has a bit of a problem. The High Gate incident was in 1993. Thank you Mr Chairperson.

REV FINCA: Thank you, Miss Maya. We are going to let you know that we have changed in our proceedings to-day. The families that are going to talk about the High Gate incident, we are going to start with Trevor Schippers instead of Maria Van Niekerk.

Secondly, at eleven or eleven thirty the Commission is going to adjourn for about forty five minutes to an hour so that the Commissioners get a chance to go to High Gate where the High Gate massacre occurred. We're going to give reverence to those who were injured and those who passed away during that incident. We would also like to inspect the site as we usually do when we deal with such matters. Thirdly, the notices I have for people who want to appear before the Commission giving their side of the story with allegations from witnesses, Mr T Jordan requests that he gives his side of the story in connection with Mxolisi Leleki's testimony, Dudley van Heerden will represent ...(inaudible) Mdigane who has a submission in connection with Naledi Gush-Nkula's testimony. He would like to rectify Naledi Gush-Nkula's testimony. Mr(inaudible) regarding the same incident will represent Mr Citi Legol. We do not have a statement from Mr Legol on Tonga. If they are present could they please furnish us with these statements before we can call them onto the stand. Number fifteen, Zwelakhe Bkikitsha, Mr Bibi Ntonga will be representing Mr - who is apparently a perpetrator in this case. As they do not have a statement could they please provide us with that before they appear before the Commission. It is not clear to us whether Mr I.C. Clarke would like to appear before the Commission in connection with Gloyce Nomnono. We have a statement, if Mr I.C. Clark or the husband is here or Lewis Nomnono please let us know if you are present because the statement has to be read before the Commission. Subject to those alterations in our programme we will now proceed.

I will call to the podium Mr Trevor Schippers whom I understand is accompanied by his father, to take the stand.

REV XUNDU: Thank you, Mr Chairman. Can I find out the name of the other gentleman. Who is with Trevor? He's also Trevor. Thank you. I'm going to ask you to take the oath starting with the Jnr. You don't have to stand but I'm going to ask you to take the oath.

TREVOR SCHIPPERS (JNR): (sworn states)

TREVOR SCHIPPERS (SNR): (sworn states)

REV FINCA: Thank you, we welcome Trevor Schippers Junior and Senior. We will ask Mr Sandi to direct some questions based on the statement that you have supplied to the Commission and give you a chance to state your evidence to the Commission.

MR SANDI: Thank you, Mr Chairman. Good morning Mr Schippers, let me say I'm glad that we have eventually met because we've been doing a lot of talking on the phone over

the past few days. To avoid confusion when I ask a question to the father I will say Mr Schippers Senior and when the question is directed to the son I will say Mr Schippers Junior. As the Chairman of the panel has already stated I will ask a few questions. The idea is not to trick you or to try to say that your story is not true, the idea is simply to assist you to present your evidence to the Commission as it has been stated in your statement. I'm not quite sure how you're going to present your evidence, are we going to start with Mr Schippers the Junior and then the father to assist him?

MR SCHIPPERS: We'll leave it to you.

MR SANDI: Okay. Mr Schippers Junior as I go through your statement it appears that you will be talking about the shooting which occurred at the High Gate Hotel on the first of May 1993, is that correct?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Yes, that's correct.

MR SANDI: According to that statement you were one of the people who were shot on that day, is that correct?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): That's correct.

MR SANDI: Can I now hand over to you to tell the whole story, how it happened what you saw and so on.

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Okay. On Saturday the first of May 1993 shortly before ten p.m. my cousin Nigel Harkness and I arrived at the High Gate Hotel, East London. On our arrival we immediately entered the bar and took up seating at the bar counter near the doorway to the poolroom, we then ordered beers from the bartender and shortly after our drinks had arrived I suddenly heard the sound of running footsteps approaching the entrance. I then turned my head to the right and looked directly at the bar entrance where I then saw a Black male person appearing in the doorway. This Black male was wearing black trousers, white shirt and a brownish coloured jacket. This Black male was carrying a rifle in his hand the make of which is unknown to me. I'd just entered the bar area and having just entered the bar area this Black male came to a halt and he then directed the barrel of the firearm to my position. I then chose for my well-being and dived to my left pulling my cousin Nigel Harkness to the ground with me.

On my crashing to the floor I suddenly felt that I had lost the feeling of my left arm and at this stage I was looking away from the door and although unable to see what was taking place I heard the gunman continue to direct fire at the patrons in the bar. While the shooting continued I suddenly heard a loud explosion coming from inside the bar area after which the light became dull. I then suddenly heard something roll on the floor behind me and fearing that this object was an explosive device I braced myself for a further explosion. No explosion came and I heard ssss sound over the gunfire. I then realised that teargas had been set off in the bar and I was choking on the teargas. Shortly after my having determined that the teargas was inside the bar area the shooting suddenly

ceased. I then dragged myself into the conference room to escape the teargas and was later removed from this area by the paramedics.

As a result of this attack I sustained injuries of a serious nature to my left arm, left hip and also internal injuries and I feel that nobody had the right or permission to cause such injuries to me or attempt to take my life.

MR SANDI: Was anyone arrested in connection with this incident?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): I do not know.

MR SANDI: No-one has been taken to court on charges of having done this?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): No. The guy my son identified, he identified him from photos that were shown to him long afterwards and then it was told to me at a later stage that this very same guy that he identified as the guy who actually did the shooting towards them was shot and killed in Umtata in a robbery case, an armed robbery case there. So apparently he was shot then and they didn't have any other person, they didn't catch anybody in any case.

MR SANDI: So nothing has happened by way of criminal prosecution?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): No, nothing on that.

MR SANDI: Were you taken to hospital after the incident?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Yes, I was.

MR SANDI: Can we talk about that part of it?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): When I arrived at casualty I had to wait for the specialist to arrive, I was conscious all the time. At that stage they only knew of my left arm that was shot because I was lying on my back and I was busy complaining about back pain. When the specialist arrived they turned me over on my side and found three bullet holes in my back after which they immediately rushed me to theatre. By the time I got to theatre I was unconscious as I had hardly had any blood in my body.

MR SANDI: Are you receiving any medical treatment to-day for the injuries sustained?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Yes, I am.

MR SANDI: Can you talk about that?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): My medication?

MR SANDI: Yes.

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Well at this stage I'm going through six hundred tablets a month for pain and sleeping. I suffer from dizziness because of the explosion the balancing of my ears was damaged.

MR SANDI: I understand from your statement you were twenty at the time of the incident.

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Yes, I was.

MR SANDI: Were you a scholar or were you working?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): I was working at that stage.

MR SANDI: You're not working at the moment?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): No, I'm not.

MR SANDI: Is that as a result of the shooting you sustained?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Yes, that's right.

MR SANDI: Is there anything Mr Schippers Senior that you want to add to the testimony?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): He's gone through a lot of pain and suffering. He was in hospital for a long, long time and he's been through numerous operations, three different operations. His heart had stopped and they battled to revive him due to the fact that all the operations he was having. He had up to three operations sometimes in one week which is too much for an individual and this caused the heart muscles to weaken. I spoke to the anesthetist and he explain why. They were very scared to take him on at any stage to do any operations as there was a big problem to operate on him because the fear was that he wouldn't come out of the anesthetic again. He's had a lot of damage to himself and the specialist on the very first operation after the shooting told me that for the next thirty years he'll be going in and out of hospital for different operations. The damage is so bad to his hip that they cannot replace his hip which needs replacement because a replaced hip only lasts for about ten years and they can only replace it twice. Therefore he's got to wait until he's in his fifties before he can have a hip replacement so until then he has to suffer with that hip and other ailments that he's got and so on for which he is taking medication.

The other side which I'd like to mention to the Commission is what must be taken into consideration is his social lifestyle at his age I mean these are things which sometimes we do not think about. I'm discussing it because he perhaps wouldn't mention these things and to me it's not funny at all because at his age his friends are getting married and this type of thing. If you go that far right into it which is not very nice for him living like that, he's sort of living on his own, he cannot socialise much in various places. He's also got a

colostomy, a permanent colostomy which will never be changed. That has been told to us. In the doctors' reports which I've given to the Commission you can go through them at any other stage and you can see what I'm getting at. Even the Government on the Welfare side, their panel of doctors booked him as eighty percent disabled when they read these statements and I don't why this has actually taken so long. I'd like to know, to find out if the Commission can go further with it. I have got statements here which I've sent in long ago, long before the Truth Commission was ever thought of, I've been working on this case ever since then but I never seem to get through to anybody. The first lot of documentation I sent through registered and so on didn't go through it just disappeared and nobody knew what was going on. I eventually thought I must get somebody in Parliament to assist me now that we can talk directly. I eventually got hold of Senator Ray Radie. Everything with regard to what we're discussing here you can refer back to Senator Ray Radie, he helped us out a lot to get through so that we can get into the Truth Commission. We were supposed to be in the first Truth Commission that came to East London but nobody called us up and the week after they'd finished off then only they got hold of us which was too late. Ray Radie had already spoken to them about us going in there otherwise we would have been through this Truth Commission then already but the delays went on and on. I've got letters here which I can show you which was now recently, last month that Ray Radie was sending to the Commission to get going with it and so on you know. There's the claims that I've made you know which are claims to the Commission for compensation to him. That is all on paper and I won't mention that now if you don't want me to mention it but it is here, you've got it all there too because I've given it all in so we can go through those things.

On his side of it the basic fact is he is disabled for life, he's got no social life anymore, he's got a future to look at ahead of him and to look after him. That is why I've made that claim so that he can look after himself because my wife and I are not going to be around forever. Also this whole issue here has turned our whole lifestyle upside down. We are completely in a shambles since this has happened, it's ripped us to pieces and my wife is ... it's taken twenty years out of our lives, this issue. It was not funny at all and even now he's got a lot of chances of having heart attacks, strokes and all this. There's a lot to take into consideration and the medical side is a terrible issue because he's now suffering with all sorts of things. He's developed ulcers at a young age.

The other side of it is they changed the medication around to try and prevent the ulcers but all this medication ... what about his kidneys, he's got a chance of his kidneys collapsing and so on with all this medication. We've got to think of all these things, it's not you know funny to even ... you can't even sleep nice and so on. He doesn't sleep properly, he's taking sleeping tablets. He's got to live on these things and so on and he can't even sit in one place even now he's been complaining that he's getting a lot of pain again. The hip is completely shattered, it looked like a spiderweb inside there and the specialist said to me only nature can take its course now because they cannot put a new hip in hip and he has to carry on suffering until he's here in his fifties which is a long time until he can get a new hip change you know. This is a very bad business and so on, very bad.

MR SANDI: Do I understand you to say that you are not happy with the medical treatment he is receiving?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): No, the medical treatment is excellent but it's the amount that he's got to take due to the damage that's has been caused by him being shot which is the big thing. The thing is what I'm getting at too is, I'd like to mention to the Commission that these were really innocent people, I'm talking about High Gate, King William's Town, Queenstown and the St James Church. These were completely innocent people they had no connections or anything to do with political or criminal activities whatsoever. I feel that these are the people that should be brought in as priority, do you understand. They've never been in political issues that there was cause for them to be shot and so on. They were completely innocent people. Completely innocent. So I feel that all in all those four I mentioned should be given priority, do you understand? I don't want to push other people away or anything but these are the completely innocent people, they had nothing to do with any political issues at all that they got involved in those issues to be shot or gave anybody any reason to shoot them. There was no reason whatsoever for these people to be shot. Completely on a social basis and they got shot. He went to his cousin and for the first time they went into a pub they went to the Kentucky Fried Chicken and on their way back they decided to go and play a bit of pool. These are not guys who go and live in the pub, they've not those type of guys. They just went in there to go and play snooker and they decided they will have a quick beer. They didn't even have anything out of that beer. I saw it with my own eyes, I even took video footage of the whole issue because I was in the force myself and the blokes let me in there to have a look. I know exactly what that place looked like when I went in there. Everything was there, their change was lying there, their cigarettes, lighter and everything was there in place where they fell when they got shot at that particular place. It was totally uncalled for. It was completely uncalled for.

MR SANDI: Are there any specific requests that you would like to raise to this Commission so that it can pass them over to the State President and his colleagues?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): As far as I'm concerned the ball is in the court of the Government, okay. I say previous and present Government the ball is in their court and they must just pay out to compensate because there is an Act here that is in one of my statements. There is a Terrorists Act. I've got that Act in here where they should be paid out in any Terrorist activities and so on. I've got it here. I've given all these to the Commission too, everything is there. If you want to at some stage I can go through it with you to point these things out and so on you know then I can explain better on the issue.

MR SANDI: Are you talking about the Law pertaining to compensation to victims of terrorism?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): That's right.

MR SANDI: We'll talk a lot more about that when you show us the documents. Is there any other specific request that you would like to ... (interrupted)

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): I would like to request to the Commission and you can pass that over, that these folks get compensated which I feel is no more than fair that they get compensated for their injuries. Take a case like him now or anyone else as a matter of fact I'd like to talk on behalf of the other folks too but being injured like this is not funny. In to-day's time the cost of living is going up and up heavily. What's it going to cost in another twenty five or thirty years time. Terrible. You know this is not funny. They can get that out they can sort something out. He can work on something that he can keep himself occupied. Do you understand? To make a little business or whatever he wants to do with it. He can keep himself occupied. At the moment he can't work and he's on a very small pension from the Company which is very good. He's only on a very small paid pension and he can't live on that and then there's the medical aid which is assisting him yes but there is certain amounts he's got to pay out and he pays out of the pension side of it so what does he really get out of his pension? Nothing he's sitting and battling. So he needs that compensation which I feel is no more than right that the Government pay out.

MR SANDI: I'm sorry for the interruption Mr Schippers, before we conclude and I hand you over to the Chairman I see that in the statement there's something about psychological treatment. Would you like to explain that very briefly?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): Yes, he was sent in for psychological treatment to sort of rehabilitate his mind and so on. Coming from that area of shock that they went through has actually built up a lot of trauma in these guys and still now it's never to be forgotten. He did go to Doctor Woods and he went on treatment and then Doctor Woods said that there's nothing much that they can do for the simple reason that it's got to be dealt with by him personally that he himself is the only one who can rehabilitate himself and sort it out. This was after Doctor Woods had gone through him. I can give you the name too. Doctor Woods. Treatment did not improve any symptoms at all. He did not improve after the treatment he had with the Psychologists. So he did go through all that and the specialist turned around and said he'll have to go through with it but how long it's going to take him is another story but these guys cannot forget the stuff.

MR SANDI: Thank you very much Mr Schippers Senior and Mr Schippers Junior. If there are any issues or information that you've forgotten to convey to the Commission you have time to do so when my colleagues from the panel ask questions. Thank you very much Sir, thank you Mr Chairman.

REV FINCA: June Crichton?

MS CRICHTON: Mr Schippers Junior I just want to make a statement first and then ask you a question. I really do admire your courage in coming forward to-day considering the pain that you are in now. I want to clarify one thing, you are getting a disability grant is that correct?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): I'm not getting a disability grant I'm getting a pension from my work.

MS CRICHTON: You're getting a pension from your work. Right. The second thing is just to ask you quite a personal question relating to how you actually feel about this matter yourself. We've heard a lot from your father about his feelings about it, can you just tell me what you feel even if it's contradictory to what your father might have said.

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): I feel very bitter about it. As my father said I've got no social life and I'm the age of twenty four now. I see my friends go ahead enjoying their life which I can't do at this stage.

MS CRICHTON: Your father mentioned that should there be compensation you might consider having a small business .. (end of tape)

REV FINCA: Just one question to Mr Trevor Schippers Junior. It's a question about your attitude towards this process of perpetrators of extreme acts of violence coming forward to own up to what they've done, what will your feeling be when a person who is responsible for destroying your life in the manner in which it has been destroyed if you were to come forward and confess and ask for amnesty?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): I don't in my opinion feel that they should get amnesty. If they knew what we went through, the pain and the suffering, the pain you can't explain it's unexplainable I can't explain the pain I went through. There were days when I felt as if I was dying and I was dying at some stage and it's hard to forgive a person for that for what they'd done.

REV FINCA: Your attitude would be that having gone through what you have gone through those who are responsible for these acts must face the consequences of that by going to jail and serving their full sentence?

MR SCHIPPERS (JNR): Yes, I do.

REV FINCA: Mr Schippers Senior you are a father to your son and you are able to articulate the pain that the family has gone through, I would want to direct the same question to you. How do you see this?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): I see it in the same light because they knew before they went there what their intentions were ... (interrupted)

REV FINCA: Turn the mike towards you.

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): They knew before they went there what their intentions were so to me it's a premeditated issue they'd already planned it because according to the witnesses I won't mention it now but according to the witnesses there these people were sitting and having something to eat there and they got up and opened their jackets and they just ... or opened up the butts of the AK47's and then they took off and that's when they started shooting. So they were there long before, they had already sized the whole place up. These guys knew what they were doing before they even went there they knew

what their intentions were so there's no argument that it was done on the spur of the moment or anything like that. What he's gone through is terrible. This guy had septicemia, he nearly died like he said he nearly died a couple of times without the heart problems. The one specialist phoned me at twenty to six on a Saturday morning, I'll never forget it and he said to me Mr Schippers I've got to rush your son into theatre because if we don't operate he's going to die and if we do operate he's only got a fifty percent chance. Now you must hear something like that. It's not funny really it's not funny. This went on and on.

My wife was working and came home at night, we had a nurse looking after him for five days a week because he had a huge hole and I'm not exaggerating of that size on his leg. They had to drain it three or four times a day and there was an AK47 bullet in the leg and every time they X-rayed I marked off the X-rays and so on the bullet had disappeared. In the meantime it was moving up and down his leg. We've got the bullet. I should have brought it with me it was corroded and a badly corroded bullet. This is the type that the terrorist used. They come out of all the filthy places and I know because I've dealt with this before. Anyway with all the septicemia and so on he nearly died a few times and they had to operate on him and this was terrible things he had to go through. He's had many operations on his hip. The orthopedics had to sort him out. This guy went through endless pain and then my wife had to deal with him when she came home because the nurse went off. Many of the times she'd work right through the night with him and went back to work the next day with no sleep. This was killing to all of us it wasn't funny at all. We had no lifestyle at all. There was no ways we could go out or anything like that not that we were people to do that but Saturdays, Sundays and right through the nights we went on and on with him to fight with him. I even built everything, an orthopedic bed at home even on top of that monkey chain. I built all of that because I'm a versatile guy, I can do welding and that type of thing. I made all these things better than what they had in hospital. I had everything there that he could try to do exercises with weights. We went through everything and everything costs money. I've got no money left either because of all this. My money is also finished. We spent everything on him. It runs into money all the time it just runs into thousands of rands and it doesn't stop, it doesn't stop at all.

I'm just trying to explain to the Commission how we went through this whole issue and we still have got problems with him and he still goes to the doctors now and again although he's settled down a lot. Our biggest problem is all this pain that he has, that he lives with. He's got to take six hundred tablets a month which is not very funny at all. He's forced to take them, he's got to take them otherwise he can't move around in any way. He's still on crutches and he'll be like this and suffer like this until he's fifty odd. He's got a colostomy bag too. That's not a funny thing to have either because you can't be in company with a colostomy bag and this type of thing. There's nothing nice about it at all. We went through compete hell with this issue really and it's just buggerd our whole life up completely. It's messed our whole life up.

I feel that the Government should look at compensating these people. We were talking about a little business. It might be something small that he can keep himself and his mind occupied so that he can try and drift away from this issue that he's been through because

it's never going to leave him completely. Even his cousin that was with him, if something bangs next to him this guy takes off like a bullet and he goes down on his tummy. He's still very, very nervous this guy. He's been going for treatment too but he was the worst hit out of them all except for those people that were shot and killed and also those who lost ... like Rhode lost his arm and so on and Maria and these people, they also got badly injured. He was really the worst hit. He was living in hospital all the time, all the operations he's had is unbelievable. I've handed all the reports from all the specialists to the Commission so that you people can go through them and study them whenever you like. I've given you copies of that. Then you'll really see what he went through.

REV FINCA: Thank you very much Mr Schippers Senior you have referred to this as a premeditated act of brutal murder.

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): Yes.

REV FINCA: And you have given us a glimpse of the kind of suffering that your family went through and how your life has been totally changed by one act of brutal even mad act of murder. You have referred to people who are victims of the High Gate murder and King William's Town and Queenstown in this region and the church in Cape Town. You say that those people who are responsible for this must really be taken to court and face the consequences of their actions. Would you say the same for all people who have committed acts of murder during the conflicts of the past or would you feel that these four cases should be treated differently from the rest of the cases?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): I feel personally that it's an act of cowardice because they're hitting soft targets so called soft targets. These so called soft targets are targets where there's no firing back, those people have not firearms with them and that is why they go in and attack those people that they know that can't fire back at them and then they take off and run away but if somebody does shoot back at them and I've see it with my own eyes already, they run right out of their boots to get away they even throw their firearms away. The thing is these four places I feel that they were real honest soft target areas.

Take the Church for instance there they're serving the Lord. This is where our big problem is that we have in this country too because Satan is leading everything and we must realise that the only way there is going to be peace or any peace that will come only one way and that is everybody opens their hearts to the Lord that's knocking on that door then only then there will be peace otherwise there will be no peace and that is for sure. They allow Satan to take over and guide them and put everything into their heads and that's exactly what is happening and we bypass that issue by not looking up to the Lord and having the powers and the spirits of the Lord upon you then only you will be in a safe situation but then you have to carry on otherwise Satan chases you all the time. He insisted to be baptised on the twenty eighth of February 1993 and he insisted to be baptised in a new Church of ours that opened up and then he was shot in that May and I explained to them afterwards that is where Satan is chasing you. This is one of the reasons where you got involved in that. How did he get out of all this? Only by prayers and the Lord's powers to guide the specialists to do the operations to get him through.

That's the only thing that brought him through. We've got to look upon the Lord instead of looking at all these wild things that's going on. It's all Satan that's driving these things into everybody. That is the big mistake we are looking at whereas if we open our hearts to the Lord let him come in then we will have peace in the world not only here in South Africa I'm talking about the world. Look right around us at what is going on, the most terrible things are happening, cruel things that one would never even have imagined seeing. I would like to say that those four areas are real soft targets they should never have just been hit like that. That was a cowardly act as far as I'm concerned. These people should be sorted out in a very harsh manner as to what the law takes it to. That's what I'd like to see because these people are all in a bad situation especially a Church. How can they go and hit on a Church? They're going to answer to the biggest judge of all and that's God our Father in heaven. That's the one they're going to answer to for sure, sure. They're going to all answer to Him so we're not even worried what happens here. That day is coming, we will all go through that day. That day's coming and judgement will be done. All those perpetrators they will for ever live in condemnation that's for sure. We look upon it that way again.

REV FINCA: Thank you Mr Schippers. Last question, Reverend Xundu?

REV XUNDU: Just to get the thing into perspective for my understanding, you are saying that all perpetrators should go the same route of being taken to court be they Sharpeville where people were just massacred without having guns, be they June the sixteenth. Shall we raise those names and say the amnesty process is irrelevant because I think that you are making a statement which I think makes the amnesty process an irrelevant process in terms of reconciliation for South Africa. I just want to get it on record that you are saying that all those people who have been perpetrators like in Sharpeville on June the sixteenth who suffered at the hands of the police and Maduna State in Uitenhage were just mowed down. That those people who committed that in your opinion should not be granted amnesty, they should be charge and imprisoned.

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): Well, they did the damage they should have thought first and thought about the Lord first before they did things like that. They are doing acts and deeds for Satan himself. It's acts of Satan that is going through What he puts in their minds and they should have thought of that fist but to take an act like that and put it into action like if I had to go and start mowing people down here then I should be sorted out for that. Never mind who he is, who the person is. They should be sorted out according to the laws of the country. It should be sorted out and I feel the maximum should be dealt with, with these people because this is not the way that we should be living. That is why there is all this conflict. I don't care who the person is White or Black there's no discrimination with me at all. I look at the criminal that's what I look at. I don't care who he is if he's done wrong he's done wrong and that's it. So then they should be sorted out.

REV FINCA: Mr Schippers thank you very much, thank you Mr Schippers Junior. You have told us that you are in extreme pain and I don't know whether you are going to wait for the rest of the High Gate testimonies to be heard or do you want us to release you

straight away? There are still four more other people from the High Gate incident who want to testify. Are you going to remain or do you want to be released?

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): He'll remain here.

REV FINCA: You'll remain, thank you very much. I will convey a word of thanks to you all after you've all testified.

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): Could I ask one other questions. With all due respect to the Commission is it not going to take another four years before we hear of any progress? I'm saying this with all due respect to the Commission because this had been a nightmare I've even got more grey hairs that my other grey hairs in these four years.

REV FINCA: The matter is completely out of our hands Mr Schippers, what we do is to take the information from victims compile a report to the President and then the President has to act.

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): I understand that's why I say with due respect I would be happy if we could hear as soon as possible.

REV FINCA: Thank you.

MR SCHIPPERS (SNR): Thank you very much.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX TWO: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS^{††}

Trevor S 2008

5 Stephen: And I'm just going to take notes here, but that's just about the topics that you speak about

Trevor: Ok.

Stephen: So firstly, umm, would you tell me about your memory of that day on the first of May 1993 when the Highgate was attacked. What do you, what do you
10 remember about that day?

Trevor: The day or the night?

Stephen: The night.

Trevor: Ah, Stephen, I decided early that evening, I felt like going out. [p] What
15 actually... Ok the story was it was my best friend's birthday that night, so I had made plans on going out. I even booked umm, ah, ah, reservations for supper at a specific restaurant 'cause he had come down from the army too that weekend, that same weekend.

But he never knew I had made reservations, so the plans fell through so I had to
20 cancel you know the plans I had made because he had made other plans and went out that evening you know with his girlfriend and all that.

So I still thought no I'm going out tonight I had made plans to go out and I'm going to go through with it. But not the same plans so I phoned Nigel and I said to him look I'm coming around to pick you up we going out for the night.

He was in bed at the time. So he said no ok he'll be ready when I get there so
25 when I got to his place he had just got ready and, uh, *strange* thing was – it doesn't normally happen.

His father walked out with us and he still said to us you know walking out to the car: You guys must be careful now tonight don't get into trouble or anything like this. I still thought, you know, what's he talking about? We never get into trouble –
30 so, you know we are not that type of, you know, guys.

^{††} In the transcripts the symbol [p] indicates a pause of longer than three seconds.

Anyway we went out and in the car I still said to Nigel you know what's your father talking about? You know, what trouble are we going to get into? No, he doesn't know, so we laughed about it and off we go.

We ended up at the Dorchester hotel, early that evening, and we went in there.
5 The parking lot was quite far and there was hardly anybody there that night. So we seated. We [p] I think we had a beer. And I had forgotten my cigarettes in the car. Now it's a far way to the car so we decided, ok, well there is nothing happening here, let's go to the car and we go off somewhere else.

10 Ok, I said the Dorchester Hotel. The first hotel was the Continental hotel. Yes. Sorry about that.

Uh, the second hotel was the Dorchester Hotel we went to they were closed. They were busy with renovations. So then we went to a pub that was called [inaudible] but they were also busy renovating, which is now Buccaneers.

15 So we thought now what do we do. So we said ok we haven't had, well, supper we are going to go to Kentucky, go buy something to eat and we go to Gonubie Hotel.

20 So we bought Kentucky, we went to Gonubie we sat there we had something to eat and we sat outside of Gonubie Hotel. And umm, we saw that, now this place was packed. They were standing in queues outside so, it's - it's a long story. I'm trying to make it...

So then we decided, no, well we not goin' to go in there, because we wanted like to go out but not a heavy evening like that you know, like a quietish evening, like a couple of drinks whatever.

25 So then we decided ok the closest place would be the Highgate because he stayed in Morningside and I stayed in Summer Pride so it's like in between. It wouldn't be far to travel if we have too much to drink.

30 So we left on our way to the Highgate. Just before the Highgate, I had a cassette playing in the car and it was one of my favourite tapes playing and the one specific song that was playing was a song from Prince, [sings] All seven and you watch them fall type of, you know that song.

I don't know the name of that song but that is how it went and the tape jammed. And I started to hit the tape so when we stopped outside the Highgate I had to get this tape out there before I went in – it would have like worried me. So we still battled there to pull the tape out, the cassette.

We got it out and then we went into the ladies side and I'm not a type of person who likes crowds of people so we looked inside the ladies bar and I thought no, it is a bit too full in there, so we needed the toilet so we went to the toilet there where you saw the plaque. The toilet to the corner, we went into that door.

5 And then we came out and then we walked out the Highgate into the men's side. We seated there and we ordered a beer from Winston. And I was busy like talking you know, well to Nigel and our beers came, I took a sip.

I paid Winston and we were waiting for change. I think Winston had just put the change down when I heard a shuffling noise you know by the door, you know, the
10 entrance. And umm, I still turned around to look you know because normally, you know, you got the odd fights at the Highgate - they were well known for a barney here, you know whatever, with guys. And that's what I thought was happening, so I still turned to look, you know what's going on.

When I saw this guy well running up the stairs with this balaclava on and this rifle
15 in his hand, and he stood about two steps in the door entrance, and I still thought, you know, what's going on? This must be a joke. And when he turned the gun onto us I knew well this isn't, you know, he means business.

And I turned around and that's when I hit Nigel, you know, well, backwards, and we fell off the bar, backwards, off the bar stool. And before I hit the floor, I
20 remember my left arm went lame, I couldn't feel, it was like rubber. And that's when we heard the shooting.

The shooting [deep breath] it took sometime. I remember turning onto my side making as if I was dead, you know, like just lying still.

We heard you know the shooting. I remember being hit another twice in my back,
25 like somebody well kicking me, [claps to demonstrate] hard thumps in the back. And one big bang, you know, when the hand grenade went off and then it was all silence.

And the whole place went *pitch* dark. You couldn't see anything. And then we heard this, this canister go off there [mimics sound], you know we knew it's tear
30 gas. [p] And I kept on laying, the shooting had stopped, it felt like the whole building had, you know, you were actually stunned, you know with the grenade going off.

I tried to lay as long as I could, until the tear gas got to me. And I couldn't take it, well, I couldn't breathe and I knew I was shot. All this is going through your mind,
35 you know, you don't know how bad you're shot.

It felt like everybody was killed around you. Like you were the only person there. There was not a soul in the place.

5 You don't know if anybody knows that you've been attacked. You don't know if you are going to die there. How bad you been hit, because you feel nothing. You know you shot, but you feel no pain at the time.

And, I still well shook onto Nigel, you know, I still grabbed him and said, you know, well, Nigel. And he didn't make a noise, he just, you know, like a rag doll.

10 I thought he was shot dead, but in the meantime I didn't know he was knocked out when he hit the, you know, the ground. And I kept on thinking oh my god how am I going to tell my aunt and them, Nigel's dad. Now I like dragged him there to go for couple of drinks and now I'm going to tell them that, you know, he's dead.

15 And then I still had to lean onto Nigel to try get to the bar counter because I couldn't move my left side. And I managed to well pull myself up onto the bar counter. [p] Gasping now for breath, because you choking at the same time on the tear gas.

And, uh, I still heard nothing, I saw nothing, it was all darkness. And I knew if I went outside they could still be outside, waiting for whoever's coming out – that's why they threw the tear gas.

20 So I knew there was another room on the left hand side of the bar which I managed to drag myself along.

But then there was, [p] I'd say about [p] three, three metres to the door entrance from the bar counter which there was nothing for me to lean on. I had to jump to get to the door entrance, you know, there was nothing to lean on to support me.

25 When I got to the door entrance there was, I saw this person, this figure of a person on his haunches and I still thought oh my god here's one of the guys, you know, waiting. I was waiting now for him to shoot.

In the meantime it was well one of the people that were in the Highgate but he wasn't shot. Umm, his name...I knew, I know his name but I can't think on it now. But he's dead today. He passed away a couple of years ago I think of cancer.

30 And he helped me into this room and he kept on saying, uh, for god sakes get down, get down, and the more I said I can't get down. I'm standing on one leg. I knew if I got down there's no getting up.

And he kept on saying for god's sakes and he was like pulling on me. I felt his whole weight, you know on me to get me well onto the ground, and then I

struggled with him a bit and then I thought well let me give up, you know I need help. I need to get out here. And then I hit the deck.

5 I was lying on my back and in my mind at the same time I'm thinking about now Nigel that's dead you know and all this. And it was seconds after I hit the ground when I heard Nigel shouting, you know screaming inside there. *First* thing that came to my mind is oh my god I'm dying, you know, I can hear him. And then I realized he's not dead.

10 And I started to shout towards well Nigel because he didn't know the Highgate as well as I knew it because we used to go there for stock car meetings. Well that's when he wasn't involved with stock cars at the time.

And he like followed my voice until he got to the entrance and when he came through the doorway I saw he ran and he like hit the ground there by me.

15 And he kept on saying oh my god, oh my god. I said Nigel what's wrong? And he couldn't answer me, he kept on saying oh my god. So I said Nig, please try get help. You know I need to get out here because we choking now with the tear gas.

At the time, then it was Nigel and Keith Baling, that's Billy Baling's brother. Now Keith Baling at the time was in plaster paris, had crutches, he had broken, well, a leg.

20 They were kicking the door down. There was another door to get out the Highgate. Like a glass, wooden door. They kicked those doors down, you just heard glass breaking and all that and they ran out, they must have gasped for air and all that.

Uh, and in that time Nigel was running in and out you know like finding out how I am, you know if I am alright and he would go out again.

25 And in the distance we could hear ambulances, you know, well sirens were coming. [p] And that must of, from the shooting till then it took about an half an hour, plus minus half an hour.

30 The ambulance got there, the police got there, and they were just standing outside. They wouldn't assist anybody, to take us out because they didn't have masks and there was a lot of excuses.

And then Nigel managed to get two bystanders that heard the attack that came to look what was going on. They came in and they grabbed me by my shoulders and my legs, and they dragged me out over the broken glass to the stairs, and that's

where the ambulance took over and got me onto a stretcher and then put me into the ambulance.

5 And then they battled with Billy, because his stomach was hanging out in the ambulance. They put me on the side I was shot, on the stretcher in the ambulance. And then Nigel came with me. And then the ambulance left to hospital.

And on the way to hospital, the ambulance must have stopped five times to assist us in the back and all that.

10 And then we got to hospital, and that place was a blood bath. I don't think Frere hospital has experienced a scene like that. They had to get nurses or sisters from all over.

15 Umm, the room they put me in the doctors couldn't get to my stretcher to examine me. They had to get pillows to throw on the floor because they were slipping and sliding in the blood. The floor was like you went to an abattoir, you know like a slaughter place. It was just blood.

And then before I could go to theatre, I had to go for x-rays. I don't remember too much of that.

20 Umm, then I kept on saying, you know, I need the toilet. I'm going to burst. I could feel my bladder, well, building up. And uh, they gave me a bottle and I tried to use it and I knew, well, there's nothing coming through but I'm building up and I'm gonna burst.

And that's when they knew there's internal damage. That the bladder was, you know well, cut off. And it was building up with blood and, uh, the doctors were examining me, they turned me onto my side. They only knew my arm was shot.

25 When they turned me over because I kept on saying my back, my back, I can't take the pain in my back. Because now the pain is now setting in. And when they turned me on my side and lifted my shirt they saw the bullet holes, and they knew here's more bullet holes. And then Dr Comfort, he's the surgeon, said I need to get to casualty.

30 I was one of the last to go to casualty, no well to theatre, that was after twelve I went to theatre that night. It happened about ten past ten, the shooting.

And I was conscious all the way right up until the theatre door. And I remember when they were wheeling me to the theatre from the casualty, my parents still

came to me they wanted to talk to me and I said please I can't talk. If I can't get there now I know I am going to die. I could feel myself actually sinking.

It's a weird, well, feeling. You in your body but you feel yourself just sinking, like fading away, and there is no stopping it and you know you dying.

5 Blood's just pumping out of you. I mean, when they lifted my arm it's like a tap you switch on just pouring with blood.

And uh, I remember getting to the casualty, I mean the theatre door and they were just finishing up with one of the survivors, when I saw the doctor and I still shouted, I said doc, help me.

10 That's all I remember. And I passed out at the theatre door. I could feel there I was going.

And then my medical report I read when I went into theatre I had no oxygen in the blood, I had no blood left. It was all nil. I was like dead, I was clinically dead. So how they got me back again I don't know. [p] That was the night I know.

15 Stephen: So, how does it feel going back to the Highgate, for example for the commemoration today? How does it make you feel?

Trevor: Well today was very depressing for me [p] to know that what happened 15 years ago, 15 years ago today and 15 years down the line we meeting there and we still got no answers.

20 That's the sad part. Is to know there's still no answers. We still do not know who done this. What did we go through this for? What price were we paying for what? We don't know.

Stephen: So the fact that the NPA investigation hasn't got anywhere, how has that affected you, and the way you remember the Highgate incident?

25 Trevor: I feel they haven't done enough. Personally I feel they got enough leads, they've got enough roads to look down, you know, enough. They haven't done enough, that's what I feel. They just haven't done their work.

This is a case that we've picked up that a lot of people are scared to take on for some reason we don't know. I think this is bigger than big. That's what I feel.
30 Behind all this it's bigger than big, and that's the way I feel and what I've picked up with Mthunzi when he saw us here. When he told us that we've hit a brick wall.

I don't feel they've investigated every avenue. There's stuff we've given them which they haven't checked up on. They haven't checked up on the hammer unit.

We had a lead of a guy, Oom Ben, we even went up to where he's staying. No one has gone there and investigated it. You know, they've told us to our faces that they are giving us permission to do our own investigations.

5 Now, what's that telling me? Mthunzi's already told us that their lives have been threatened already. Who are these people who are threatening their lives? Do they know something we don't know? They come and tell us they've hit a brick wall. Uh, there's something that's just not right.

Stephen: You feel there is something behind this?

10 Trevor: Definitely, there's something behind this. It's bigger than big. That's all I know. There's no name I can give you or, you know, I don't know.

Stephen: And so how has it affected your life, to find out that the attack was probably not carried out by APLA? Has it changed your view of the incident?

15 Trevor: It's made me angry. Really angry to know that it's your own people. It could be your own people that's done this. I mean, I could still live with the terms that it was APLA and we came to the, you know, we actually came to accepting it was APLA, that they were fighting for, you know, freedom, it was war we were in.

20 When it comes to knowing it was your own people, for what reason did they do this? We can understand why APLA done it, but when it was your own people, the people that were protecting you, should, you know, were doing this to you. What are you s'posed to think?

It's hard to accept. Makes you angry. Makes you more determined to find the answers. Very difficult. I would have liked to believe it was still APLA, you know, we weren't as hurt then by knowing it was APLA. We came to live with it.

25 But to have heard it wasn't APLA, this could be your own people [tapping arm of chair]. Could have been people that went to school with you. You know, that's done ...[p]

30 Ja. So hurt, anger, and determination to find them. It can take another twenty years (inaudible) because it was about three days after the shooting I lay on that hospital bed and I said to myself, that I will *dedicate my life* to find the truth, no matter how long it takes.

What happened and who they were that done the shooting. [p] I mean after what they done to me, in the early times of the shooting it made me racist, it made me anti-blacks, didn't want to see them.

I didn't want black nurses working with me. It made *my* time in hospital more of a hell because they were the nurses and that that had to work with me and it just made things harder and then, you know, it made life hard in hospital.

5 They had to nurse you, you would say things. Who do they take it out on? They take it out on you. You can't go anywhere. You know, that type of thing.

So it was hard and all through what. They really messed our minds up. Making us believe who it was, at that age of 20 years old. You know your youth was taken away from then. For two years I lay in hospital. I was lucky to come out before my 21st birthday.

10 Stephen: It must be very difficult to think that it was your own people.

Trevor: There's no words to describe what we feel when that was told to us. It was *shocking*. I would still like to believe today it was APLA.

Stephen: Could you tell me how you first, how you first came to hear that it might not be APLA?

15 Trevor: The turning point was a mediation with Letlapa. We still didn't know then of a third force. But Letlapa had mentioned a *possibility*, but also it was a 50/50 of a renegade of APLA. They could've also done it.

20 So you were still hoping, you know, it's a renegade, you never thought police, third force. I never knew what a third force was that there was a third force, that they existed.

So we spoke about APLA and then we looked at the renegade. I didn't even know there was such a thing as a renegade, and that's where I learnt from Letlapa of the renegade of APLA.

25 And, that's where things were turning slowly, you know. There's something just not right here. And then at the same time I was doing my homework on Letlapa, to find out what type of person he is. Could he be lying to us? Is he honest? Is he telling the truth? Can we rely on what he's saying?

And, so while he was doing his homework, I was doing my homework on him, believe it or not. And trying to, well follow up who is this Letlapa, you know?

30 And umm, then we started, I started well looking for Daryl Els, at the same time, after the mediation with Letlapa. And ja, when I started, strange that both stories came to me at once, with Daryl Els suspecting it was a third force and Letlapa telling me at the same time it was not APLA, this could be a third force.

You know, then the picture started coming together, and then I wanted to know, who is the third force? What is a third force? I didn't know at the time who and what a third force was – that's how stupid I was maybe. And then to look up who these, the third forces were, the possibilities.

- 5 And then we were doing our own homework, and the closest third force I've matched to the attack was the hammer unit. And that's on the internet. Open to everybody.

If you see in the manner they attacked, they worked, they trained, the way they hit a place, was *exactly* the way the Highgate was hit.

- 10 What they wore is exactly the same as what the people wore when we were attacked. *Exactly*. So I believe deep down that's a hammer unit. Who they were, we don't know. Who were behind, the mains. But I strongly believe after looking at that that that's the group that hit us.

- And they were in the Eastern Cape. Trained on farms. [p] Which is also linked to
15 Eric Taylor. That's why there's so much *involvement* with Eric Taylor and us. Out of the blue, well Eric Taylor appearing at the Highgate when we having a meeting with the Weekend Post. It's fitting in, slowly.

Stephen: So, so you're really hoping that there'll be more pieces that fit in, and that eventually...

- 20 Trevor: Oh yes, definitely. By us having these like this in the paper, we scratching wounds open. These guys, whoever they are, are reading. We still there, we still wanting to know the answers. We're never going to leave it lie down. We always going to be there, well looking around, every corner, under every stone. Hoping, one day, someone, even if it's maybe on their deathbed one day, *wanting* to tell us
25 the truth.

Everything has been destroyed. Umm, you know, the only way we will find out the truth is by somebody coming forward and saying I was involved. I know what happened that night.

- Stephen: And how has your involvement, I mean you were involved with the
30 Highgate Survivors' Group from the beginning. How has your involvement influenced your life?

Trevor: Well the Highgate group is more of a family – that's how we see ourselves. Those that's committed to, you know, our group, that we are more as family members, we are linked in somehow.

We are, how can I say, we are not outsiders or you know, well strangers to each other. And I think that's what's making us *stronger* as a group. You know, well going on these workshops and weekends, I mean, I think people are getting to know who the Highgate group is. You know, maybe we got a reputation when we go to these camps and all that.

No, really it's, I don't know, I'm jumping off the question maybe, what you asked me. It has affected us or me. I see Shereen as a sister, Clive as a brother. Not as a friend or associate, or whatever you want to call it.

Stephen: So it's more like a family?

10 Trevor: Ja. I mean I can phone Shereen whenever. Depressed, down, I don't have to tell her. Just by her listening to me over the phone. Ah, Trev what's wrong, you know. And that type of thing and we build each other up.

Clive too. You know you can see, you know, there's something, you try build each other up. That's what we're there for. We there to support each other, you know, through thick and thin till the end.

Stephen: So, you saying it's been quite important to share your experience with other people who went through the same thing.

Trevor: Definitely. They know where you coming from. They know what you talking about. They understand what you talking about. What you going through. You not talking to somebody that got no experience and that might think, ah, you know he's not right upstairs. He's making it up, or, you know, he's exaggerating.

I can relate to Clive. Clive can relate to me. Same with Shereen, although she wasn't there, but she went through a hell of a trauma *losing* her brother through the Highgate. You know, we are connected in some way or some how. We can relate. I can be open with Clive, you know, on things that I can't be with anybody.

Stephen: So you can identify with each other.

Trevor: Ja.

Stephen: And, could you tell me about your experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

30 Trevor: That's short and sweet. [Laughing]. I've got no time for the TRC. Well, to me it was a waste of time. They a laughing stock, full of promises. I got nothing out of the TRC, just the thirty thousand that they gave everybody.

To me they were more for the perpetrators than what they were for the victims. Everything that they promised us we got nothing of. No counselling. Clive was promised an arm, you know I can't talk on behalf of him but he was made promises. I was made promises. We saw nothing of it. Up to, well you know,
5 today I still got no counselling which I asked for.

Stephen: So actually, they didn't fulfil the promises they...

Trevor: No. It's a lie commission. It wasn't a truth commission. They just made money from stories told to them. Made, well written books and sold it.

I today well can't figure out what the TRC was there for. Wasn't there for victims.
10 It was for perpetrators to benefit, to get, uh presidential pardons, you know that type of thing. [p] What were those other things people got? Not presidential pardon...

Stephen: Amnesty.

Trevor: Amnesty. That's what the perpetrators went there for. Apply and get
15 amnesty. But the victims, well what did they get at the end of the day? Nothing.

Ok, uh there are few that did benefit but like the deceased. Umm, that wanted to know where their loved ones were buried. Yes, I would say *they* benefited. I don't know what you would call them as a group, you know, you know that lost loved ones, that was unmarked graves, you know well buried. They got on...

20 Stephen: Family members.

Trevor: Ja, well family members that had members well buried in unmarked graves, well they benefited, but *victims* like us we never. [p] So I've got no time for the TRC.

Stephen: And, just following on from that a bit, how's your experience been
25 meeting other survivors of political violence. For example, like the healing of memories weekend.

Trevor: Oh, now well that's now something. I would rather go through more healing of memories than even a TRC. That is a *big* help.

To meet with other survivors, victims of other – you know, well that's what our
30 group actually wants to try start, that's why we are going on this mediation and facilitation training and all that. We would like to start a type of a healing with memories group.

For other victims to experience what we've experienced. Being, meeting other survivors. The Gugulethu Four, the Gugulethu Seven, the Mamelodi. It's, no really, that is something. Ja. That's something good. That's a positive, it's not a negative. [p] More victims and survivors should go through that.

5 Stephen: So, so you can relate to those groups of people

Trevor: Definitely. And it's a healing of its own, for black and white. For racist, non-racist. You walk away there changed in some way. Definitely. [p] In this country I think we need more of it. We'll have a better country.

10 To interact with other groups. To be able to tell your story, and to give *you* an opportunity to listen to other stories. To make you realize. Although what you went through was bad, there's always somebody that's worse off than you. That's gone through the same thing as you. You not alone. That type of a thing.

Stephen: So what I'm hearing is you do have hopes that the Highgate group will reach out to other groups in the future.

15 Trevor: That's what we working on, ja, that's what our aim is.

Stephen: And what about your day to day experience as a survivor? How has that changed?

20 Trevor: It takes a toll on you, Stephen. Umm, you know you got your off days, your real off days which no one's around to see, but your family is. They the ones that feel the brunt. They the ones you take your depression out on, your anger. They the ones that feel it more than the people that should, you know. [p] Uh, you know, well ja.

25 That's the sad part about it and you know it happens and there's nothing you can, you know, you feel there's nothing you can do about it. My poor well mother is with me all the time and she's the one that gets the worst end of the stick. And in Clive's case, well Thora gets it. We've seen it as a group and we know. Ja.

Stephen: So that must be very difficult, that it affects your closest family relationships.

30 Trevor: You see it happening. What do you do? You know, you yourself can't stop – you see what you are doing, you know you are doing wrong. And you can't stop it.

You got all these emotions, the anger, hatred, and they're the ones that get it. [p] And they don't deserve it. 'Cause they are as much victims as what I am.

Stephen: So what is your, what is your wish for the future? What would you like to do with the rest of your life?

5 Trevor: Uh [p], well I want to be independent, I don't want to depend on anybody. That's the main thing. It's terrible to depend on other people. So my *main goal* is to be independent.

10 To keep this group together as long as possible. And to see how we can change, I would like to see, I know it is impossible. No one's ever done it, and I don't think anybody can do it, but to get involved and see what changes we can make in this country. Try change something. Change the view of what people have. Race-wise, hatred, you know that type of thing. That's my wishes, you know, and that's what you see, well for the future.

Stephen: So you'd like to have an effect on a wider group of people

Trevor: Ja. [p] Not necessary going *political*. [laughing] I'm not a political person. Ja.

15 Stephen: But you were, you were talking about healing of memories. That seems like something that's become important to you.

20 Trevor: It is, but to do the healing of memories, you can't do it one out, you need a group. So I'm relying on the group to stick together for that and if not, I want to umm, push for mediation facilitation training, and focus on that as an individual if the healing of memories doesn't work out. To fall back on mediation. You know, that type of thing.

Stephen: Ok. Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me about your life story, about the story of the Highgate Survivors?

25 Trevor: Is there anything I've left out? [laughing] Umm, like I say, this weekend we just had now in Grahamstown, with the group, going back now to the group. I feel in somehow we are much stronger, and it seems like we getting stronger and stronger all the time, but just this weekend there's something...

30 I mean our group has come to what five, six of us. And I don't think this group is gonna get any smaller than what we are now. It's as strong as what we can get in the six of what we are. Which is a positive, well for me.

Umm, I'm not including Winston, because I don't think he's going to last long when it comes to the mediation training, although he wants to, you know well, carry on. I think he's going to fall away, you know. I wouldn't like it to happen, but I feel it's

going to. But it's just a bonus if he doesn't. The more we got the more, you know.
[p] That's group-wise.

Stephen: So having this core group is almost like family members.

5 Trevor: Oh yes, without this group I don't think any one of us would of made it so far. Really, I don't think so. Unfortunately, well Nigel again, umm, but that's lack of [p] asking for help, in the past that's I think caughten up to Nigel, which has now given him quite a bad blow.

10 Umm, we've managed to be more open with each other, where he was withdrawn – he kept everything to himself, and I think it's just taken a toll for him, but for us... Ok there's a lot of things maybe I don't, you know I try deal with myself. You know, you not open 100% with everything, but the majority, I say 90% you open with the group. The other 10% you got to deal on your own.

Stephen: So it's important being able to be open and to share what each member's going through.

15 Trevor: And to talk to people that understand you. It doesn't help to go to somebody and they think – straight away they just think you mad, you know, there's something wrong upstairs here.

Stephen: So it is actually someone who has been through the same experience. Who actually knows?

20 Trevor: Ja, definitely, and that's why you can relate to people in the healing of memories. Although you never met them in your *life* before, but when you hear their story you can relate.

25 There's just some connection, automatically. You *connect* when it comes to pain, suffering, depression. Those things you can relate to: anger, hatred. All that is linked in to the suffering a victim or whatever has. That you relate to.

Ja. [p] I mean it's like a car accident. How can you relate to me in a car accident if you've never been in a car accident. You, you don't have that experience, you don't know what the hell I'm talking about, you know.

30 So by talking to somebody that's gone through the same trauma, although it might not have been the exact same attack, but you make that connection, straight away. [p] And that's what we felt at healing of memories, [p] which was *very moving*. Really, that was a weekend to remember.

Stephen: Have you been able to take forward any of the relationships from that weekend?

Trevor: Which weekend?

Stephen: The healing of memories.

5 Trevor: Yes, ok look, names – I've forgotten names of...that one woman in the wheelchair, what was her name? [p] She was with me in my group. [p] She's a principal of a school. You don't know who I'm talking about? She was the only woman in a wheel chair on the healing of memories. And then there was a minister in our group – oh no...

10 I've taken a lot away with me, but I just wish I could remember names. Do these things more *often* and the *saddest* part about the healing of memories is when you leave after that weekend you *never* make contact again.

That's the saddest part. There should be a reunion like a follow up or if you know what I mean, like that healing of memories and then that same group gets back within a matter of a month, two, three or even six months, you know, together again.

15 Stephen: Just to find out how people are doing and where they've got to...

Trevor: That's the saddest part. When you leave, you leave.

Stephen: Is there anything else that you would like to say?

Trevor: There's so much to say. You must just ask questions. [Laughing] I wouldn't know where to start.

20 Stephen: If you, if someone had to ask you to tell your life story today, where would you, how would you tell that?

25 Trevor: Now, if somebody had to tell me to tell them my life story now, it would have been different to what I would have said to you last year. [Laughing] If somebody had to ask me that now, I'll tell them to just wait another year and get the book, and then they can read, but if it was last year, I don't know.

30 I would just tell them what they would like to know, because you can tell three people the same story in different times, you know, like I can tell you today, Pumla tomorrow, and Theresa the next day, and each day I would find something different. Like I might tell Pumla a bit more than what I tell you today, 'cause I'm digging a bit deeper.

And that's what I've realized with Gill. She's been coming down, ongoing, and sometimes we go back and then you just dig deeper, or after she has left, you

know, things start coming: ah, you know, I forgot to... you know that happened, you know that type of thing. So, it's hard to...

5 There's a lot we've tried to block out, since the shooting. Umm, a person does, to try move on. You try block out the hurt, the pain, what you *really* went through, but you know, Stephen, to go back to the pain, I can't describe it. It is, yoh, the *worst* I've ever experienced. And I wouldn't wish it on my worst enemy.

10 That, after a while it felt like I was a guinea pig. I thought I was in a lab and they were experimenting on me. That's how it felt. I couldn't answer to anything. I wasn't even asked, do you want to go to theatre. I was just told, you going to theatre, it's life and death. I had no choice.

You know, choices were made without you, well that's how bad it was. You either going, or you gonna die, that's it. I was going up to three ops well a week in theatre. That's why my heart just said, woh no more, you know started to get too weak.

15 Really, where are the people *then* to see what you going through, fighting for your life on a daily basis. Pain, loneliness, lonely nights, when you sitting with that pain, can't sleep. Crying out there in the dark. Where are the people? They don't get to see things like that.

Stephen: That's very difficult.

20 Trevor: Ja.

Stephen: So have there been any experiences since the attack, since the time you spent in hospital recovering that take you back and sort of trigger strong memories.

Trevor: Now?

25 Stephen: Ja

30 Trevor: Oh yes, a lot of times. There's a lot of times I'm sitting and all of a sudden I smell saline. Now saline is a liquid that runs through the drips, that watery liquid. Now *where* that smell is coming from, I've got no idea but I just smell saline. And it takes me back to that days I'm lying there and all these drips, you know, the fluids are running through your body.

You get that heavy [p] smell with you all the time. And the taste in your throat of saline, just running through your body. And I get that a lot, that smell of saline. It takes me straight back to lying in bed with all these tubes and drips, and... And that happens often.

Stephen: And are there any experiences like that that take you back to the night at the Highgate?

5 Trevor: The night of the shooting. There's a lot of things that also take you back like, you know, watching movies and there's a shoot-out that happened but more or less the shooting, that same pattern of gun-fire [clicks fingers].

If I can recall, you know if you understand what I'm saying... it's not a normal ta,ta,ta. It's you know that automatic... that sudden, you know if it sounds as close as to what I experienced, it takes me [clicks fingers] automatically straight back to the shooting.

10 Umm, the smell of blood takes me back to the night of the shooting. That's all you smelt, was the mixture of tear gas, blood, gun powder.

And then darkness. I hate darkness. Still today I sleep with the light on, believe it or not. I hate to be in darkness, I just hate it. Maybe that's because the shooting... that feeling of loneliness in the dark and dying, I wouldn't know.

15 Stephen: When you were talking about your memory of the night of the attack, you mentioned Nigel's father saying to you before you were going out that you mustn't get into trouble.

20 Trevor: That's what went through my mind after the shooting. You know, how am I going to tell him. Here we're still thinking you know where we going to get into trouble. How did he know? It was as if he knew what was going to happen, if you know what I mean.

Not to say he knew what was... you know, did he have a feeling that something was going to happen? Why did... because he never told us. *He never told us*, look out you know, don't go make trouble or whatever.

25 He never said that when we went out. It was that only night. That's why I still thought, why is he saying that to us? And the strange thing is something did happen. Did he have, you know, a *feeling* that something could happen? I don't know. It's a weird night, you know.

30 Stephen: You were also talking about the way you went from one hotel to the next...

Trevor: Ja, it was as if something was leading us to the Highgate. With all these places I mentioned to you was always open, but that night... and I mean, uh, uh, Head Office that was in, uh, the Continental Hotel, the first hotel we went to. Inside was called Head Office. That place, you can ask my sister, was always packed.

All the regulars were there. It was *the spot* and it was only us two well sitting there that night. And this was nearly eight 'o clock, I mean normally it gets packed much earlier than that.

5 The Dorchester Hotel was always packed. They were renovating. Moby Dick, which is now Buccaneers was *always packed* but for some reason they also chose to start renovating on a Saturday night.

10 So there was no place to go to that night, you know. Wherever we went it was like we were drawn to the Highgate. And that song that was playing [sings] all seven and you watch them fall. Well seven were injured and five were killed. Is it a coincidence?

Stephen: And that's the tape that you were... trying to get out?

Trevor: That's the tape. Ja. The song of Prince.

Stephen: What was it like for you when you first met Letlapa, having thought before that APLA had been responsible?

15 Trevor: Difficult question. Even when I walked in to that room, Letlapa was standing talking to Ginn Fourie. And when I walked through the door entrance he had looked up into my face. [p] Stephen, I don't know it's hard to look into a guy's face knowing this could have been the man that ordered the attack, that changed your life.

20 But for some *reason* I never saw anything like that in his face. And then the way Ginn seated us before the mediation, before we sat around the table, we sat in like a half- moon circle where [gestures] I was here and Letlapa there, we were *facing* each other and I didn't like that.

25 For some reason I didn't want to look at him and him looking at me. So I would look down and every time I looked up he had looked up. [laughs nervously] You know, we'd look down, you know. It was *terrible* and I was still thinking to myself, what am I going to ask this man. You know, is *this the man* that that, you know well done that. I'm still thinking.

30 But at the same time when I look at him he had those *fierce* looking eyes. But there was just still... I didn't feel that connection. There was just something. And then I left it up to the mediation, and let it take its, you know...

And then things just came out there. It's just strange the way Ginn held that mediation. And maybe it was a good thing I let Letlapa tell his story first, then me

well tell him my story. I think if I had told my story *first*, it would have changed the mediation drastically.

Stephen: So after that mediation you still, you didn't, you weren't sure that it wasn't APLA?

5 Trevor: I actually had to do my homework first and find out more on who this man was, Letlapa. Can I trust what he was saying to me? Ginn is telling me I can trust him but I need to find out for myself, can I trust him. For me to be happy I need to know for myself. [p] That's why I strongly believe today, it's *definitely* not the PAC.

10 Stephen: It must be wonderful having somebody working with you like Ginn, who herself has been through a mediation and reconciliation.

Trevor: Ja, and to get to know Ginn. I get to know her because even with our group, a lot of our group said, ah I don't like Ginn. And I say why. Oh no, there's just something about Ginn, I don't like her. Now that's what you get from Ginn when you first meet her. You don't know how to read her.

15 She's a person that's hard to read. I don't know if you've picked that up. You know, she can be hard like if I can put it in a nice way. It looks like she can be a bitch. But *deep down* she's a soft person.

20 That's why I say you must *in your own way* get to know Ginn. *Now* the group, they adore Ginn. Especially now this weekend with Grahamstown. You know, well working with Ginn and being around her all the time. You need to get to know Ginn. She is not how you would pick her up the first time you meet her.

Stephen: And I mean, I know I've met some of the people that you've worked with like Ginn, Theresa, and Pumla. I mean I think they're quite remarkable people.

25 Trevor: They all are – they all are, even Dr Frances. I mean, I still, well Dr Frances phoned me last night, I still keep in communication via emails with Dr Frances. It's like this journey I've been on has been, I can't explain it.

And all thanks, I s'pose you can say, to the Highgate attack. If it never happened, I would never have met all these people. So it's good in one, you know. I don't know it's hard to say.

30 And I always well thought to myself too if I could go back in time would I change anything? I don't know. I don't know if I would change it after all the pain I've gone through. I've met fantastic people, I wouldn't have met... I don't know. [p] It's difficult.

Stephen: It's an amazing journey.

Trevor: Very amazing.

Stephen: To have all these different people that you've met along the way.

Trevor: I thought a lot to myself I mean the schooling I had, I hated school. I hated school. I was never interested in school. And I thought to myself the other day.
5 Would I ever thought when I was at school that I would be standing at *UCT* talking to people, you know, in a conference. *I would never in a million years* of said, still going to school that would happen to me one day.

Really, I would never of thought. [Laughing]. Yoh, really. That's now something well for me. I mean for a person, I mean, all I've got is a standard eight, that's all
10 I've got. I never ever thought. [p] Big things have happened in my life since the shooting.

Stephen: So was that the conference two years ago?

Trevor: Ja.

Stephen: And were you were just telling your own story there?

15 Trevor: I tried to. Ja, that was just my story. I wasn't talking yet about the group. The group didn't even exist. Or did it? If it did it had just started.

Stephen: I actually asked you because I was at that conference. I didn't hear you speak. I didn't actually know about you, Pumla asked me to go to the Highgate Survivors Group.

20 Trevor: Ok then we weren't a group. Ok, so I had spoken. Yes I did, I spoke I think a week before the group meeting at the Kennaway. Yes that's true because I got photos of Theresa at Chapman's Peak, is it Chapman's Peak?

Stephen: Right

25 Trevor: We were standing there, we had lunch with fish and chips. And I took a photo with my phone of Theresa on her cell phone arranging that meeting for the Kennaway. We were in Cape Town. Ok ja, I was still one out that time. No backing of anybody behind me then. It was hard. Ja.

Stephen: So thank you for sharing so much.

Trevor: Thank you Stephen.

30 Stephen: Is there anything more that you want to say?

Trevor: Not that I can think on now. There's always a lot to say, but...

Stephen: There's always more to say.

Trevor: There's always more to say. I mean we can sit for another two three days talking.

5 Stephen: Maybe we could meet a few months down the line, and there may be more to say...

Trevor: Ja there would be, that's fine. I'm always open to talk to people.

Stephen: Thank you so much for your time.

Trevor: Thank you Stephen.

Stephen: For being so willing to speak...

10 Trevor: Thank you for being interested in doing work, you know, well with us. To include us in your work I should say.

Maria V 2008

15 Stephen: Okay, so firstly, umm, I want to ask if you would tell me about your memories of, of that day on the 1st of May 1993 when the Highgate was attacked. What do you remember about that day?

Maria: That night?

Stephen: That night.

20 Maria: Okay. Well that night we went to the airport, myself, Clive, Megan Boucher, we went to fetch Dougie Gates, the late Dougie Gates. He came to East London to fetch a car and he was leaving the next morning to take it up country.

25 From the airport we went down to the Dolphin, he booked in there, and on our way back – they were going to drop me off and Dougie was going to take the car – Clive said let's just pop in at the Highgate so him and Dougie can have a beer, because there's a new ladies bar there we could go and sit there.

30 So we went in, they wouldn't allow us in the ladies bar because Megan had a tracksuit on. So we went and sat in the other bar. Now there was big crowd of people sitting around the bar and there was a table sort of in the centre and that is where we sat.

Ordered, they ordered their beer and that and it was no sooner put on the table when we heard this loud explosion like crackers going off. And then somebody came running in, a gentleman came running in, he jumped over the bar and he shouted get down, get down, the, uh, the hotel's being attacked.

5 So, alright, so Clive and Dougie and Megan got under the table, [gesturing] Clive lay there and Dougie lay there and I was still going around to lie down between him and Dougie and I was shot in the back of my leg.

And Dougie was lying face down, Clive was lying on his back and I was lying also on my back and the *blood* was just *gushing* out like a tap, and I can remember
10 Clive putting his *elbow* in the hole it was so big to try and stop the bleeding.

But the guys stood at the door with balaclavas on. I thi-, I, I saw one but I'm sure there were *two* of them and they were just shooting, shooting, shooting, shooting all over.

And I said to Clive, you know Clive I'm sure Dougie's dead because I heard
15 [mimics breathing] sort of the last breath, so he said shsh Maria don't talk, they'll shoot again.

And with that they were shooting, shooting and this guy that ran in and told us that the hotel was being attacked, he jumped over the counter, the bar counter and he shot back at them.

20 And, umm, then the shooting stopped. We were lying there in blood and then they threw teargas in. We were choking with that.

I was lying next to, [gesturing] Clive was here, I was there, Dougie was there and Megan was under the table and we were lying there in blood, I tried to pull myself back but I couldn't, I couldn't move myself.

25 And we waited a very long time for the ambulance to come. Anyway it eventually *came*, and I was taken off to the Frere, I went with Megan Boucher in the ambulance.

But the blood was just *gushing* out. It was as big as that, [gesturing] it went in there that size and it came out as big as my hand there. It minced my *bone* and my
30 *flesh*, everything.

And admitted, luckily I got Dr Berkowitz at the Frere Hospital. And I said to him please doctor don't take my leg off. He said no my girl I won't do that.

Anyway I must have passed out, I don't know, apparently they gave me thirteen pints of blood because all the blood that they were putting in me was coming out.

And I went to the hospital there, I stayed there for over a month. I went to surgery every day for the solid week to try and get this hole closed up but they couldn't really close the thing up. And that's all I remember of the night at the Highgate that I can think of.

5 Stephen: Okay. And umm, how has, how has that experience, that night affected your everyday life? How's it affected...

Maria: Well, you know, I got a pin [gesturing] from here to my knee and I've still got this big hole, I went for two bone grafts long after I was discharged from the hospital. And I was on crutches for two and a half years. I went for therapy for two
10 years to try and get my, my leg going again.

Uh, we lost our jobs, myself and Clive, we were at the SPCA, we lost our jobs, we had no more jobs. There was no money, if it wasn't for Meals on Wheels I would have never survived because they brought me food.

And up to now they still bring me food because I'm an old age pensioner and I
15 *can't afford anything*, you see, so they, I, I, I get food from them otherwise I wouldn't survive. But for *two years* they delivered food to me every day, Meals on Wheels, because I could do nothing.

And I mean, *my life* has, you know at my age my life has, has *changed*. It's altogether, it's, sometimes you think is it really worthwhile living? You know, I feel if
20 they ever attacked me again and did this they must rather wipe me out, I could, *the pain was too terrible*. I could never go through that pain again, never, never.

And even *now* I'm suffering. My knees, I'm suppose to have knee replacements, I can't. I've, I've become a, a diabetic, a chronic diabetic since the shooting. I've lost my hearing, I've got arthritis. [gesturing] This is where I fell down when I was shot,
25 I must have gone down on this hand, I've got arthritis and I'm in, I'm in constant pain, I'm in pain all the time.

Stephen: So how, how's that affected your family life as well?

Maria: My family.

Stephen: Your family life.

30 Maria: Yes, my, my family took it very bad, they took it very bad, they tried to help me as much as they could because I had to be taken for therapy *every day* and they tried to bring me odds and ends in, I had to get somebody to wash me *every day* and so on.

You know I've got a son staying at home, he's an epileptic, he stays with me. [p] And you know to live off an old age pension, it's, it's difficult hey? I mean that just covers for my telephone and my, my *electricity*, my *water*, then *there's nothing left after that*. As I say Meals On Wheels they deliver food to me every, every day.

5 Stephen: So do you have, do you support your son as well?

Maria: No, no, no. He, umm, he, he was boarded, he was, he worked for the Justice Department and he was boarded. He gets a small pension that just covers very little for him sort of to *barely* survive on.

10 Stephen: Okay. I just want to sort of change direction a bit and ask you, umm, how has your involvement with the Highgate Survivors Group influenced your life?

Maria: Repeat that, how did...?

Stephen: How, how has your involvement with the Highgate Survivors Group influenced your life, especially umm your experience of meeting with other people who experienced the entire thing?

15 Maria: It's a very good thing that we, we do meet as a group say like once a month, once in two months. And then we talk about it and... it's a very good thing.

[p] You know we get together and then we discuss certain things and, and to talk about it and sort of get it, you know. I often phone Trevor and we have a good old chat over the phone and we talk about what happened and how we battling in life to live and...

20 Stephen: So you can, you can identify with their experiences because they've been through it with you.

Maria: Mmm.

Stephen: Is that how you feel?

25 Maria: It's, it's.

Stephen: You identify with the other survivors.

Maria: Ja.

Stephen: And their experiences.

Maria: Ja, ja.

30 Stephen: So is that how you feel?

Maria: Ja.

Stephen: Okay.

Maria: You know I mean when I was in hospital we had all the, the big boys from
5 *Pretoria* and *Cape Town* that came to my bed: don't worry Mrs Van Niekerk, we'll
sort everything out, you won't want for *anything*.

Came there and where are they? We haven't, nothing, they haven't helped us with
nothing. I mean they all promises and there was nothing. Part of my medical bills I
had to pay for. [p] I mean it, it was very difficult with no job, I mean we lost our
jobs, they couldn't keep our jobs open for us.

10 Stephen: I don't know if you, did you go to the Truth and Reconciliation
Commission?

Maria: Did I go to the..?

Stephen: To the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Maria: Where was that?

15 Stephen: Umm, they held hearings just after the Highgate attack in 1995.

Maria: Truth and Re-, yes, yes, yes.

Stephen: You did.

Maria: Yes.

20 Stephen: Okay. So what, what was your experience of the Truth and
Reconciliation Commission?

Maria: Well we didn't get very far there either, I mean we stood up and we spoke
and they asked us questions and, and that was that. I mean we got no help,
nowhere.

25 Stephen: So they didn't, they didn't really give you any, any financial help or any
support in any other way?

Maria: No, no, nothing. Nothing at all, nothing.

Stephen: Okay.

Maria: You know I even went to an attorney and uh, he tried to get help from the
government, and uh, that also cost money. And he said to me look Maria you

wasting your time, he says I'm charging you and we are getting *nowhere*, nowhere.

5 You see after, after I had the, I had to wait to have my bone graft done, the white government was in when we were shot and then the black government came in after I had my bone graft done so I don't know if, if we might have got help if the white government was still in, I don't know.

10 But financially I'm battling. I've got no medical aid. As I say I'm a chronic diabetic, I've got to inject myself five times a day and you know when you a diabetic it affects your everything, your heart and, and you know I'm on so many different tablets for my thyroid, my heart, my blood pressure and all these different things because it affects my cholesterol.

15 I was in hospital now in December, I spent two weeks there over Christmas, my cholesterol went up to 16, my blood sugar went up to nearly 40. Ja, and that's when they put me on the, this insulin, two different types of insulin and I inject myself five times a day, a hundred and ten units all together that I have a day.

Stephen: So those medical expenses add up.

Maria: Yeah. And you go to the Frere Hospital, you don't, you know you stand there, you've got to sit there *all day* and you stand there in, in, in the queue there and then you only get half your medication.

20 Like yesterday I went for my medication, I got, I got two pens of insulin. Now one pen lasts me for five days, now this is two months supply. So now I've got two pens because there's two different types of insulin I got to use.

25 Now I'm waiting for Monday to contact them because I mean one pen's not even going to last me a week, what do I do with it? And if I don't inject myself then uh, what will happen?

[p] No this shooting is, it's really, it's, it's, it's changed one's life completely. There's nothing to look forward to in life, I can't walk very far, I've got my knees bandaged up, when I go out I've got to bandage both my knees up because when I walk a short distance my knees collapse and down I go.

30 And this pin that I got from my hip to my knee, I mean it's been in there for fifteen years now, it will never come out, my one leg is shorter than the other, that gives me terrible backache because you know your leg is, ja.

[gesturing] And this big hole I've still got here. They did take, they took from my hip to try and fill the hole up but the hole was too big, they couldn't close it, so.

Stephen: So you say it's changed, it's changed your whole life?

Maria: Oh *definitely*, definitely, definitely. I mean I can't do anything, I can't do any gardening, I can't stand and cook, I can't stand on my legs for long, I can do nothing.

5 I'm in constant pain, I've got pain all the time. [p] I can't really go out and I'm too scared to go anywhere, even of a night time I *dare* not go out.

You know after I was shot for *six months* if I was with somebody in a car and no, and a black taxi just came up and pulled up, I tell you I used to slide down as far down as I could and cover myself over with a blanket because I was, I was so
10 scared.

It was a terrible experience, terrible. Terrible, terrible. I didn't go for counselling because there was no money for counselling, I couldn't go.

Stephen: So when you thought that the attack had been carried out by APLA, how did that make you feel at that time?

15 Maria: Oh when we thought it was APLA

Stephen: When thought it was APLA.

Maria: It made me very *angry*, very angry. You know they say that you must forgive and forget. You can forgive but you can't forget, you can never forget.

And I thought to myself if they can do things like that to humans, I mean, you know
20 we were no sooner at the Highgate when they attacked us. I mean it, it really, it, it was terrible, a horrible experience, horrible.

Stephen: I can understand that, that anger.

Maria: Mmm.

Stephen: I can understand that anger that you feel.

25 Maria: The anger.

Stephen: Ja.

Maria: I was very angry, yes. Every night, you know you think of it and then you really get really *angry* because you think well look you know you can't do gardening anymore, you can't do, stand and do any cooking any more, you can't
30 entertain people, you can't go anywhere...

I can't go, if I go to Pick 'n Pay I've got to hold onto somebody to get in there and to get a trolley to hold on to walk a little further, you know, it, all those things. I mean it, it, it builds up and it makes one very angry.

5 Stephen: And how has it affected your life to, to hear that the attack may have not been carried out by APLA?

Maria: How has it affected my life...

Stephen: To find out that APLA was not responsible.

10 Maria: Well, I was relieved to find out that they were not responsible. I was very relieved. [p] But I mean we, you know we don't know who did this to us, I mean if we only knew who these people were and *why* they did it but fifteen years have gone by and nothing, there's nothing.

Stephen: So how, how does it make you feel that, that the NPA hasn't, hasn't got any further with their investigation?

15 Maria: Yes, there's a big question mark there also. I mean why, why can't they find, why, why. I mean *surely* they can find *something*. I mean there must be something, something that they can find.

Stephen: Okay. And what, what was your experience of meeting other groups of survivors, for example at the healing of memories weekend in Cape Town?

Maria: Oh, I didn't, no I didn't go, I couldn't, I was ill.

20 Stephen: Okay.

Maria: My sugar was very high and I wasn't able to go.

Stephen: Okay.

Maria: Ja, at the last minute I had to cancel it because my sugar was well in the 30s and I was walking around like I was drunk.

25 Stephen: Okay. So have you had any contact with other survivors outside of the Highgate group?

Maria: Mmm, no, no, just us the Highgate group.

Stephen: Okay.

30 Maria: But all the others went, you know my ticket was booked, everything, and I had to phone Ginn and cancel it at the last minute. Even the Grahamstown trip I

couldn't go, I wasn't able to go. I got this *swelling* here and it pained something terrible.

5 And I spoke to my specialist about going, he said no Maria look don't go because if you land up in Grahamstown hospital what's going to happen to you, he said rather stay here.

Because I've got to go now and have a MRI, I haven't got money and to see the specialist is four hundred and fifty rand a time, I mean where is the money, there's no money. There's just nothing.

10 Stephen: Ja. So, so the injuries that you got from the shooting they've really, they've affected the number of things you can do.

Maria: *Everything*. Everything's gone wrong, everything. Everything's gone wrong. You know they shot me through the nerve in this leg, now this, this foot is actually, it's like dead if you know what I mean.

15 Because the nerve's been shot through, it can't, umm, if it was damaged it would grow again but the specialist said it shot through and, and it's horrible, I got to keep on moving my foot all the time sort of, horrible feeling.

Stephen: Okay. So do you, do you have a wish for your own life, for the future, is there something that you would, you would like to see happen in your life or something connected to the Highgate incident?

20 Maria: Do I have a..?

Stephen: Do you have a wish...

Maria: Wish

Stephen: for the future.

Maria: for the future.

25 Stephen: Yes.

Maria: In what, in what way?

Stephen: Umm, for example, finding out who, who perpetrated the attack.

30 Maria: Oh yes, yes, I'd love to know who did it, definitely. I'd love to know. [p] And I only wish we could get paid out some money or we could get a medical aid or some, some help that we can *live*.

I mean it's, it's terrible. You know when you used to, to, to living like you were living and to be like this now and there's absolutely just no money. [p] Oh I'd love to know, yes, who did it and why, *why* they did it.

5 Stephen: Okay and is there, is there anything else that you'd like to say about your own life story or about the story of the Highgate survivors? Is there...

Maria: Not really. You know, umm, Dougie Gates he was shot there through the heart, he was a good friend of mine. I knew him from Durban days, many many days, years ago.

10 And, umm, he was a good person, he loved his sport and he used to come to the SPCA quite often and we used to go out together and you know, have a drink, things like that.

And, umm, he had a daughter. He got divorced from his wife and he didn't see his daughter for many many years and only shortly before he was shot, he found where his daughter was, he met up with her and he found that he had a grandson.

15 And you know he used to always come and talk about this little boy and his daughter was expecting again and it, it was, it was *very sad* to lose him, he was a very very good friend of mine. A very good friend.

20 Stephen: So how, how does it make you feel umm, today, umm when we were at the Highgate and to, to remember, to remember your friend and to remember the...

Maria: Very sad. It made me feel very sad. [p] I hadn't been back to the Highgate. Umm, a year ago I went for the memorial service but I hadn't been back before that.

25 And, umm, and then Daily Dispatch they interviewed us there, uh last week or the week before and today, otherwise I've never been back there. No.

Stephen: Okay. So is there anything more that you would like to say?

Maria: Not I can think of. Not that I can think of. There's so many things that when you get home you will think, oh why didn't I say that and why didn't I say that but, umm, I don't think there's anything else. I don't think so.

30 Stephen: Well I've really appreciated hearing your story and hearing about your difficulties with your finances and with all the medical problems that you have.

Maria: Ah you know if we could get *some* help, *somewhere*, *where* I don't know. If we could just get onto a medical aid. I mean I'm going to be 72, I'm not young

anymore, I can't go and work. As I say I can't even walk from here to the corner and when I go out I got to bandage my knees up otherwise I just collapse and down I go.

5 You know if we could just get *some* financial help *somewhere*. But I mean fifteen years have gone by and we've had no help and if as I say it wasn't for Meals On Wheels you know, *them* bringing me *food*, I don't know how I'd live. I wouldn't survive and they were very good to me after I was shot.

10 And a friend was very good to me, he had to take me to physiotherapy every day for two years. And I had to get somebody to come and wash me and things like that because I mean I couldn't move. I was on crutches for two and a half years – a long time.

Stephen: Ja. So there, there were people, friends in your community that had helped you during that time.

15 Maria: Ja, ja, there were, ja. Well the one gentleman that took me to physiotherapy well, he had been boarded from the railways so he used to come and take me you know every day to physiotherapy otherwise I don't know how I would have got there.

20 [p] Let's say for the first three years I, I *really really and truly I battled*, I battled for the first three years. But I still get a lot of pain, I go to bed at night I'm full of pain – can't sleep, you lie and you think of these things, what's happened.

And then last year I lost my little granddaughter, she was, a week before her third birthday and that was traumatic that.

Stephen: That's very difficult.

25 Maria: Ja. A little girl, ja. She had very bad ear infection and, umm, it turned to encephalitis and she was brain dead within, within two days. That was very traumatic that, very sad. You know even now when I think about it, it brings tears.

Stephen: Ja. Can I get you some tissues, I've got some outside.

Maria: Mmm.

Stephen: Can I get you some tissues, I've got some outside.

30 Maria: Ag, don't worry, I've got something here in my pocket, ja. Ja, no, that was very traumatic, that was my son that takes the fits, that's epileptic, it was his little girl, *only* little girl. [p] In July it will be a year that she, that she's dead.

Stephen: And how does, when you, when you umm lost your granddaughter, did you during that time when you were feeling very sad did you think back to the Highgate incident?

5 Maria: Oh yes, oh yes, definitely. [p] I mean you know, she was just at a nice age, she wasn't even three years. It was a week before her third birthday and she was at that lovely age, *talking*, starting to *talk* and running all over and...

10 When you go to bed at night you know you, things, these things flash through your mind, the Highgate and the shooting and lying there in all that blood and you couldn't get out and guys standing at the door and with a balaclava on and they shooting all over.

If it wasn't for that man at the back of the bar that shot back at them, I think they would have killed us all, they would have wiped us out. Because the bullets were just *all over*, *flying*.

15 [p] I was very lucky that Dr Berkowitz saved my leg but, umm, the pain, ooh. My leg is slighter shorter than the other one although there's a pin from my hip to my, to my knee, and I think that's what giving me such terrible backache because when I walk you know it's playing upon my back now.

20 I think when, as one gets older these injuries they, they seem to get *worse*. Even with my knees I mean the specialist says I must have *knee* replacements done, but with the sugar, with the chronic diabetes I mean, how can I take that chance?

I said yes doctor, alright, have 'em done. I go in with two legs I'll probably come out with one leg. He said well that's a chance you take my girl, but he says you going to end up in a wheelchair.

25 He said *definitely*, he says I'll end up in a wheelchair because I can't *walk*, I can't stand long on my legs, I've got to bandage them up with white bandages every day. It's not, not nice, not at all.

Stephen: It's very difficult.

Maria: So as I say if we could only get *some help* financially and, and even if it was a medical aid and just a *little* help, you know what...

30 I mean I left the SPCA, we could, as I say we couldn't keep our jobs there, they couldn't keep our jobs open because Clive was walking around with his arm off and I was walking around for two and a half years on crutches.

And they said well look, they paid us a thousand rand each and they said look we can't keep your jobs open.

Stephen: So you would really like some, some financial help just to, to ease the, ease the suffering?

5 Maria: Ja, you know. And medical aid is a *big thing*, you know if you haven't got medical aid... I had medical aid when I was shot, *luckily*, but, umm, that also fell away when they said well they can't keep our jobs open, it fell away. So *part* of my bills were paid, the other part I had to pay.

Stephen: Okay.

10 Maria: You know with the cost of living going up, I mean, I mean look what a person pays for a loaf of bread and a pint of milk nowadays, it's ten rand finished, eleven, twelve rand finished, a day.

Price of petrol, price of electricity. I mean one can't *live*, you can't. Get an old age pension, I mean it goes on your telephone and your, your *electricity*.

Stephen: That really affects you when you not working, when the price of living goes *up* and you not working, it really affects you.

15 Maria: Ooh, terrible, terrible. I mean you think where's the next rand coming from? I mean, it, it's, it's, *it's very very very hard, really*. It's very difficult.

20 As I say at my age, I mean I can't go and work, I, where would I work at 72 years old? And with my legs like this? As the specialist says I'm gonna end up in a wheelchair if I don't have the op, but I mean being a chronic diabetic I'm too scared to have the op. And that *all came on* with the shooting story.

Stephen: Ja. So it did really change, it did really change your life that moment, that night when you went to the Highgate was a, was a changing moment in your life...

Maria: The night I went to the Highgate?

Stephen: It really changed your life...

25 Maria: Oh definitely, *definitely*, definitely. Now I hear 6 o'clock, I lock up the windows and the doors and in the day time on my own I lock the doors up, *definitely* changed one's life *completely*.

30 You feel you got nothing to *live* for, I mean, you too scared to go out anywhere, even in the day time you scared to go anywhere. [p] It's not a nice thing to happen to anybody.

Stephen: Ja, it shouldn't, it shouldn't really happen to anyone.

Maria: It's bad. I mean we went there that night just Clive and Dougie were gonna have a quick beer and I mean look what happened? We were at the wrong time at the wrong place. I mean we just *got there*. And that's what happened to us.

5 I had just got my *pay*, my money was in my *handbag*, that was left on the little table where we were *sitting*, I have a, loaded up in the ambulance and they found my handbag at the police station *but everything was taken out, gone*.

Stephen: You lost your money...

10 Maria: *Everything*. So what happened to it I don't *know*. [p] No, it's a, it's a night, you know you will never, a person will never forget it, never never, it's, it's *there* all the time, you think about it and when you go to bed at night then it's, you lie there and you think, you can't *sleep*.

[p] I *suppose* when you think of it there are other people with worse problems but I mean we didn't *deserve* what we got and end up with no help. *We didn't*. [p] I mean Clive and I, we used to work at the SPCA, that is why, and Megan, that's
15 why the three of us went to the airport to go and fetch Dougie that night.

Stephen: So, so you really feel that someone either the government or the Truth Commission could have, could have given you more help, they could have at least given you medical aid, covered your expenses...

20 Maria: Gave us *nothing, nothing*. We stood up there, they asked us questions, we told our story, they gave us *nothing, no help whatsoever*.

As I say these, these ministers from parliament wherever they came from, Cape Town or Pretoria or Jo'burg, I don't know, I can't, they came around, stood around the bed: don't worry Mrs Van Niekerk, don't worry, we will sort everything out, you won't need for anything. What happened to them? When they said goodbye, that
25 was goodbye, never heard again.

Stephen: Was, did they come around at the time of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Maria: No they came when I was in hospital.

Stephen: In hospital, ok...

30 Maria: Mmm. While I was in hospital they came.

Stephen: So were they, were they ministers from the previous government?

Maria: Yes. Yes. Ja.

Stephen: And how, how do you feel towards people who've suffered political violence like you have? Umm, for example, black, black victims who suffered attacks under the old government, the apartheid government and they might have also been, been victims of the defence force of the apartheid government?

5 Maria: Mmm.

Stephen: How, how do you feel towards them?

Maria: The ones that didn't get help.

Stephen: Ja.

10 Maria: I feel very sorry for them because I know what *I'm* going through so they must be going through *the same thing*. I *feel* for them because I'm sure they are going through exactly what *we* are going through.

[p] I mean look at Ginn Fourie. I think she lost her daughter in the church... was, no in the tavern, where was it?

Stephen: The Heidelberg Tavern.

15 Maria: Ja, and that was very tragic as well, hey? But *at least* somebody did own up to say well they were responsible, I'm sure.

Stephen: That's right.

Maria: I think they *did*.

Stephen: APLA owned up for it.

20 Maria: Ja. But now with us, there's, there's *nobody* that's come forward and said look we're responsible. They all thought it was APLA but they say it's not.

Stephen: Well thank you for sharing so much and for everything that you've shared. Is there any last thing that you would like to say?

25 Maria: I, I, I, I all I only hope that they find out *who* shot us and *why* they shot us and *I just pray to God* that we can get *some* financial help and a medical aid, because to live on an old age pension is, you can't do it. You can't do it.

And I thank Meals On Wheels for bringing me food, they bring it *hot*, in *dishes*. I know it's not *tasty*, I mean, but it's something.

Stephen: And they did that for two years you said?

30 Maria: Sorry.

Stephen: They did that for two years.

Maria: That, ja, for nothing for two years. But I still get Meals On Wheels because I can't stand and cook. I can't stand on my legs, I can't walk.

5 If I want to go to town I got, you know either get, borrow the car or get somebody to take me because I can't walk to the bus stop. I can't walk from here to the *corner*, my knees just collapse and down I go. So I've got to *depend* on other people all the time.

10 [p] You know even, uh, uh, winter clothing they, I don't know, people donate it to them, they divide it out between the ones that they deliver meals to. You get a little packet every winter with like a jersey in and a pair of pants in or something like that. They do *a lot of good*, a lot of good.

15 But umm, they charge me for my meals now – for two years they didn't – but they charge me now for my meals but very little. As I say it's very very difficult. You know if I was younger maybe I could get a job somewhere but I mean where will I get a job at 72 years old?

And they tell me look you know you should be on *pension*. I say ja I'm on pension, but an old age pension [laughing]. No it's sad. I mean those that were, were injured in the, in that Highgate massacre, I mean look at *Trevor*.

Stephen: It's so difficult.

20 Maria: And he's a *young man*. I mean I'm old person but I mean you look at him, I mean look how he's *suffering*. There's Clive, he's lucky he's got a job.

Stephen: So it really affected everyone who was there. It really affected everyone who was there and was either injured or, or who just witnessed the attack.

25 Maria: Ja, I think that's about all, I can't think of anything else except all the *injuries* and the *deaf ear* and all the arthritis that's *set in* and... You know I went, I went to the specialist about this swelling that's come up here, pains, *four hundred and fifty rand a visit*.

Stephen: It's very expensive.

30 Maria: You don't get that at the Frere hospital. You got to go into private, have it done privately.

And they know how to *charge* and I was s'posed to go back to him but I haven't got *money*. I'm supposed to have a MRI done to find out *what exactly is going on*. There's no money for it, so I got to pay, suffer in silence with the pain.

Stephen: It's very difficult.

Maria: You know I think that's all Stephen that I can think of.

Stephen: Well thank you very much.

Maria: Okay.

5 Stephen: For sharing.

Maria: Thank you very much.

Stephen: Thank you so much.

Nora S 2008

10

Stephen: I'm going, I'm just going to, umm, while, while we talk, I'm just going to take notes.

Nora: Ok, that's fine.

Stephen: That's just of the topics that come up...

15 Nora: Yes, ja, ok.

Stephen: Ok?

Nora: Ok.

20 Stephen: Firstly, umm, would you tell me about your memory of on the day on the first of May 1993, when the Highgate was attacked? What do you remember about that day?

Nora: Ok, when I heard about it, we were at the house. Umm, my son and Nigel went out that night. And umm, I was watching TV, Terry-Ann was at the house that night, she didn't go out, and the phone rang.

25 I can't remember what time it was, but she answered the phone. And it was my brother-in-law, Nigel's father. And he said that umm, Chappie and Nigel were shot and we had to get down to the hospital, the Frere Hospital.

Anyway, Terry-Ann put down the phone and she said: 'Come Ma'. We got my husband, we went down to the Frere Hospital and there, boy oh boy, it was, we just saw blood.

5 In Chappie's little room where he was lying, the doctors were slipping and sliding because he had bled so much. They didn't even *know* how much umm, *where* he was in, where he was shot.

Sorry, is that where you want me to talk about?

Stephen: Yes, that's, that's fine.

10 Nora: Ok. They didn't know *where* he had been shot. They knew about his arm, but he was complaining about his back a lot. And the doctor put his hand underneath him, and when they pulled his hand out, it was just full of congealed blood.

15 They, so they had to turn him over to see, and he was shot in the back as well, the lower back, and in the si- in the side. And he could feel himself going, then he wanted to go to the loo, pass urine, and when Nigel helped him, we all went out, he couldn't pass urine anymore, so his bladder was also um, shot, you know.

And uh, anyway, the doctors and the specialists knew that he had to get him to theatre, but there were so many people in theatre already, so Chappie had to wait.

20 But he could feel himself going, going, losing, 'cos as he was losing blood, so his pressure went down, you know? But he did go into theatre, into theatre and thank heavens he did make it. But it was *very sad*.

25 We were in the waiting room with Shereen's mother and father. Well we didn't know them at that time, with my family, my sisters, and everybody was there with Terry-Ann. Another doctor and the, the minister came in to tell, uh, to tell Shereen and to tell Shereen's parents that *Deon* passed away. It was very sad.

And then they left, we stayed there until the *morning*. *But the blood*, the nurses were working *terribly hard*. But I felt very sorry for the people that had died, they, their bodies didn't come to the Frere, they stayed at the Highgate. From there it left to the mortuary. That was very sad.

30 Stephen: And how, how's that experience of that night affected your, your day to day life?

Nora: My whole life. I was *working* at that time and umm, Terry, Terry-Ann used to, she was, uh, I'm telling you, without Terry-Ann, I don't know how I would have been able to cope.

I used to come from work at night, go straight down to Chappie at the hospital. He had so many drains and the nurses couldn't sit by him all the time, so I would come from work, be dropped down at the Frere, be with Chappie *the whole night*.

5 'Cos he had so much uh, drains, 'cos he was *septic*, he was going septic. And I would stay there until five o'clock in the morning and then Terry-Ann would come and fetch me and I would go home and get showered and go to work.

Then I couldn't stay at home to look after him when he came home, so we got a nurse to look after him in the day time and I was a nurse at night. So I hardly slept. That was very hard for me, very hard, very hard.

10 And my job, and you, 'cos my husband also worked at Johnson and Johnson those days, 'cos I worked at Johnson and Johnson, they were very good to me.

And uh, one of the sisters pulled me into the office and she said did I realize that my son is not going to make it, because of all the, the umm, infection he had. *Nobody* could pull through from that. It was very hard for me, 'cos I only had two
15 kids and Chappie was my baby, you know? It was very hard.

Stephen: So at that time you were working full time?

Nora: I was working full time, ja.

Stephen: And the nights you would spend at the hospital?

20 Nora: I would spend at the hospital till five o'clock in the morning. Terry-Ann would fetch me outside the Frere hospital and uh, I would go home, get showered and go back to work again.

And the nurses, when they see me coming, then they would get ready to take their clothes, even if I got off a half an hour earlier, thinking I'm just going to have a bit of a break, they want to go home, you know?

25 Stephen: Ok

Nora: So I had *no break*, I mean I still had to do my home, my, my *house work*, do *washing*, you know? Cleaning. But my husband was very good to me, he helped me, Terry-Ann did her share so, all that did help you know? But if I look back, I don't know how I did it.

30 Stephen: Ja

Nora: I could never do it again. If, if I could, well if I had to do it again I don't think I'd be able to do it.

Stephen: It must have taken some strength and courage to do that?

Nora: I had to wash him, I had to do all his drains, I had to do *everything*. [p] But I'm glad he has got a *little* bit better that he can do things for *himself*, you know? [sigh] it's difficult Stephen, really, it's very difficult.

5 Stephen: Has that uh, that experience, has it had an ongoing effect on your family life?

Nora: Mm, I'm more for umm, I'm always looking at him to see if he is ok. 'Cos he's my *main* person, I've even sort of pushed my husband aside *for him*, because my husband hasn't suffered, my son has.

10 So my son to me, needs me more, even still today I look at him to see if I could help him. Whereas my husband, I mean he's sixty three, gonna be sixty four, he *needs* my help, I do *help* him, but my son comes first.

My daughter too. I had, mm, I mean she was, Chappie was twenty, she was tw- she's three years older than him. But she *knew* that she couldn't expect *me* to
15 anything for her, she had to do it herself, you know? She was there for *me*; I couldn't be there for her.

[sniffing] And we weren't *eating* because going to hospital, coming back at five o'clock in the morning, I wasn't eating. So I had lost *a lot of weight*. And one night she said to me: 'You are *not* going to hospital, I am taking you and dad out'.

20 She took us out for a meal, but then I couldn't eat. I was more, I was *crying* more than I was eating, 'cos I was thinking of my son you know lying there, not eating. Just your *whole life* is around *them*, you know?

Stephen: Ja

25 Nora: It's very hard, Stephen, I'm telling you, I didn't know how I, if I had to do that again today, I would never be able to.

Stephen: How do you feel on a day like today, when we went to do the memorial? How does it make you feel?

30 Nora: It wasn't so bad today, 'cos *he* was ok, but if *he's* down then I'm very down as well. [p] It actually all depends how *he* feels. If I see he's down, oh, then I'm also so down. [p] He's my whole life: wherever he goes, I go.

He feels he can't get out the car and even go into a shop or anything like that, I've got to do it, so wherever he goes, I do it, I mean I go with, you know? [sniffing] I don't know how long I'm still gonna be with him.

His growth, his umm, what you call it, uh 'breuk' uh, hernia is getting bigger and bigger and bigger. I don't know how much bigger it *can* get, and that's my big worry. He's had how many operations *for* that and nothing was a success, you know? [sniffing] So I don't know how long he's still got with me.

- 5 Well Clive, he's lost his arm, ok it's a big thing but he's fine, he can do what he loves, you know? Ok he's got his loss of his arm, but Chappie, he's got both his arms, he's got both his legs but he's got inside damage.

Stephen: Ja. It must be difficult as a mother to see your son suffering like that?

- Nora: Ja, and nobody *understands* you know? [p] You know wherever we get
10 invited, it's always: "Ma, how we going to do this?", and there's questions and I must try and think, ok, I'll help you do that, I'll help you...

It's not just going there and enjoying ourselves, [sniffing] it's always to worry how we going to get *him* sorted out. It's difficult, Stephen, really, even still today, there's a battle.

- 15 [p] Like when he's got so much pain, he always says: "But, why didn't they do a proper job of it?" You know? 'Cos he's not like he used to be, he used to go to town, go and do shopping, come home, say: "Ma, look what I bought, look at the clothes I bought Ma." You know?

- Today, he can't do anything of that. That's not life. Like Pumla says your life, uh
20 livelihood, you know, just being taken away. His livelihood has been taken away.

Stephen: Ja.

Nora: I never worry about me, I only worry about him.

Stephen: Ja, it must be very difficult to lose, lose things that you hoped for in the future?

- 25 Nora: Ja, you hoped your son had a job, he *did* have a job, and that was taken away from him. [sniffing] Now he gets a little pension. And you see other people earning so *much* money, and your son's earning just a little bit [crying].

Stephen: Can I get you some tissues?

- Nora: Thank you. [p] Thank you. [sniffing; sighing] [p] But yet when you talk to
30 him and you have a joke with him, it seems like there's nothing wrong, you know? But he's a [indecipherable]

For fifteen years I got him still, so, I'm quite happy [sighing].

Stephen: So, how has it influenced your life to be involved with the Highgate Survivor's Group?

5 Nora: It's helped me to be with the other group. I miss their com-, their, their, 'cos I know what they've gone through, so it's *good to be* with them – just to have *fun* with them.

Like when we went to Grahamstown now, just to be with them, laughing with them. *They* know what *he's* going through. Shereen knows all about it, I've spoken to her, she can see where, she's a *mother* herself...

Stephen: Ja

10 Nora: ...so she understands him.

He gets into such *moods*, which I don't blame him. [p] I'm sure you also got moods [laughing]. His is more, because of what he's going through you know? So my *whole life* is, is *his* life, put it that way, I *live* for *him*. [p] Where he is, I am, [laughing].

15 Stephen: So being part of the group, is that....?

Nora: It helps, it, we know what we've gone through and yet we still enjoy ourselves and... when we want to be alone, that group understands us.

20 If we want to go lie down, or if we want to go sit in a corner, they understand, when the other people don't understand, *they* understand. If he's in a mood, if he doesn't want to talk, they *understand*.

Stephen: Ja

Nora: If he *cries* about, if he gets tears or something, he [sighing] they understand. So we miss each other's *company* you know?

Stephen: Ja, So you can really, really identify with each other?

25 Nora: Ja,

Stephen: Support each other?

Nora: Ja. Thora, we *know* what Thora is going through with Clive. And Thora knows sometimes how *he* is. We all know each other's little *things*, you know?

Stephen: Ja

Nora: [sniffing] And that's why we feel so hurt about the other *group* that doesn't want to get together anymore. We understood them as well, but they don't want to be with us anymore [sniffing].

5 Stephen: And what was your experience at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Nora: Mm, no. My son battled up there, and they asked him a few questions, they said they would do *this* for him, they would do that for him, they would put a, a, a, umm, something up as a memory, you know, for the... *Nothing* was done.

10 I mean, we've needed help. I mean my husband started having strokes – he couldn't work anymore. My daughter left home. It was just Tr- Chappie and myself that earned a something.

I carried on working, I was retrenched from uh, Johnson and Johnson, I worked at DeGa-, uh, uh, TFD. All our goods went over, we went over with our goods to TFD. I *worked* there for seven years.

15 *They* retrenched people, and they retrenched me 'cos I was the most uh, uh, I was getting a lot of money at that stage. So they retrenched the top people, and then I had *no job*.

20 And then a friend of mine that was working at Sala, she said: "It's not much money, but it's something." So I *took* it. And uh, for, for my age as well, it's not, you know?

Stephen: Yeah.

Nora: So, it's just Chappie and myself that's bringing in a little bit o' money. And I worry about his car, that takes us from A to B, you know? That car's looking not very *healthy* anymore, so it's a worry *every day* of our lives.

25 The *prices* are going up. [p] My husband's not working now fourteen years, [p] no, fifteen, sixteen. He's t-, no, it was a year after Chappie was shot, he was still working so that's fourteen years. Fourteen years he's not working [sighing]. [p] But we're still here.

30 Stephen: So when, when you had those, like, like the experience of being retrenched, or having to find a new job, how did that affect your memory of the Highgate incident? Did it bring it back more sharply, did it make you..?

Nora: No, not really, I was just *worrying*. Well you know, you *would think* of Highgate, thinking, when are these people that's offered to help, when are they coming forward?

Just to help, I mean, we went through a *flood*. I can't tell you that, the, the, the year. We stayed in Dale Street, Amalinda. We bought a house there with my pension that I got from Johnson and Johnson [sniffing].

5 And we were living there, and uh, we had the floods one night. And it always happens at night, early hours of the morning. We had to get out of our house. Thank heavens Martin came and helped us that night.

Our, the water was above the window in our home. We had no insurance on our goods. We got pieces of furniture from different people, in that house that we stayed in. We *don't* have new furniture.

10 All our furniture that we had was bugged up. You know furniture that gets wet, it breaks apart, so we had to throw it away. So the furniture we've got here is a chair given from, say Martin, and a chair given from here.

Then we *left* that place, we sold that place, the banks helped us fix it up and we sold it. And we bought this place where we stay now, so. [p] Ja, Stephen, where's it gonna end?
15

Ja, like usually you ask me, do I think about the Highgate a lot, I said, "Ja, I did", 'cos so many people have offered, "I'll, do, I'll do this for you people", "I'll do that", and nobody's done anything.

20 That's why the other group has left us, I think, because they say they wait and when they needed us, when they needed help, nobody was there to help them. And now they decided they must pull out, you know?

Stephen: So, the fact that the investigation by the NPA hasn't got anywhere, how does...

25 Nora: Makes you *mad*, there *must* be some, there *is* somebody out there. You know they were the *top* people. I mean the police don't want to even... they scared even for us to *be* there by them.

I mean, we asked them for help when our phones were tapped. They said: "I'm sorry, we're not prepared to help you, we've got fam-, wife and family."

30 If the police can't help you, if the, uh, uh, the Scorpions, they say they, there's no, nobody, so *who* is there? [p] I don't know Stephen really this is something very funny. They covered their tracks very well.

Stephen: Ja. It's difficult not to know...

Nora: *Ja*

Stephen: ...being left without knowing who is responsible.

Nora: That's why these people can't get on. All the other people like Ginn Fourie, she *knows* that who shot *her*, who killed *her* daughter.

Stephen: Ja.

5 Nora: She went on, sh-, she has forgiven him. She can start, you know, forgetting. But *us*, these people are living with it *every day of their life*. But who can they put a face to it? There's no face to it.

Stephen: Ja.

Nora: I don't know [sniffing].

10 Stephen: And how's it affected your life to find out that that the attack might not have been carried out by APLA?

Nora: We all *hated* black people after that, he was shot. For doing such a thing to people. I mean they said it was a blood bath at Highgate.

15 [p] Then after finding out it wasn't uh, APLA, it might be our own people, *that makes me feel...* [p] They didn't realize when they pulled that trigger, how that other person would feel.

20 To *hurt anybody with whatever*, you don't know what that person would suffer from. I mean, I wou-, well I wouldn't even hurt a,a,a, *bird*, knowing what that bird will go through. How could you hurt, uh, s-, something that *breaths*? I don't know, I, I, well I can't even kill a cockroach [laughing].

Stephen: And what, what was your experience like of meeting with other groups of survivors, for example at the healing of memories weekend in Cape Town?

25 Nora: It was *scary* because they were looking at us you know, up and down. But by the time we went, we were *hugging* each other, because they didn't realize what we went through, we didn't realize what *they* went through. And we landed up knowing that we, that we, we all suffered, you know?

30 And, [sniffing], it was nice. It was *happy* that we could speak to another person that had gone through more or less the same thing as you did. And *knowing* that it wasn't a black person that did it, it was one of *our* people that did it. And they were black people that was there at that thing. You could relate better, you know?

Stephen: Ja.

Nora: Is that the healing of memories then?

Stephen: That's the healing of memories.

Stephen: Ja. So has, has that experience changed how you relate to other groups of people?

5 Nora: Yes, yes. More people in South Africa should go through that. [p] Then you would find out how other people have suffered, not only *you* yourself, other people as well.

Nora: How much more? [laughing]

Stephen: Well is there, I mean is there anything more you would like to say?

Nora: mm-uh. [No]. About what?

10 Stephen: About...

Nora: Do you want to ask me more questions?

Stephen: Well about your life, about your life story, and about how that, how the Highgate shooting has affected your life?

15 Nora: And it's affected *my life*. [p] I think I'm a better *person*. I don't think I would think of other people, if *nothing* had happened to my ch-, to my family. You know, you just carry on working and just carry on with your own life and not worry about anybody else.

Stephen: And how, how's your experience of the group changed the way that you relate to the other survivors?

20 Nora: To *relate* to the other survivors? With our group?

Stephen: Ja, but the, the survivor's group.

Nora: *How* do we relate?

Stephen: The fact that, that a group was formed...

Nora: Yes...

25 Stephen: ...has that changed the way you relate to, to the people that are part of the group?

Nora: *No*, it wouldn't, no, it won't change. If like Bernice's father died, we sent her a, a, sin-, a, a card, from the group. Umm, if I had to see uh, uh Fran or anybody, I would treat her exactly the same as I would have.

And *our group* that we've got, you know, that want to stay together, we would phone them on their birthdays. And if we want to have a do, get together, we would just phone one and the other one would phone the next one. That's how we keep, you know?

- 5 Now, no, we won't be *nasty* to these other people that don't want to be in our group, that don't want to go with us anywhere. I mean, there must be something that they can't come to our do's or if they don't want to do anything with us. We can't force people, you know?

Stephen: Ja.

- 10 Nora: But we're *there* for if they want to come back. [p] But there *is* a reason for Bernice, I think. Like her house was taken away from her, her husband was taken away from her, and then her ho-, home.

You know, then her daughter was killed, and then she lost her house. So she needed, she *needed* people then, and there was *no one*.

- 15 And now that she's got her, a fiancé, and he's good to her. And now she says she doesn't *need* anybody. When she needed somebody, there wasn't anybody. I do understand that.

We all needed somebody and there was no one, when this happened. I *know* that. But you can't go through life not *needing* people. You need people all the time. I

- 20 s'pose she's got a new fiancé now. I don't know why Fran doesn't want to be in our group, I don't know.

Stephen: And do you have, do you have a specific wish for the future for, for your own life and for the life of the group?

- 25 Nora: Well, my only wish is if we could find out who the, the people are. And if our group could just stay together, [p] 'cos they like family to us.

Stephen: Ja.

- 30 Nora: Like we came back from Grahamstown – this was the last little thing we went on – came back on, what was it on, Monday or Sunday, or whenever. The Monday night Shereen was phoning: "Where are you?, I miss you!" "We miss you *too*", [laughing]. Shame.

Stephen: That's the wonderful sense of the group as a family.

Nora: Ja.. ja. And that makes you, you, you are *needed*, you know? You, you *feel* as if somebody wants you, you know?

Stephen: Ja

Nora: Ag, it's nice, it's really very nice, I'm so pleased. And it's good for, for Trevor as well, you know? 'Cos he's still *young* at heart, and he's in my company all the time, so he needs to get to the young crowd.

5 Stephen: Well, thank you for all that you've shared.

Nora: Thank you, am I finished?

Stephen: [laughing] Well is there anything more that you want to say?

Nora: No, just thank you.

Stephen: It's a pleasure.

10 Nora: Ok.

Stephen: Thank you so much.

Nora: Who else is here, no one else hey?

Stephen: No, no one else.

15 Nora: I don't know if you want to speak to my daughter, she can also tell you quite a bit?

Stephen: Uh...

Nora: Not?

Stephen: Yes, if she wants, if she would like to...

Nora: Ok, let me just ask her, see?

20 Stephen: Ok.

Shereen L 2008

25 Stephen: I'll just make some notes, just about the topics that, that we bring up while we talk.

Shereen: Okay.

Stephen: So the first thing is, umm, could you tell me about your memory of the 1st of May 1993 when the Highgate was attacked, what do you remember about that night?

5 Shereen: It's still so clear. Umm, I actually remember hearing sirens like this, that are going now. From here I could hear them and it was about after ten and then my mother phoned to tell us that there had been an attack at the Highgate.

Umm, and we just, I think we put the TV on and we followed the TV and we had no idea what was going on. I, we had to wait and those days we didn't have cell phones.

10 My mom and dad arrived here at twenty past two in the morning to tell us the news and I remember my mom coming in with a little packet in her hand and a tablet. And just seeing her walking like that I knew straight away.

I remember *losing* my legs. I always see that on TV, people just like fall down and lose their legs, well it happened to me. Now I believe it's not put on. I lost my legs
15 and I just remember shouting and shouting his name, [crying] tears.

And anyway that's, that's my memories of that night. Ja, strongest memories I have of that night of them coming home with a tablet. And watching TV all night and also thinking yes if we phoned home all the time in case he had run away and maybe he'd, he'd got home, left his car there, maybe he got a fright and he ran
20 home, you know, we, we were praying for that.

Phoning all the time, the house, my mom and dad because he used to live with my mom and dad. Phoning the house all the time hoping he'd answer. Umm, and his girlfriend coming here, they were also driving around the area looking in case he had run away.

25 So we had that kind of maybe, just *maybe* he wasn't there. That's all I really remember of that night. [p] Because me not being there, I just got told and everything.

Stephen: Ja. And going back to the Highgate on a day like today and having, having the memorial service, how does that make you feel?

30 Shereen: I actually don't mind going into the Highgate. I've got past the feeling of terrible despair, I've got past that, ja, it doesn't sort of bother me too much anymore.

Uh, little bits here and there you know, something gets said or something, that will hit me but to go in there it's so changed, it's so *different* that I don't even sort of put

the two and two together, I sort of separate them, it's separated. So to me it's a different place.

Stephen: Ok, [p] And are there any experiences that, that do bring back the memories strongly of that night when you heard the news about your brother.

5 Shereen: There're quite a few odd things. [p] Umm, I'm trying to think. Actually today when we were standing there at the memorial service I got all those memories coming back. Umm, we sit and talk about it then it also comes back, you know the group, we get together and talk, it also comes back.

10 Umm, I actually do, when I do ride past the Highgate I think of it but not in a bad way, you know what I mean, it's not like *horrible* thoughts, it's just, it [clicks fingers] flicks in my mind and that's it, you know, I don't sort of. Umm, when I look at the photographs, when I, mmm, ja.

Stephen: Do you want to find a photograph or, a photograph that does bring back the memories?

15 Shereen: Ah just looking at his face straight away, just looking at him, the first photo would make me think of it. You know it's any, anything that sort of shows him, shows Deon, I think of it.

20 And I get past that and see something else, you know what I mean, it's the first thing I think of, no he's not here this has happened then I can look at the rest. So any sort of thing of his, a shirt, a piece of clothing, *anything* will bring that memory back.

Stephen: And how's your involvement with the Highgate Survivors Group influenced your, your own life?

25 Shereen: It's, it's helped me, umm, it's helped me because I never, I never had a chance to actually mourn my brother's death because of the timing of being pregnant and losing him at the same time because the doctors had told me, or people had told me don't *cry*, don't *cry*, you've got to think of your *baby*.

30 So the Highgate now, I mean I, my first real mourning was now last year I started because I kept everything inside me for all this, I mean I only start talking about it and I get tears, I must admit. Umm, so they've helped me in that way, they're the strength, they, they know what I'm talking about, they understand, so for me it's wonderful.

Stephen: So they can identify with you.

Shereen: Identify with me. And I feel part of it even if I'm just the sister, I feel very much part of it. I feel very included. [p] And I must say I've got lots of support from my husband otherwise I wouldn't be doing this. If I didn't have his support I wouldn't be able to do what I do with them.

5 So I'm so lucky, I'm very very lucky. I think your, if your family support you on, with a group effort like this, I mean it's the only way you can do it otherwise. I'm very lucky.

Stephen: And just talking about your family, I mean how's, how's the Highgate incident, losing your brother affected your everyday life, your family life.

10 Shereen: My everyday life I don't know but my, my forever life, my eternal life, I just feel so *cheated* because I haven't got that, I haven't got a brother, I've got no, I've got nothing, it's just my dad and I now so I feel very cheated.

Umm, like I was talking to my daughter on the way home today, I said ooh you know if, if uncle Deon was here he would be spoiling you and doing this with you and doing that with you, and they cheated, they've been cheated.

15

Ja, so I feel very cheated, I haven't got that, I will never have a niece or nephew, my own niece or nephew. Umm, I feel terribly cheated so that's the main feeling I feel. I feel cheated.

And that best friend, I mean he was, we were only 18 months apart so he was like my *friend*, he was, he was very good friends with me. He used to come to me with all his problems and I used to go to him with my problems and some, I've lost that. And it's only my dad and I now. It's hard.

20

Stephen: Do you, do you think it's changed the way that you relate to your children now?

25 Shereen: I don't know. Maybe I overcompensate, the way I am with them, I think I overcompensate. I do.

Because I really feel they've been cheated on something that, I can't explain it, because he was so *excited*, my brother, he was so *excited* about this new baby because my son was expected on his *birthday* which is the 13th, my brother's birthday was the 13th of May and my son was expected on his *birthday* so like for him it was *wow*, you know. So he never got to see him.

30

Stephen: So it would have been his first nephew.

Shereen: Mmm, ja, ja.

Stephen: And did you have any experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Shereen: No.

Stephen: Didn't.

5 Shereen: Mmm.

Stephen: Okay. Do you have any, any views about it and, or about the way the Highgate survivors were treated by, by the Truth Commission?

10 Shereen: I can say my mom wanted to go, I mean didn't want to go. She said because there was nothing for her there, what is she going to get from it, there's nothing, she *cannot* bring my brother back, we can't bring my brother back so there's *nothing* that they can do for her.

15 That was her. [laughing] [aside] [Bully, stop it]. That was her feeling. So I just, I don't know, as I said I actually, I put it behind me for quite a few years because of how it was all don't cry, carry on with life. Umm, I sort of put it aside and I carried on, you know. I did, I put it all aside and I carried on.

But it affected my mom badly, it affected her terribly. Umm, like she wanted to, she wanted to sort of make a shrine of my brother and I used to get quite not jealous, quite upset thinking I'm still *here*, you know, so it was quite a hard time.

20 Umm, I'm still alive. Umm, I felt *jealous* of someone who wasn't here because she was [stop it, sorry man, stop it], umm, she was treating him like he was a God now that he had gone and I felt terribly jealous, I really did.

25 I think she sort of forgot I was still here and she said to me but you've got a husband, you've got a family, you okay, you can carry on, you know. So it was very, I was pushed aside and I also stayed aside because of what happened. [Ag no, no this is ridiculous, stop it, stop it, no - sorry man.]

Stephen: It's okay. At least they've got...

Shereen: Make it a bit lighter for us. [Sorry. Hey, hey, go that side - and you recording too.]

Stephen: It's okay.

30 Shereen: Ja. [Stop it.]

Stephen: Okay. How's it affected your life to find out that the attack was probably not carried out by APLA?

Shereen: I'm angry, I'm *angered* by it. I'm *angered*. I'm, I don't think I can rest until I find out who it is. Umm, I feel *betrayed*, I feel *deceived*, there's a lot of feelings coming out. I feel very *angered*. The anger is not going to go away very quickly.

5 I'm angry. Umm, it's affected my life in that now I'm not going to give up. Before I learnt to live with it. I learnt to live with it, I never learnt to say okay it's alright what happened but I learnt to live with it.

Now it's, I'm not going to give up, mm-uh. I'm going to find answers [p] and I feel the people who did it must be tried like everybody else. And that's how I'm, I need to know who did it.

10 Stephen: And the fact that the NPA investigation has stopped and it hasn't got any further, how does that, how does that make you feel?

Shereen: Angry. Angry. I feel that who do we turn to now, who is going to actually help us, no-one's prepared to help us, no-one's prepared to listen, no-one's prepared to do anything for us. *Who* do we turn to next?

15 All the doors are *closed*. I don't know, [p] I was so positive when they first said oh we gonna do this, we gonna do that and then they come and say oh we've hit a brick wall. I mean that's not an answer for us, that's not a, there's no *hope*.

20 Umm, and then to say oh we've been threatened, I mean that's *scary* and I don't, I'm not worried about being threatened, I'm not worried about it myself because no-one's going to hurt me as far as I'm concerned because they've hurt me already.

Mmm. [p] And I'm, I'm angry about it. [p] I think our whole group as well has changed in that before it was all what we going to get out of it? I'm not saying everybody but a few of the group, what we going to get out of all this?

25 I think it's now *all changed* to we've got to find out who it is, we need *answers*. I think the *whole concept* of the group has changed and the people that are left, who now have only got one thing in mind is to find out who it is.

30 Before [tapping table] there was lots of little things, you know, we could get this and we can get that, and, you know, and I think the whole concept of the group has changed, I really do.

Stephen: Ok, so are you saying that there's a sense of the group itself can actually find out significant information?

Shereen: Mmm, I think so. They were all hoping at one stage I think to be compensated by the government and all that was *all* been spoken about.

With, I won't mention names, but particular people in the group but now that is being *pushed aside* and they now we want answers, that's our main goal is we want answers, it's no longer what we going to get.

5 It's actually *wonderful*, I'm actually so pleased. Because my whole aim from the beginning is I want to know who it is and other people had other ideas, you know, what we going to get out of this and it's all changed into okay now. So I'm very pleased about that.

Stephen: So it's almost like a new sense of purpose in the group.

10 Shereen: Mmm, there's a new sense of purpose. A year ago I wouldn't say that. Now I definitely say it. Mmm, we sort of aiming for the same thing now. Before it was someone looking at that and someone looking at that but now we all sort of going on the same, which is wonderful.

15 Stephen: And what about your experience of meeting with other groups of survivors like for instance in the healing of memories weekend, umm, how do you relate to other groups of people who've also suffered from political violence?

Shereen: I thought it was wonderful. Honestly I thought it was wonderful because I only thought of myself, you only think of *yourself* and the people that are affected from your one incident, you don't look further than what's, that something's happened to someone else.

20 So it opens your eyes and to think that you're not *alone*, you know, because before it was just shame us poor Highgate people, us poor Highgate people but now there's lots of other people out there being affected in their own ways. So it's sort of opened my eyes.

25 Stephen: And do you see any opportunity in the future for the Highgate group to, umm, to keep in contact with these other groups, with the other survivor groups?

Shereen: I see that as a definite, yes. I'd like to do that. Especially the groups that *haven't been* approached, the groups that are just sitting, that have never been approached like the King Williamstown Golf Club and Fort Beaufort and Queenstown and all those groups.

30 It's so, the only thing is I don't know how people will react because it's so far, it's so *long ago* and a lot of them have got answers so maybe they want to just say okay I'll carry on with my life now.

So I don't know how people will react, you know, that's the only thing that worries me because I can see where, if they had to say *that* where they coming from, they might have made peace with everything and, so. My only worry.

5 Stephen: So, so would you connect more with survivors who haven't yet found out the full truth about what happened?

Shereen: Mmm, because if I think I, if I knew the full truth like I *thought* I did a year ago, I was happy, not happy but I was satisfied in knowing what happened and I had learnt to live with it.

10 Umm, if someone had approached me, I might have said no, you know, I'm fine I will carry on, I'm fine, but because I don't have answers, it's different. It's different.

Stephen: And when you thought that the attack had been carried out by APLA, how, how did you feel, I mean your feelings have changed now because there's been new information but at that time, how did you feel?

15 Shereen: I was very angry at black people as a whole. I will be very honest with you, I was very angry at black people as a whole.

Umm, ja, no I was ooh, ja, because also in hospital when I was having Degan, because we thought it was APLA I didn't want to see a black person so the hospital wouldn't allow a black nurse in my room, I was put in a private ward, you know, uh, uh, really it was hard.

20 It was very difficult because they had to also, there they were very *careful* about who I saw, umm, it changed a lot.

Stephen: Okay. And if you, if you had to tell me your life story now how, how would you tell it after having gone through this experience of losing your brother at the Highgate?

25 Shereen: As from when? As from when?

Stephen: Where would you start?

Shereen: I know, as from when? Ja, ja, I don't know where I would start. Umm, I always just look at my emotions of that time and I talk a lot about them because there were so many *different* emotions, cheated as I say.

30 Umm, the one is *guilt*, I felt terrible guilt. I felt guilt because I was *happy*, I had a *baby* and I wasn't mourning my brother and I felt guilt because I was *mourning* my brother in a small way towards my baby, I felt guilt because I should be happy.

So that feeling, there's no-one else I know in this group has got that feeling that I had of guilt and it's *horrible horrible horrible* feeling because you want to be happy but you can't be happy because I'm, I know I can't do that, I should be, I should *not* be happy, I should be sad.

- 5 You know, so that, not my life story I know, but that *feeling* I don't think will ever go away of the *guilt* I felt, it's a horrible feeling. It's a *horrible horrible* feeling because you happy and then you sad, I mean in a matter of two minutes you can be totally, you know, ooh no, it's *horrible*.

Stephen: It's very difficult.

- 10 Shereen: Ja, because I mean when you sad you should be sad for a *while* but now you sad, happy, sad, happy, sad, happy, you don't know where you are. I mean, ooh emotionally it was, it was *terrible*, and I never *accepted* it, I always thought my brother was coming back.

- 15 I always thought he was coming back, and when I heard a car I used to jump to the window and look out, wait for him because everybody saw him, they all went to go and see him at the funeral home and I wasn't allowed to, I was told no and in my whole family everybody went and I didn't have that chance to see him, that it was really him.

- 20 So in my mind I always thought well maybe, you know, he's still alive, you know, so it took a while for me to actually accept that he had gone, you know.

So it's a very very different feeling, it's, I always say I wouldn't wish it on *anybody*, I wouldn't wish it on *anyone*. I would rather be sad and be sad than be happy and sad in like, you know, it's like a yo-yo.

Stephen: Go up and down.

- 25 Shereen: Mmm. It was difficult. That was my life story, that, *that* sticks in my brain all the time, the emotions, the emotional point. Ja.

Stephen: Have there been any other traumatic experiences since the Highgate that have brought that back?

- 30 Shereen: Ja. My brother-in-law was shot, umm, two years after that, in a hunting accident. Umm, shame my husband's lost a few brother-in-laws, you know that's, ja.

Umm, but actually I, I was able to help somebody else, you know, I was able to, because I had been through something I was able to help his wife, help her.

Umm, and then my mom dying, that's also, mmm, very traumatic. Umm [crying], it's five years. Well, ja, my mom, because that was her, I've sort of taken over from her with this Highgate thing because she was the one who, who joined Compassionate Friends and who also looked for answers and who was, how can I say, very involved, very involved.

Umm, and also a horrible thing was when she died, she died of cancer, a lot of people said to me oh it must have been *easier* than Deon because at least you *knew*.

How can people say that? At least she knew she was going to die but Deon was terrible, it was a tragedy, but how can people even compare two people's deaths, you know.

Uh, no, umm, because I mean there it was nine months of her knowing she's going to die, you know, and it was *hard*, it was harder than Deon. Deon was a tragic *shock* but to know that this person that you've loved all your life now is going, you don't know when but she's dying, ooh no, that's difficult.

That's very difficult, and she was so positive, I'm gonna go and see your brother, you know, she was *excited* about dying. I mean, *wonderful*, you know, it was *wonderful*, she was so excited about seeing her son, so, [crying] it's still difficult.

And we had a fire at the nursery one month, very good friends died in a fire right here, next door. He fell asleep and the whole place burnt up, we walked outside and we actually saw his body getting taken out.

So I've had quite a few tragedies since Deon, I mean, a lot. Ah, I can't even think of all of them. And then Henry's, his name was Henry, Henry's mom came and stayed with me for a while and I was able to tell her all about her son and, you know, because he was a young guy and sort of enjoyed my husband and I, he used to come and sit with us and chat and, and then one day, one evening there was a fire here and he was lying in his little room and the whole place burnt. It happened about three years after Deon, four years after Deon.

Stephen: That is difficult.

Shereen: I know, ja. Mmm, so I've gone through a lot of different hurdles, a lot of different hurdles over the years, a lot. But I think it's made me stronger, Deon, it's made me much stronger.

In that I'm able to help other people, definitely, and I don't say I know what you going through because I do know what you going through, I'm not just saying it, you know, so it's, it's great in *that way*.

Stephen: So you can actually feel with the other person.

Shereen: I can feel pain, I can. I read in the paper now and I see deaths, you know the deaths column, and I actually *feel* for the people. Before it was oh shame. Now I feel for people.

5 Yes I've gone through something and it's changed me in that way, it's made me more empathetic. Umm, ja.

So I've been through a lot, and my dad's got two children from his first marriage and we just don't, ag, we see them now and then.

10 The one, the son he was, remember that thing in Zimbabwe where those guys were put in jail, now he was one of them and I had to go through that *as well*, and my dad's daughter's husband is the guy sitting in Guinea, Nick.

You've heard that whole story. Ja, and I've had to go through that *as well*. So it's been quite a, mmm, *very very* trying few years, very trying [laughing] and I think God sends people that he knows can cope. Definitely I've had a *trying* few years.
15 But anyway.

Stephen: So you've actually, you've met a lot of new people through this journey that you've been on that have influenced you.

Shereen: Mmm, Definitely. I just get angry when people say why don't you just forget about it, you know. And then I always think ah shame I actually feel *sorry* for
20 them because they haven't been through anything and they don't know what it feels like.

I actually feel pity and take pity on them because they don't know what it's like. My mom used to always say... are you feeling better and you say how can I get, my mom used to always say it's not flu it doesn't go away.

25 You know, you feel a little bit better but it doesn't go away, you know, people just sort of expect you to feel better.

Ja, at this workshop this weekend as well, Theresa had this circle on the board, it was like a spear going through your heart and saying well that's how it affects people, you know, and it doesn't come out.

30 And Ginn was trying to say no but you must get a spiral back and all this. I said *no, no Ginn*, you *cannot* get something to go back that thing's there *forever*. It's there forever and some days you push it a little bit and it's very very sore but it doesn't go *anywhere*.

You know, it's something it's now there forever, it's not gonna go anywhere, it's not gonna change, it's not gonna, he's not gonna come back so that spear is there forever, that's what I feel, it's there, it's *forever*, it's something I've got to live with.

Stephen: So you almost carry the past with you,

5 Shereen: Always.

Stephen: You don't, you can never just push it aside.

Shereen: You can't push it aside, it's there it's *there*. Some days it feels a bit better and some days it feels not good but it doesn't go anywhere, it definitely doesn't go anywhere.

10 Stephen: So you say you've had opportunities to help other people who have also suffered loss. Is that, is that something that you feel you've gained? I s'pose you could call it a gift, I don't know.

Shereen: It definitely is something that I've, I always, I always said after Deon died, I always said Deon's left me with something, he's left me with something, the
15 *ability* to help other people who are going through something similar, you know, it's a gift he's given me in a roundabout way.

It's a gift I got from him, and ja, I'm able to speak to people, I find it easy. I actually, I know I don't want people to change the subject, if they want to talk about the person I want to hear about them and I will talk about them with them.

20 Because normally people come along and they start talking about the person and they change the subject because they don't know how to *deal* with it.

Now I *encourage* people to talk and I say remember that or did you know that or, because they *love speaking* about the person who's gone, I know, you know, and that's one thing I've learnt.

25 And before I would have walked the other side of the road, ja. So I've, definitely it's made me in that way stronger, it definitely has. And if somebody dies or whatever I'll pick up the phone and say I'm thinking of you and I'm not scared so it's made me strong in that way, definitely.

Stephen: So you're able to face up to the hard things that life brings.

30 Shereen: Ja. I am. It's made me *stronger* in that way *definitely*, it has.

Stephen: And do you have any, anything that you wish for, for your own life or for the Highgate Survivors Group? Is there anything that you would like?

Shereen: To find out who did it, that's my *biggest* biggest wish. And for everybody to get what they *need*, their *needs* are met, that's my, for them my wish is their needs are met.

5 Meaning Clive with his arm and Maria with her health and Trevor with his health. My biggest wish is for them to have their needs met.

Not for *me*, I'm okay, I've got, I've got a husband, I've got a job, I've got, I'm fine but for *them*, I would, ja, for their needs to be met, I would say that's my biggest wish for the group.

Stephen: Okay, thank you for all that you've shared.

10 Shereen: It's a pleasure.

Stephen: Is there anything else that you would like to say about your life or about the Highgate group?

15 Shereen: Just, I *love* the Highgate group, they my family. Umm, they feel like family to me, they, they my friends. Umm, ah, I can't explain it, we've just been through so much *together* that we've got this *bond* that is, is wonderful.

Umm, ja. I enjoy them. Everybody complains about this one dropping out and that one dropping out and I always say if it's only two of us so what, you know, I mean we still a group, you know, it doesn't worry me.

20 And as I say my support of my husband, I tell you I'm so, so, so lucky. I really am very very lucky. Very lucky. From the beginning from when Deon died, I mean he was just like, oh, I'm lucky, mmm, been brilliant.

Stephen: Just to have someone there for you supporting you all the way.

25 Shereen: Mmm, and some people don't have that that's why I'm so lucky, really. And another thing always sticks in my brain is the *fear* Deon had that's also another thing that worries me a lot. Did he have *fear*? Was he *scared* when this happened?

That's like, oh, we've *debated*, you know, we've *debated* a lot about it, umm, it was so quick he couldn't have had fear. Umm, we've spoken a lot about it, Donald and his brother and myself and a few of us.

30 But I still believe there was *fear* and that, that *scares* me, that, that *worries* me, you know, that's one of the aspects of the whole thing I don't like because he was on his haunches and his hands were up in the air and that to me is *fear*.

You know body language tells you everything and that is *fear*, and that I didn't like. Uh uh, ja.

5 And also the co-incidences, I'm sure when you in Cape Town, I'm sure you heard about that guy that we met at the, when we scattered my brother's ashes. I mean that is like wow, you know. So I think there's more out there than what we know. Ja.

Stephen: So did that give some meaning to the whole incident?

Shereen: He did.

Stephen: Meeting that person...

10 Shereen: Yes because he sat with my *brother* that night and had a drink, you see, that's, so I could speak to the person who had the last drink with him and, and he could tell me the whole *story*, you know, without hearing it from other people, other people that weren't *with him*, you know.

15 So that to me meant a lot. Umm, also [lighting cigarette] when he said that he believed my brother saved so many lives because my brother called him back to get his address and his phone number. He said if my brother hadn't called him back a lot more lives would be lost because he wouldn't have shot back.

20 So that sort of made me feel good, my brother did this, you know what I mean? Umm, and also my brother being *excited* and telling him ooh my sister is also having a *baby*, you know, so my brother was excited to the last minute, you know what I mean. That also felt good. Umm, ja, it was nice to meet him, to hear his story.

Stephen: So did it give you a sense of connecting with your brother?

25 Shereen: Mmm, 'cause if I had heard from anybody else, they weren't *sitting* with him, they don't know how he was in the last you know few minutes. You know what I mean?

And this guy was sitting with him and having a drink with him and chatting to him and so it was actually quite a good feeling to speak to him, ja.

30 But we haven't seen him since. [p] Just met him once, spoke to him once and I got my answers, so. [p] Ja, so there a few things that sort of play in my mind I must say. There are a few things.

Stephen: So the fact that Deon was, was alone that night, that he wasn't with a family member...

Shereen: Ja.

Stephen: Is that also something that worries you?

Shereen: Umm, [p] I don't *know*, [p] because what he did was totally out of character. He, he didn't go and sit in the pub on his own, you know, it was totally
5 out of character. Umm, he never went to the *Highgate* for *one*.

Umm, he phoned his girlfriend that night and told her, uh, asked her would you like me to come over, she said ag don't worry tonight and normally she was *of course* and that night she was sewing and she was ag don't worry tonight.

And so we, in the beginning we asked a lot of *if, if, if, if*, that was all our big
10 questions, *if only, if only*. So I don't know and I heard he *left* the pub and he went back again, that also worries me, what did he do, why did he go back, you know. Still questions.

But the Wednesday *before* he died he came to my house and he said I've come
15 back to pay all the debts I owe everybody, and he owed my husband R20 for a pair of shorts, he said I've come to pay all my debts and that was the last time I saw him on the Wednesday.

And the Friday he said to my mom, mom you must, if anything ever happens to me hey I've got a funeral policy with DS or TCSA hey, you mustn't forget. So he, it's just weird.

And he bought a house and his house came through on the 30th of April. [p] So,
20 shame he didn't even get to, you know. He had *so much* going for him but to come and say I *owe you money* and I want to pay my debts, I mean, hey, that's like uncanny.

Stephen: It almost feels like there are bits, bits of the story that make sense, that fit
25 together.

Shereen: Something was gonna happen, it didn't matter where or how, something was gonna happen. And a week, a week or so before that I had a nightmare.

And Donald and my husband, I mean my husband and my dad know about it, they had gone fishing, my dad and my husband Donald and Deon. And I woke up
30 crying my eyes out because one of them had died and I didn't know who it was, a week before.

They went to some fishing competition, and someone had died and I was *crying* and *crying* and *crying* and I didn't know who it was. So, I tell you everybody has some kind of premonition, *something* that triggers off something there, *definitely*.

Stephen: I remember your brother was a fisherman, wasn't he?

Shereen: Mmm, mmm. Ja, ja. They went to a competition the three of them and I think it was, I think it was Hamburg out that area and they hadn't come home and I was *worried* and then I went to *sleep* and I had a *nightmare* about it. So.

5 Stephen: Do you feel like although there are some, some things that make sense you still have questions?

Shereen: Ja, no, I still got questions. [p] Let's say, like Maria was with *Clive* and *whoever* was with *whoever* and they went together, they were able to, here I meet this stranger once off he gives me answers but it's not *everything* I want to know,
10 you know, it's not everything.

It's not like a friend that said okay he went there and he went to go and see that one and he came back and... I haven't got all the answers. Mmm.

And he also, he was the first person shot when they walked in the door so that *fear* I think okay it can't be that bad it was *very quick*, you know. I'm trying to make it
15 better by putting positive, more positive things like he was the first one shot so he didn't, he didn't have fear for *very long*, you know [laughs gently].

And he was shot *once* only, only once, and some of the guys I mean Stan Hacking was *seventeen times*. Mmm, Stan Hacking was seventeen times. The one guy was *five times*, the other guy, so Deon was once.

20 I mean Clive was *twice* I think, in his arms, Trevor was three times. My brother was one shot straight through here [gesturing] into the lung.

Talk about the TRC quickly, my mom was told, my mom and dad were given forms – this makes me so angry – to fill in to get the money back for my brother's clothes.

25 I mean, that upsets me to think they would want money back for his clothes because they took his clothes to Pretoria for forensic testing. They had about a fifty page thing to fill in so they could get his clothes money back. I mean, mm-mm, no that's, it's like a slap in the face.

Stephen: Ja... the least they could have done was give the clothes back.

30 Shereen: Mmm. You heard they took all their money hey? He had two or three cents in his wallet. Now you tell me someone's going to have a drink with two or three cents in their wallet, I mean that also upset us.

Umm, I remember my dad coming back from the cop station with the wallet in his hand and Deon's watch and he says this is all I've got, all I've got, and he had his gun in his hand he was so angry, the anger, you know, and he had this gun and he came back from this police station with this wallet and this watch and there's still my brother's blood all over the watch.

And then it was mom now with the girl, Deon had this girlfriend, and my mom just gave her *everything, everything*. And it *upset* me and eventually I spoke to her.

I said mom she's going to get *married* one day, I'm still gonna be his sister, not that I want, there was nothing of value, it was just so sentimental to me, you know, so it was, ah, she just.

Oh, he used to love Pop Shop, remember Pop Shop videos? And he used to *tape* them and I mean those were like *special* and she gave them to him, gave the tapes to the girlfriend and I was so *hurt* because, you know.

And he had also just been through a tragedy, umm, in October 1992 his best friend committed suicide, and about a month before that Deon and I was I remember in the toilet, here in my house here, and he was *sobbing his eyes out* and I was sitting with him.

And he was *crying* about his friend, and I was sitting with him in the toilet, him and I both of us sitting in the toilet in the house. [laughing gently] He could *talk* to me, umm, so, ja. So he had also been through a bad time, a bad patch.

Ja. There's also good memories [laughing] of things we did together so that's great, laughing, things we can laugh about.

Stephen: Ja. Yes I remember in Cape Town you said you were both mischievous.

Shereen: Ooh. Very much so, [laughing] very much so, and the one, talking about the toilet, the one night he climbed through the toilet window, I mean the toilet window's tiny hey and Deon was a big guy because we left the *keys* inside.

And I remember him climbing through this toilet window, and we were *at* the guy who had committed suicide at his house that night having a braai, and Deon climbed through the toilet window, the toilet reminds me of that friend of his, you know.

He was very mischievous, [laughing] but a fun mischievous not ugly mischievous, he was naughty. Him and my husband, they would say no they going fishing and they'd come back and they looked very clean but they went fishing in the pub, you know [laughing].

They come back *very clean*. [laughing] Ja, ja him and my husband were very close, it's like they were very good friends, it was nice, it was very nice. Ja, but he used to spend a lot of time here because he lived at home with my mom and dad so this is like an *escape route* for him, he would come here, you know.

5 Stephen: So a place where he could feel a bit more independent.

Shereen: Yes and have his *beer* and bring his *tenderised steak* on the blimmin' fire which we don't *eat* but he used to love *tenderised steak* [laughing].

10 And he was quite a health fanatic and we used to always say you know how can he be a health, I mean he was this *health fanatic* and his life ended so tragically, where he could have just *had* that piece of rump steak, you know, he would have enjoyed it but he was so, oh man. [laughing] Shame if only he knew, you know, enjoy it, shame. Anyway.

Stephen: So are there, are there possessions of his that you still hang on to?

15 Shereen: I've got some of his clothes, umm and my son wears some of them now. So it's wonderful, it's wonderful because I think Deon would have been so excited to see his, his nephew in like his shirt or his pants or.

20 So I've got a few of his clothes, I've got his photo albums, ja, his watch is somewhere, still got it, and I got some of his music tapes, you know that every now and again I put them on and, U2, [laughing] ja, and lucky enough I've got my wedding video and he was my best man.

25 So I've got him *talking* and I've got him in *real life*, you know, and I can hear his voice again and, so that gets played quite often. I better put it onto DVD now because the tape was getting very stretched, and we've got a few holiday videos with him talking and laughing and showing his butt off and, [laughing] ja, we got some good memories of him there.

So it's, I enjoy that because it's seeing him real because it's amazing how you *forget* a voice, you forget a voice, when I hear him talking and he's acting like a absolute larney, you know. [laughing] Ja. Shame. But at least he was my best man at my wedding, I still have that. Ja.

30 Stephen: And does your, does your son remind you of him?

Shereen: Umm, they were born now in the same month as you know so there's quite a few streaks there. [laughing] Ja, there quite a few of similar, similarities in the bit of a stinginess.

I mean he would go to the ATM and draw R20.00 at a time, my brother, you know, and go and put R10.00, okay those days it's still quite a bit of money but go and put R10.00 fuel in, you know. I mean we would go and fill up the tank and he was like tight on his strings.

5 My son's like that a little bit as well [laughing]. Ja there are a few traits, I think it's because of when they were born. Mmm, ja. It's nice to see Degan in Deon's clothes, it just makes me feel good.

10 And I say to him oh that was your uncle Deon's, and it's always the best, you know Markhams and what's it, *Billabong*, and so now for him, I mean Billabong wow, you know, all the...

I mean, like me I would go and buy five outfits for R100.00 and Deon would come back with one, you know, that's, you know it must be the best *quality* and Shereen would look for quantity, Deon would look for quality. [laughing] Ja. But it's nice.

Stephen: Some good memories that you...

15 Shereen: Ja, ja I've got some good memories. We didn't have a *fight*, we got on well, you know. I don't know what I would have done if we were on bad terms, you know, but we were on *good* terms, we were *good* friends, so.

20 Ja. And it's taught me to say *I love you* all the time to my dad, my dad and I, every conversation, I love you dad and he says I love you, you know, so it's like mmm, ja.

We don't fight, we don't, we fought once or twice my father and I but now I mean we know that it's really each other, it's all we got left is each other so we don't have any ill feelings, we sort them out and it's done. You know, but it's great too.

Stephen: Well thank you so much.

25 Shereen: Thank you.

Stephen: For sharing.

Shereen: I hope you got something out of it.

Stephen: Of course.

Shereen: I will show you my album now, you can put your recording off.

30

Clive R 2008

Stephen: Umm, I'm just going to take notes of... I'll just write down the topics that come up – I won't take full notes.

Clive: Okay.

5 Stephen: Okay. Umm, just to start off... Umm, could you tell me about your, your memory of that night on the first of May 1993? Umm, what do you, what do you remember about, about that night of the attack?

Clive: Okay, ja. Umm, do you want me to start off from the time that I picked up Dougie at the airport, or actual at the hotel itself?

10 Stephen: Umm, start off where you, where you like. [Laughing]

Clive: It's like a, a story that, that fits in... you know, we actually left... I was actually working at the SPCA as a senior inspector, umm, at the time. And we had a guy, Dougie, that was with us that night that was killed. Umm, he was a livestock inspector, where he would go from town to town visiting all the abattoirs and that.

15 And he was flying in from Cape Town that night. And we, we arranged to pick him up myself, Maria and Megan; to go to the airport, collect him. Umm, I had the company car. And then after he dropped me off at home that night, he would take the car, and then just carry on on Sunday with his journey.

20 And we... he arr-, he arrived *late*. And we were sitting at the airport there. The plane came in, and we collected Dougie, and drove down to the Dolphin Hotel where he was staying.

[Crying]

25 Then from there we, we spent a while there first. Umm he was booked in at a hotel there. We decided to have a cup of coffee there with Maria and Megan, and we sat down. We ordered coffee and we sat and we had two cups of coffee I think it was.

And on our way *back*, we were actually on our way back, where I stayed. I, I lived on the SPCA premises, so I had a company house there. And we were actually on our way back to the SPCA and I said to him, you know let's go to the Highgate, umm, on our way back just to have a drink.

30 You know, we weren't *dressed* sort of to go out that night. Seeing that they had built the new ladies bar there, you know I wanted to show him. You know, what the new ladies bar was like. And he said, "okay, ja, not a problem."

Drove in there, and went up the stairs there, and we went into the right, to the ladies bar on the right.

And I had a tracksuit pants on. And the woman working there, she said to me, “you know we can’t let you in with a tracksuit pants. Go to the other ladies bar.”

5 We went in *there*. There was, there was a table as you walked in by the bar. The bar was there [gesturing], there was a table in the middle, which was sort of mounted to a pillar, and that’s where the four of us sat.

And I, I got up and I went to the toilet. And I came back *in* and we ordered a round of drinks. And just got to the bar, ordered the drinks. And I turned around, and I, I
10 heard something, something, as if crackers were going off. And obviously, you know, being in the army, I, I realised what it was. It wasn’t sort of someone throwing crackers, it was automatic fire, someone shooting.

But we didn’t then knew that they had attacked the men’s bar first. And they, obviously they hit wires or something because it sparked. Where we were sitting
15 there was a box, electrical box, and this thing sparked.

And when we looked again this guy was standing by the door. We just heard someone shout, you know, “fall down, fall down.” And it was really strange because I wasn’t far from him you know. I could see, you know. I, I knew what was
20 happening then. But it happened so *quick* that it, it felt like it was the whole evening that this thing was going on.

And I fell down. And Dougie was lying on the side of me [gesturing] and Maria was over there. And I, I don’t know if I had been shot or, or, or something had happened to me, but I, I called to Maria, and she had a big hole in her leg. I put my elbow in there to try and stop the bleeding.

25 But while this was all going on, I was, I was watching this guy. I, I could see, I couldn’t see his *face* but I could see he had a balaclava on. He had, uh, blue combat boots which the police wear. That’s the first thing that caught my eyes, the blue combat boots. And he had like a blue, umm, hard material sort of pants on. And I don’t know if it was a jersey or an overall type of thing that he had on. And
30 he had *gloves*.

And I, I could see him, you know, when I *first* looked there before we had all had fallen down. I could see he had taken this thing off his shoulders, and he was holding it.

And then while I was looking at him lying on the floor... uh, uh, uh he wasn't in a hurry, you know, he was just shooting. And, and you could hear these things going off.

5 It was quite frightening because we were sitting there, and I mean you were twenty, ten metres from the guy, and you know all you thought of was *death*, because I mean you were *right in front of him*.

10 And both my eyes were focused on him all the time, I don't know why. I don't know if I thought I could get away, and could see where he was shooting. But you know being in a small bar it, it was just all over the show, the bullets were all over, it was just shooting.

And I, and I looked up again, and I could see that he sort of was standing there and wasn't shooting anymore. And I thought, well, you know, it's strange for the guy to *stand* there, and he's not *shooting*.

15 And then I realised that what he was doing he was *reloading* another magazine. He taken a magazine out, taken that *off*, and, and put another one in. And he started all over again.

And you know I was... I, I, I didn't hear anything. It's, it's something you can't really explain to anybody, you know, when you're lying there and what's going through your mind at that time. I mean death is the first thing that, that you know...

20 I, I, I just closed my eyes and... I, I don't know, you know, my, my body sort of *lifted*. And I mean, it's all I thought of. And while he was still shooting I, I just lay there, and I just thought of, you know, of, of dying because... it was s-, *strange*, you know I was, I just closed my eyes and I could feel my body rising.

25 And I, I just came back and realised that everything had stopped. We were all too scared to move, you know. We, we didn't know where this guy was. He was in the pub now, whatever happened. And while I was lying there I just heard something making a noise. I could hear [mimics rolling sound] going towards me.

30 And I thought it was a hand grenade. And then that's when I just closed my eyes and I just, I just lay there. I mean, you know, if the hand grenade was coming to me, that was that.

And then, then all of a sudden, I just, I just smelt this funny smell, which was teargas. So it was a teargas canister that they had rolled in towards us.

Umm, obviously, maybe the purpose of doing that was for the people that had survived not to get up and to follow these guys. That there would be a problem with the smell, not to sort of get *out* there.

5 But I believe the guy that was there, umm, the Barnard guy, I believe he shot back. And when *he* shot back *these* guys decided to, to get away. So you know, if he *wasn't* there, umm, I just think they would have just carried on. They actually wanted to *kill* us. I mean that's what their *aim* was.

10 Umm, ja, uh, you know I was lying there, I, I could just smell, you know, there was an awful *smell*. But during all this I was still conscious, I could hear and see what was happening.

I didn't realise then that I was shot because I wasn't moving, but I could smell and I could see I was lying in blood. And there was, there were *people* there, people going "uuuh", and moaning and all this. I didn't realise at that stage who was dead or who was still injured.

15 And it wasn't long after that a, a guy came in, umm, a police guy, that I, that I *knew*. Working with the SPCA when the cattle trucks come, and I recognised his face.

And he said to me ja, they'll try to get me out as soon as possible. And he says they were waiting, there were no stretchers, all the stretchers had been used.

20 And I don't know *where* they went, but they came back with a canvas sail. And they put me on a canvas sail, and took me out on a canvas sail. Umm, and I can just remember being put into the ambulance at that stage.

25 Uh, ja, it, it was, it was quite an awful experience because I mean the guy was just standing there shooting. I mean, there was nothing you could do. You know and also being in such a *tiny* area. It, it was a *miracle* that we came out there some of us alive. I mean the ones are did were injured but people are lucky, ja.

30 Umm, ja, I, I didn't realise then that, what had happened to me, I mean, you know, my... just the stories I hear that, umm, people were trying to get hold of my mother. And, and they couldn't find my sister from Queenstown – they were in Port Winston.

And a friend of mine in the police – when, when they contacted *him* in Port Winston – and he went, uh, to one of the braaing areas and he saw my sister. And he said you know, something's happened, you know, Clive's been – this old school friend of mine – and he's been shot and he's critically and all this...

And my mom was in Grahamstown, so they had to rush from Port Winston to fetch my mom in Grahamstown and then come straight through to East London.

5 Because I mean no one realised that night what had *happened*, umm, family-wise. I think they only heard about it the next morning. Umm, that I was at the Highgate and I had been in a shoot-out there.

They then said “terrorists” because they had linked it with all the *other* shootings, and obviously thought it was linked up with APLA.

10 Ja, and then I didn’t realise then what had happened to me. It was, I was in Frere Hospital ICU for some time. And I was communicating with... I think Thora was, was coming in there, and my mother was a lot there.

But I couldn’t have an, an, a local anaesthetic for amputation of my arm. They gave me an epidural, where they paralyzed my, umm, waist up, because I, I had too many anaesthetics already, and they were scared...

15 You know I lost seven pints of blood. I had a blood transfusion and they were just scared that they, this will com-, complications. And I didn’t *then* realise, you know, that I was shot in both arms, and that they were gonna amputate *both* my arms. That’s what was gonna happen, ja.

20 And then they took, umm, they took an artery out of my leg here. I’ve got a big scar over here [gesturing]. They took an artery out my leg here, right to the top here. And then they put it in this arm here. And then they cut me open over here, and they took bone graft from my hip.

And they patched *this* arm up. I think, ja, this arm, I’m not sure. They took the artery out here and they put it in *here* [gesturing].

25 And then I think within forty-eight hours or not even, I think it’s seven... I don’t know how long it was. You know I’ve got the reports from the hospital and all that.... that my arm was amputated. Umm, they had *tried* to save it.

And then *this* arm, they were gonna amputate, but they, they... ja, this is the one. They put the bone graft in here [gesturing]. And then they put a plate in with eight screws to keep the, to keep the elbow together.

30 Because both elbows were, were shattered. Both [inaudible] nerves. And then this one here [gesturing], the bullet was still *in* there, they’d taken the elbow off *completely*.

But they, then they tried to put this, the artery in and fix everything up. And then I went down... I still didn't remember anything you know. You were *drugged*. I mean that was like three days after the shooting and whatever...

5 And I was taken down in a, in a like a, a bed type-of-thing on the trolley. And I can remember lying in the passage there with the green, uh, like a – these things they take in to theatre with – that big, thick, green, canvas type-of-stuff that they put on you.

10 I didn't realise then what they, what was happening, but I could you know... I, I wasn't sort of registering what was going on, but I could see. And I went in to theatre and, and, uh, I was lying there...

And, and the worst part about it is they had these big operating theatre lights, and I was reflecting *back* on to these silver lightings where the lights were. And I could see my arm, this arm here, [gesturing] that had, that was stitched from here right down to the, to the, umm, wrist.

15 And they, they had cut it, like *that* [gesturing]. And then they, it had big stitches like this all across. I could see that because it was reflecting back on to this like a mirror type-of-thing with the operating theatre lights.

20 And they put a... they had taken the bandage off and my arm was lying there. And then they put this big green thing over my, my head, just so that my face was open.

And that's when they gave me the epidural, paralyzed me from my waist up. I didn't realise then my arm was gonna get amputated. But I could see what they were *doing*. And I could see they had a *saw* in their hand.

25 And I could see them going like this [mimics sawing motion], you know, and I didn't then know that, what they were doing. But uh, it's funny enough... I didn't *realise* what they were doing, but I could see.

Obviously my body wasn't... I, I couldn't *feel* anything. And then, ja, I was just *lying* there because as I say I just had that thing to paralyze me from the, the waist up.

30 I was just *lying* there and I could see everything, what was happening. I only registered then that my arm was missing. And, ag, I went back to theatre, uh, quite a *few* times because this, they were worried about *this* arm with infection.

Umm, and then I don't know why, or how I got moved from, umm, St Dom's, from the Frere Hospital to St Dom's.

But I just remember waking up in ICU at St Dominic's Hospital, with everybody visiting me. And, and then I went to a *private* ward. I, I couldn't walk. It was awful because I couldn't... my arm was in a *sling*, I was bandaged from here right down to here [gesturing].

- 5 So there was nothing I could do for myself. I mean I had to be bathed, I had to be fed. It was actually quite awful, because it, it carried on like that for months.

Umm, even when I went down to Constantiaburg Private Clinic. Doctor Boom, who was a hand specialist. He was doing operations. What, what they *did* then is... I couldn't umm, I couldn't ... these fingers closed *in* like this. I couldn't *use* them.

- 10 And I was still on medical aid at that time. Uh, and, and people were actually quite good, you know, uh, *doctors* and medical aid and all that, *really*. They sort of helped because I'm sure I had run out of my medical aid already.

[coughs] Because I went to St Dom's and then I was there for a while. And I couldn't walk because I had my hip... or *bones* taken out of my hip and I had *this*.

- 15 And I couldn't move my arm around, sort of, was, I didn't know how to, to walk again, it was actually quite funny.

And, ja, it was.... then, then I was doing physiotherapy at St Dom's. And I was going back and forth. I went to Cape Town for three years, twice a year for operations.

- 20 You know, I went there to physiotherapy with this hand. And I've had how many splints. I had splints *made*, special splints. And, and they didn't *work*.

And what they *did*, is they ...I've got a... I've got a pin in, in *there* [gesturing]. It's from here to here. I've got a pin in there... this thumb can't bend in. I can't bend my... You haven't seen my plates hey?

- 25 Stephen: No, I haven't. No.

Clive: [p] [gesturing] That's where the bullet went in, on the side, and it came out over *here*. You just lift it up, you'll see there's a mark there, *small hole*. It came out there, ja. Mmm. And then they had, I had a plate put in there with, with eight pins.

- 30 And what they did is they...I couldn't sit like this because it kept, I kept on getting *pain* every time because I was writing. I kept on getting pain, so what they did is, they took my nerves and they re-routed my nerves to the top.

So they... instead of pressing and putting pressure on the nerves there [gesturing], they turned them around and put them on the top of my, my elbows, so they up here.

And then my thumb and them... there was no control. Everything was just sort of falling in. So they put a pin in, in this thumb from there to the, to the end here. And they took the *tendons*... these two fingers I can't use, they are like that permanently. I can't close my, my hand.

5 If I go into a shop and people give me change it just falls through. Ja, it's quite awful. And those fingers I can't use. So what they did is they took the tendons out of these fingers and they took them and put them in *these* fingers, to make them stronger.

Stephen: I see.

10 Clive: Ja. And then, it was actually *very clever*, Doctor Boom. He's, he's actually gone back to America now. And he said to me... I closed my eyes, and he, umm, he said, "put your hand in a box," – when I went to Constantia.

And I felt something but I could feel it was *soft*. I didn't have that much feeling in the fingers then, so I couldn't sort of identify what it was. And he said, "can you tell
15 me what you've got in your hand there." And I said, "it's something little bit rough but I, I can't, I don't know what it is."

And he said, "open your eyes," and then it was a piece of *chalk*. And he, he drew on my hand and he said, "that's what they're gonna do." He says, "within 365 days you'll be able to use these fingers again."

20 And it wasn't even, it was *before* that, that I started using them because I went *home*. I wasn't working. I never worked for two... [counting to himself] 1994, '95... I think for three years I never worked. 'Cos in that time I was going back for operations.

'Cos I had to get *this* arm going. I had to get... my, my fingers weren't functioning. I
25 had to get that working. I had operations on these arms, these fingers.

And then, ja, I had a little bowl, used to sit with a little bowl with, with buttons and pins and everything in. And I had to *pick* these things up. And I used to build a lot of puzzles. So as time went by my fingers got stronger, and...

Stephen: Ok, it was just a bit for strengthening.

30 Clive: Ja, it was just exercising, picking up things. I just kept them... I couldn't pick up anything. I picked up a pen, and it would just fall out of my fingers. I couldn't *hold on* to anything.

After the operations, which was a success, with the pin and the tendons, these three fingers here are *very, very strong*, they can hold on to anything. Hold on to a pen, you won't be able to get it away from me. It's *very, very strong*.

5 Umm, ja, so it was a battle, hey, it, it was a battle, because every time I went *back* to Cape Town, I then came back with a sling on. So I couldn't *use* my arm.

And then I couldn't sort of... I can't get... I, I don't use a bath, because I can't get out of a bath. I haven't got enough bending on my arm, because it's, it won't bend further than this [demonstrating]. I can't get to the back of my... back here, because of it's being... It's *locked*, it's like *locked*.

10 And then uh, ja, it's, it just took a lot of work, hey. Yoh, three years hard work, and ja...

[p] Getting back to the Highgate again. It was, [p] uh, I don't know, [p] you know, it's just something that just happened so *quick*, hey. [p] But after, you know, when you *looked* there, you saw the guy standing there, you know. It was, it was
15 strange, it was like...

He was just standing there, you know. He wasn't really worried about what he was doing. It was, you know, normally a person comes in, shoots and go. This guy was...

20 The *strangest* thing about it all is, you know, he had these blue combat boots that the police wear. That's the first thing that caught my eye. It was when I was lying down, because I, I, I could... uh, uh, while I was lying there, I had a good *look*.

I mean, that's the first thing... you know, I never turned my eyes off this guy at all, because one was just waiting to see what he was gonna *do* next. So you were, you were concentrating on this guy all the *time*.

25 And everything he had on was, was what the military or the police used colour-wise. You know it was definitely like a navy blue; the balaclavas they used, and he had gloves on.

30 So, you know, everything was well sort of, it was well sort of covered up and everything. But ja, it was, it was, umm, it was strange that, that night we were sitting there.

Maria had a lot of rings on her fingers, and she still said, you know, if you run around in *Durban* with all these rings on, they'll chop your hand off to get to get the rings from you.

You know, and I don't know if she was meaning it or if it was just a joke. And it wasn't [clicking fingers] long after this the oke was standing by the door, hey. But it, it was so, umm... it, it, it was so *quick* but it like lasted forever.

5 You know, it was, it was, umm, it just went on and on and on. It was just...it, it felt like it wasn't gonna *end*, you know, the shooting, it was just... you know when I was lying there I could *hear*, umm, the, the automatic [mimics sound of automatic fire], but also you could hear it right next to your *head*.

10 Because obviously when, when I *looked*... when I was lying *flat* by the bar and there was a railing there. So I was lying like this [gesturing] facing the door, and I could *hear* this, these things ricocheting.

I don't know if this guy was trying to shoot the people that were still alive. But obviously we just trying to lie there, just act dead. I mean, you know I didn't sort of move or anything.

15 But I was lying and watching this guy. But I, I could *feel* and, and, and, and it was *strange* because these, these bullets were like hitting the ground and they were like ricocheting.

20 'Cos when I was looking I could see little red sparks with these bullets obviously ricocheting off *something*, ja. And, I mean that was right there. You know, it was, it was an *awful* feeling because all you thought of was, like I said, one bullet and you, you dead, die.

Stephen: So, so when you... you say you were... your eye was caught by the combat boots. Umm, when you were, when you were lying there did you, did you have any thoughts about your experience in the army? Was that going through your mind?

25 Clive: You know when, when I was lying there and, and, and sort of looking at this guy, I mean, I'm sure we made eye contact. I'm sure we *did*. Umm, be-, because as I say from where you sitting to the door was, wasn't far away, it was about from here to my, my back door, or not even, ja.

30 And I'm *sure* we made eye contact with each other. It's just that everything was just [clicking fingers] you had to sort of duck and take cover and all this.

But, ja, when I *saw* that you know... The funniest thing is, is I had a lot of police guys that, that worked with me in East London. And the *first* thing, as I say, that caught my eyes were their boots, and the first thing I thought of was, you know...

[inaudible] other, umm, organisations you get the uniform from. You know it was like an SAP outfit. You know it was *exactly* the same colour, it was a navy blue.

You know and it, it was *strange* but at the time I don't think one really registered when something that was happening. But when everything was sort of put into a picture, then the ideas came in that these oke were, could have been SAP guys, SADF guys or the askari guys, ja.

And then if you think of it now, and, and, and what Daryl and everybody says, ja, it, it makes sense, hey. Ja, it makes sense. I mean these guys were well *trained*, professional guys, and obviously...

I don't know. You know, I think one must also... uh, it's hard to sort of, uh, say. You know we haven't caught the perpetrators yet, umm, but you know the, the way it was *done*, it was professional people that had *planned* this. It wasn't just a hit-and-run. Ja, it was, ja, planned.

Stephen: And you men-, you mentioned the fact that the gunman took, took the time to reload, reload his weapon.

Clive: You know I was... at that time I didn't realise or, or thought I was being shot or anything, but everything just stopped. When I looked up I could see that he was doing something with his firearm. You know and it's strange that everything stopped and then just after that again the shooting just started again.

So obviously what he did was just reloaded again. Because the way Daryl says the, the rounds they found in *that bar*... you know, it all depends what an AK47 takes, how many rounds. If it's 35 rounds and they say one person was shot 17 times, you know, obviously then the oke *did* reload.

Ja, and I think what his intentions were, *why* he reloaded was to kill the people that were left in there. And by *not* killing the people that were *left* in there is because the *guy* shot back. The barman, he had a .38 special I believe, and he shot back.

So obviously these guys made a run for it. But if he didn't, you know, if he *hadn't* have shot back, it would have been, I think, a different story, ja.

You know and, and it, it's *strange* that, umm, [p] if you... stories you hear afterwards is that, umm, I believe the guys at the Keimoes police station, that were in the barracks that night, uh, they were told to, umm, to, to keep themselves out because there was a war, the way the shooting was going on at the Highgate.

And I believe... it was also a strange thing that someone told me, if it was just to be sort of brave or to say you know, we were there as well, involved in this. I

believe they, they didn't respond to the shooting straight away. It's like they, they took their time, umm, to get to the Highgate.

I don't know how long it was, but even... you know, I don't think anybody... I think the first people that were *there*... a, a *friend* of mine was, was one of the traffic
5 cops that's now working still with the traffic department.

Umm, ja, but you know, this is what I heard from, from someone to say that when they were radioed, or, or the, the thing had come out to say that the Highgate was under attack, it was like a war zone. They had to prepare themselves as if they were going to war.

10 And this is how, what they, what the riot unit came up with, how they were dressed, what is what...

The *funniest* thing is, you know if, if it *was* a *war zone*, you know, you go there well equipped, you don't come there without teargas masks. It's strange.

You know if, if the police quarters get a, a call to say that the Gonubie Hotel's
15 under attack, it's, it's like a war zone, the people are shooting there with AK47's, and it's... you know, you just don't rock up there with a firearm. You know, you go there *equipped*.

You know, if, if it's a war zone like they *said* it was, you know, you rock up there with all your, your, your *gear*. Teargas, the works. You know, and, and this is one
20 of the things that one doesn't know if, if, you know if they'd got in there with, with teargas masks, if they could have saved more people.

But this was one of the things when they got to the Highgate they couldn't get in there. And this is what Letlapa said, is he says they *don't use* teargas.

So you know maybe, maybe these guys were umm, the police when they, when
25 they were called out to the King William's Town Golf Club and to the Yellow Woods and to the Queenstown Spur... it was a different attack altogether.

You know, they *went there* and people were there, but the Highgate was tear-gassed and everything, and *hand grenades*.

So, you know, if you look at it now, you know, they were *completely different*
30 attacks, altogether. I mean none of the other... I think that the, uh, the golf course I think they threw a hand-grenade in there, but a *spiked* hand-grenade, I believe, that had nails on.

So ja, you know, it's umm... you come to a place and you're not equipped, I mean it just didn't make sense. Did they *know* about it? You know, the, the guys that went in there the next day, uh, were they *part* of it, you know?

5 I mean our money was stolen from our wallets. Wallets were stolen. You know, it was only *then*, the apartheid regime, white police guys that were then involved in all of these investigations, I mean no one else.

10 You know if you look at the photos and look at some of the guys, they, they are *young guys* that were in that pub, investigating. You know, and, and it's just strange that they, they just can't link anything up to the Highgate Hotel, which I don't believe because there, there must have been a *lot* of evidence there that night. It's just that the police never investigated it. It was just a cover-up.

It's just strange that out of the two bars that were shot, and the amount of bullets the guys used, that nothing could be linked, you know. The teargas they used, the hand-grenade they used.

15 Nothing could be linked with, with a, a commanding unit or something in South Africa, which is *strange*. I don't know if you read about the "Hammer Unit"?

Stephen: I haven't read about it, but I've heard...

20 Clive: You have? The one guy that, that, that was authorized to do everything, he would go into an army base or to a police station, and take ammunition without even *signing* for it.

You know, so that's the *power* these guys had. They'd go into the Group H, hey, and go and get five AK47's, hundred rounds, and walk out with it. And there was no documentation for it or anything.

25 So, you know, this is the guys that... that were *doing* things. There was just no record of what they were doing. But it was *happening*, so, this is... that's the Hammer Unit. Ja, it's...

Stephen: The, the fact that the, the NPA investigation now hasn't really, hasn't got anywhere, how does that, how does that make you feel?

30 Clive: Ja, you know, you know they've even put it into the, the intelligence uh, umm, uh, unit. And I mean, you know, the intelligence unit should be the one that should have the most *power* and be able to find things.

Which Mthunzi said to us, that it was now with Intelligence Services. The N-, the, the Scorpions, the NPA, and there was another unit he also brought up, had something to do with the South African Police Services, but, something, ja...

And you know with all the *leads* that, that they *had*... and, and, and telling us that, that there was a *guy* that they were gonna speak to, that, that was now a taxi driver, that was an old askari guy. And he possibly could be *linked* to the Highgate.

5 Umm, with the, with the, with the police service and the security forces, you know, nothing *came* of it. I mean, nothing actually *happened*. With, with, with all they *had*, you know, you tell me they, they just couldn't come up with anything?

You know I just think this whole Highgate thing has *never ever* been put into a, a picture to be investigated. Because when, when I went to Group Eight, umm, to speak to someone *there* and to, to find out if we could get our files...

10 And you know when I walked in there, there were, there were two people sitting in the office there, and they asked me what I wanted. And I, and I said to them I'd like to speak to one of the white officers here.

15 And a guy came to me, and he, he said to me, "can I help you?" And I said, "ja, you know, the Highgate shooting – you know, do you have any files or documentation?" And it was like, he, he was like *he knew nothing about it*.

I mean everybody knew about the Highgate shooting. Surely being a policeman or an investigator, he *should have known*. And I sat around there, and they went off to some big room, and I could see a lot of files there, and they said...

20 They just came back and they said they haven't got the files, the files are with the TRC. Umm, and then when we heard that the files had been taken, we were then... I was then told that the files...

25 I met two guys, that were with, that were in the Scorpions. Umm, the one was a police guy, and one was a traffic cop. And when I bumped into them, umm, I think the one guy, I'm sure he could still be with the Scorpions, but the one guy has now gone back to traffic department again.

And they said to me no, I must go and speak to such and such a person. And I went to this person and they said no our files have gone to the High Court in Grahamstown.

30 And I phoned my friend in Grahamstown in the police, and I said to him, you know our files have gone to the High Court now, what happens then? And he says, "Clive, it, it can never be closed, it's got to stay open."

But I said, ja, I was told it's gone to the High Court because they're now gonna take a decision now, to *close* the case, and now I mean this is...

And I was put onto a... funny enough I was put onto a guy, I just didn't have the time. I don't even think I have his name anymore. I was put onto one of the guys in Grahamstown, was given a name and a number, to go and see this guy. But I never got that far.

5 Ja, we were told that, that our files were at the High Court in Grahamstown and the case was gonna be closed now. And I mean my friend said to me it's a lot of nonsense, it's not allowed. You know, they can't just close an attempted murder docket or whatever.

10 But then, you know, then when the, the NPA said they couldn't find the files and they then went to the police, security forces, and, and they said to, to Mthunzi, no, that umm, they *haven't* got the files, the TRC have got the files.

15 And when the case was re-opened and they started doing the investigations, all of a sudden the police handed over the documentation to the NPA. So, you know, ja, they had told the NPA it was with the TRC. But when the TRC was connected, they said it was with the police.

So Mthunzi eventually *got* the files *from* the police. So you see, it was a run around, which, which was a lie. You know I, I don't now but I've said to Trevor we should get more, umm, uh, we should be entitled to see our, our files, *what is in* those files, and what had really been investigated.

20 Because when I was approached by the TRC and they were here in East London, I started, sort of getting to know them very well because we were going down there all the time.

And they had their own investigation, investigating *officers*. So obviously *their* files were now different to the police files.

25 Because when we were shot obviously it was opened and investigated by Daryl, who was the investigating officer at that time. But then when I went to the TRC *they* then did investigations.

30 So it'll be interesting to see how the TRC and the police files differ from each other. And that's the information *I* would like to see. Because I, I, I don't think the Highgate was *ever investigated* by the police.

I mean after 15 years, there is just *no trace*, or no clue or anything. *I don't believe it*. Now what did the TRC investigation say about it? Were they hot on the heels of someone at that time? Or was the police, you know... what was the difference, ja?

Very interesting, and I believe we've got the *right* to see that file. You know if it's gonna be given to us to have a look at it in someone's presence I don't know. But I was told we've got a full right to see it. But obviously the police, it's somewhere with the Scorpions, the NPA now, so they've obviously got the files.

5 But it'll be interesting, I mean, you know, when I was in hospital, umm, I was... Saturday, Sunday, the Monday I think I was... don't know how long I was at, at umm, Frere Hospital, I was *moved*. I think within a matter of a week, they were bringing us photo's, to identify APLA cadres.

10 You know, a big thing of photos. "Is that the guy? Is that the guy." So, you know, it, it was like sort of putting... if, if you *think* about, you know, at *that* time, no. But if you think about it *now*, it was obviously like putting us on to a... trying to like *force* us to *identify* these guys.

15 I mean how could you? You know, *I* couldn't. I mean we were in hospital. I was on pain killers. You know, it took me like three *months*, you know, to get over all this, when I came out of hospital.

How could they come and push a big thing of photo's, and say, "identify these guys? *Sign* a, a thing to say that you are now giving us a..."

20 You know I, I, I've still *got* it. I don't know where it is but I've still got my, umm, umm, thing what they said. And, you know, taken under oath. I mean, you know, it's, it's like lying there *half dead*, I mean, what do they expect from you?

Stephen: So you think there was something behind that?

Clive: Ja, I mean, if you think of it now. You know, maybe then not *then*, but you know, why... what did APLA guys, you know... why bring us *that*, I mean, to identify these guys? And how can you identify a guy with a mask on?

25 But, you know, it was just funny that, that they *linked* the Highgate up to all the other APLA shootings. And that we would falsely maybe just point fingers at these guys, and say, "oh, that was the guy."

30 You know, I mean, you know, they were actually chased away by the nurses there. Told to leave us alone. But they were like *bugging* us, hey. I mean, they were, *really*, they just wanted us to give information out.

But, I mean, we, we couldn't give any information out because there wasn't any to be *given* then. Because the guys were all camouflaged. I mean, it's just that, you know, we knew there was, there was an AK47, *I* knew. I knew it was teargas, and I knew... that was that. What else could I give them? Ja.

Stephen: So it almost seemed like they were trying to identify APLA as the...

Clive: Ja, I think they *were*. That's what they were trying to do, ja. Umm, ja, the, the Highgate is a strange, you know, it's, it's quite a disturbing little piece of work because, even *now* I mean, there's just no follow-up and no *worrying* about it.

5 Why?

I mean nobody, [p] umm, you know... this is confidential, hey?

Stephen: It is confidential.

10 Clive: You know even, even Daryl. I mean, why's he just *stopped*? You know, there's, there's just *no* more information. You know, surely other cases get investigated? Why is the Highgate's just, uh, pushed one side and not even worried about?

You know, well, the NPA say, you know, we don't even want to appear on TV. Ag, I mean, it's their work, hey. And that night we went to the... Trevor and them were *followed*, and they thought their phones were bugged.

15 We went to Keimoes police station here, to the station *commander*. And he said, "no, don't come here before five, come here when I'm *gone*, and slip the note or statement under my door, because I've got a family to look after."

20 I mean why did he say *that*? I mean, you know, that's your station commander. It's the person you should have to go to and approach, and say listen I need help here.

"No, don't come here before five, come here when I'm gone, like six o'clock and just push your statement under the door." I mean *really* you know, who do you report those things to?

You know, surely someone should be there to *listen*. Why did he say that?

25 And also when I spoke to a guy, funny enough, *funny enough* the same guy that came into the hotel that night when I was lying on the floor and I was still conscious. I could see and remember *everything*. It was only until they put me in the ambulance.

30 *That same guy* and he's still around. And he's still with the police. And I see him. When they put me on... [aside] that's the fridge, don't worry... when they put me on a, on a canvas sail, *he* was there and he says, "Clive, don't worry," he says, "we'll get you out here."

I saw him, shuh, I think it was just after the memorial service or before the memorial service. And I *called* him. I was, I was going to a, a, a place and I stopped. And he was parked over the road.

5 And, uh, he wasn't in police uniform. And I called him and I said to him, "you know, *don't* you know anything about the Highgate?" "You've been in the police for a long time, you know, you guys talk." He turned around to me he says, "Clive, I've got a family and a wife to look after."

10 You know, I mean, you know, is he just *trying* to, to, to get a, umm... to say that well he *knows* what's happened, but he's not going to *tell*. To be like one of the brave boys, you know.

...that he responded like that. Or, or *does* he know what happened? Does he know *who* was involved? I mean, why say that to me? And he's *still around*. And I see him quite often.

15 You know, he just said, "Clive, I've got a wife and a family. I can't tell you." And I said to him, you know, "can't we meet somewhere, just like to speak to you." And he just like dashed off. I mean it's not that he can run away, because I know where he stays and I know where he works.

20 So, but you see, these, you know, it's, it's... are these guys trying to be, umm... oh what happened to the Highgate, you know, we were involved or we weren't involved, but we're just gonna act like a big boy now.

'Cause it's strange the way he approached me, you know, in a, in a way to say, oh he knows who it is, but he's not gonna *talk*. You know? And then again in way to say, well, ja well, you know, we all know, and that's that. So it was strange, ja.

25 And you know I've got a friend in the police in Grahamstown, and, and I've said to him – he was with the murder and robbery unit, he is now with the crime and violence – and I said to him "*please*, man, keep your ears *open*."

30 The guys talk when you go to the pub and have a few drinks, 'cause they're all also under stress and trauma and all that. And he says he'll keep his ears open, but he says Grahamstown he hasn't heard anything about the Highgate, ja. It's a strange story.

Stephen: So is it almost like a feeling of betrayal that there's been no-one, no-one that's given, given more hints about it?

Clive: Ja. You know my, my feeling about the Highgate story, I'm... I would like to meet the guys. Because the, the reason why is I knew a lot of police guys, and I

still *do*. And it will be interesting to see, amongst *those* guys that were involved, not only police guys, South African Defence Force guys, if it was a third force.

5 To see if there is somebody there I *know*. Not actually who came in and shot, but *behind* the scene, that was involved with the organization and the planning of the attack.

Because I believe they were there in the day, looking – this is what I *heard* – that they were there that Saturday, having a *look* at, you know, who was all there.

10 Because then also – I don't know if you ever heard about it – umm, there were two... the guy that shot back was a Rhodesian guy. Fran Wheeler, her husband, was from the scouts in Rhodesia. And I think, umm, there was another guy.

And, and what I *heard* – I don't know how true it is – that they, they got to hear that a lot of Rhodesian guys hang around there. And I don't know, but I believe they were scouting around there that Saturday. And to see who was all in there and who was drinking there, and all that.

15 But, you know, I think if you look at the Highgate years back, you know it was just sort of normal people that went there.

And, and it's *strange* that if, if, if I go to the Highgate and have a drink with a friend or so like on a Friday or whenever, I always seem to see, bump into a few police guys, that are sitting there drinking.

20 And it's not the first time. And you, you never saw those guys there. You know, where do they fit into the puzzle now, that they all hang around there all of a sudden? Why?

25 You know I even said to Raymond Base... he's, he's in the police. He was with, umm, uh, the, the, the, umm, with the [inaudible] with the drugs and that. Umm, I said to him one day, when I was there...

He, he said to me, "how far you getting with this Highgate story?" I said, "Ag, you know, I don't know, but I won't give up."

30 I said, "but the funny thing is," I said, "I recognized the boots that the police guys wear." You know, and I mean, he just looked at me with big eyes, you know, as if to say, "yoh, you know, that's sort of a *give-away*, what the okes were *wearing*."

And it *was*. I mean, APLA's not gonna wear combat boots. Unless it was just to distract us from one unit to another. I don't know.

And he was so surprised and like shocked to hear what I was telling him, when I mentioned that. And ja, it's... I don't know... Ja, I'd like... I don't know how long it's gonna take us, if we're ever gonna meet these guys, face to face, [inaudible] if possible just keep on going.

5 Stephen: So you feel that the survivors themselves have quite a lot of information that they could share in the, in any investigation? Is that, is that how you feel?

Clive: Ja, well most of the, the, the information we've given to the NPA and that is things *we've found out*. And things we've *linked* to the Highgate with the shooting.

10 I mean, you know, it's it's like Mthunzi said to us, you know, "if you want to be part of the investigation feel free." It's like to say go out there and, and find the guys if you want to.

I mean re-, really, you know, it's umm... what we've *given* them, you know, if they can't work on *that*, or they don't *want* to work on it, I don't know. It's maybe that they just don't want to.

15 Because the information they got about the Vlakplaas that operated in Summerpride, how it worked, the, the kombi that they drove, tinted windows, and the guys worked like two or three guys at a time, and they operated from nine to twelve at night.

20 I mean that piece of ground that, in Summerpride belongs to the *government*. So, you know, can't the government link of, of who was *operating* on that piece of ground? And apparently the guys that were operating on that ground had nothing to do with any of these attacks.

25 With the askaris that were living there with them. So who's lying? You know, and, and, and the guy that was living *there*, the farmer over the *road*, he actually *saw* and actually *knew* these police guys that were... the big guys in the police. And I think he handed a few names over to Trevor.

30 So you know, can't they work on that? I mean, what was that if it was a Vlakplaas? What was the purpose of it there? *Why* were they there? You know, why did they have askaris working with them? And why did they operate at night only, what were they doing?

You know, this... nothing ever happened about it. It's like we don't know what we're talking about. You know, where did we get all this from? You know, who are we, ja, who are we to, to, to give out so much information? It's strange man, it's really... ja...

You know, and, and there were, there were two *guys*. Umm, I didn't know the one guy, but I think I've seen him once or twice. Somewhere in the, the [newspaper] cuttings. Actually I think it could be this [gesturing]... unless they haven't mentioned a name...

5 When the medical staff came in and there weren't even stretchers. But there were two guys that stay around the, umm, around the corner from the Highgate Hotel.

And I think the one guy's surname's Lottering. If I could remember. It could be Lottering or could be similar to that. But *they say* when *they came out* when they heard this [mimics sound of gunfire] shooting, they realized what was happening.

10 And when they *came out* to *come* to the Highgate – and I believe they were the first two on the scene at the Highgate. It wasn't the *police* or anybody. And when they came – I, I don't know where exactly they stayed but obviously it was near – and when they came running to the Highgate they saw people running up the road.

Now, you know, if it was *these guys*, I don't know. If they were running up the road.

15 You know, you hear, you hear so many little, little stories. One just sort of sits and you think about it.

They said that they, when they came to the Highgate Hotel, they saw guys running up, up towards Mdantsane way.

20 Now this friend of mine that's in the traffic department – that was in the Scorpions and now back in the traffic department – he says he was *driving*, umm, somewhere near... it was on Voortrekker Road.

I don't know how far it was from the Highgate. And he said he saw a *car* coming at a *hell* of a speed, going *up*. And he still wondered, you know, you know what's... have they stolen this car, are they trying to get away?

25 But he said he didn't *follow*, umm, this car because the call came out on the radio to say that the Highgate, had just being attacked. And of course he being a traffic cop they were connected with the police. And that's when he came to the Highgate.

30 But he said he just saw this car. Now if these guys have... were run[ning] up the road and the car was further up...

Now obviously to get from, to, to get from the Highgate door – this is why I say it was well planned – if you come out of the Highgate door, you come out the men's bar, you then got to run over the car park.

Now where that picture says where the car was parked, they've then got to *run* to that car, get *in* the car quickly, unless they had a driver waiting for them, and then get away.

5 But for them it would have been easier to run up the road *to* a waiting car where no one could see them. 'Cause let's face it, if, if they ran out, and that guy with the gun shot back, and he *went* out, he could have shot one of them, because they had, they had a distance to get to their car.

10 *But* by running *up* like that, when *he* came out, they were not in his view but those guys that were coming down from the house, they said they saw people running up.

So if that guy had a .38 special, and he shot back, and these okes ran out and he *followed* them... then I, I do, I also hear that he *did* shoot back, he never just shot – umm, I, I don't know if he shot when he was in the pub – but I believe he followed these guys and did shoot back.

15 But as I say if they went to a waiting car outside, his chances of shooting one of them if he was an ex-Rhodesian scout, he could have wounded one. Or one *could* have been wounded and then they got *away* in this car.

20 But the traffic cop said when coming down, he saw this car just going at one hell of a speed. And you know he didn't *think* about anything then. So ja, if one could just get hold of *that* guy, umm, Lombard, I, I, I believe he stays in, uh, Morgan's Bay.

Ja, so I don't know you know what he would... him and the bar lady, because I don't think, umm, she was shot. So obviously she was lying at the back, and she could have seen everything as well.

25 But umm, I believe she's in Jo'burg and very, very traumatized about what happened. And doesn't want to speak about it. So if one could get hold of that Barnard guy you know *he* might...

But then he would have come forward. You know, he would have approached *one* of us, and said, well you know I ran after these guys and shot at them. They did get, they did get into a getaway car, or I don't know. Ja, it's...

30 Stephen: So there're lots of stories that you could put together...

Clive: Ja, a lot of stories. But you know if one looks, if, if you look at the Highgate, and you follow that road going up to, umm, Horseshoe Valley, it's, it's a quick getaway. Have you ever been that way? It's not far from the Highgate.

Stephen: Ja, I think I've come *this* way to approach the Highgate.

Clive: You go over Badenpowell bridge there, and once you're over there, boy, there, there are so *many* little roads, linking off to Komga, King Williamstown, and anywhere you want to go, Transkei... once you get on to that road you *gone*, ja...

5 And if, if you look at the Highgate, where it's situated and where Badenpowell is, it's... you *can run* from there to there if you were involved in that shoot-out and jump into a kombi there and disappear. It's that you can, it's not far, ja.

Stephen: So it seems quite well, well organized?

Clive: Ja, well planned, hey. Mmm. Ag, it will be with us for the rest of our life, hey. I mean [inaudible] would meet these guys *one day*. Ja the Highgate, it's *there*.

10 You know I was heavily involved with Khulumani, umm, when I joined them about the Highgate. And I did a lot of, uh, I went, I attended a lot of their, their *meetings* and that all over.

15 And the, the strangest thing about it all is, is we, we got put up at Robben Island for a week, umm, by Khulumani. And we *stayed* there with the most *wanted terrorists*.

Now if I was with *them*, *eating* with them, *drinking* with them, you know, and *nothing* was said...

20 You know, it's, it's strange. I mean we were put up with them. Uh, myself and Thora were only two whites. Well actually, I was actually the only white involved with, with Khulumani at the time, I was involved with them. I'm still a member.

And, you know, you meet these guys. And, and they're all ex-APLA guys and Umkhonto-Wesizwe guys that have now, sort of turned the wheel. They want to now, sort of start a new life and, and forget about what they've *done*.

25 Obviously they've been given amnesty, or I don't know. And we were on Robben Island with these guys. And I mean I drank with the guys, I braaied with them.

For a week because we had a conference at the Holy Cross Centre in Cape Town. And I mean nothing was ever said. It was like they were *friends* of mine. It's like I'd known them for *years*. You know, I mean, you know... nothing was just mentioned.

30 Stephen: Did you still think at that time that it was carried out by APLA? Was that...

Clive: Ja, I think, umm, I don't know what year that was, hey? I don't know what year Trevor went to Cape Town to see Letlapa. I think after *that* we then knew,

when they, when he came to the Kennaway. So ja, I could have still thought it was APLA then.

5 Because he came to the Kennaway about two years ago, and we met him at the Kennaway. I think you were there too? Ja, and I think then, ja, I could have still thought it was APLA because I was going back and forth, ja, with Khulumani meetings, ja.

And in actual fact, if you look at that “We Never Give Up” [dvd], umm, I think I mention something there when they filmed me and they looked at my arm. I think something was said about APLA there.

10 Y’know APLA then had taken responsibility for the attack. So of course we presumed it was APLA because they put it in the paper to say they *were*, umm, *responsible* for the attack.

15 So we actually thought well it is APLA, you know. But then when Trevor went... and the mediation with Ginn and that... and he came out with this, then the story just changed, ja.

So ja, I mean there I was *living* with these guys for a week. You know, sleeping right next door to them, braaing with them and drinking with them. So, you know, and nothing was *ever said*.

20 And they knew about the Highgate *Hotel*. But nothing was said, you know... well, you know, we’ve got some link and we can say something to you. *Nothing* was said.

[p] You know, even with, with, umm, uh, people in Khulumani, umm, like Shirley and them, you know. They would have *known* something, ‘cause I mean she was a big activist. Umm, but *nothing* was ever said, nothing was ever said. So ja.

25 It’s, it’s, if you think about it then and now, you know you were very *anti* then and very angry, because you knew who it *was* then. But actual fact it wasn’t *who* you thought it was. So at that time, ja.

And, and it’s just strange, nothing was ever said, now that you bring that subject up. Ja, it’s, it’s funny.

30 You know, with the opening of this at the Baxter Theatre, umm, all the people that were there, ja no not a word was said. We then did the, we, we did a thing at Rhodes University. We hired a hall there and we viewed this, “Never Give Up” video.

But it wasn't well supported. I think we didn't do it in enough time. It was like, it was a last minute decision that Khulumani survivors would come down by bus. And then we'd show this film to the outside people, and they could buy if they wanted to.

5 And a few people from outside the country came and had a look. And, ja, it was strange, it's umm. You know, you were asked questions, you know, what were you gonna do, and, you know? Ja, it was strange, [inaudible] the whole story just turned around.

10 It *wasn't* APLA so now you were on to another chapter now. And that's the chapter we've just been following all the way through now. Ja.

Stephen: And do you think there's been a change in the way you related, for example to those Khulumani members when you were with them on Robben Island, umm, and, and later after you heard that it wasn't APLA? Umm, relating to say people at the healing of memories weekend, other, other survivors of political
15 violence?

Clive: Ja, you know when, when I went to, to Khulumani, and I got involved with people that were involved with the, the apartheid regime, what they *did*, you know, I, I didn't, umm...

20 It was awful what had happened. I mean, when I sat there amongst them, and their stories were told, you know you were *quite hurt*. And especially when, especially when you went to, from *there*, from Khulumani now to, to, uh, the healing of memories which was like two years ago, or a year ago...

25 And you were with *other people*, umm, that were *also* sort of victims. Ja, it quite hurt, it hurt a lot, hey. You know, to, to, to realize what, what had happened to *them*. And here all along we were thinking it was, it was APLA, umm, when I was with Khulumani.

And then when we went to the healing of memories, and we realized, oh, some time back it wasn't APLA, I mean you like *united* with these people, hey. I mean, it's, it's funny, ja, Khulumani was like, it's...

30 If, if they went to places they'd invite me, and I, I sort of clicked with everybody in Khulumani it was, it was *amazing*. I was like part of the family there. And the stories that were told, umm, how *they* were affected...

35 And you know when, for example when they had their first workshop in King Williamstown, with the TRC, and there, there was, there were, there were three people here.

Advocate Sandi – I, I think, ja, I don't know if he was... uh, he was practicing in Grahamstown not so long ago, but I believe he's now left – he was one of the, umm, what would they call them, on the TRC?

Stephen: Commissioners?

5 Clive: Ja, commissioner. He was a commissioner. And I got quite sort of close to *him*. 'Cause he'd pick me up and take me to the town all in East London here.

But before that all happened, we had a workshop in King [Williamstown]. And certain people were invited. And I was invited with the Cradock Four. And Desmond Tutu, Alex Boraine, and that woman that's now director of, of umm... I
10 can never pronounce her name. She's now with the Human Rights [Commission], the Indian lady...

Stephen: [Yasmin] Sooka?

Clive: That's it, ja. They were *there*, and I was, umm, sort of there as well. And ag, when, when we *sat* and listened to people's stories... and *from that day* – the
15 workshop, I think it was for three or, three days in King Williamstown – that's... they came to me and said I was like a *white son* to them, the Cradock Four.

Not only *them*, like a white son to them, because what had happened to *their* sons, you know, that were taken away from them, and what had happened to *me*, and that I was still alive. It felt like I was one of their sons now, and that's what they
20 *called* me.

They said I was *their white son*. That, that what had happened to their sons, and how they were tortured by the apartheid regime and, and, and I was part of their family now. It was amazing how they sort of...

Stephen: It's an amazing thing to say.

25 Clive: We all clicked together, ja, it was strange. And, and the same as Robben Island. I mean, you know, we had, funny enough, we had their, umm, their *lawyer* there. That... he was just spending the night there and he was going up to Cradock. He was gonna do something with the, uh, Steve Biko Foundation or something.

30 And *he* was there on the island. I can't remember what his name was but he just was talking and saying you know, what had happened to the Highgate and, ja.

And that it wasn't just, the sort of *other people*, it was whites involved, you know? We were also, sort of, being *attacked*.

And, and it's *strange*, because I was, I was, I was in Mdantsane one day. And we've got *sites* there that I go and visit. And there was a guy... actually, it's a name that I think I've given to Trevor or Theresa, I can't remember. I could have a copy somewhere of his name. I hope I've still got it.

5 And I was standing there in, in the door, in the entrance there. And we've got a guy there that works for us. And this guy walked in, a short stocky guy, and he was *drunk*. And he looked at me and he said, "have you got a job for me?"

And I like looked at him and laughed, you know, 'cause I see, could see he was drinking. And uh, he kept on *talking* to me. Funny how I *connected* to this guy. And
10 he said to me, "what happened to you?" You know, he saw I c-, I had one arm.

So I said, "it's a long story man," I said, "the Highgate Hotel." So he said, "ooh, come". And we went to the back of the shop and he said, "don't want to stand where people can hear us."

And he's in the secret service with the government, or the South African Defence
15 Force. And he's a lieutenant colonel. And *he* was an APLA commander.

And *he* said to me, "my friend, he said, it's your own kind that shot *you*." And I don't even know this guy. He just walked into the shop, and asked me for a job and we got chatting, and he said, "it's your own kind that shot you."

Hey, so I mean, someone I've *never* seen, you know, just asking me for a job and
20 asked me what had happened and we got chatting, and we went around the corner. And he said, "ooh, I don't want people to hear."

And he says he's with the secret service, intelligent, umm, service, South African National Force, Defence Force, I think. And I said to him, you know, "what are we doing?" And he said, "it's your own kind that shot you." So, you know, strange.

25 Stephen: So is there almost a sense of connection with the black victims of the apartheid government?

Clive: Ja, there was a big, we, we got on very well with them, hey. I mean they accepted us like part of their family. Khulumani and, and the healing of memories, *really*.

30 It was like we were one big... ja, it's amazing, ja. [p] Ja, it's a story that will go on. You know, it, it's, it's actually history and... the Highgate Hotel that's never been solved. You know, it's a bit strange after fifteen years, you know that there's just nothing anybody can *come* out with. No information whatsoever.

Ja, it was an, it was awful night that. I mean it was just a night that turned your whole life around. You know I had a company house, I had a company car. I was getting a salary, you know, I had a daughter to look after. She was at school. Just [shoop] everything just gone.

5 Ja, you know I stayed in the company house for... I was employed by the SPCA for *thirteen years*. And uh, umm, when I was shot, I couldn't go *back* to the house because I couldn't look after myself. I had to... I had a private nurse looking after me.

10 And they'd given me *two months* to get all my stuff out the house. And said, you know, they can't keep this house empty anymore. You need to take your stuff out so we can find someone else to do your job.

And ja, I had to, I had to *leave*. I mean, you know, there was... I had a daughter at school, I couldn't pay school fees. I, I had to go down to the school, I had to write letters to the school and say to them I could not afford the school fees.

15 And this and that, and... ja, it was quite like *degrading*, you know. It's... your life, you had what you had and everything was just taken away and now you're pleading poverty. And ja, I had a car, that was repossessed.

Ag, I just had nothing then, hey. Just luckily I had friends and, and Thora around that were, that would help, and my family that looked after me, ja.

20 Stephen: So it really affected your everyday, everyday life from that, from that night onwards.

Clive: Mmm [p] Ja, it was just taken away from me, overnight. It was just... you know and it's, it's, it's quite, umm... like, like you would say you were, umm... a betrayal, you were... If one thinks that it would be, you know, white guys that...

25 And the government *knew*, you know, thinking that you were in the national service for two years. And you did what was expected from you. And then these guys just walk in and just take away whatever you've got for the rest of your life.

I mean it's, you know. Wasn't there a *thing* when they opened the paper and saw that this one had an arm amputated, that one had *this* done, that one had... you know, was there no *feeling* of guilt or you know, of what they had done.

30 And for *someone* to come forward and say, well fine, you know, I was pushed. Or, you know, I also went through... I'm, I'm sure they must also be going through a lot of trauma.

I, I don't think I could do something like that, and sit *here* today, and, and read the paper, and say, "oh the Highgate." It, it must be a flashback to them as well.

You know, unless they just don't, they've just got no feelings for anything in life. Unless they... you know, and it's strange that the people have, have uh, not even
5 thought about the AWB.

It, it... I, I wouldn't say we've left the AWB off our *list* but it's just strange that, umm, w-, what is so funny is there was a *big march* after the shooting. I mean, w-, what was it, what were they trying to do to make it look as if, umm, well, you know, they *were* involved, but just try and make it look as if we sort of putting the
10 pressure on APLA.

And now we got to take up arms. I mean, you know, why was the AWB left out of it? You know, there was a big thing in the hall at the Aulium Theatre with Eugene Terre'blanche about all this happening.

I mean there wasn't... w-, when, when the Heidelberg and, and other places were
15 attacked, there wasn't anything *like* that. Just the Highgate Hotel that all these marches, AWB... things happened, and it's, and it's all *white*.

You know, it's, it's a bit strange. You know they were there *talking*, blocked the road off and all that. Meantime it could have been those guys that were *there* that could have been involved with the shooting that night. One will never know.

20 Ja, you know, doesn't he *know* of something? Is there a possibility we could speak to *him*? And find out if there is... because they were very, very anti-black. And, you know, this is what they were up against. So, ja.

Stephen: So there was a lot going on at the time...

25 Clive: Ja, there was. But ja, you know, it's, it's umm, it's funny when you... strange that we were delayed, not sort of delayed that night, but you know the airport... Dougie's flight was delayed. Umm, had his flight been earlier, maybe we wouldn't have *been* there at that time.

We then got to the robots in, in Oxford Street and, and said well ag, let's just go straight back to the SPCA, drop *me* off, and then Dougie would take the car. But
30 then we decided against that, we thought no, we'll go to the Dolphin Hotel first, book in Dougie, and *then* go home.

So, it was funny how, if we'd gone straight to the SPCA that night, we wouldn't have been *involved* in the shooting. But we decided to book Dougie in first, and

then go back to the SPCA. But on our way past there, you know, we decided just to stop and have a beer.

And I don't think we got as far as drinking half a beer that night.

5 Ja, you know, and it's just really, umm... also in, in the back of your mind is that Dougie was picked up. And ja, one, one like feels guilty, you know, he was *taken* there. And that's where his *life* ended.

You know, it's, it's like with you, saying well, you know... I shouldn't have *gone* there, I should have, sort of, just gone back to the SPCA. But meant to be, meant to be, hey.

10 So here's like a little bit of a guilt, saying, if you'd never gone to the Highgate or said, let's go for a drink, would have he still been alive? I don't know. Was it our night? Or would we have been involved in a motor-car accident? What would have happened?

Stephen: [inaudible]

15 Clive: Ja. Was something meant to happen to us if we were not at the Highgate? something might...I don't know, it's... ja, so, ja.

[p] ja, it was a, you know... after that I was very security-minded, you know... I was... I would never go... I would never *sit* at a restaurant near a door. I would never sit at a restaurant right at the *back*.

20 I'd make sure there was a place where I could get out. So if I was sitting *here*, I knew that if the guys walked in by the door and started shooting, I'd be right in front of the fire.

25 But if I was in the middle, at the back would be a getaway. So ja, it was, it was really if I saw a packet lying anywhere, I would always just think, you know, was there a bomb in there? You know, I was like that.

And ag, I just, ja, I just sort of learnt to live with it, and then just started going out again. Umm, but still, even today, you know, I look, look, look. I mean, I'll be very alert on who's who, what's what around you.

30 You know we went to Robben Island. And they of course having all these terrorists going over to Robben Island, they got a bomb scare there at the Waterfront.

On one of the little, one of those ferries, we were going over, ja. And they said there was a bomb underneath the boat, or something. And, you know, okay, I've been to meetings before.

But that like, sort of, nearly changed my mind again, to say, well, I'm quitting with everything and just, don't even want to go to Robben Island.

5 But the whole area was cordoned off and divers went down, and everything. And nothing was found, so it was just a, a scare. But ja, it was quite frightening. I mean, you know, you here with all these terrorists and, you know, ja.

Stephen: Have you had any other experiences like, like the bomb scare, since, since the Highgate that, sort of, take you back?

10 Clive: Ja, I was, when I worked in Umtata I was, I was *stopped*. I was, sort of, double-parked at a bank. And umm, I had a black guy with me that, that worked in the yard at the SPCA.

He jumped out of the car to go to the bank. And funny I, I reacted very *quick*, you know. A, a white golf pulled up behind me, tinted windows. You know, I didn't see who was in the car. But the one guy knocked on my window and he said to me, can I get out because my left back wheel was flat.

15 And I, *straightaway* I said to him, I said, "no, you're not gonna catch me." And I just winded my window up. And these okes just left. So obviously they were do-, planning to do *something*.

20 And then I was at, umm, Kentucky Fried Chicken. And we went in to *buy* chicken, and we came out and there was just shooting. I mean, it was the most frightening, ja.

I don't know who was shooting at who, because it was like six o'clock, half past six in the evening. And we'd *just* gone in to buy the Kentucky, and we walked out, and these, there was just shooting from *that* side, *that* side, and *this* side.

25 And we *just lay flat*. I still had a big SPCA, it was like a hi-, it was a, it was, was it a Hilux Toyota, ja? It was like a double cab.

And we just lay *flat*. [shuh] in front, sort of on the side where the gutter was and the bakkie. It was the Kentucky Fried Chicken, the pavement, the gutter, and the bakkie.

30 'Cause, I mean, I don't know *where* the shooting was coming from. These okes were just shooting at each other.

Stephen: Did you find out what happened?

Clive: No, no, no, when everything stopped, we just got into the bakkie and just left, hey. I mean [shuh], we just wanted to get away, ja.

So ja, it's... ag, I, I've been in... and also, you know, it was funny, maybe it just put me to the test. I went to Umtata, and it's not a very safe place. It's not. Umm, and the, the place I stayed in was, it was a, sort of, out of town. And it was, it was like a little smallholding. It was very dark.

5 Although I had security lights around the house I stayed. And I wasn't there for long, hey, and you lie on your bed, and next thing you just hear shooting over your house, hey.

Like automatic rifle, ja. That, that was frightening, because I mean, [jee]. Ja, that, that's what they did there. You know, it was nothing *new, for them*. Ja, just lying in
10 bed and [mimics sound of gunfire].

I don't know who they're shooting at, or if they're drunk and they're just doing this. But you could just hear it going over the house, hey.

Stephen: And do you, do you actually picture the Highgate?

Clive: Ja, it came all back again. Funny enough, when I was shot, I couldn't sleep
15 for months, hey. I just put my head on the pillow, and all you would hear was [mimics sound of shooting].

You know, it's, it was just, you would see it, flashbacks, it was there, hey. Ja, I *still* get, I would say, flashbacks, but I try and cut my mind out, or off it quickly.

You know, sitting watching TV one night, and concentrating on the picture, and
20 suddenly it will just come *back* about the Highgate and it's, it's all *there* again.

And then I just, sort of, get up and I just cut myself off from it. Ja, it's not easy. I do take tablets for, umm, post-traumatic stress, that they've diagnosed me with.

I put a little tablet under my tongue, and then it'll just, umm, goes through the, the arteries and that for the blood, and then it'll just, sort of, calm me. Ja, so ja, [p] ja,
25 hey, that's life, not a nice experience but it's...

Stephen: It's very difficult

Clive: ...part of the violence hey, ja.

Stephen: And your, your involvement with the Highgate, the Highgate group, umm, has that influenced your life, has that changed your life?

30 Clive: Ja, I think it's, I think it's brought us all close together knowing that we were all part of the same *attack*. And we've got stronger. Ja, it's, umm.

Ja, it's nice to know that, that, umm, well this mediation course that we want to do also. You know, it's, as a group, we all want to be involved in it. And ja, it's, it's, it's brought us *closer*, and that.

5 You know the fortunate thing is, unfortunate thing is, that I *work*, you know, I haven't got *time*... as much time as I would like to, to put into it. I mean, I can't afford it.

Umm, to get more involved with, with the Highgate and, and more investigations done, and more, like going to see De Klerk and Constand Viljoen, and all those people.

10 Those are the things we're planning to *do*, and which I think we've got to do very soon. But we haven't got the funds, man. You know, to, to, to do things, it's...

15 You know, we, we've, we still waiting for a, for a, umm, a what-you-call-it number, non-profit organisation number and that. We haven't *got* that yet, and once we've got *that* obviously we can start looking at ways of bringing funds into the, the group.

But, you know, we haven't got, we, we can't get into the car and say well we going to Cape Town now to go and see De Klerk or make an appointment with him. You know, we can't afford that.

20 It's, it's not easy. And, you know, it's, it's... sometimes I've *thought* about it, just to, to, sort of, give up work and just concentrate on the Highgate. But, you know, I'd never be able to.

It's, you know, one's got to work to earn a living, hey. I can't... I mean, I'd like to get more involved but *I haven't* been involved as such with the committee. And when things have to be done and we decide on doing things, ja.

25 But there *is* so much. And I don't think we should sit *back*, umm, for too long, of months and months. There sh-, there should be more publicity about not *what* we doing but how we feel about it, and, and, and that we *know* that this won't come to rest.

30 I think the more publicity we get from the people who open the papers, the better, ja. I mean, this is what we've got to do. You know, obviously we need money to do a lot of *things*.

But when it comes to fundraising, I mean, the most important thing is, is to get the word out there and let these okes see, that we are still *heavily* involved in trying to find out who's involved, with the Highgate.

And that we will *take* it through on our own, to, to investigate it and find out. You know, that's how involved we wanna be. Ja.

[p] You know, I think the more exposure, the more publicity we get, umm, the better. You know, after the Highgate, when there was such a lot of *feedbacks*, you know. Guys phoning Daryl, wanting to see Daryl.

And that they were involved in the Highgate shooting. They never took part, but they know who was involved. And we met these guys, they just said, "oh, we don't know."

You know, as I say, people just wanna *take* the *responsibility* to be like a hero. But mean time, they were not really involved in the Highgate. It's just from the mouth, to be a hero.

It's like APLA claimed responsibility, just to say that oh, they've done *another* shooting now. But, it wasn't *them*. So it's just the publicity, and, well, you know.

Ja, I, I don't know, it's just... like the NPA, I mean surely it's... I, I, I just *don't understand* that, that they can just say they've, they've been blocked off now, there's nothing more they can do.

It's, it's impossible, *really*. If, if they can *link* people up to other things, to fraud, *years back*, and, I mean, there's just no evidence on the Highgate, it's not, I don't... it's *impossible*.

I don't, I don't believe it, I do, *really*. There, there is *something there* that, that someone's gonna find one day. You know, if, if, if I'm not alive around then, someone close to me must just carry on *with* it.

To, to *be* involved so that one day when the truth is there, you know, ja. 'Cause I... *really* I just don't... there's no ways that after *fifteen* years that, that there's just nothing. It's impossible.

I don't believe it. It's... there's, there's someone out there, and, and, and, and they *know*. That when we go to places and when we do things in the paper, they, they, they *see* it. And they *know* how we feel about it and that we're still *pressurizing*, whoever's involved with this, to come forward.

You know, it's, it's difficult. Everybody says, ja, all you've got to do is, *again*, prosecute the guys, and, and that, but, you know... I don't think it'll ever work like that. It'll be a bargain plea, where they will come up and get amnesty, and this is what'll happen.

And, *for me*, maybe not for other people in the group, but if, if I had to *meet* the perpetrator, I think I'd be, there'd be forgiveness.

I, I think that's... I *am angry*, and, and that, but, I mean, what, what can I do? You know, I, I can't go and meet the perpetrator and take a gun and shoot the guy. I
5 I mean, it's, you know, it's, ja...

I would, I think I would, you know. Obviously, certain people in the group don't agree with me. They say they must do community service, and they must do this...

Ja, fine, fair enough. You know, let them *do things*. But I would forgive, I think. Maybe I'm saying it now, but when the time comes, I might not. But, I mean, ja
10 I think I would, I think I'd be ready for it.

Stephen: Is there anything that you would, you'd like to say to them or ask them?

Clive: Ja, I'd obviously like to have a, a private conversation with... I would like to meet the people behind the, the whole organization, and the people that did the shooting.

15 But ja, the people who did the shooting, I'd like to see, *privately*. Obviously the guys that ordered it, I would like to sit down to them and say why?

You know, why white people? Why the pub, innocent people? Why was that your target? Why couldn't you go to *another* target, where people could defend themselves and shoot back at you guys?

20 Ja, that's what my... that's what I'd love to do, but hopefully we'll get there one day.

Stephen: Has the group given you more of a sense of purpose in trying to find the truth?

25 Clive: Ja, I think so, ja. Mmm. I think we all want to know. You know, we do sit down and speak about this, and sometimes we get a bit negative about this and about that.

But, I think, ja. We very open to each other, and very honest and very direct to people in the group. You know, if, if, if one's got *their* different opinion a-, about how *they* would feel, so be it. It's, it's what they... it's their choice.

30 You know, but, umm, I, I more or less think we're on the same path of, of meeting, and ja. Umm, ja, you know it's... the, the rest of the group is... I seem to, umm, differ a lot.

I just feel that, that other people in the group, if they don't want to be part of the Highgate, they should still be *told*, about what's going on.

5 You know they, they, they don't come to, to meetings and they don't come to mediation courses and all this, *that's their choice*. If, if they don't want to, they don't have to.

But I just feel, you know, I ...they weren't *there*, their, their husbands were there that night that were killed. And they're going through the *same* trauma that, that we're all going through.

10 And I think it's very sad to, to, sort of, *shove* them one side, and say well... you know, like the braai last night. They were all invited, but they never came. They were all invited to the little service we had yesterday, they never came. Maybe they've got reasons for not coming. I don't know.

15 You know, if I didn't go to the memorial service yesterday, and somebody said to me, why didn't you go? I'd say, you know, I don't want to go *back* to the Highgate, you know, it, it brings back all that sadness again.

You know, so, they've their own choices, what *they* want to do. And if they don't want to be part of it, I, I just feel they should not be left out. You know, I'm sure they would need the support from us as a group.

20 But obviously it's, it's been discussed not once, twice. And, umm, some people feel that it's, umm, I'm looking at it the wrong way. You know, I shouldn't *be* like that because, if they didn't come to the braai last night, it's an example that they *don't want to be* part of it anymore.

25 You know, how can I... I can't say that. I mean, you know, maybe they've got their issues, maybe they don't want to. They don't want to sit in meetings, they don't want to be part of the group because it keeps on coming up.

You know, maybe they don't *want* that. I don't know. So it's... I don't know. I *do differ* in, in a few ways but that's *my* opinion, that's how I feel.

30 You know, there are meetings I don't go to. It's not because I don't want to I don't get... because I've got to work, and, and sometimes I'm not in town on weekends, or I'm *away*.

And it's not because I don't want to *be there*, it's just that I've got other commitments. You know, and it's, ja... ja, it's, it's... you know, we've all got our different outlook *to* the Highgate.

I'm sure we're all pretty much on the same level as, as what we've *been* through, and we *do* understand each other.

5 I mean we understand the trauma everybody is going through, each and every one in the group. And, and the memories that come back. And what we would like to do, how we would like to find these people, what we'd do if we found them.

So I think we're all on the *same* level, but there, there are differs. Ja, it's... but, you know, each one to their own, it's their choice in life. If, if I get up here today after you've interviewed me, and I say to Thora, I'm finished with the Highgate now, *it's my choice*.

10 I can't be forced to do what the rest of the group want me to do. You know, it's caused a lot of, umm, umm, problems between myself and Thora, the Highgate. It *has*. It's, it's, it's caused a lot of problems to our life and unhappiness.

15 And, umm, I try and be strong about it, but it's... you know, you go to the memorial service yesterday, it, it just brings back all the open wounds again. [coughs] Opens everything again, and it's there with you now for a couple of days. And, and that's how it affects me.

20 So I go there, yesterday, I stand there, I think of what happened the night. I can see what happened. I get angry because I can see what it's done to my life. And it makes me feel as if I'm not a, uh, umm, umm... it makes me feel like, like a useless human being in life, because of what has happened, my arm and all this.

So ja, it does... umm, that's how it affects me. And I'll sort of land up at the doctor next week again with something wrong again. But, but I'll get over it, sometime next weekend. My life will just carry on again.

25 Ja, so...ja, it, it has, it's, umm, it's been very hard on, on Thora, being part of it. And the support that she's given me. It's, it's affected her a lot. And ja, it's, it's not easy. But ja, I've had the support, I mean, you know, people have really been good and kind to me since days back, ja.

30 Had a lot of help. You know my sister's boyfriend – when I was shot, I couldn't drive a car – he used to pick, they used to pick me every *Sunday*, *every*, without fail.

I used to go have lunch with them, and then used to watch DVD's. Six o'clock they used to take me home. And, you know, that's how it was.

And when I went to physiotherapy, you know, I was *taken* to physiotherapy, I was *picked up*. Ja, I was, I was helped a lot with people by people, and that. Ja, I

s'pose that's also one thing, that, that sort of, one should appreciate, hey, and realize that...

5 You know, after I was shot, I just got into a car and I disappeared for a week. I mean, no one knew where I was. I was sleeping in my car on that other side, Knysna.

You know, I just got into the car there and disappeared and packed the suitcase. And I'd wake up in the morning, I'd go to the bottle store. I'd buy six beers. Sit by the sea, and watch the waves, and drink my beers.

10 Ja, I was very depressed, I was very suicidal. *Really*. Mmm. [p] Actually, I think if I had a, a gun on me it would have been worse, ja.

But then when I was away, I started realizing that there were really people that cared about me and really loved me. And [inaudible] come back, ja.

15 Ja, it was not all just about the Highgate, hey. There was life to go on and there were people that cared to say... ja, it's, it was *difficult* hey, it wasn't easy. But, ja, it's, it's been rough.

Stephen: So you've, you've really found people that support you along the way as you, as you've recovered, or as you've been on a journey of recovery.

20 Clive: Mmm, ja, ja, it's... you know, the, the, the, the Highgate will be there for the rest of your life. I don't think you'll ever *forget* about it. But ja, there, there, the thing is with recovery, and then gets to a point where it just like all breaks down again, I don't know why.

You know, it's like the world's... everything's falling on, coming to an end again, I don't know.

25 [coughs] You know I think for, for me being a man it's, it's different. It's, umm... I should be a bread winner. And, you know, where would have my life been, if, if I *wasn't* shot?

You know, and now I'm *looked upon* as a disabled person. When I look for a job, and by *being* physically disabled, which I don't say I am, people will *treat* you as if you, you don't have a brain that can function.

30 So you would be offered a job where you would get paid peanuts, and you haven't got an option, you've got to *take* it.

So this is maybe where, where *I* feel a little bit *different*, being a bread winner and I no longer *can be one*. You know, I can't support, umm, a wife and children one day.

5 Because I... it's, it's, it's, and it's *true*, I mean, you know, I, I was, I joined rehab and, and that's how you looked upon. So ja, it's, umm, and, and, and I think that's where it starts sort of getting *depressing* and that, is when, when you realize what you *can have* in life, and you can't *get* what you want because of how you've been affected. Ja.

Stephen: It's very difficult...

10 Clive: Ja, it, it's very difficult being a, a, a supporting... a man that has to support a family and you can't. Ja, it's, it's not easy.

And I think that's what, what, what made me feel very suicidal when I was... after the shooting was that I just *had nothing*. I mean, I never... I *had nothing*, you know, there, there *was nothing*.

15 I lived on a disability grant of R280 a month, I mean, that's what I *lived* on. You know, and, and, and I didn't *have*... that's all I had.

So, you know, when friends and family came in, and, and Thora, th-, that's where the support *was*. And I think if there wasn't support it would have been suicidal now.

20 Ja it's, umm, it's difficult when one looks for a job. I, I've looked for jobs, and you just can't get employed because of your physical, your disability, ja. [p] Ja.

Stephen: [p] Have you been through that a few times, looking for, going to, looking for a job?

25 Clive: Ja. I'll tell you what happened is, I was at home one day, and wasn't working... [inaudible] somebody, I don't know how... oh, I went to rehab. And I joined rehab.

And what they do at rehab is they... most of the people who go to rehab are in wheelchairs, which is *very depressing* because, you know, I'm not in a wheelchair, I'm not paralyzed. I can still *do* something.

30 They can also, but, you know, they're being pushed around in a wheelchair because they're paralyzed. And Sally said to me, what am I doing? And I said, "ag, I, I don't know what to do, 'cause I don't know how I'm gonna cope with one arm. What is there I *can* do?"

And she had a house, and she said, “well, why don’t you go and look after people’s houses and animals and they would give you R50 a day or so?”

5 And *she* left and I looked after her house and her dogs. And she came back and she said to me, “Clive, there’s, there’s a guy that’s keep on phoning me. He wants to know if, if you would be able to monitor CCTV cameras.”

So like Pick n Pay, you’d go into a little control room there, and you’d operate the computer, and watch the cameras. So I thought, oh well, you know, let me start somewhere. And I said, “ja, it’s a good idea.” I said, “get this guy to phone me.”

10 Anyway, the guy was in Durban, he phoned me. Funny how it sort of, all came together. And he, he phoned me and he said to me, you know, this is my name, this, this is where our offices are, would you *like* to do this?

So I said, well, you know, ja, why not? It’s, it’s something. And I went up to King... he said go up to King and meet me there, there’s a company that’s looking for someone to operate the cameras.

15 I went up to King and *stayed* there. And they didn’t *interview* me, so I didn’t, I don’t know why I went up there. And the next day he phoned and he said, “okay when can you start?” I said, “ah, I’ll start tomorrow.”

Never had any experience on doing this job. And I had a car. Umm... that I’d, I’d got was an old Mazda, ja.

20 I went up to King and interviewed me, and I got the job and I worked there. And the, the guy you met yesterday, Steve, he’s my boss now, he owns the company that I work for *now*.

25 And *he* was... he’s a, he’s a, umm, he’s an accountant, him and his wife. And the company I was working for started having financial problems. And *Steve* got involved with the company; and there were five directors, he was one of them.

And they got a big contract with a government job. And they *did* the job and the government didn’t pay them. It was like five, something million. It was *lot* of money. So they had to liquidate the company.

30 So, of course Steve was liquidated, and there was someone else. But he then... his wife then took over on *his* side and then, they, they, they gave the company another name.

And this is how it carried on going and going on. And then I was in King and we, we got the site at Johnson & Johnson. And he said to me, “would you like to go as a site supervisor?” So I said, “ja.”

You know I thought, well, from that to that, why not? Maybe I'll try. And then I went to J&J and I worked there for two years. And then we lost the contract there, 'cause they come up for renewal every two or three years.

5 And Johnson and Johnson wanted to *keep* me. *But* they weren't prepared to put me on their pay roll as an employee, so I didn't want to stay. And Steve said okay fine, you can come down to the offices and we'll employ you as a supervisor.

And ja, I went down there and, and it just got better and better. And I got a company car, and sites got bigger.

10 And I travelled to the Transkei. I used to do it once a week. And we had PE, we, we've got sites in Cape Town. And ja. And, and then I took this, that position where I am now and it's... ja, and that's where I am.

So I'm like an operations manager now, looking after all the sites and all the staff. So ja, it, it paid off hanging in, but, umm, it's a lot of work, you know.

15 It's, it's, umm... it's a not a very well paid job, but it's, it's *something*, hey, ja. And, ja I look after 30, about 40 staff. Got about one, two [counting]... I've got about 18, 20 sites, ja.

Stephen: So it's quite a big responsibility.

20 Clive: Ja, mmm, it's a *big* responsibility, ja. And what we do is, funny enough, is we employ a lot of the physically disabled people. Most of our guys in Cape Town that are operating the cameras at Pick n Pays are in wheelchairs, ja. So that's one of our profile... on our profile is that we *do* physically disabled... ja.

So we, we've got a few in East London as well, physically disabled people. So ja, it's, it's nice giving them something to do, and they enjoy it.

Stephen: [inaudible]

25 Clive: At Cape Town, most of the sites, our Worcester site, Paarl site, Vangate, Waterfront, umm, are all people in wheelchairs. The only problem is they have, they, they have a problem getting back and forth to work.

You know, taxis don't want to take them up and down. So that, that's the only problem.

30 We had a site in Jo'burg. Was a big... Boulder Shopping Centre. It was, was a *big* site, we had six controllers in, in the control room. But the taxis wouldn't pick them up.

So we cancelled the contract because of that. So ja, it's, it's umm, it's a job, hey. Ja. And I've been with them for quite a while now, it's going on for ten years. Ja. Started off from nothing, ja. [p] Ja, try and make the most of it, hey.

5 Stephen: So you did, you did find your way back into, into a place where you could support yourself financially?

Clive: Mmm, it was difficult, it was very difficult. You know, the only problems is I'm not on a medical aid, and so it's one of the concerns. But, but ja it's, it's an income hey, ja. From what I was, just sitting getting a disability grant.

[p] So that's *my* life story.

10 Stephen: Well, *thank you* for all that you've shared. Is there anything else that you'd like to say?

Clive: No. Funny, you know, and also in our family... Umm, I, I was born in Cape Town and was there for a quite a while and then left 'cause of my asthma. We had to come to the inland where the, the climate was dry.

15 And we got a... my dad got a job in Fort Beaufort, and then we moved to Grahamstown and went to school there. And it's strange, you know, we were never politically [p] -minded or anything.

I can't remember my parents even going to political party meetings, or, or *going* anywhere. You know, I can't. I, I, I can't even remember my parents *voting*, it's
20 funny enough.

And of course national service in those days, you were *forced* to do a year. So, you know, you *had* to go to the army, or else you had to spend a couple of months in detention barracks, or whatever it was.

25 So ja, you know, I was 18 years old and I went to the army. And, I mean, I, I didn't know *anything* about life. I mean, I'd just left school, and I was with grown-up men. It was frightening.

And I was called up for a year. And then they, they changed it to two years. The first intake to be changed from 12 months to 24 months. So of course with them not knowing what to do with us... umm, with the new intake coming in in January,
30 knowing that we were only gonna be there for a year, it *changed*.

So they actually messed things up now, because now they had an extra five thousand guys. And they were gonna get the new intake in January now, which would be another *ten* thousand guys.

So they now had to find a place for us to go, which I landed up... I was in artillery. And ja, I've been all over, stayed in a castle and I've been to Durban, St Lucia, all through the army.

5 But I was actually getting *tired* of it because I wanted to get out. I wanted to find a job and work now. And I'd just left school, I was completing my national service. And I was out for four months, and they called me up for a, for a camp.

And I went up to [inaudible] and did the camp and I came back. And I wasn't settled in civilian life for about six months and they called me for *another* camp. Off I went.

10 Anyway, the, the year after that they called me up, and I thought, no, *bugger* this. The army now, I'm tired of the army. And we were in Bloemfontein, and we all gathered in this big sort of parade ground, and in tents.

15 And, and late afternoon they said, "is there anybody that wants to do medical examination?" And I said, "well, this is my option now – I'm gonna get out of the army."

And I stuck my arm up, my hand, and they said, "okay fine, stand that side". "And anymore guys, ah, stand that side." And they said, "okay, tomorrow morning, the, the, the vehicles are gonna take you to one, one or two hospitals."

20 I think it's one military hospital, or two, I'm not sure. And they said you had to report at a certain place over there. And I was dressed in my full army uniform, and I thought, no, I've had enough of this life. Two years national service, I've done four camps.

I went to the duty room and I said to the guys sitting there, I said, "when's the next vehicle *back*?" Going to the station. And he said, "well, half an hour's time."

25 I said, "fine, I'll be on that vehicle." Got to the station. I got on the train. I went home and I never heard from the army again. *Never ever*. They never even contacted me.

30 They actually owed me a month's salary. *Never* heard from them again. And that was the last. I was so *tired* of the army, I'm telling you. I actually just ran away you can say.

Ja [p]. Ja [p]. But ja... it's, it's funny how one's life is in little patches, hey.

[Clock chiming]

Stephen: Do you think the experience in the army changed the way that you thought about the country? Did it give you a political mindset?

Clive: Ag, you know, I was still, I was still a young guy then. I mean, I was eighteen years old. I didn't know much about what was happening in the country.

5 I mean I was in the army, I didn't even know there was the, the, the, umm, what you call it? Umm, uh, what's that, Hector Pietersen... that, when that, everybody went out there and shot those blacks and all that.

Stephen: Ah right, the Soweto Uprising?

10 Clive: Ja, I was, I was in the army, I didn't even *know* of it. So, you know, it's strange. I didn't even know that thing was happening. I mean, you know, we were forced to do the army but, umm, you were sort of brain-washed and told, you know, what was expected of you and how you would fight as a soldier.

15 But it, it was *strange* because there, there was just no interest in the army. I didn't have any interest, it's just that I had to *be* there. And you know my first weekend pass I got after three or four *months*, I never went back. They came and fetched me, the military police. They came and fetched me at home.

And I was taken to Grahamstown, and I stayed *there* for two days. And then I was escorted back to Potch where I spent, I think it was just over a month in detention barracks.

20 Ja, so, you know, that, that was my, my army outlook. I didn't... really, it was [inaudible] to me. And when you think of it today, you know, what right did they *have*, to sort of force you to become military involved and...

But ja, they, they, ag, ja, it was... you know, I wasn't... ag, I finished up with the army and that was that, you know. There was no interest whatsoever.

25 But, you know, when I got involved with, with, umm... it's funny when I *left* the army and started working and all that, it didn't really worry about what was happening in the country, politically wise.

30 Really, it didn't even concern me. And only until I got involved with the Highgate shooting... I realized *then*, what was happening, I mean what the apartheid regime were doing, you know, I never *knew* about it.

You know, I'd never even heard of Eugene De Kock. It's only until when I belonged to Khulumani and I heard these stories, that I realized what the apartheid regime was all about. Ja.

And it's strange, you know, when doing my national service there was, there was nothing ever *mentioned* about Wouter Basson poisoning people. You know, you never *heard* of those things.

5 So there are, there must have been an elite force out there that was so secret that we, as doing our national service didn't even know about it. Ja, so there, there were, there was, I mean Soweto Uprising, I never even... I was physically running around as a soldier and I didn't even know what was happening there.

10 It was funny, ja. Like, like nothing was *said*. You know, ja, it was funny man. It's... you know, it's only until I got involved with Khulumani... I mean, when I was shot in the Highgate, you know, it was APLA, APLA, APLA.

We didn't really know what was happening. It's just that there was a group of people going around shooting white people in bars, soft targets.

15 But then when I actually got involved with Khulumani and, and I sat down with *victims* and *heard* what the apartheid regime did to *them*, then I only realized, you know, what was happening, or what, ja, what was actually still happening in the country.

20 If you look at that video you'll see the people that were affected, you know. And, and also when I got involved with the TRC, *that* opened my eyes too, when I sat and listened to people's stories, of, of how *they* were tortured and, and people's sons just disappeared and, and they've never been found.

Even today when I went to that healing of memories in PE, and it was with the Human Rights Foundation, and heard what the, the, the, umm, those people that dig up the graves and that looking for... uh, there's a special name for them.

25 One woman that's involved with this... this white woman, it's, really, it's, it's *frightening*. To know what's actually... what people are still wanting and are looking for.

People have disappeared. We've got no answers to the Highgate, they've got no answers like 30 years ago. People, their sons were taken away, and shot and burnt.

30 They don't know where... still missing. So ja, it's, that's when, when I heard about what was all happening in *this* country. *Shocking*. You know, like going over to Robben Island, one of the guys told us, I mean, how he was put in a *sack*.

A big *brown* sack, and thrown over the, over the... from a boat into the sea. Either to be eaten up by the sharks or to, or to drown. And he *made it* to shore. But, I mean, he's a *wreck*.

5 You know, and you talk, you hear about other people that... umm, this, this, those, those four kids that were shot in the Transkei. That they thought was a, or the South African Defence Force thought was an APLA base.

Which they knew very well wasn't. It was just four kids in there and they went in there and shot that place up. And you know, and other things where... you know, so, *so many*, really, *so many*. Ja.

10 Stephen: So was, was the TRC quite important in opening your eyes to that?

Clive: Ja, the TRC, ja, umm, I think with, when I got shot and landed up in hospital and came out, I didn't really put in a picture what was actually happening. I just knew it was APLA.

15 I didn't really realize, you know, *why* it happened or what the reason was it for or what was going on in the country. I had no idea. And then ja, when I went to the TRC, and especially when I joined a, a support group like Khulumani.

20 I mean *that*, you can ask Thora, *that made me realize what* was happening in this country. That was a, a new chapter in my life altogether. I mean then, you know... because you, you mixed with so many *people*, and everybody was affected in a different way.

And, you know, this is, this is how... it was *shocking*, man, really, it... Ja, it was guys that were *tortured*. And ag man, it's...ja, it started with the TRC, and, you know, I was sitting watching TV once, and I saw this little demonstration in Cape Town.

25 I didn't know Shirley Gunn then. I saw all these people with banners and placards, and they were walking and shouting. And I, I didn't know who Shirley Gunn was.

But I got a little bit of a background on her, of who she actually was and what she'd actually done, planting the bomb, that she was accused of, at that, the headquarters in Pretoria, for the SADF. It wasn't *her*.

30 And then I thought, ja, *this* is the person I want to get involved with. I want to *know* what happened to us. She might have an answer. And uh, I couldn't get hold of her, hey.

And I think there was a *cut* in the paper about... a big write-up about Shirley Gunn and her Khulumani Support Group. And we got a *book* with all the different institutions that we could find.

5 And we got hold of Shirley. And I was at work one day and she phoned me and she said to me... she realized I was interested and I said, "ja." And she said, "would you like to become a member," and I said, "ja."

And she, she faxed me forms and I signed them and sent them back. And ja, I joined up. And then that's when I could see, you know, all the people that were affected. I mean I, I felt like that like that I was part of them, like we were a family.

10 You know, not only me knowing that APLA was responsible, but also what the white government was doing to *them*, you know, reverse sort of thing.

And umm, ja, and then we, we found out that it wasn't APLA. So it, it was even better then because we connected *more* then. [laughing] Knowing it was the apartheid regime *hopefully*.

15 Umm ja, and, yoh, the stories we heard, hey, wow, you know, used to sit there in tears, man. It's, you know you just felt sorry for them. Ja, it was... and that's *why* I would, I would *stay*, umm, with the support group.

20 You know Theresa's done a lot for us as well. Umm, the healing of memories, I've done two. I'd go to another one. It's just to be with different people and, and different stories.

I mean Father Michael [Lapsley]. I was with *him* in, in a group, in the, in PE when we did the healing of memories. And I was, I was with two APLA cadres, and two Umkhonto weSizwe guys.

25 And they physically killed people. And if you sit and listen to *his* story, you know, and he's got no, umm... he was angry at the *time* when it happened, but, you know, obviously he's forgiven.

Umm, but when you sit and listen to *him*, you know, your whole outlook sort of changes. That if you had to... if the perpetrators had to be caught, you know, there would be forgiveness.

30 Umm, and when you hear these other guys, how they were tortured and how the security forces sort of hang them upside down and shot them on their testicles and put a sack over their head and, and, and tie it up, and, you know, things like that.

You must listen to it, really, I've heard *everything*, I mean it's, it's, it's disgusting what was actually *happening* in this country. [p] And ja, it's, it's... I've become very *close*, you know, I work with a lot of blacks as well.

5 Umm, in my job, and it's, it's like... you know, the disadvantage they've *had because* of the apartheid era, is, it's not their fault. And, ja, it's... I'm *very*, umm, sort of close to them. Umm, in a working relationship, really, we passed through all that. That's how I look, you know, I treat them... it's, ja.

Stephen: So you feel a sense of solidarity with them because of what *they* went through, and what you've been through?

10 Clive: Ja, definitely, ja. You know, I invited them to the memorial service, and they came and that, you know, it's... ja it's...[p] but ja there's, you know... you know, it's difficult to say, you know, I, I wouldn't say I'm *angry*, umm, because we've, we don't know who the culprits are yet.

15 I would say more *hurt*, you know, and betrayed. Umm... ja, let, let's face it, you know, I can't be an angry person for another 20 years, if we don't find these people and it just carries on going. Umm, I can be very hurt and very betrayed, ja, but...

20 I do feel a little bit of bitterness as well, but, you know, it's... what, what is there we *can do*, you know? How do we *react* towards this now, or how do we... do we, you know, do we get the... are we, do we get angry with the people that are *near* us, because we angry with *those* people.

Now they not here, we don't know who they are, so we get angry with, with Thora, or you get angry with the people you work with, and take your frustration out on *them* now. So ja, and then again it's... it's very, umm...

25 I would say ja, I'm hurt, ja... it's, it's, umm... what can I say? You know, I, I, I think what'll happen, you know, if we, if, if we *do* get to the stage where these guys come *forward*, and it's got nothing to do with the, with the apartheid regime or third force...

30 You know, I, I think that's gonna have a *worse* effect on all of us, if, if this does ever come out, and we do get faced with whoever we *expect* to be and it's *not*. I think it's, it's gonna be *very, very* lot of, umm, *anger* and, and whatever.

You know we, we just taking word, word from this one and word from that one, umm, you know, and until *such* time, if someone comes forward, it's, you know, what do we do?

Although we *believe* and, and, and, and *look* at it, uh, that the attack was a professional hit, and the way the guys were *dressed*, we, we do point at, at, uh, the third force. But I mean until *such time* it's, it's, it's, it's difficult.

Stephen: Not knowing.

5 Clive: Ja, you know, we, we believed it was APLA, I mean, yoh, it was...you know, we, we knew who it was. Fine, it wasn't them. Now, we, we believe it's *this* group. It's not them, I mean, you know what do we do then? And it's, it's...

Stephen: It's almost looking for a sense of closure, a sense of completing the story.

10 Clive: Ja. I mean, hopefully will be one day, but we don't know, hey. But ja, this is, you know, those things sort of work on a person's *mind*, you know. I'm expecting to meet, umm, a white, I wouldn't say a *young* police guy or a South African Defence guy.

That's what I'm... that's my vision, of, of, of these guys, you know, standing there,
15 you know, [gesturing] you, you, you, you know. And, and it comes and it's not. Ja. What then? You know, we always say, we refer it to as our own kind. You know, we, we can't say that until such time that people have actually come forward.

But we, we have an *idea* and, and may believe that it, it was a third force and ja, it's, it's... you know, one can just *wait* until someone comes forward, that's all you
20 can hope for. *Then* you can do the answers and that, but, until, until now we, we've just got to go along with it, investigate more and just keep on going.

Ja, I mean, you know, then you know we, I don't think we'll, we'll ever stop. I mean, I don't think / will. Umm, it's, it's either, you know...

When I go to the doctor he says to me, "Clive, it's... you not gonna get better." He
25 says, "the Highgate is affecting you." He says, "it's affecting your blood pressure, it's affecting your health, it's affecting your relationship, it's doing everything to you."

I said, "what was must I do?" You can say to me, "Clive get out of it, it's gonna *kill*
30 you." It's, it's no use telling me that because it's *there*, it's gonna be part of my life, I *can't* get out of it, it's, it's impossible.

You know, and also where, where I think I've, or I don't think yet because I've been very strong about it, I've been very open about it and I think since the day I've been shot and I've been out and about, I've been very open about it.

But I've been *warned* for delay shock, umm, where I'm very brave about it *now*, and I *have been*, and in time to come it'll just *hit* me. Ja, so... ja, it's... ag, you just got to carry on with life. You know, just expect what is gonna happen, just, you know, ja.

5 Stephen: A sense of the story still being unfinished, so as life continues there are more bits that can become...

Clive: Ja. I mean you know, it's, umm, a lot of people who've come forward in other things and asked for forgiveness and accept, did this and that, so ja, ag, I'm sure we can do the same, hey.

10 I mean it's... just *when* that's the problem, you know. Our case is, just doesn't seem to... it doesn't... like no one seems to want to come forward. Just, like, just... they *know* about it but they just, you know, what's the use of coming forward and being honest about it?

Stephen: That's hard.

15 Clive: Mmm. [p] ja, it's, umm. Ag, I'm, you know, I've been very strong about the Highgate Hotel. It's, umm, it's nothing I've ever *shut* out of my life, it's, you know. If I go into the black townships and I speak to people, umm, they wanna know, I tell them.

20 It's nothing I'm ashamed of, or... umm, and, you know, it's, ja, it's, it's... I, I talk freely and openly about it, it's. All over and everywhere it's, umm, it's *part* of my life. And, you know, it's...

Stephen: It's not something you hide away.

25 Clive: Ja. Ja, it's part of my life, so, umm, ja. I, I talk freely, you know. I was, after I was shot I was drinking quite a lot. Umm, obviously to get away from all the frustration and the memories and all that. And I used to go to pubs, used to be very *aggressive*.

And, ag, you know, I would just *sit* and, and chat to people for *hours* about what happened to me. And they would sit there and they'd be very interested, and just sit and just listen to you until you were finished.

30 And, and you know, and say, you know, do you know who it is? You know, why are you so strong about it? You know, if it was me, you know, I wouldn't be able to talk about it, and all this.

I, I, I think that was one of my main important things was just to be open about it, and strong about it after I was shot. 'Cause, umm, ja, I, I didn't sit back and, and just sort of *wait* for people to come.

5 Ja, you know, it's, we, umm, I was very bored and I was drinking a lot and we had nothing to do, it was strange. I don't think I worried about life then. It was... I didn't really care what I did.

10 Umm, and my brother-in-law bought a boat. A little cabin cruiser with a sun roof on top, and everything. They stayed down the road here. I used to stay in Amalinda, and they used to come and fetch me. And ja, I, I really turned to alcohol, and I was drinking a lot and, ag, I, I didn't really *worry* about life and I didn't really worry what we, I did or what happened to me.

15 And it was strange, the things I *used* to do. Umm, I even used to ride the boat up the river and on a Sunday afternoon, when everybody was *there*, I used to jump *off* the boat and into the river and swim. And people used to look at me, you know, that oke's got one arm, ah, look what he's doing. It was like, how could he jump off a boat, with one arm?

20 And then we used to do go play *cricket*, down there [inaudible]. Guys played cricket, and I used to join in. And, you know, it was like people couldn't believe you know, that this oke was... I think it was because I was *drinking* a lot and there was a lot of courage in me. And I used to *do* these things not *worrying* about, well, jump off a boat I could drown or whatever. You know, but I just did things, ja.

25 And one of the things was trying to drive a car again, which was so strange. And I went to physiotherapy and, and the woman said to me, "come let's go." I said, "where we going?" She says, "no, I'm gonna sit as a passenger and you gonna steer the car." So off I went.

Next day came she says, "okay, you'll do the driving again and, hey, I'll sit as a passenger. I'll change the gears and you work the pedals, brake and the clutch." And off we went.

30 Next day came she says, "okay, now you do everything on your own." I said, "but, how am I gonna change the gears, you know, leave the steering wheel." And she says, "no, we'll go somewhere where there's nobody around."

35 And, uh, we got into, got into the car, and she changed the gears and went up to a place where there was no-one around. And she says, "okay, now you, you *try* and do it." Changed the gears, the clutch, brake and everything. You know, ag, it came in so quick, hey.

I mean, I don't *drive* an automatic. I had an automatic, I don't like it. I've been *all over*, been to Cape Town, Durban Jo'burg, *everywhere*. Driving a car with one arm. So I got to, ja, learnt how to do it, hey. And, shame, she helped me a lot.

Stephen: Still takes some courage to get out, get out there and try it.

5 Clive: Ja, I was really *withdrawn*, you know. I was, was scared to go out and do anything. But everything sort of just came in together, and it just worked out so well, hey. Ja.

You know I was sitting in, in a hospital. I was sitting up and this arm was in a sling. They were feeding me. And I don't know if I told you the story about this old *guy*,
10 who came in and his arm off here [gesturing].

You know I was shot in '93, I was, what, 30, I think I was 36. He was in his fifties then or could've been sixties. And don't even know the guy. Obviously he had seen in the paper, and he had his arm taken off here [gesturing].

He was a farmer with a harvesting machine, and it was cut off here, [gesturing]
15 gangrene. And he says, he says, "I don't know you, but I know what's happened to you, and I've seen you in the papers." And he says, "you don't know me, but I want to tell you with one arm there's nothing you *can't* do." He says, "believe me, you'll be able to do *everything*."

And I was lying in hospital bed. And I woke up one morning, and I thought, you
20 know, it's, it's, it's true, I mustn't let my one arm set me back. There, there... I must make, I must *make* it. Umm, do what I wanna do and, ja, that was that.

I, I, I did go to occupational therapist to do a few things. And then was just one thing I couldn't do was tie my shoes. And I went to, uh, Lynette Raubenheimer in Observatory, she was an occupational therapist.

25 Umm, and she said, "Clive, what is it you *cannot* do?" And I said, "I can't tie my shoe laces." And she said, "come here, I'll show you how to do it." And that was that, everything was, ja.

There *are* a few things I need help with. You know, I can't get my collar, I can't *get* to my collar, so if, if I need a shirt put over, you know, Thora's got to help me. You
30 know, I can't get in and out of the bath. It's... we've, we've tried many times, battled to get out. But, ja.

Otherwise, everything else I can do. Ja, I'm still experimenting of all the other things I'm still gonna try and do [laughing]. Ja, ja. I've got to make it, hey. Can't just sit back and expect it to happen.

Stephen: You are very courageous to do that.

Clive: Hey.

Stephen: You are very courageous.

5 Clive: Ja. Ag, I've, you know, it's, it's, umm...I battle with a few things and I get very *frustrated* over the things I can't do. But, you know, I've got a little Honda in the garage, it's an automatic car, that I bought quite a while back.

10 It's an old '92 model and it's... I don't *drive* it a lot. Thora uses it to go to work and that. And the battery goes flat every now and then. But I've always got to call on someone *here* to come and help to get the battery out, put it in my car and take it to be charged.

But I thought no, bugger this, I'm sick and tired of asking people. So I went and bought a battery charger. So I just disconnect the terminals, and charge the battery for four or five hours, connect it and it's gone. So I don't have to rely on anybody now about *that*.

15 But I did wake up one morning to go to Transkei and I had a flat wheel. You know, I've *tried* to change a flat wheel and it's, it's not easy with one arm, believe me. It's, *I've tried*. Now the Astra hasn't got the little, the Astra hasn't got the little bolt things you screw on. It's got the wheel and the holes on the wheel drum.

20 So I'd never be able to hold the wheel, and put those bolts in. So I had to wake my brother-in-law up, half-past-five in the morning, please come and help me. So he came and helped me.

25 So there's, there's a *few* things, ja. You know, I got a puncture on the road one day coming back from King, and it was this time or after, actually *later*. And I was stuck. There I was, and there was a squatter camp right next to me. And I was a bit concerned, you know. It was getting dark. Who do I phone now?

So I phoned the flying squad, 10111, and I said to them, "listen this is my position." "Please man," I said, "can you send someone to come and help me." Yoh, within ten minutes there were two police vans there, shuh. Jacked my car, put the wheel on and everything for me.

30 So ja, there's people that will go an extra mile to help. But there's some people that... ag, most of the cases everybody will help, hey. If they, if they can, ja.

But ja, I, I try and cope with everything. It's just, you know, how sometimes I get frustrated when I have to *do* a few things. You know, but I make a *plan*. I mean

there's always a way, hey, it's, always find a way to do something. Okay, that's about all I can tell you. [laughing] Unless you wanna *know* something *else*.

Stephen: [p] I don't have anymore questions.

Clive: Not. Okay.

5 Stephen: Is there anything you want to say?

Clive: No, no, I could sit here the whole night, hey. Ja.

Stephen: Well thank you so much.

Clive: Okay. It's a pleasure.

10 **Winston Mzwandile N 2008**

Stephen: And I'm going to take notes just on some...

Winston: Ja, okay

Stephen: ...of the things that you say.

15 Winston: Okay.

Stephen: Okay.

Winston: Mmm.

Stephen: Umm, so the first question is could you tell me about your experience of that night on the 1st of May 1993 when the Highgate was attacked. What do you
20 remember about that night?

Winston: Yes, I remember that night. [p] It was on Saturday, Saturday night, roundabout twenty-to, twenty-to ten, that thing happened about twenty-to ten.

I just checked the... one chappie, bust inside. At that time I was sitting in the chair as a barman and my, my bible was sit next to me. Then on the counter were the
25 customers, I think it was, uh, Charles [inaudible] and, uh, Trevor and, and, and, uh, and Nigel, they sitting the other side in the corner. Another two, two chaps were playing pool other side.

So when the chap come inside, then I didn't notice he's got a gun. Then he started firing. Then when they fire on that, "look, hey this chap is firing." I tried to escape but, but shot me already. On my thigh.

5 Then I fall, I fall off the chair. Right through to the fridge, bang with my head and then I collapsed there. You see, ja, ja. [p] Then after I collapsed there I hear everybody now.

Charles was shot there from other side, outside the counter, he fall just in front of the table. Then they shot, they shot Charles after on his leg. And then Trevor was shot right other side, then fall out-, outside, other side of the counter. You see.

10 Then as I sitting there, I was sleeping there, I said "no". And then I hear something now, a *bang* on the fridge. At that time they threw a hand grenade on. But the hand grenade, uh, just hit, uh, hit the counter, then through the fridge, other side, uh, the snooker table. Then there was, uh, the *smoke* now, now inside in the bar.

15 That time I'm sleeping, smoke you know you can't see, you see. Then I hear next door now. They shooting at next door now. I thinks now that's ladies bar. Ja. Then I try now to pull myself to the store. 'Cause when, when you go in there there's a store next door. Go to glass room, then try pull myself there with my arm-, my hands.

20 Then I find a place there to hide a little bit and open the door. Just look *there* for the entrance of the bar. I see the people who get [inaudible] I think now it *must* be a fire brigade, uh, come inside, uh, to save us.

Then they come to save, come to save us. Then they asking, "where's Winston, where's that other [inaudible] chap was knows me there. Where's Winston, where's Winston, where's Winston?"

25 Then they see me now with the torch. Now they come help me maybe outside. Because my right, my right leg was broken already. I *can't* walk, you see. Can't walk. Even [inaudible] was so like this. It's just a bullet.

30 And then they take me to hospital. Ja. They take me to hospital. There I sleeping [inaudible] was me and Charles we were sleeping together in the same ward. Charles Barrington, we were together same ward. Ja. [p].

Stephen: Okay. So were you at the Frere Hospital?

Winston: At the Frere Hospital, ja.

Stephen: Frere Hospital.

Winston: Ja. At the Frere Hospital.

Stephen: And how long were you there for?

Winston: There at Frere Hospital, I think we sleep there for I think it was... [p]. I think it's three-and-a-half week I was sleeping there, three-and-a-half week.

5 Then they call me to take me to operation. Go there. A month, I think it's one month, I don't know, one month or, or three-and-a-half-week. Then they teaches us, teaches me now to [inaudible] at my home.

10 Then I *stay* at home now. I always go for the check-up now. Using the clutches because I can't walk, using my clutches, using the clutches. I think after three months I come a little bit alright. After three months come a little bit, I feel like I can walk a little bit.

But I got *pins* all the time, I got pins, I got pins all the time. I got pins, ja. Then I sit at home now, I think it's after four months, five months, six months, I come back to work. Ja. Come back to work. [p].

15 Stephen: So how did, how did the Highgate Attack affect your work and your family and your everyday life?

Winston: That place there, Highgate, affect me bad 'cause I didn't think about that can happen. I always see that thing happening on the, on the TV, you see. I was [inaudible] happen to me.

20 Stephen: Ja. [p] So you couldn't believe it had happened to you?

Winston: No, I didn't believe it had happened to me.

Stephen: [p] And have there been any experiences since the Highgate that have reminded you of it? Umm, has anything happened to you that's, that's made you think *back* to the Highgate?

25 Winston: Sees, some-, sometimes at night, I used to think because, sometimes at night, if I hear some, maybe outside, the fire-, firearm banging, bah, bah, bah, think what of the Highgate. Even still now I'm still *thinking* about that.

Make me struck, you see, 'cause I'm still thinking about that, what happened on that night. Because it was *bad*. Was very very bad. Was bad.

30 [inaudible] I die because the bullet it hit me this side on the thigh, but it should hit me both leg. But *luckily* missed this leg now but make a cut. I got a cut this side.

Make a cut. Ja. And even here in my private part, my balls, I got a little bit *cut* there.

Stephen: [p] It must have been a difficult experience to go through.

Winston: No.

5 Stephen: [p] I mean the Highgate, the, the Attack.

Winston: Ja.

Stephen: Must have been very difficult.

Winston: Ja, very difficult.

10 Stephen: [p] And how has it influenced you to be involved with the other Highgate Survivors, in the group?

Winston: I always involved with them.

Stephen: Always been.

Winston: I always meet them. I *always* meet them. Cape Town. Even now we come from that, uh, that, uh, that Grahamstown, I was there.

15 Stephen: Okay.

Winston: Then we left there on Friday, come back on Sunday.

Stephen: Okay.

20 Winston: I was there. I always there. But I missed, only I missed now I didn't go to Highgate, the memories, that first. Because I [inaudible] the problem is I got my [inaudible] child, now that lighty that didn't want to stay with somebody, other body he doesn't know, you see.

25 Then he take my phone, they switch off my phone. I look at my phone, look at my phone. I look at my phone to *go* there. I didn't get my phone. I only find my phone on Friday, Friday evening. They just play with my phone there. He doesn't know where he put it now.

Then I find my phone and open it. Then I *did* go to Highgate for the, just after that, after 11 o'clock, after 10 o'clock I just light a candle. And then I pray, for the memory of what was happening, at the first of Highgate. Ja. I just light a candle, then I switch off roundabout 12 o'clock. Just kept praying, after I finish I pray.

30 Stephen: Okay. [p] So did, did you enjoy the experience in Grahamstown?

Winston: Yes, I did enjoy the experience in Grahamstown. Yes I did enjoy the experience in Grahamstown.

Stephen: And what's it like for you to be with the other survivors?

5 Winston: I love to be [inaudible] survivors. I've no problem to be with them. I *like* to be with them, and I *learn* also.

Stephen: [p] Why, why do you think you like to be with them? Why?

10 Winston: Because you know what... we were... so, so I think about what happening to *us*, then God give us a life, a life again. [inaudible] that day saying that other people there they lose their life, but we didn't lose their life, our life, we still alive. So I must be part of them, you see, as a group. Yes.

Stephen: Okay. [p] And did you have any experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Winston: No.

Stephen: Not.

15 Winston: No, I didn't.

Stephen: Okay. [p] Umm, and how did you feel when you first thought that the Attack was carried out by APLA? Because when, when the Attack was first done, APLA claimed responsibility.

Winston: Yes.

20 Stephen: So how did it make you feel to think that?

Winston: Oh I feel so *scared* that time. *Very* scared. Then I'm feeling I'm helpless, because I'm staying at Mdantsane, you see. I have no sister to watch with me, I didn't know who shoot them. Ja.

25 Stephen: [p] And, and now that, now that people think that it wasn't APLA that carried out the attack, that it was the SADF...

Winston: SADF, yes.

Stephen: ...how does that make you feel?

Winston: Still feel me un-, feel me unhappy because all I like you know, Stephen like, make me feel unhappy because I don't know who's the people they shoot,

they shot us. I think I can be glad if I can see them, then they apologise. We do this and this, I can see them. Because I don't know who shoot me, I don't know.

5 Maybe we passed each other when we walking in town, I don't know. Maybe, and he *knows* me but I don't know him, you see. Or is he black or is he a white chap, I don't know.

But all I like [inaudible] just to see him then I see what he going to say, why he shooting us. Because that time we unarmed, we didn't think about people they shooting. We had no guns, we were just sitting.

10 Stephen: So, so what would you say to, to these people if you had a chance to meet them?

Winston: No, [inaudible] I gonna ask them if I can *meet* them *why* they shooting us. Ja. *Why* they shooting, why they do that, what makes them to do that to us.

Stephen: And when you, when you went to Cape Town and you met other people who had also...

15 Winston: shot.

Stephen: ...who had also been victims, umm, what was that experience like?

20 Winston:experience like, because I did talk to those people there from other side of places, different places and to talk to them. Then they told me what's happening to them. Same, same year, you see. So I think, no, it, it's not *us*, only *us*. A lot of people they, they've been affected with this, you see. Ja.

Stephen: [p] So what was it like to hear about *their* stories? Umm, what, what was it like to hear about the way that *they* had suffered by, under the apartheid government?

25 Winston: Some of them they told them their sufferings, know what I mean? Some of them they were killed with their, their husbands, see, and children, you see. You see. It's part of the, the *apartheid*. I think, I think it was the armed struggle. [inaudible] an armed struggle they say so, some of the people I meet at Cape Town, when we talk each other there. Ja.

Stephen: [p] Uh, and were you, were you involved in any way in the struggle?

30 Winston: No, I was not involved in any part of this. I didn't form any part of that. APLA, ANC or, ANC, no. I'm not a part of any group. No.

Stephen: Okay.

Winston: No.

Stephen: [p] Umm, and how has, how has the Highgate attack and the fact that you got injured, how's that affected your family?

5 Winston: Oh, my family was very disappointed. Asking me, oh, they said to me thanks to be alive. But they struck because it been long time [inaudible] Highgate. Then they said no, thanks God to be you be alive. You see. [p] My *mother* and my, and my *wife* and my *children*. Ja.

Stephen: So you said you went, did you go back to work at the Highgate?

10 Winston: Ja, I did go back to work Highgate. After I feel no, nothing can happen, you know. They put *secure* now. It was [inaudible] you see and a camera. When somebody's coming outside you can press the button and see who, who, who what one's coming, you see. Ja.

15 So was better now. Then I see now it's a little bit better now. Security. Now when somebody's come outside ringing the bell, then press, you look at the TV see if there's somebody's coming. You can see now, you can see who's the faces are. Then I know the regular of Highgate because I've been so long there at Highgate.

Stephen: Okay.

Winston: Ja.

20 Stephen: And then, umm, how, how long after that did you stay at the Highgate working?

25 Winston: After that... 1993... '93, '93, '94... I stay a little bit long. I stay a little bit long Highgate. Because that time was my boss first was Mr Van der... Mr, what's his name, I forget his name... [p] Mr Vogel, then after, after Mr Vogel, Mr Arthur [inaudible] take it over. Then I working for Mr Arthur [inaudible] now until I, I, I left the job, until I left the job.

Stephen: And why, why did you leave the job?

30 Winston: At the time, the problem I leave the job it was stake taking, stock taking, stock taking. That's why I leave the job, it was stock taking. Stock shortage, you see, as a barman, ja, stock shortage. Stock got shorter and stock got short, stock short so on and so on and so on and so on, you see. And they been now firing me.

Stephen: So how did you feel when you, when you had to leave the job?

Winston: I feel bad because I got children. A wife and my children are still young, they not old they still very young. Because my first born is now, now is, is fourteen years old. End of the year, this year he's going to be fifteen years old.

5 Then the other one they got a [inaudible]. So they *still young*, they still need *support*. Even now I'm worried because I didn't find that job *yet*. I just find piece, piece jobs, you see. Then only my, my wife is working now, she working at PE.

10 She work at PE. She come every end of the, end of the month. So at home I'm alone with that little one. My other, other, other of my children they stay to my, to my mother's wife, they don't stay to me. But the little one now he's staying with me.

Stephen: So you take care of the little ones?

Winston: I take care of the little one. Ja. [p] [coughs].

Stephen: Umm, and how does it feel to be the, the only black person in the Highgate support group?

15 Winston: No. No, I don't feel so bad, bad that Steve, I don't feel about that...

Stephen: You don't feel...

20 Winston: No, no, no, I don't feel about that. I don't feel about that. Because that thing is *happening*, it's *happening* and I *know* those people. They, uh, the, the people there that drink at Highgate, they are regular customers there, some of them they *know* me, you see, *very well*.

You see, yes, so I, I think [inaudible] part of the group of Highgate, who was shot at, uh, at Highgate. No, I don't feel that. 'Cause God make this happen, then I'm only the *black* man there who, who, who with, with white people, you see.

25 Because at that time I *was* with white people. Only two chaps still there, was me and my bar boy. You see. Then that thing *happening*. If you notice it was not me or was, was my *partner* that [inaudible], like me now. So I not feel nothing [inaudible], no.

Stephen: So the, the other people who were shot, do you feel like they're your friends?

30 Winston: Yes, I feel they are my *friends* because that thing happened to *all* of us. Ja. Like Charles at hospital, we, we sitting *nicely* at hospital. Even his wife, she support Charles and *me* the *same* way, you see, in the *same* way.

Stephen: The same way.

Winston: The same way. Bring up the TV, you can see where we sitting there, sleeping next to each other. Yes. When I got pains, just open the tape, talk to each other, you see. Friendly, you see, ja, friendly. Because the pains are hitting me
5 bad, me and Charles. *We crying* there at night there, *we crying* mens, *crying*. In the same way, you see.

[p] Even me I'm worried about him, when he doesn't attend the group of, uh, uh Highgate, 'cause support will be there. I don't know why. Other survivors Highgate, they don't come there, to be a part of the group of the Highgate. Should be better,
10 goo-, good for us. I don't know why they feel. I don't know.

Me I always try by, uh, by all means must be there. When you see you must go something there, I try to be there. Yes. Because I'm thin-, thinking about what happening to us at Highgate.

Even I don't know, *maybe* it's going to happen again, or somebody go at home
15 and shoot me at home, I don't know. The people we don't know who's there, I don't know who they [inaudible] who they are I don't know.

Stephen: [p] And how, how do you feel about the investigation into the attack?

Winston: After the attack.

Stephen: Ja. Umm, because the NPA re-opened the investigation, but they haven't
20 got anywhere.

Winston: Ja.

Stephen: So what, what do you feel about that?

Winston: See me I feel bad because all I wanted must get information, right
25 information [tapping on table], who the people they do this to us, you see. It doesn't mean I want to kill them, just want to know who the people who do this to us, who the people who shoot at Highgate at us. You see.

Because them they know the reason why they shoot at Highgate. Me I don't know
30 what the reason they shoot Highgate was, I was working there, I was behind the counter serving the customers. Now they, the person come bust inside there and shoot us, everybody in the bar. You see.

Stephen: [p] And how, how's it changed your life to have been in the Highgate that night?

Winston: You see now that my life been changed because sometimes I, I not like *before* now. I was very strong before, now can my, can be *afraid* thinking, especially when I'm thinking at night getting afraid. If I hear something even see that, at location lot of *bang bang bang*, you see at night, I *think*, you see.

5 Sometimes I rush to the door, go to look at toilet door is it closed properly, you see. I'm still *thinking* about that and I'm not *strong* like well I was before.

See like, like sometimes when the weather is bad, I feel in my leg. And I *can't run*, you see. If I carry upstairs a heavy thing, you see, I mustn't just take up fast, I must take *slowly* because I feel that I can't put [inaudible] a good balance, no I haven't
10 got a good balance like before. I cannot get a good balance.

Stephen: [p] So it must be difficult that you always feel...

Winston: Yes I always feel something. This leg not same like u-, used to be before, you see. Ja. I feel I'm not right. Even when it's cold I feel something, so sometimes I must take a tablets or a rubbing stuff, I rub my leg, rub.

15 And I feel when I go sleeping, especially when it's a winter time, like go to now it's going to be winter time. I feel, you see. When it got, when it got a clouds, too much clouds and, and colds I *feel*, you see, I feel. So if I got a rubbing stuff, I rub it with rubbing stuff, then put a bandage then I can feel a little bit better now. [tapping on table].

20 Because next, *can't be, can't be* like before. Nay, can't be. No, can't be like before. Because my, my bone was totally *broken*, in pieces, you see, ja. Then a certain growing up now, so you can't be like before, no.

You see this one, I feel nice alright it is strong, but this one no, I feel, amper I lose my leg. But I say, can says thanks God because I can walk now. But I can't *run*, as
25 I usual to run before. No, because something was happening to my leg, I feel, you see.

Stephen: So you, you were in the hospital for three, three-and-a-half weeks, you said?

Winston: Yes I think three-and-a-half week, because hospital was full that time we
30 were there. A lot of people were injured, a lot of people were injured, a lot of people were injured.

Stephen: Did you have to have an operation?

Winston: Yes I have operation. I think it's three times or four times operation. Then they put us, they put me a pin. But the other pin it takes so long to, to take it out. I

think, I think two years or three years, then they take the pin out, ja, take the pin out. [p] But I still feel my leg not strong like before. I can't carry a heavy thing, you see.

5 Stephen: [p] And did, did you find it difficult to, to pay for all your medical expenses, umm, for the operation and for being in hospital?

Winston: No, so I, I didn't pay a thing by myself, no. They pay by, I don't know who pay me for all my things. I didn't pay me by myself, no.

Stephen: [p] Umm, has it been different for you since you've been part of the Highgate Survivors Group, because the group was formed quite recently?

10 Winston: Ja.

Stephen: Umm, so how, how did you deal with your memory before you were part of the group?

15 Winston: You see until now we... [inaudible] [p] part of Highgate, the right to be the part of Highgate. Then I *learn*, ja, what they learn, then they like me to *learn*, ja. Although I'm not *well* educated at school, but I *want* to be a part of the group of Highgate, ja. Because that thing I thinks it's, it's, it's, it's a *story*, you see.

Stephen: It's a story.

20 Winston: It's a story what's happening Highgate, ja. Nobody can for-, forget that. Even *my* children never going to forget that. It's a story, no matter I die, "my father was shot at Highgate". Still I got something, there's letters there they show them I was shot at Highgate.

Stephen: Ja, so they will remember.

Winston: They will remember, ja, you see, remember. Even my *friends* too.

Stephen: So have you told, have you told lots of people what happened to you?

25 Winston: Yes, because they see me *already* on the TV that thing was happening. [inaudible] that thing happening, they see me on TV. As I reached home they said we see you on your TV, you was *shot* at Highgate, ja, lot of people.

[p] Then some of them they come, when I'm sleeping there they come visit me. My family come visit me at hospital, because they see me already on the TV.

30 Say "hayi Winston was shot Highgate", and some of other people who were there in the bar. Some people were dead, because of five dead, seven injured, you see. [coughs].

Stephen: [p] So what, what, what do you wish for for your life, for the future? Is there anything that you wish for, for your own life?

Winston: My own life to, my future for my own life to I feel to, to just grow up, make, grow up my children, working, or get work, God give me work, helping my,
5 my wife to support our children. You see, that's whole my future I think.

I don't think about having booze, getting drunk or, *no*, or enjoying parties, no, I just look after my children. They must grow up and then they must be *well* educated because me I'm not well educated. They must go to school, then well educated. Then when they old now they can help me, me and my wife. That's how I think for
10 my future, ja.

Stephen: And the survivors group? W-, What do you, would you like to continue to be part of the group in the future?

Winston: I could only be, uh, did, could only be part of the group, you see. And then as I said now, I talk about my children, I want to look after my children, they
15 go to school.

Then help my wife if God give me a job, 'cause I know this time, these days to get a job, it's very hard to get a job. But I thank God, uh, one day God gonna give to me, yes. I believe in my heart God will give me one day.

Stephen: [p] Is there anything else that you would like to say about your own life, or your life story or about the Highgate?
20

Winston: I think I can say no, you see. [p] You see me Steve, all I, all I want to, to know to, to, to the Highgate, all I want to, to hear and I think, I pray to God those people who do that, so they done that thing that, that night, shooting us at night, I wanted to see them, ja, I want to see them.

I didn't say I want to *hit back*, just to see them, or hear the man they attacking us at Highgate, you see that time. Because we were un-, unarmed, then they shooting us. Some of them they said our friends [inaudible] Winston was at the Highgate, it was *armed struggle*, you see. They say some of them, some of my friends.
25

But we all alike, no matter whether they come to Truth Commission, like they come to visit me, they said, I apologise what we have done, you see, ja, because that was a part of this and this and this. So we just apologise.
30

Then I start to see them, then I know *there's* the chap who's shooting us, because I *don't know him*, you see. It's the same like the person attacking you at night

wearing a balaclava, grabbing you, taking your cell phone, shoes, your money, see. Then he disappear, you don't know that chap.

Or stabbing you behind, from behind, you don't know that chap, yes. But meantime when you walk up in the street, he always passing you. But *him* he knows you but
5 you don't know him, you see, ja. Don't know him.

Stephen: So, so would you like to find out the truth about the attack?

Winston: Yes I want to find out the truth, all I want. I want to find out the truth, so I pray to God, God these chaps they must, I must, I want to see them, ja. Because they not overseas, they are here, around in South Africa, yes. Not far away, they
10 here in South Africa. They *belong* here, they here in South Africa, they must be somewhere around here, you see.

[p] Because they break my future, I can't be like before now, I can't be like before. Now I can be a coward now, first I hear it's a *bang bang*, I struck, duck in the corner, you see, 'cause that night was *very terrible* that night. I still remember that
15 night, it was *terrible, very very terrible* that night.

Amper I die, because if the people had shot, had not shot me in my, my thigh, had shoot me straight on my chest, I should die. [inaudible] dead long time.

Stephen: It's very, very hard memory.

Winston: Yes very hard memory, very hard memory. And the *pains*, we were
20 *crying* with the pain, pains, *crying* with the pain, 'cause the bullet's got poison. I'm tired of the pains, and at home I couldn't sleep. I must take the pain tablets, I couldn't sleep, couldn't sleep.

[p] Even now I still have a pain now. If, if my leg, I, I used to stretch like this [gesturing] it's better but if I make like this, I *feel*, you see. When I want to open my
25 leg, I, I feel something, ja. You see if I take tablets, take pain tablets, it's bittle bit better, especially when it's a, the winter's bad, it's nice when, uh, it's the summer time.

Stephen: But winter time...

Winston: Ja, when it's a winter time, then it's bad. I *feel*, so that's why I must rub
30 my, my leg, you see, yes. Or I must buy those tablets they call it Profin, the red one, ja, for the bones. So I always *use* that one. Bought a tablets, I always drink maybe *one* after I, I finish to eat. I take one I go bed, when I go to bed I take another one. But, ja.

Stephen: Okay.

Winston: [tapping on table] Sometimes I'm feeling bad 'cause I'm not working. I haven't got the money to buy those things, 'less my wife come back and then food bought for me or bri-, bring for me from where he works, that I bring those ta-, tablets, for the pain tablets, then, uh, she helping me, ja, ja.

5 Even if I work *hard* or maybe I take something there at home. After I sleep, after I will getting washed, I [inaudible] bath, I feel something, pain. That's why I working *very hard*, you see. *Handing* up, handing up. Lifting something hard, or like a, or a, a stone, heavy stones, [inaudible] or something.

10 Because I *never* feel it like before, never. Because *my* leg was broken, totally broken. Then it can't grow up again, so I *can't* be like before. And God make me... [laughing]

Stephen: So, so you feel you *lost* something at the Highgate?

15 Winston: Yes, yes, yes. Amper I *lost* my life there, but I still *lost* my life because I *can't* like before, I can't. [p] But I can't, I can't say I blame God because I'm still alive. But I'm worried about the people they lost their, their, their, their... family and sons, you see, ja, and their fathers 'cause I still feel bad about that, you see.

'Cause it not easy, you see, when one of your family get die. Especially with the, with the attack. It's bad if, if, if he just die or she die because of a problem of the *ills*, maybe she's ill, she was ill or TB pathologies, then she gets die.

20 To be attack and shot quicklys, make me think, you see. That people, that person was, was not attacked, be attacked, shoot the life, you see [inaudible]. There's a lot of chap at there die, I know them, because I've been so long at Highgate. I know them all the chaps that die Highgate.

25 Stephen: [p] And has, has the attack changed the way that you, you relate to your children?

Winston: Ja, you see the attack changed me, Steve, for the way I, I used to be before, you see. You see something happening too bad, it was very bad, which *change* your life, change your brain, because now you, you *not* like before, you not like before.

30 Especially a gun, a gun is very bad, AK47 shottng you at close blank. You see, ja [laughing]. [p] Even when you walk on the street, Steve, somebody come, a lot of tsotsis come with you to the gun, and then they started shoot at you but *miss* you too the bullets, you see, by luck of God.

You always *think* about that. Ja, even when you walking sometimes a little bit dark, you see, you afraid, you think about that thing what's happening to you. But you are *lucky*, you see, ja. Because life now is just is dangerous.

5 Even when you are home, you un-, unsafe when you at home because [inaudible] come bust the door, hitting you or killing you, raping your child or your wife in front of you, you see. It's too *terrible* really, in front of you. That time you've done nothing, you sitting at home. They come kick the door, come inside, shooting you, attacking you *without reason*.

10 They come to rob, like it like this, for example, if I got a, you got a spaza shop or got a little bit shebeen, just make for money for yourself, you see, you like when they call it a vukuzenzela, ja. So you make a little bit of money, so as to can't find a job so you must have a shebeen or a little bit, uh, spaza shop.

15 So that time some people watching you, oh this man he must got money, you see lot of people go, always going in there. Then but he close, maybe 10 o'clock he close. So it's quiet, and nobody there now. They jump over, over the fence to come attack you, uh, for that little of bit money of you got, then they *rape* your wife, they *killing* you, you see.

Stephen: It's terrible.

Winston: It's *terrible*, ja, terrible.

20 Stephen: [p] So is there, is there anything more that you would like to say?

Winston: No Steve, no, can't deal with this. All I life I been judging, God make those children or those people who do that at Highgate. We must *know* who, who they are, ja, we must know who they are, those people who shoot at Highgate.

25 No matter they come, they apologise, it's *us* who do this or for the part of this and this, or armed struggle. So we must *know*, yes. But they broke in front, but they *broke* our lives.

30 You see like, uh, you see like, uh, like Trevor. Trevor that time was young, very young Trevor, but they destroy, uh, Trevor's life, you see, they destroy Trevor's life. If I sees Trevor sometimes I'm thinking because, uh, he was a little bit nice boy when he come the Highgate with his friend. But he went sit in the counter, he didn't know he waiting for the bullet.

Even me, me after I, just after I, little bit *serve* them. I still remember they bought two pints of Black Label, him and his friend. Then I give them the change, I go sit

there. I remember that people bust inside, they *shooting* us. I see Trevor can't walk properly now, shame, ja.

Stephen: It's, it's terrible.

5 Winston: Terrible. Clive [inaudible] can't be, can't married, you see, can't married. They destroy his life, totally *destroy* his life, you see. But lucky for the, for the sake of God, he's still *alive*.

Stephen: He's still alive.

Winston: Ja he's still alive, ja. That's why I, I always run *after* him, after him when he call us: "go there, Winston, go there, go". 'Cause I think, ja...

10 Stephen: So you, you can identify with what's happened to him.

Winston: Who, Trevor?

Stephen: Ja. Trevor and Clive and the other survivors.

15 Winston: *No*, they shoot us same time, they shoot us same time. But I think that, that chap when he came, I think first people shoot them. I think it's, it's, uh, *Trevor*, because he was sit right on the corner. And come back was Clive, Charles, but [inaudible] the bullet missed [inaudible] 'cause [inaudible] was under the toilet.

20 Ja, [inaudible] is a policeman, then he jump straight in the toilet. Then, uh, Charles fall right, right in-, inside the bar, in front of, in front of the TV. Then as I *look* where this chap is shooting, I tried to run but I was too late, shot in my right leg [tapping on table], too late, shot in my right. [p] Then all I think government must see what they can do about us, you see. Ja, because I, I, I thinks the people helping us, give us a little bit money was, uh, TRC.

Stephen: TRC.

Winston: Ja, TRC.

25 Stephen: So do you think the government should provide more help for the survivors?

Winston: Ja. I think, I think, but I think first if they want to help for more information. You see I want the information for this chap who done the Highgate, you see. [p] Because they *destroy* our life, ja, they destroy our life, ja.

30 Stephen: So it must be a very sad memory for you...

Winston: Yes, because *can't* be same like before, no, you can get coward, cowards now because you *thinking*. If something bad to you, is happening bad to you, you *can't* forget about that, you always *think* about that, never forget. Even when you sleeping you have a bad dreams and wake up, struck, *thinking* about that, ja.

It's like when you see something there on the TV or maybe it's a film, uh, it's a movie, playing the movie, a *bad* movie shooting at people, each other. Thinking, especially when you see maybe they shooting at [inaudible] you think about that.

Me I think about that, hayi that thing what's happening at Highgate, you see, ja.
10 That thing happened at Highgate I *think*. And sometimes I stand straight up at night, you see. I say no I'm dreaming, ja. No, I'm crying not dreaming, because that thing was *bad*, it was bad.

Or I'm very scared when I, I, I been to church [inaudible] stay at home. I always said to my sister please lock the door, please lock the door. Because I'm *afraid*, ja, I'm afraid. I don't know whether this chap's going to come back again, to come and shoot me at home when I'm sits at home, I don't know.

Stephen: So you, you still think they might be, they might be out there?

Winston: Ja. Yes.

Stephen: Well thank you for...

20 Winston: [inaudible].

Stephen: Thank you for all that you've shared.

Winston: Yes.

Stephen: Thank you for coming here, and for speaking with me. I, I do thoroughly appreciate it.

25 Winston: Okay, Steve.

Stephen: So thank you.

Winston: Okay.

Nigel H 2008

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Stephen: Oh, and I'm just going to take notes...

Nigel: Okay.

Stephen: ...but that's just, just of the topics that come up...

Nigel: Okay.

5 Stephen: ...as we talk.

Nigel: Okay.

Stephen: Okay. Umm, so firstly, could you tell me about your experience of that night on the first of May 1993 when the Highgate was attacked.

10 Nigel: Well I was at home sleeping. Trevor phoned my house, said: "will you please come with us we gonna go to the Highgate" – well he didn't say we going to the Highgate, he said we going to get something to eat.

15 And we went to... well I was sleeping so my dad woke me up. Then he asked me so I said okay. Then umm,, he came down the, down the street. My dad went to the car and said: "listen guys, umm, I don't want yous to go pub, pub crawling." So we said: "no we *won't* go, umm we just gonna get something to eat."

So we went to Kentucky, then we went to Gonubie, had our Kentucky. Then when we were coming *back* we stopped at the Highgate, and we said okay we'll have a quick one there quickly.

20 Umm, we were there for not even [p] ten minutes. I only had four sips out of my beer, and then I just heard this [mimics sound by tapping on table] up the stairs.

And then as we looked up like this, I just saw the sparks shooting out the, umm guns. And then I remem-, I remember – I don't know if I fell or if Trevor pulled me or whatever – but I remember falling on the ground.

25 Umm, I must have been unconscious for a couple seconds because I woke up with umm, the, the teargas in my eyes – it was like burning and that in my, in my head. And then all of a sudden we just heard this big explosion which was the hand grenade that went off.

30 And then, umm, when I came around, Trevor was *gone*. I was there all by myself. And then I ran *past*. And then there was a guy that was on the end of the bar there, umm, I don't know if he was busy *dying* or whatever, but he grabbed me on my leg and then I pulled away scared and that.

And then I went to the *door*, and then I ran out in the parking lot. And when I ran out in the parking lot that guy in the other side bar thought he was shooting at the umm, people. Meanwhile he was shooting at me, so he fired another three shots at me in the parking lot, so then I ran back inside.

5 *Then* I tried to find Trevor and them and I couldn't find them. And then this one door came flying down, which was umm, Keith Baling – he kicked the door down. And then the first police van came and I said: “come guys, come and help us here”, and they wouldn't help.

10 Umm, then I tried to pull him and he wouldn't... like he's a bit big for me so I pulled him as far as I could. Umm, and then umm, we, the ambulance service came. Then we tried to pick him up, we put him on the stretcher, but then the tear gas started getting a bit bad so then we had to go out again.

15 Then the fire department guys came and they had masks. But the whole time I was in and out without a mask. And then the fire department guys they put him on the same stretcher and then we carried him. And then umm, all the other guys were coming out, slowly but surely.

Umm, and then I was holding the two beds in the back of the ambulance, because the two beds weren't the ambulance beds they were like from different ambulances. So I had to hold them from sliding around in the back.

20 Then I don't know where Keith disappeared to but I was with Billy in the ambulance and Trevor all the way to the hospital.

And then as we got to the hospital I ran out the back and then I went and phoned *my* parents. And then my parents went and phoned Trevor's parents and then umm, they all came to the hospital.

25 Umm, and then you get all these people coming in: “did you see my son, did you see this one, did you see that one.” And then I remember umm, Lyn-, Shereen's father and mother still coming in and asking did I see their son. I said no, I didn't know what he looked like.

30 And then I remember the, I think it was a pastor or someone that told them that their son was killed in the attack. And then her parents like went *mad* there. [p] But I mean, umm...

Stephen: ...that must have been quite difficult having people coming and asking about where their, where their loved ones were?

Nigel: Mmm. And then I went into the hospital thing with Trevor. And then we didn't know exactly where he was shot. And then we put him on this stretcher thing.

5 And then my dad tried to pick him up and then the blood just started running on the ground like a, like a tap. So then my dad threw all the linen – because they pushed him into like a linen room there wasn't enough rooms available for all the people coming in. So my dad threw all the linen on the ground because the blood was just like running on the tiles.

10 And then umm, we slept there by the hospital until about 3, 4 o'clock. He only went into theatre about 3, 4 o'clock. And then I went home and I slept. And then the investigating officer was by my house like the next morning about 7 o'clock. I think his name was Wayne Rutters, I think, that came and took my statement.

15 [p] And then I didn't get *anything*, I didn't get any medication from then [tapping lightly on table] un-, until now, I've only just gone on medication now for the post-traumatic stress. I actually started working it *completely* out of my head. I mean I started going to the Highgate, and all the stories and forgetting about it.

Then when this umm, Highgate support group whatever was formed and I decided to join and whatever. But there's *a lot of things* which I was not happy about in this story, and I think that's why I had a nervous breakdown which I discussed in St Marks on the weekend.

20 Being is that with me not, not being injured in the attack everyone's like pushed me aside and is making as if I'm not a victim. Meanwhile they, they were all hurt, fair enough, but they were on medication and in hospital and everything. I was mobile, I wasn't on medication, that's the way I see it.

25 And then I was also very hurt when they put the plaque up and they didn't put *my* name and Keith's name on there. I don't know if *Keith* feels the same way, but I feel that it's unfair. Although we weren't hurt umm, we were victims as well.

Stephen: Right.

30 Nigel: I mean I didn't, I didn't, I didn't *expect* my name to be put, put up there, but it's just the *principle*. I mean when, when we went to the memorial they, they, they mentioned all the people that, that were hurt but they leave [tapping lightly on table] Keith and my name off there.

35 I mean *we* were also there. I mean I was pushed right to the one, the one *corner*. I wasn't even... everyone else was standing in the *front* and sitting in the *front* when we had the memorial. I sat with the crowd of *people*. I don't know if you were there, I don't know...

Stephen: I wasn't at the first memorial. I, I did go on Thursday.

Nigel: Oh did you go? Who was all there on Thursday?

Stephen: Umm, most of the survivors were there. Trevor, Nora, Maria, Shereen and her father, and Clive and some of his family and friends.

5 Nigel: Did, umm, what's her name come, Bernice?

Stephen: No. Bernice and Fran didn't come.

Nigel: Are you going to interview Bernice and Fran, or not?

Stephen: Umm, I, I may do at a later stage. They, they're not very keen at the moment.

10 Nigel: Ja, I spoke to Bernice. Bernice feels the same as what I do. We, we all pushed like to one side.

Stephen: Ja.

15 Nigel: I mean it's, that's why I actually had a nervous breakdown, because of all these things happening and *work* pressure and that. *Although* I can say one thing my, my work actually has made me cope. If it wasn't for my job I think I would have snapped long, long time ago already.

20 Because like when you get up your mind's taken off the whole day. You come home at night then you un, well unwind. Umm, I, I, I tried not to think about it. And then now with them bringing back all the stories and that, it's like starting to come, come back and it's coming back with a vengeance.

Stephen: So is there a sense that... of not, not feeling part of, of the survivor's group because you weren't injured, and because you haven't got as much help as the others have?

25 Nigel: Ja. They all... even my mom and umm, Trevor's sister had an argument by the one stockcar race, because *they* say what do *I* want out of it? I don't want *nothing* out of it. I just want to be acknowledged as one of the victims there.

The same as my mom and dad. They, they *know* that I was taking, taking strain. I mean they've, they've lived with me for the last 14, 15 years so they should *know*.

30 I mean even now, I mean when I was in St Marks I told my parents: "I don't want to see *anyone* there for, for the two weeks, I want to go through this by myself." And my parents expected like, well respected my wish and they didn't come to me for two weeks.

Okay I did come out for the weekend but I mean I never saw anyone for two weeks. And when I came out it was like a whole new, like starting over.

5 It's like walking into the world... okay I had to learn how to read, I had to learn how to drive over, and places that have changed and places that *were* there and *weren't* there when I was in there.

But I'm *glad* I did go. I should have done that *long* time, I should have done it *fifteen* years ago. Maybe I would have even been 100% right already.

10 Like I explained to the guy there, umm, the psychiatrist and also in our group, umm – because there was a *whole* lot of people that were suffering from post-traumatic stress in our group – and I said that with me being in this Highgate story, there's no-one that I could trust in my whole sting [?].

Okay my parents, but I mean that's, that's a different form of group. Umm, I well I still don't trust anyone, I, I don't trust anyone. I only trust myself. And I only live for myself; I don't live for anyone else *but* myself.

15 Well I know the psychiatrist said I mustn't look at it that way, but I said well that's the way I want to go. Because I formed a, umm, how can I say, a cocoon. And like I formed a space and no-one must come into my, my, my space.

20 Umm, I mean I don't go out. I haven't been like to a night club or whatever. My parents go eating out quite a lot, they ask me: "do you want to go?" I say: "no I don't want to go." They actually have to *beg* me to go and I won't go.

Umm, with me being in this, umm, in St Marks that was my homework for the weekend. I *had* to go out, I *had* to go to places, I *had* to go to Vincent Park. Because if I want something from the shop or whatever, I send my mom and dad to go buy it, I don't go buy it. And they said that's all parts of post-traumatic stress.

25 Umm, like say for instance someone talks to you and you like all nervous and you don't want to talk, talk back, that's all part of post-traumatic stress. Not going out, umm, not trusting people, there's a whole lot of things. It's all, umm, forms of post-traumatic stress.

Stephen: So since you've been to St Marks, can you recognise those things?

30 Nigel: Ja, I can recall them all, and I didn't know what they, what they actually, actually meant. Like I mean *dizziness*... when you, it's like a, like a panic attack when you like becoming light-headed it's a panic attack, and all stories like that.

Like when you in a situation where you like *scared* then you start becoming and having a panic attack. Okay I didn't, I haven't had a bad panic attack like some of the guys there but I mean it's still a, still a panic attack.

5 I mean different people handle different situations differently. But, umm, I'm actually glad. I'm feeling a lot stronger than when I went in there.

Stephen: Okay, that's good.

10 Nigel: And they taught me a lot of things as well. Like how to control your anger and a whole lot of things, like anger management; different people and umm, how to read different people and... [p] I should've actually brought that stuff and then you could have seen exactly what I had done.

Stephen: Ja, that would have been interesting.

Nigel: Mmm. In my, you know in my two weeks that we had done... because we had homework, we had to do, every night they gave us homework to do.

15 So we had to... like we were in a courtyard locked up all day. We weren't allowed outside at all. Like out in the area, like in the community. We were locked up like in between like walls and a fence and that. It was like in jail.

There was only nurses and that, and they had to give us pills. We weren't allowed to take our own pills. They had to give us pills, and we had to take our pills in front of them.

20 Umm, because a lot of guys they were there for drugs and all that stories, so they steal the other oke's pills. So that's why we weren't allowed to have pills.

Umm, so with having that... and then they disciplined us. Like having to do homework; make our own beds; you had to be here at a certain time; you had to do this at a certain time.

25 So they actually taught us *discipline*, which I had already anyway. It was just like the stressing and that, which I've learnt to cope with now. And quiet time... every day we had quiet time and like where we had to mediate and stories like that.

Stephen: So, so has it been a helpful experience?

30 Nigel: It's been helpful. I can feel that I'm much, much stronger. Umm, the only thing is – which is going to be hard – I'm going to have to distance myself from the group. Maybe just for a couple of months or so. And I can just get on my own two feet, and then, umm, maybe I'll join in again.

But it's just something I have to do. And the doctor also feels, he says that I should maybe just put that *aside* until I get on my two feet again. He said maybe 'cos, you mustn't look *behind* you all the time you must look positive and look forwards.

5 Stephen: So when you, when you first joined the survivor's group, how, how did you experience that? Did you find it difficult to be part of the group?

Nigel: I found it difficult to be part of the group umm, because I wasn't the kind of a person that like, that likes to speak, and whatever. Umm, I'm a, I was a very quiet person. I was like withdrawn.

10 Umm, like I said I didn't, I didn't trust anyone here. I didn't want them to go with stories and say no this one says this and this one says that. So I rather just kept to myself and kept my mouth closed.

15 Umm, when I was asked questions then I just commented whatever. Umm, but now with me being in St Marks I... and they also said that what's on your heart you must speak about it, because if you hold it in, hold it in, hold it in... the longer you hold it in you, that's what causes a nervous breakdown. So you must let it out.

So a lot of the stuff I was holding back, umm, like with the plaque and with all those stories, umm, I should have maybe spoke about it. But I didn't want to get into a confrontation. I rather just avoided it.

Stephen: Ja, you didn't want to make it an issue.

20 Nigel: No I didn't want it an issue. Who's that now?

Stephen: Should I just go and say good morning to them.

Nigel: Are you going to stop this thing?

Stephen: No we will leave it, it's fine. Okay. [p]

25 Nigel: I mean it says here as well, umm, you would like to invite survivors *and* family members. I don't think you will want to invite *my* parents and that, because they like anti all these people that, that were, at the moment.

Stephen: Ja, I, I mean the, the research is voluntary so I, I just give out the invitations. If people don't want to be part of it, it's fine, it's not an issue.

30 Nigel: Because from the, from the word go, umm, I mean they all went and testified in that, what's it?

Stephen: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Nigel: Ja. I mean I was never even *asked*, I was never *told*, I was never told anything about it. I mean they all went and testified there, I was never even *told* about it. For the reason being is they said no I wasn't *hurt*.

5 Their, their names are all in that *book* when we went down to PE with Theresa. It's got all the Highgate people's names down there. I don't know which book it is? Do you know what I'm talking about?

Stephen: Was that at the conference in PE?

Nigel: Yes, that...

Stephen: Was it a human rights conference?

10 Nigel: ... ja. It was in like one of those round things... you know which thing I'm talking about? They had those like dormitory things, inside that big hall.

Stephen: Okay. I, I wasn't actually at the conference.

15 Nigel: Oh, weren't you at the conference. Umm, and then they had a book there. Like all the things that happened in South Africa and whatever. And then they said the first of May 1993, and then it gave the Highgate. And then it gave all the people's names, and my name wasn't on there.

Stephen: It wasn't there. That's, that's not fair really.

Nigel: It isn't fair at all and that's I think what's been, I've been bottling up for the last... I think it's been going on now for the last year and a half, two years.

20 I mean I don't expect anything out of it. I don't expect anything. All I expect is and all I want is just to be acknowledged as one of the victims.

25 And not one of the people that just, "oh no you weren't shot so just keep your mouth closed, you must walk away and just shut up." Because that's the way I feel, that I, that's been happened to me. That's why I'm so acid with all these people.

Stephen: No I can understand that. It's a sense of being left out.

Nigel: I mean even when they had the Carte Blanche int- interviews, *they* were all interviewed by Carte Blanche. Everyone that was there, except it was myself, Bernice and Fran. We were pushed one side – they didn't interview us at all.

30 When they had the umm, Carte Blanche thing that night at the Highgate, where they like, how can I say, *reconciled* the whole Highgate thing. I don't know if you remember? They had it on TV where they reconciled the Highgate?

The night of the first of May but it *wasn't* the first of May. Where they all went and met at the Highgate and they were all drinking, and whatever. I wasn't *invited* to go. [p] So that's what I'm acid about.

Stephen: So there've actually been a number of incidents.

5 Nigel: Mmm, it hasn't been one, it's been a number. And my parents have also picked it up as well.

I mean I wasn't *gonna* go to the memorial, for the reason being is I thought to myself what am I going there for? And my dad said, "come let's go." I said, "no I don't want to go."

10 So he said, "okay we go, I'll go with you and my mom." And we still had breakfast at the Highgate. I don't know if you were there? No you weren't there at the first memorial, hey?

Stephen: I wasn't at the first one.

15 Nigel: We had breakfast there. Umm, they all went through. I distanced myself from them because I knew what was going to happen. They all like a one sided thing. I was pushed into the one *corner* there behind the speakers and my parents picked it up as well.

20 My dad was actually going to stand up and say something about it but then my mom said, "please just don't say anything." Umm, so it's like, it's not affecting me it's also affecting my parents as well.

[p] Because it was one of those things, I mean if, like, you hurt your parents are also hurt. So that's how it is. I mean if I'm hurting my parents are hurting. And they know you better than anyone else, I can promise you that. Your, your parents know you I think sometimes better than what you know yourself.

25 [tapping lightly on table] But I mean the first of May was... Umm, I mean I think it was just the thing of going in the hospital the next day and seeing all those people lying there. And, I mean Clive they cut his arm off I think after the second day. They nearly cut the other arm off. I mean Clive was lying *next* to Trevor in the hospital.

30 I was in and out the hospital all the, all the time. I mean they were all lying there on *medication*, so *they* didn't know if they were Arthur or Martha. I knew all the time what was going on and I never had not *one* tablet. So my brain was thinking 100% all the time, theirs were thinking like 20%.

Stephen: Ja. So you could actually see how much, how much suffering there was?

Nigel: Mmm. [p] I mean another thing which was also bad for me was that it was the first time I had been there. A lot of those guys had been there like every, every *night*. So they knew exactly where the entrances were and exits were and all that stories.

5 I only knew where the, where the entrance was. That's why they all made their way to other rooms and whatever. I could have been shot dead because I only knew where the one way was. Umm, lucky everything was on *my side* that night. It wasn't my time to die or get shot.

10 Because although I was covered in blood... believe me I was, my whole clothes was just blood.

Umm, I had to actually throw my, my clothes away because whenever I wore those pants – although my mom soaked it in cold, cold water for about a week and a half – whenever I wore those pants my *dog* wanted to bite me, because it most probably smelt the blood on the pants. And it wasn't *my blood believe me*.

15 Stephen: So how did, how did it affect your everyday life to be in the Highgate that night? I mean how did it... you mentioned earlier about your work...

Nigel: Mmm. Umm, what happened was after the Highgate, I used to go to work, come home. As I got home I used to climb *straight* into bed and sleep.

20 But I had my little bed light on. And then my dad would come, come through and he would *touch* something in my room. I promise you he would just *touch* something and I would be like *straight* up in my bed.

Umm, and I never went out. It actually affected my whole... how can I say, umm... I was actually deprived of my young age because I never went out. I was like on the *prime* of my life and it was taken away from me.

25 I mean that was the first pub I had ever, ever, ever been to because my dad he didn't want us to go to pubs. My dad didn't, doesn't believe in it. He still doesn't believe in it. So it was my first pub I had been to. Umm, maybe it was my second or third time I had been out, and then *this* happens.

30 [p] And then umm, how can I say, not being able to *trust* anybody; getting panic attacks; and avoiding situations.

Like say for instance you and me have an argument, then I'll avoid you because I don't want to, or well confront you. Umm, that's how my whole life's been from, from *then*. You don't want to con- confront any, well anyone, you like duck, duck and dive them.

Stephen: And, and your, your working experience? You mentioned earlier that that took your mind off the Highgate...

Nigel: You see what happens is, I'm, I'm, how can I say, very involved in my work. Well, umm, when I get to work at 7 o'clock in the morning I keep myself *busy*.

5 Although I got drivers, I actually work *with* my drivers. And that's why I get so much out of them. So with me working with them it's actually taking my mind off everything that revolves *around* me.

I mean if my dad phones me during the work, I say, "dad I can't talk now, we'll talk when I, when I get home," because I take my work very, very serious.

10 So umm, I've actually taken my work *first* over, over everything. Umm, and with me being like living only, only for work umm, and with these issues that have occurred maybe that's why I took that bit of a knock. Because I'm only living for work and I'm not living for anything else.

15 And it also takes your *mind* off everything because when you get to work there, you don't think of... you'll be riding past here and you'll think, "okay no I must just go here quickly," "okay I must just do this." So you not thinking of, "oh I wonder what so and so is doing, I wonder what so and so is doing." So you not thinking of that, you only thinking of work.

20 Stephen: So, are you saying you not really thinking about other people's lives, it's more just the tasks you have to do?

Nigel: It's more my own life ja, and my own work, ja. [p] I mean I haven't been there now for two weeks, and believe me my manager phoned me on the first and he said, "please, jas like, are you coming back on Monday?"

25 I said, "yes." He said, "please, we can't handle anything there anymore." He says the problems are getting too bad there, because I work *with* the guys and I sort the problems out *with* them.

Stephen: Where do you work, and what is your work?

30 Nigel: I work for Ronnie's Motors. Umm, Ronnie's Motors is a big Mercedes Benz dealership in East London. But I work for the Colt franchise, the Mitsubishi department: the Mitsubishi and the Max, Max 4, Mitsubishi used and Max, Max 4.

So I'm working in the *used* cars, and I'm a stock controller of the used cars. I'm in charge of, how can I say, all the re-conning of all the vehicles.

So when a vehicle gets bought I must make sure if it's got a scratch on the bumper I must make sure that it goes to the body shop to have the scratch done up, taken out. If it needs tyres I must put tyres on, things, things like that. If it needs a service I must book it in, have it booked in, let my drivers take it in for the service.

5 So there's a lot of thinking all the time. That's what I mean, my mind is taken off. And we've got nearly 300 cars in stock so you have to... actually now I've lost touch now, but I actually know every single vehicle's registration in my head.

Even if I'm riding in the street I say to my dad, "no, that's the car we sold, no that's the car we had about two years ago." So you actually, you actually know every
10 single vehicle by registration, just like you know every person by its name, you know every car by its registration.

Stephen: And you were talking about your parents a bit earlier... umm, how did the being at the Highgate affect your relationship with your parents?

Nigel: Umm, my parents and myself, we actually grew quite, quite close, maybe
15 because they were worried about me, umm, and they didn't know how I was going to handle it.

Umm, but I can say my parents stood behind me like 100% of the, of the way. If it wasn't for them I don't think... I would have snapped *long* time, time ago already.

Because they the ones that actually been like pushing me, pushing me, pushing
20 me. And, "do this," and, "you must do that."

And my dad every now and again he says, "come we *must* go to the Highgate." I say, "I don't want to go there." "Come we must go." He believes that if you, like if something happens, like if you fall off a bicycle you must climb back on the bicycle and ride it.

25 Stephen: Right, so face up to it.

Nigel: Mmm. I mean I've been there. The psychiatrist asked me now he says, "are you scared of the Highgate?" I said, "I'm not scared of the Highgate at all. I can go there anytime, umm." So I'm not scared of the place as such.

Umm, like he said to me, "are you scared of something happening again, like
30 going to the Highgate and they shooting it up?" So I said, "no, no I'm not scared of that happening again." He said, "because that's like a hundred and one chance of happening again."

He says the same as you walking in the jungle and a lion attacks you. And fifty years down the line you walk in the same jungle, you might walk past the same lion it might not attack you.

Stephen: So, so the place itself doesn't bring back difficult things?

5 Nigel: No. I mean I can go there and, I can, I can tell you exactly where I was sitting and where the hand grenade went off. And, umm, where the teargas was lying and that. But that's like only if you ask me will I tell you.

I mean I can go there and I can sit *exactly* where I was sitting that night and it wouldn't even bother me. [p] And I'm not looking back, I'm not scared, I mean... I
10 mean I've been there maybe four, five, five times and that's like...

I think back in my first year and a half, I avoided going past the Highgate like the plague. I never went, I never drove past there, I never even went in there. So I avoided the Highgate like the plague.

15 But, how can I say, over the last couple of years I've actually... it's not, it's not scary to me. I mean even when I go riding with my bike when I, I tend to past there every night so it doesn't like bother me. If it was bothering me I wouldn't drive past there or ride past there.

Stephen: And are there any other experiences that trigger memories or bring back memories of the Highgate?

20 Nigel: Umm, things which bring back memories is like, umm – I was telling my group – umm, when I went to the petrol station about a month and a half, two months ago and I was busy putting petrol in and one of those fidelity guard vans pulled in.

25 And you know those guys jump out with their rifles or whatever? Umm, and as I walked around – I wanted to go into the shop – and as I walked into the shop I walked into the guy coming out with a rifle, and I just like *froze*.

So situations like that do bring back memories. And people when they got a gun they mustn't point a gun or pull a gun out in *my* presence because I become very jitty.

30 So I'm scared of guns and that. Situations like that I'm, I'm very jitty with. And like loud bangs and, umm, say for instance we sitting here now and a door slams closed, I'll get a fright, I'll jump, because you don't know what's going to happen.

Stephen: And what about your experience of meeting other survivors of political violence, for example at the healing of memories weekend in Cape Town?

Nigel: Umm, that was a nice, nice experience. Umm, maybe I *shouldn't* have gone to it. I was, umm, I don't know if you can remember Theresa said we mustn't go if we not like 100% stable. Umm, maybe I shouldn't have gone.

5 I enjoyed it, don't, don't get me wrong. It was not as if I didn't enjoy it, umm, but just hearing the other people's stories was an experience for me. But even now during the week when we hear those other people, when they start screaming and shouting and crying and thing, it starts making me get worked up.

10 Umm, that's why on the Friday, that's why on the Sunday when we were in Cape Town, I nearly cracked there in Cape Town. And then I think it was umm, *Ginn* massaged me, and she was talking to me and whatever. And she said I must go for a walk outside and that.

Umm, I was about to crack then on Sunday already. I think it was as if I wasn't used to of people like lashing out and *crying* and all that story. I'm not used to it... it doesn't, it's not in my nature, I don't like it.

15 Stephen: So it was the other people getting emotional that upset you.

Nigel: Mmm, yeah, it starts working me up. Even now if we come here and someone's... say for instance someone *died* here and whatever, and they start crying and... I start becoming like *jitty*. I, I, I don't like it.

20 Even, even now if someone... if it had to happen, I would feel jitty. But I *know* I have to put that behind me and look forwards and forget about all those stories and look forwards.

I mean I, I *enjoyed* it. I mean the whole, the *whole* experience I enjoyed. It's just like, I mean before I would *never* talk amongst all those people. So that also brought out a good part of me.

25 I mean I would just sit there and I wouldn't say anything. So that brought out also a good part of me. But just that *crying* and that didn't thing with me.

And then we went to that healing of memories conference. What nearly went through my head was... you weren't there for the healing of memories, hey?

Stephen: Is that the one before PE?

30 Nigel: No the one there in Cape Town.

Stephen: No I wasn't there for that one.

Nigel: Oh no, no, you, you fetched us on the Sunday, I still drove with, with you.

Umm, on the Friday night when, when we arrived there they had a play. And they had *drums* there. And they each went into one corner. So now we like concentrating now what this woman has to say whatever, and I can't even remember what she was saying, they were doing like a, like a play.

5 Whew, and all of a sudden they start hitting on these drums *behind* us. I nearly went through the roof, I promise you. I didn't say anything to Pumla but I mean like I nearly went through the roof, I *promise* you.

I wanted to go home then already. So that was also made me feel a bit edgy. Edgy and jitty, mmm. So that's what I'm saying, like, although it was a healing of memories workshop they should have thought about that before they started hitting and that.

10 Because, okay, a lot of the other people there weren't there for post-traumatic stress, but it's for people like Clive, Trevor and myself. I think Clive must have gone through the same things as what I did. He must have. His heart must have
15 stopped for a couple o' seconds.

Stephen: So there were some difficult parts to that.

Nigel: There were some difficult parts. Okay maybe it's, maybe they didn't *think* about that. Umm, but... 'cos a lot of other people they weren't like for post-traumatic stress and that. Umm, okay maybe they've done it I don't know how
20 many times, but it was just that group that...

Stephen: That particular group.

Nigel: Mmm.

Stephen: And what, what was it like to hear stories from people who weren't, who weren't in the Highgate group... from other groups?

25 Nigel: That was actually interesting, because a lot of the stories which we did hear was, how can I say, stories which I've never heard of and I didn't know, how can I say, existed.

Umm, like I mean when they tied the guys together and they blew them up with a landmine and they only gave the parents like a piece of a *bone*, and stories like
30 that. Umm, I didn't even know those stories existed, until then.

And people like they were evicted from their houses and when they get home now to see their parents, and they just see an empty house. And then he discovers that he couldn't find his parents for about a year and a half, two years. And then he eventually found his parents, so that was like also a *touching* thing.

And then the one woman in that group of ours, her son was killed in Soweto because he was playing with white kids. So they killed her son because he's black and he's playing with white kids. So that was also like...

Stephen: Quite eye opening...

5 Nigel: Ja. I mean it's stories which I've never heard of and it was like *interesting*. It's only when they start crying and that it makes *me* become how can I say, *emotional* as well. I don't know if that's the way you say...

Stephen: So do you, do you start feeling, feeling upset for them, or is it just an upsetting experience when they start crying.

10 Nigel: It's an upsetting experience in general and then I start becoming, and then I start getting a panic attack. You start becoming light-headed and becoming jitty.

Stephen: And how has it affected your life to find out that the Highgate attack was probably not carried out by APLA?

15 Nigel: Umm, I was actually p'eed off about it. Because if it was the SADF I'm going to be really p'eed off, because in the year before I was with the SADF and I done my one-year military service.

So, how can I say, to serve my country and then my country does this to me and nearly, nearly kills me. Although we didn't shoot anybody or kill anyone or whatever, it still as if I served my country.

20 So I was there a year to help them, and then they how can I say, well they kill me in the next year. And then with that Eric Taylor and all those stories coming to the Highgate and that, that also, when Daryl was speaking about it, that actually worked, worked me up that stories.

25 Because I mean he went through the first time, he went through the second time. And then Daryl asked him what does he want there. He says no he's waiting for an informer, and all that. So that also worked, worked me up.

Because then what's going through your mind is you don't know... is this oke now checking? Are we getting too close now? Is he going to take, are they take us out one at a time or whatever?

30 Stephen: So there's a sense about not, not really knowing what's...

Nigel: ... what, what's going to happen next. [p] I mean with the, umm, the first of May then I've put that like behind me and I've forgotten about that. Nearly gone all completely.

It's just the post-traumatic stress now that's got me. But it's because I've been, how can I say, I've *lived* with it so long it's *difficult* you know to get it behind me, because I've lived with it for so long.

Stephen: So you've almost adapted to it.

5 Nigel: I've almost adapted to that life-, lifestyle. Like not going out, not going eating out. Umm, I mean I've got hardly any, any friends, for the reason being is I don't want to like *impose* on anyone or whatever. I've got *hardly any friends*.

Stephen: Did it, when you started coming to the survivor's group, did that give you more of a sense of connection with other people?

10 Nigel: Umm, when I, when I went to the Kennaway Hotel, I didn't *wanna* come. Umm, I actually had to like force myself to go. That's why I was the *last* one there, I don't know if you can remember?

Stephen: Okay. I think, I think you came late, didn't you?

15 Nigel: Mmm. I mean I could have come there like *early* if I really wanted to. But I was like *forcing* myself not to go, I wasn't going to go.

Because for that reason I wanted to forget about it and, how can I say, I wanted to put it *behind* me. And then I came, and then I don't know, maybe I got *hooked*, and then *now* it's actually put more pressure on me now.

Stephen: So it hasn't, you don't feel it's really been helpful?

20 Nigel: It, It hasn't helped, helped me, no. It might have helped other, other people. Like the psychiatrist says it's good for some, some people, but in my situation it hasn't been.

I don't know if maybe Trevor thinks otherwise. But maybe, how can I say, umm, he doesn't *work*, so he can think of the Highgate every day like of the, of the year.
25 Umm, I'm working now, so I want to like concentrate on other, other things. I mean I think he only, only lives for the Highgate. It doesn't, that doesn't *bother* me.

I mean they asked us a question now what would we do if umm, they catch the guys and they put them in the same room with us. I said I wouldn't be able to tell you what I was going to do. I haven't actually thought about it.

30 Maybe I'll ask the oke now, "what, what went through your head when you were standing there and you were shooting at us." Maybe that will be my first question I'll ask him.

If he was on *drugs*, if he was a sober head or whatever... because I mean it couldn't have been easy for him just, just to stand there and just shoot at innocent people.

5 Stephen: So just going back to, to your memory of the attack, you said that when you, when you fell backwards you were unconscious while they were shooting, is that correct?

Nigel: No, umm, while they were, while they were shooting... Umm, I don't know if I fell back off the chair or if Trevor *pushed* me back. Maybe it was when the bullets were hitting him.

10 Umm, when we fell back there was like these battery boxes which they fill up with sand in the hotel where the guys kill their cigarettes. And I hit my head on that thing there, so I wasn't unconscious for a *long*, long time.

15 I heard the... umm, while I was busy falling they were *shooting*. And then I can still *remember* the guy walking – I could hear the footprints – walking up to us. He looked at us and then he most probably saw all the blood on the ground.

Then he turned, turned around and he threw the, that teargas grenade next to our heads. And then I heard him hit that hand grenade and then throw it. So I wasn't unconscious. I was just like maybe like dumb-, dumb-, dumbstruck for a couple o' seconds. Because I mean it was like *quick*.

20 Stephen: So is that, is that one of the scenes that sticks in your mind of the man actually walking up to you?

Nigel: Ja. I don't know if he actually *kicked* Trevor or whatever, or whether it was Trevor trying to move or whatever, to get up. Maybe it was him getting up, because he was actually lying, lying on top of me.

25 I don't know *how* he got on top of me, but he was lying on top of me. Maybe with him falling on me he could have hit me unconscious too because I mean he's quite big.

30 Umm, I can't say. It happened like so *quick*. It was like split milliseconds. Because I mean we still had our change and everything on the counter still. I mean our beers, I think my beer was still like nearly full.

I still remember Winston behind the bar, although he's a lot older now but I mean I still remember him. And we wanted to go play pool on the other side. And I said, "no, no, no I don't feel like going to go play pool." So just as well we didn't because that's where the hand grenade went off.

Stephen: So it's still difficult experience, difficult memories to live with...

Nigel: Mmm.

Stephen: The shooting...

5 Nigel: The shooting and that scares me, like loud *bangs*, *noises*. Umm, if there's too many people, like say for instance this whole room is full of, full of people, I becoming jitty, because it's like in *my space*. They like pushing me in the corner. I don't like it.

Umm, that's why they want me to go to shopping malls and everything to get that out of me. That's part of post-traumatic stress, so I need to get that behind me.

10 Umm, so I need to get that away. And as well is, umm, I also got a broken eardrum, so also I'm a bit sensitive to noise. From the Highgate attack. I think it's my right eardrum that's broken.

Stephen: And that was actually from the shooting...

15 Nigel: Well from the shooting. Ja, well from the hand grenade that went off, that loud explosion thing.

But my ear is healing now. I went to the doctor and he checked my ears. The scars like, the scar of the eardrum is there but it's like healing. So it's nearly healed now, maybe another year or so and it will be completely healed.

Stephen: Okay. That's good. But it has taken...

20 Nigel: It's taken fifteen years to heal, ja.

Stephen: So do you, do you think it's affected your life, your life story to have been in the Highgate attack?

25 Nigel: I think it *has*, ja, quite, quite drastically. Because if I wasn't involved in the Highgate, maybe I would have been married, had kids. Umm, how can I say, had maybe a better, better job. Maybe I would have *studied* further, things, things like that.

30 Umm, but now with being in the Highgate, it's actually like push-, pushed me down and into the ground. Nearly as if, umm, how can I say, as if I was a tramp. Although I wasn't a tramp, but I mean it's like push-, pushed me back a couple, couple steps.

Now, how can I say, I'm busy crawling out the gutter now, now I'm becoming stronger now.

Stephen: So it's a sense of losing out on...

Nigel: ... a lot of my *prime* life.

Stephen: [p] Okay. Is there anything that you want to say, anything else you want to say about your life story?

5 Nigel: Mmm mmm.

Stephen: Or being in St Marks...

Nigel: I wish I could have brought those paperwork and that for you and you have seen it. Umm, because I mean a lot of the things that, that I was there with was dealt with... like the Highgate and how I felt and whatever...

10 Umm, and one of the things was we had to make a... like they told us there's four things like fear. And then you had to say like what you feel and whatever and how you feel about the fear.

Umm, and then we had to say it like I think in four things. And I think my four was fear, anger and something else. And then the fear was like of going out; the anger
15 was like angry with myself for not talking about it and just keeping quiet about it and just being pushed around.

And then what hurt me a lot was that plaque story. Although I didn't say anything about it. But I didn't expect my name to be on there, but it was just the acknowledgement.

20 I mean if they wanted to make the plaque they could have said, "okay we putting those guys names on there, but when we read the names out although your two names are not on there, we'll read them out," you understand what I'm saying?

They didn't have to put our names on. When they read the names out in the memorial all they had to do was just read our two names out. Although our names
25 weren't on there it was just acknowledgement.

Stephen: Acknowledge that you were part of the attack...

Nigel: Ja.

Stephen: So do you still feel like, like you've been pushed around a bit?

30 Nigel: Ja, I still feel about it. When I actually think about it I actually get cross. I mean I didn't expect my name to be on there like I'm saying. Umm, all I expect them to do was just acknowledge us as being there.

When they read the memorial out... what did it say it was: listen these were the five guys that were killed. These were the guys that were hurt. These were the two guys that weren't hurt, but they were *there*.

Stephen: They were there.

5 Nigel: Mmm. I mean now, I know they can't keep everyone happy. But I mean it's not as if I'm lying and saying I wasn't there. I *was* there. And I think I've just got just as much right as what they got to be on there. Although they were hurt, fair enough. Umm, but I was also hurt maybe, how can I say, *mentally* hurt.

Stephen: Although it wasn't physical it was emotional hurt.

10 Nigel: Mmm.

Stephen: [p] I'm glad that you went to St Marks and that you, you have got some help from them. It's a positive thing.

15 Nigel: Mmm, that is a positive thing. It's also a break of, how can I say? Umm, that's why they all being trying to get hold of me and whatever, but I don't talk, talk to anyone.

I mean when I was there for the two weeks I only spoke to my parents when the weekend when I came out. And I think I spoke to my mom one Wednesday night. Otherwise I didn't speak to anyone.

20 I mean I didn't even speak to my work, and they had a couple big issues that had to be sorted out. And I didn't speak to them either.

Stephen: So you just wanted to sort...

Nigel: ...my own problems out. I mean they all went down to Grahamstown. I know they went down to Grahamstown, but I'm not interested in that story that they went for.

25 Because I want to sort my own problems out. How can I sort other people's problems out when I can't sort my own out? [p] So I need to sort *my own* out and then I can maybe consider helping other people.

But you know which book I'm talking about, that book that was there by that human rights conference?

30 Stephen: I wasn't actually at the conference, so...

Nigel: But it's like a book, like a, like a library book...

Stephen: Okay.

Nigel: ... that's floating around. There was actually four of them.

Stephen: Did, did other people in the group have one?

5 Nigel: *No*. It was like a, a book that was there, like to do with like, like violence and that. Who, who testified at the TRC and whatever. It had like all *those* things in that book.

Stephen: Okay. I might, I might have seen it, I just...

Nigel: At another conference.

Stephen: Ja. Maybe, maybe if you told me the title of it.

10 Nigel: Ah, I can't, can't remember.

Stephen: But I'll look out for it.

Nigel: Well I mean even when I went down to PE. I went down to PE by myself. Okay I was all by myself. Okay Clive was there, but I mean, well Theresa and myself went down. I think Clive only came like for one day or two days.

15 I actually enjoyed myself better when I was by myself than when I was with the rest of the guys. [p] It was the reason being is when I went down to the healing of memories... umm, I knew that they didn't acknowledge me as if, being a survivor.

20 So if I was one of them like in their group they would like say, "oh no he didn't have anything, so what's he talking for." So I mean when, when we had our group, Thora was in my group. So that's why I could speak. Otherwise if it was anyone else I wouldn't have been able to speak.

Stephen: Is that because she wasn't, she wasn't there?

Nigel: Ja. And so she wouldn't be able to like say, "oh no he's talking nonsense now," or whatever.

25 Stephen: Okay. Is there any experience at that, that human rights conference that stands out for you?

30 Nigel: In the human rights conference what stood out a lot for me was that... umm, when they gave us that DVD of that woman that was abducted and then killed and whatever by the police. And they had taken and tortured her and then I think her sister still testified and that. That's what stood out for *me*.

Stephen: What, what was it about, about the DVD that struck you?

Nigel: Umm, I think Mark Kaplan made it as well. It was just, it's, it's just like *ordinary* from the, from the word go. Like I mean when I, when I heard the story at the thing it like caught me.

5 And then they said no the DVD is floating around, it's in our bags. And like as I got home I like had a look at it like straight away. I think it had Pumla on the DVD as well.

Stephen: Okay. So was it just because it was a story that you hadn't heard about before?

10 Nigel: It was just a story maybe that I hadn't heard about. Mmm, but that's a story that like caught my eye. There was a lot of stories, but that story like stood out from all the other stories.

Stephen: [p] And did you, were there any group times during that conference or was it mainly just a big...

15 Nigel: Was just a big conference. We all like sat like in a big hall and everyone just like spoke.

Stephen: Okay.

Nigel: Now more, now or less when I went to the St Marks it was nearly the same as the healing of memories in Cape Town.

20 Although, how can I say, umm, I was in a group where this one woman she's been hit twice in one of the post office robberies. The one guy he was in there for road rage. Umm, and a lot of people like with AIDS and things, things like that.

So I was the only one that was there for the Highgate. So I felt like, umm how can I say? And they possibly also thought...

25 Okay my first day was like hell there, my first session. Because they were all, they were like trying to get everything out of me and I wouldn't talk. And then umm, my second day, my third day, and they started like *working* it slowly but surely out of me.

30 Stephen: So did, did you feel, you felt special because you were the only person from the Highgate there?

Nigel: Ja. And when I spoke they wanted to hear my story. Umm, *everyone's* story that, that was there, there by St Marks, umm, we treated everyone's stories as if it was our *own* story.

5 It was like "ag no I'm not interested in this oke's story." We like listened and we heard and we asked questions and we gave them, gave them solutions.

Stephen: So it was helpful for you to share in other people's stories as well.

Nigel: Mmm.

Stephen: Is there anything that you, that you wish for, for the future, in your own life?

10 Nigel: Well all I wish is, umm, that, how can I say, that everything goes good, good for me. And I can forget about the past and look into the future. [p] I mean it's going to be hard for me, but I need to do it and there's only way. And how can I say, I can only do it, no-one else can do it for me, I have to do it myself.

Stephen: Okay. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

15 Nigel: No, that's all.

Stephen: That's all. So thank you very much for what you've shared.

Nigel: I didn't actually prepare a story or whatever. You actually caught me unawares this morning. I actually forgot about it because being in St Marks, I mean...

20 Stephen: Ja, I'm sorry if I woke you up.

Nigel: No, no, no, I wasn't, I wasn't, I wasn't sleeping. I wasn't sleeping. I was actually awake, but I mean like I'm just sharing now what I shared with the guys when I was in St Marks.

25 Stephen: Ja. Well thank you for coming, for coming out here, coming all the way, I appreciate that.

Nigel: Okay.

Stephen: I should actually turn this off.

Trevor S 2013

Stephen: I'm just going to take some notes here. Umm, and firstly I want to ask, umm, thinking about the material that's, uh, presented to you, umm, has anything changed in the way that you think about your experiences in the group since I spoke with you in 2008?

5 Trevor: Between me and the group?

Stephen: Umm, ja, or...

Trevor: What has changed?

Stephen: What has changed in the way that you think about how you experienced the group when it was together?

10 Trevor: [p] The way I feel now is the way I felt before there *was* a group; I'm now on my own again. *Although* I still know them individually *through* the group I am... umm, I don't get the support for what I'm doing now from the group.

The group knows what my mission is. I feel they're all hanging around and waiting until I've got somewhere and then they want to jump on board and *reap* the
15 benefits. But at this stage what I'm doing now is *all on my own*.

The *sort of closest* person I've got now, *sort of*, is Shereen, which I'm still, we on talking terms. Umm, there *was* a time we weren't talking. I don't know *what* happened there, but we're back on talking terms.

And uh, *she* was willing, when I approached her [with] what Pumla asked about
20 going to the Free State, she was very well willing, she didn't even want to think about it, she just said yes, can go. So, you know, *that* type of thing.

But making *decisions*, when it comes to the investigation I don't have group support. And I feel I can't talk to the group about the decisions *I* want to make because I'm no more... I *don't have to* answer to anybody. There's no more an
25 organisation where as chairman before I could make a decision I needed to, to contact the group and ask sort of permission before I could do something.

Now I... the, the decisions I make is *my* decisions and not the *group's* decision. Which in a way I feel more *freely* in doing what I'm doing than being part of the group. So *in a way* they've done me a favour. Ja, I don't know if that answers
30 some of, you know, your, your question.

Stephen: Ja, it does. You, you mentioned, umm, earlier about the idea of the group as a family and that you felt that, umm, didn't apply any more.

Trevor: We *were* very close as a group, you can say a family. I mean, everything we done we done together. Umm, *where* I saw a change, and then it started happening quite fast thereafter... [tapping on table] the first change I saw was *straight, directly* after the healing of memories.

5 I don't know if the healing of memories affected some of the group *positively* or *negatively*. *I don't know*. For *me* it was a, a positive, from the beginning until the end. But I don't know how the others were affected by the healing of memories. A lot of them never spoke about it.

10 I don't know, you well you must know, at the healing of memories we were the *biggest* group. We were eleven of us in Cape Town, and we were *split up* into other groups so we weren't together. So I can't tell *you* what happened in *Shereen's* group or *Clive's* group or *Thora's* group, because we were like split up being, you know well such a big group.

15 And what was spoken about in our groups was very confidential. So nobody ever said this is what was spoken about in their session. So that I can't answer, but ever since then I could see a change. And then it just went from the next one to the next one and the group just started to break up.

20 But the *worst* person out of the *whole* group as an *instigator* is Clive. But I think he's sitting with *deep* issues and I think it's also a lot of personal and Highgate issues which *he* needs to deal with *personally* himself. And I don't think he's got to that point to *deal* with it and that's messing him around psychologically.

25 Ja, so we had a lot of problems as an organisation. Clive was the... I mean even Shereen will tell you. I've *never* heard Shereen swear *ever* since I've met her. I mean, you know her; she's a soft jokey person. I mean she's always making jokes and *giggling* and *laughing, that's Shereen*.

And with the *pressure* Clive put on us for some reason, I don't know, he used to attack Shereen over the phone, send *dirty* SMS's to us *demanding* things. And that's the *worst* thing, he started demanding things from me or Shereen and there were a lot of words mentioned. So ja. I saw another side of Clive.

30 Then there was a time, umm, we got a donation through Theresa but it was a group somewhere overseas that donated in dollars. But if you worked it out it was only... I think at, at the end of the day when it was converted into *our* bank account into *rands*, it was R1800.

35 *Clive* heard that there was a *sum of money* donated to the organisation. And *he* went behind *our* backs and he was telling the rest of the group – and Bernice is

one of them, he went to Bernice at work – that we were paid a substantial amount. I don't know *what* he told them, if he said it was... I, I, well I don't know but *he* told them *some story* and it was just before Fran died. Fran, you've met Fran.

Stephen: Ja, I, I met her.

5 Trevor: Fran phoned me, because Bernice would never phone me. Bernice got hold of Fran. Fran phones me to find out about this money. They were all excited, you know, we were paid a lot of money from overseas. I said, Fran, *what are you talking about?*

10 No, she heard from Bernice, and Clive told her. I said well what did Clive say? No, she mentioned this, that we were paid so much money. I said Fran, we were paid R1800, there's no *secret*. I can go and show you the, the, the, the statements and that.

15 I said is R1800 so much money that we must go and tell the whole *group* we were donated... can't you's wait for the next meeting, we would have told you's. We weren't paid hundreds of thousands or, or, or millions, the way *they* were thinking. She was *shocked* when I told her R1800.

20 Now *that* is the type of person Clive was, and he was putting things into the group's *head* that we were... I mean Shereen's got the books, she's still got all our, our legal stuff that we done as an organisation. Nothing was done illegally. So that's how he corrupted the group as an organisation. And then it just got smaller and smaller.

25 I know Clive and Nigel are *very big chommies*. Nigel's my cousin, but *they* are... you must watch what you say to the one because the one will go and tell the other one, that type of thing. They're, they're very close. And I've, I've learnt *that*, that I must watch what I say to Nigel and I must watch what I say to Clive. They go turn stories around.

30 So I've really withdrawn, I've *learnt* who I can trust in the group and who I can't. And I've now *withdrawn* myself from them. I'm more open to Shereen, and I was open to Maria when it came towards the investigation side of what's happening. But I *feel* I don't need to answer to Clive or to the rest of the group when it comes to the national prosecutions and what *I'm* doing in for pushing for answers.

They've put *no* effort in and it's not *my* job to run after them and to tell them how far I've got. As far as I'm cared they can read in the papers if anything does happen. I hope that's not confusing, what I've just said. [laughing].

Stephen: No, it's, it's not confusing. I, I'm just wondering, umm, do you think what you, what you have told me now, umm, are these the reasons why, why the group doesn't function anymore?

5 Trevor: Ja. Because, I mean if you can see in our papers, we first had... uh, I was, I was chairman, then you had a vice chairman, then you had secretary and treasurer. Do you know how many times those positions were *changed* within the group?

10 It was first Clive as vice chairman, then he *withdrew* for some reason. Then it was Thora, then she *withdrew* for some reason... I, we've got all the, the, the, the paperwork and the letters and all that. And then Nigel came on board. And same thing with *treasurer*. It was Maria, then Maria had that heart attack. Then *she* had to with... so there were so many things happening *within* the organisation.

15 And then when we wanted to set up *meetings* we couldn't always use... umm, remember we used to go to Glynnis at Fort Hare and have meetings there. We couldn't always have it there at Glynnis. So the *next best place* was at Shereen's house, there by the braai area, we could go sit and have meetings.

20 That wasn't good enough for Clive. Clive couldn't take Shereen. Shereen at that stage couldn't take Clive. So if we had it at Shereen's house Clive wouldn't come and, you know, that type of thing. And it just started getting *worse*, when we started being *accused* of things; people weren't attending the meetings but they were *demanding* answers.

25 And then *I* was getting upset because they not attending the meetings. That's where we should be *discussing* what your, *your* questions are. *Ask* us in the meeting. *Don't* come to me afterwards and demand over telephone that you want *proof* where that money's gone to or, or stuff.

And that is what Clive well used to do. He didn't want to attend the meetings where he can ask us openly, but then he'll send you dirty SMS's that we must have printouts made of *this* and he wants *that*.

30 And I said to him no it's not working like that. You're not going to phone me and start demanding things from me when you had an opportunity to be at the meeting and *then* ask me. We *had* a meeting there and I could have showed you. But now you're coming and you are now *accusing* us over a telephone or SMS. And that's how it went.

35 And then Clive, uh uh, was putting *this* one against us and *that* one against us. I mean *Nigel* well was against me – he *turned* my own cousin against me. Highgate,

well from the Highgate side but also personally when it came to stock cars and that. I mean, I also had a lot of *issues* when it came to stock cars. I had a few complaints *there* for disabled people, and, and *whatever*.

5 And when I was campaigning for, for, for, for disabled, uh well, parkings at stock cars Nigel would be putting the spike in there well for me too, because of *Highgate* issues. And that's where I started getting upset again over there. So that's how things... it just flared up to one *big* thing.

10 I mean Shereen can also tell you a lot, it's like *no secret*. And Clive stuffed the whole works up. I mean we had nobody coming to the meetings. But everybody wanted *us* to go and answer to them what we were doing as an organisation. I wasn't prepared to work like that.

15 *None of them* could keep their positions as vice chairman, secretary, treasurer. I mean it wasn't long and they'd be resigning and then we, we sitting with no, no, nobody to, to fill that position. *We tried* as an organisation, it didn't work. We had the wrong people. Their true, a lot of the group's *true* colours came out trying to set up our organisation. That's where their true colours came out.

Then I don't know if you heard I organised a fund raising event one night, which I'm sorry I done. But in a way I'm actually *pleased* that I done it because I proved that I can do it.

20 Umm, I, I don't know if you've heard of him but he comes a lot to East London and I thought I'd start small, was Andre the Hilarious Hypnotist. He *does* go to Cape Town but I don't know how *big* he is in Cape Town. But in East London he's quite big, where he comes here for a week and he does shows at the Gill Theatre.

25 And I had him on Facebook, I've still got him on Facebook. And I asked him *how* would it work for him to do a show for a fund raising event for an organisation? Then he told me the procedures, to contact the manager at the Gill Theatre, blah, blah, blah, which I done.

30 I saw Zane over there and he said they can do us for the Monday night. We have to sell the tickets blah, blah... *which only left me*, and I'm not telling you a word of a lie, I had *one week* to sell *400 tickets*. I was given a week. There was so much pressure on me.

And he said how big is your committee? I said to tell you the truth there's only three on our committee. He said that's too small. He said he's seen organisations with *bigger* committees that can't even sell enough tickets.

How Andre works it is he will charge us, as an organisation, R6000 to do that show, and then he worked it out that is so many seats. *Thereafter* what we make over and above that will go to the organisation. So I, I said, okay. He said if you don't sell enough tickets to make R6000 you must pay that other money in to
5 Andre.

So I went back to the organisation, which was then only Shereen and me, and I said Shereen now tell me now what must I do, should we leave this? She said, no, Trev, go for it, I'll, I'll back you 100%, we can pull it off. She knows so many *people* and she knows this one *lady* that sells tickets for schools, and she'll sell a lot of
10 tickets for us. I said okay, I'll tell him we'll do it.

Get hold of Zane and I said look, we're going to give it a go. He said okay, no fine. He told me where we had to go have tickets printed. I went and I arranged that, I, I got *those* done for free. Then he had 40 posters for us to put up, which we must do, well put it up in East London.

15 So the only person I know is Shereen that's prepared to help me. Clive had excuses, he's busy working, he's out of town, he can't do anything. Thora, same problem, Nigel, same problem. There was *nobody* I could ask.

I said, Shereen can I give you 20 posters, I'll take 20 posters, see if we can...? Yes, yes, *sure*, no problem. Give her 20 posters, I waited two or three days,
20 phoned her, no she's had no time to put posters up.

Time is running. I mean we had that *week*, the Monday the next week well was our show. We need to sell *tickets*. If we don't make R6000 we must pay that in. I don't have the money. I ended up that I had to go to Shereen and go fetch those 20 posters and go put it up myself. I had to put up 40 posters.

25 I had to arrange for the printing of the, the, the tickets that had to be sold. *Then* I asked them how many tickets can you sell? I've got 500, there's 400 seats in the Gill Theatre, I had 500 tickets printed, I've still got at home, I can show you how many tickets I've got at home. And umm, she said she'll find out.

I think Shereen only sold... but I it was only her family, *where* that woman was that so called could sell tickets didn't come on board. So, you know, *Maria* wasn't that active but she was old, I mean she was in her seventies, she was 77 when she died. Between *her*, in our *group*, she sold the most tickets. I think Maria sold 70 tickets.

35 Shereen sold not even ten, just her family that went, that she paid for. And advertising I had to do. I even went to stock cars, because thank God the Friday

before the Monday there was stock cars. And I went and I had advertising done there at stock cars, but they wouldn't let me *sell* tickets at stock cars. But advertising was done. I had to do everything.

5 *Nobody* helped me in that organisation, *nobody*. *I* pulled that off. And thank God came, well come the night of our show we made enough sales that we made our R6000 *plus* we made a profit of, [p] I think we made R3500 or something like that. Over and above the R6000 we had to pay Andre.

Stephen: That's great.

10 Trevor: And we had *one week*. No-, nobody in this, our group helped me. And that's where I saw I stand alone. The only person that could do the least helped me the most and that was Maria, which sold *70 tickets*.

15 Nigel didn't come to the show, which means he didn't buy one ticket. He didn't even say okay I can't make it but there's money for two tickets, you know, *as support*. Clive didn't come, Thora didn't come. Nobody even *attended* our concert, our show. So what did they think of us as a group? To *me* that was the biggest slap in the face I could have ever got from that group.

Stephen: [p] So was that the point that you realised that the group had ceased to function?

20 Trevor: I'm doing all the work for them to benefit at the end of the day and I'm being downed *every* second of the day, *demanding* this, *demanding* that. I said, no, I'm, I'm, I'm finished. I didn't withdraw. I am still chairman of the Highgate United Group, I haven't resigned.

25 Everybody else had resigned. We're just a dormant organis-, organisation, that's all we are. There is still, at *this* present moment, just on or just over R8000 in our banking account, which *I* can't touch because there are three signatures needed. But there's our organisation *just* standing.

So I thought let's give it time, let the dust settle, let each one go their own way. *I* need time to, you can say, get over what was *said* as an organisation, and accused of.

30 And I needed to get back *my*... how can I say? Where I don't need to answer to anybody anymore when it comes to the investigation side. I am now free to do *as I want* when it comes to investigating. I don't need to answer to *any* of the group before I need to do something. And I'm happy with it as it is.

I want to still looking into maybe re-opening this or restarting this organisation but looking at it in a different way, where *none* of the group is, has any, uh, uh, uh, uh... I don't have the word. Where they have, umm, where I don't need to answer at all to the group to run this organisation. I don't want them part of it.

5 There are grounds, I did speak to Theresa about it, which we can go, where I can have legal letters drawn up where they can sign themselves off. I don't answer to them as an organisation. There are technical terms, I just can't think on it now at this stage, but ja, that's what I'm looking at in time to come.

10 But before I can worry about *that* I'm running against time as *my main goal*... I mean, my *goals* aren't the organisation. It isn't the group. It is *getting answers* on what happened *at* the Highgate massacre, *who* is responsible and who is going to take responsibility, that's my main issue at *this* stage. And I don't need people to hold me back on that.

15 This is already our 20 year anniversary, the 1st of May. I've got a *lot* on the NPA and a lot of questions which, a lot of questions which *they* can't answer me. And I need to deal with that. That's my main priority at this stage, before anybody else.

Stephen: So is that, is that a priority that you want to take forward by yourself apart from the group?

20 Trevor: Yes, I don't need to answer to anybody at this stage. You know, I don't have *time* to still phone people up and say, look, I'm thinking on doing this, uh, what do you think about it? And then they've got some other thing... no it shouldn't be done like that.

25 I, I've got no time for that. I'm happy as what I'm... I know where I stand with this whole thing. I know *more* than the rest of the group when it comes to this whole case. So ja, I'll rather deal with it, you know that way... [p] [clearing throat] I don't need them to hold me up.

30 Shereen knows where I am at this stage investigation side of it, but not Clive. Clive uses Nigel to fish from me, we talk on Mxit or whatever. What's news? And I say no news. I'm not going to tell them anything. As far as I'm cared they can read in the papers as things happen or unfold if anything does happen.

Stephen: So, so would you say that that's your main goal at the moment, is pursuing the investigation?

35 Trevor: Most definitely. *This year* I want answers. If it means they must lock me *up* to shut me up I don't give a damn. I'm not waiting another 20 years. When we started I was told by Theresa, by Dr Frances, okay we've started this, let's get

some time, and let's see what they're going to give us. Just, just *give* them time. Well I've *given* them time, how much more time do they want? If they haven't got any answers by *now* they're not going to get any answers.

5 But I know they've got a lot. I know a lot is *missing* from the NPA, and I want answers there too. There, there's a *lot*, there's a *lot* that I want answers. And I'm going to *use* this opportunity, I don't know what Pumla's planned in Bloemfontein. In the past I had to watch what I had to say when it came, it comes to the investigation and how *far* the investigation is, and up to what point the investigation is.

10 I'm not holding back. I'm *saying* my say and as much as I *know* I'm going to talk it. Because what I say *now* cannot mess anything up than what is already *messed up* by the national prosecutions. They have *messed this case up* like you will not believe.

15 I am not going to hold back on names when it comes to Advocate MacAdam. I've already signed a, a written... I've signed an *affidavit* that he is a *liar*. I've, I've accused him as a *liar*. He's *lied* to me and he's *lied* to Theresa over the telephone. And I *challenge* him on that, he can *charge* me if he thinks I am taking him on.

20 He's an advocate, he's the *head* advocate of the national prosecutions. Because there's things *he* said to me over the phone and there's things he said to Theresa which he now denies, which was in Daryl's report. Which now they say they never received the report from Daryl.

25 They're trying to make *me* look like a fool, but I've got a *witness* that spoke to Advocate MacAdam where Advocate MacAdam *admitted to things that was in the report*. And Theresa, I don't know if you... well you *know* her, but I don't know *how* well you know her but I know Theresa *will not lie for anybody*. If it's black it's black, if it's pink it's pink. She's not going to give some other story.

30 And I believe what she says because I, the *same things* was mentioned to me and he denies it. So I called him a liar and I said come, I'll sign an affidavit now, *on black and white*. And I've done it. So I'm challenging them from all sides. I, I, I want to put pressure on them like they've *never* had before. *This year* is my year for answers.

35 Like you see when it goes into... I get *very* worked up. But not with the people I'm talking to and I don't know how it's going to be in, in Bloemfontein but if we go into *depths* with this I get *very, very* worked up because I know they can't – in plain English, well bullshit me when it comes to *this* investigation. I don't need papers, I

don't need... everything's here [pointing to head], from day one up until now. [p]
Okay, I suppose we've side tracked what we were talking about.

Stephen: No, I, I think it's, I think it's important for you to...

5 Trevor: It just *works* me up, where we are at this stage, because they've let these people go free. We *had* them. We had them where we were just about to *touch* them, that's how close we were.

We had two of them. We had the *driver* of the getaway car and we had one of the gunmen, in *grasps* of *holding* them, and the NPA said, goodbye, let them go. That's how *I* feel how it's happened.

10 And now they want to come, because they *haven't* contacted me since the ballistic tests have come back. November last year I got an email saying that the ballistic tests have come back, which was there for a whole year.

15 I have not *yet* received a, a *telephone call* about that outcome, that they were matching up to 56 APLA cases. I told them a year ago I'm not holding my breath because it's not an APLA attack. And if it came back *positive* they would have phoned me before Christmas and said, Mr Schippers, we have now proven it's an APLA attack. I haven't received that phone call. We are now going into March.

20 Advocate MacAdam refused, to *my* lawyer, to meet with me. Why? [p] I know these guys are going to walk away free *but* I want to hold somebody responsible and somebody is going to be held responsible.

If it's holding the national prosecutions *responsible* for letting them go free somebody's going to answer to it and I'm going to go *public*. They can, like I say, lock me up after I've said *my* say and try prove me wrong. I *challenge* them to prove me wrong, they can't prove me wrong.

25 Stephen: I, I remember last year you, you told me about a possible meeting with a person who'd been identified as one of the gunmen.

30 Trevor: Cape Town. There they put a spoke in it too. When I was *planning* it the NPA said if I *try* – because they were busy investigating – if I *try* and do something like that they will withdraw from the investigation because it's like interfering with the investigations.

Since then this guy *is* in Cape Town. Unfortunately Daryl and this guy used false names. Uh, what did they call him? Anyway they used a false name for this guy in Cape Town, which we thought was his real name.

When Daryl went missing I went to Christian Botha. Christian Botha is the private investigator in East London which Daryl was working with. They big friends, and I *wanted* answers from Christian about... he *must* know, being such close friends, best friends, worked in the police together, now they're doing private investigations. Daryl *must* have said something to him about this investigation with this guy in Cape Town.

Like Christian explained to me that was not *his* job. That was Daryl's investigation. He had other investigations, which I agree, I understand that. *But* there were times he overheard Daryl talking to this guy about the Highgate.

10 There was *two occasions* this guy flew from Cape Town to East London and they met *in his office*, they met in Christian's office. Christian sitting at *this* desk, Daryl and that guy sitting at *that* desk in the same office. And Christian *overheard* him admitting to being involved in the Highgate massacre. Christian *overheard* him say that he was one of the drivers of the getaway car.

15 One of Christian's guys, black guys that works with him, he is... *all* he knows, his whole life he's been an informer, for the apartheid government and now in the new, he is now working... because he was an informer, an impimpi in apartheid his *nation*, his family have, well they want nothing to do with him because he is now classed as an impimpi. And if he has to go back to his family or where he stays they will, will kill him.

20 So ever since then, for many years, he's been working for Christian. And he was one of the guys that was with Daryl Els when they went to Cape Town to, to *interview* this guy. And they were there on the Sunday. And they spent from nine o'clock in the morning, and he said it was here after five, six o'clock at night, they had a braai and over drinks this guy explained *in detail* how the Highgate attack, massacre happened. He explained in *detail*.

30 Now *all we know* is that he is a hunter. He's a... because apparently in his house there's trophies and all this with animals and where he hunts and photos of him hunting and all that. And he's also got his own business as importing, exporting. That's all we know about this guy.

The name he used is a false name, well that's what NPA says because they've done a trace on it. And *that* name comes up with another guy from PE, which is also in [indistinct] but is not the guy in *Cape Town*, which now this guy, this black guy Frans is telling us.

35 But anyway, *this* guy said to Daryl that they were called to a parade in PE, EP Command. Colonel Piet Hall called them on to a parade, there were only a certain

group of them called to this parade on the field, where he gave the orders for the attack on the Highgate massacre.

5 The orders were given to *him* by the minister of defence at that time. I don't know who he is because apparently around about that time there was two, three different minister of defences, so it's either one of the three, because we also looked that up, very confusing. But anyway the minister of defence gave the orders.

10 They then came to East London on the 1st of May, like we all know. And uh, he didn't go into detail, Els, because now Frans talks about a lot of other things, whatever, but he explains how it happened.

And then after the attack I wanted to know *where* did they go? Apparently they then fled from the Highgate back up Summerpride towards, uh, Johnson & Johnson way.

15 They went onto the Fort Jackson road, from there onto the King Williamstown road. And then *via* there they went to Grahamstown army base. And that's where they laid low, at Grahamstown, at the army base, until things quietened down. And then they moved from there back to PE.

20 *Last year* I got a tip off. I actually spoke to the guy. He didn't know who he was talking to. *He* thought I was a producer of, making documentaries. He didn't understand... I said I was *part* of the making of documentaries. And there was two documentaries made of the Highgate.

I didn't mention Highgate. He thought I was a *producer* of some sort and I said, ja, it was, it was to do with political *attacks* that was happening around South Africa. I never mentioned Highgate because you never know who you're talking to.

25 And then *he* asked me was it the Highgate. Straight away alarms go off in my head, why does he mention Highgate. And I still said why Highgate? Why, why you think it was Highgate? I mean there's so many attacks that happened in and around about '93. I mean, there were the King William's Town golf club, there was *all sorts*, Queenstown Spur, you know, a lot happening around here.

30 So he said, no, uh, because one of his family members were involved. So I said why, what were they shot, who were they? *No, no, no*, they were the ones doing the shooting.

35 I said what do you mean? He said, no, the *gunmen*. I said oh, I said what do you mean now, you know, explain more? *He* was one of the gunmen that went into the Highgate and done the shooting.

There's a video of it. There was another guy taking video footage while the shooting was happening. I was like taken *back*, this is the first I've heard. And I know a lot of people make up stories, and a lot of people have made up stories. But *me*, I want to know *more*, I need to know if you are bullshitting me or not.

5 So I asked more questions. I said explain more, how, what do you see on the video tape? No, he's... he doesn't say brother, uncle, father or *what*, he says family member; he keeps on saying family member, so we don't know who, if it's a brother or whatever... *goes in, opens* fire and you see, uh, what did he say, you see *three people* going down. He shoots three people dead.

10 The shoot-, the attack happens, blah, blah, blah, and they *go*, you know, or they leave. And he says *after* the attack you see them standing holding the AK47s and being interviewed individually, on video, about the attack.

So okay. Anyway I left it as that. Then, oh yes, I asked him, *do you have* this video tape? He says yes, he's got it. I asked him *three times*, he said yes. I said *will you*
15 *let me see this video tape?* So he said to me do you *really* want to see it? So I said yes, I really would like to see it. He said, okay, he will let me know when. And I *left* it as that.

That's when I infor-, I phoned, the *first* person I phoned was Christian Botha. Then alarms went off in *his* head because he said if there's a video tape and we get that
20 video tape this is a *closed case*. You won't need to prove anything in court having a video tape; that would prove everything.

He then got hold of the national prosecutions, they gave the authority, we can go ahead to investigate. *Raid* this house. This guy stayed in Westbanking, you know, whatever. Anyway it happened, we traced the house, blah, blah, blah, raided, got
25 eleven tapes out the house, whatever. Went through the tapes, can't find it. They *never* arrested the guy.

Okay, we won't go into detail, I mean that's going to take a lot of time to go into depth but anyway things *he* said just makes it that I am 100% positive this is not a scam or a lie because he was spot on with everything he said.

30 He's 27, 26, 27 years old. He is not part of the attack, *but* I believe that a family member of his is. And I believe there *is* a video tape because what *he* saw on the video tape, and what he explained to *me*, is spot on.

And I still argued with uh, uh, Captain Nel, the investigator *now* on the case. He says yes but *this* guy says he knows you, he admitted. I said right, he says he
35 knows me, how do you investigate? Did you ask him *what* do I look like, *where*

do I stay, *what* car do I drive? No, they didn't ask him that. How can you then *believe* that he was joking with me? Do you believe the first thing a criminal says?

5 I said *secondly* you, as the investigating officer of this case, can you tell me how many people were shot in the men's bar? He says to me no he can't tell me off hand.

I said well that guy *knew* exactly how many people were shot and he was *spot on*. Do you know why I know he was spot on? I was one of them. I was one of those three, because it was me, it was Winston and it was Derek Whitfield that went down in the men's bar. *He* said his, his family member shot three, three of them
10 went down.

Secondly if you look at my statement that was made *20 years ago*, not now last year, my statement that was made 20 years ago you see me saying there that after the shooting I heard the gunman walk up to me behind my back, and I still cringed, I thought he was going to well finish me off. He then turned around and
15 walked out.

And for 20 years I could *not* understand why did he walk up *behind* me and walk away. No shooting happened. I could never figure out until now. It wasn't the gunman, it was the *camera guy* that, that came in, that took *footage before* the grenade and the tear gas was thrown in, after we were flattened.

20 That's why I know that there *is* a video camera and I know that this guy is talking the truth because he was spot on. More spot on than anybody ever has been. Because I know that somebody *did* walk up well to me, didn't shoot me again. And if you put the puzzles together it's that camera guy that was taking the video footage which *he* told me about.

25 Stephen: Ja, so it fits together.

Trevor: Now if you hear what that guy in Cape Town said... that *was* one of the guys, and if you hear what *this* young guy told me – they've never met, that young guy doesn't know that guy in Cape Town – their stories is identical. *Spot on* identical how the attack happened.

30 And they've stuffed this whole case up, the national prosecutions, even when it comes to investigating. Because Christian Botha still said to me that they could have *locked* that guy up for 48 hours, and they had 48 hours to *interrogate* him. And if they interrogated him for *48 hours* they would have broken that young guy because he was a very nervous guy.

They would have got out of him *where* that video tape is, *who* that family member was, *why* did he make accusations like that *if it was not true*? Why did he admit things to me about how the attack happened *if it was not true*?

5 And the NPA did not do that, they've got the authority. I mean they raided well Zuma's house, for God's sakes and they took all his computers and files and everything. Why can't they do that with this young laaitie? 48 hours, just hold him, interrogate him.

10 To *me* this is my life, this is a high profile case. I know they might have other cases that could be worse but I take *this* case serious. It ruined *my life* and many other lives and they are playing with it. Anyway that's where we are now. I could sit here for another week, I get...

Stephen: I can understand why you are so passionate about wanting to pursue it.

Trevor: That's why I say I've got *no* time to still have people I must answer to, like Clive. And, and having dirty SMS's when I'm busy with this, I, I don't need it.

15 Stephen: Can I, can I just take you back a bit?

Trevor: Ja, I jump too far.

Stephen: No, it's, it's fine, it's important to you to talk about that. But I, I just wanted to take you back to this, to this idea.

Trevor: Okay, I'm going to close this door, we're not finished yet. Okay.

20 Stephen: So umm, ja, just back to the idea of the group. And I'm wondering when you look back at your experiences in the group, umm, from this distance of time, what do you, what do you value most about the role the group has played in your life? Even, even though I'm hearing you say that it was a limited role and that it no longer, it no longer plays that role, but when you look back, umm, is there
25 something you can pick out that you valued?

Trevor: I've learnt a lot. [tapping table] Uh, what I value out of it is it's shown *me* that I can do more than what I thought I could do. They put me in predicaments which I was left to do *on my own* and *hoping* I failed. And I *know* a lot of them wanted me to fail. And I proved them wrong.

30 So it has made a better person out of me, *I* feel. It's made me see things differently. Umm, [p] how can I say? I can't think now. There's a lot I could maybe say but those are the main ones.

It's made me a stronger person. *They* done actually more good than harm. Where they might think they've *harmed* me. But by what they've done it's actually made me a *stronger* person. I've learnt *more* than what I suppose I would have. So that's what *I* value out of it.

5 I'm not sorry we *tried* it. I *have* thought about it at times and thought, you know, we should never have done it. I'm actually glad we did do it. We've seen, we've tried it and it didn't work. And I'll *never* do it again with them. But I know where I stand with each individual as a group member.

10 Stephen: And when you think about your, umm, your actual interactions with other group members, umm, what, what do you think it is about or what do you think it was about your interactions that was helpful or beneficial to you?

15 Trevor: [p] I suppose knowing that they've got more problems than what I've got to *deal* with. I also see that I've *used* the time I've had since 2005. But I also feel... uh, but let's go back a bit more, what I *feel* is I had a bit longer process than the rest of the group to start coming to terms and dealing with what's happened.

20 Meeting with Pumla in 2005, with Dr Frances, and having the, the *privilege* of, umm, meeting with Letlapa, the, that, uh, mediation. And I suppose I had an *advan-*, *more* of an advantage than the rest of the group. So I suppose that's where I benefit than, well to, well to the rest. I don't know, that's just my, my point of view.

I know in the beginning, Dr Frances, she *prepared* me for what's going to happen and what's going to come. And, you know, a lot of the group was not prepared, they were just *thrown* into different things. And by that... that's what comes of it I suppose, I don't know.

25 I think they *went* into things with expectations, or *expected* things and didn't receive them. I don't know, I'm just... I mean, *I* sit and I think back. I don't know. I've tried to think about it a lot, *where* did things go wrong? But I know they've got issues *they* need to deal with, maybe bigger than mine.

30 I've tried to get answers to my issues they don't have. But there again where I feel I've got *bigger* issues than them when it comes to *personal* life, having personal life issues over and above your Highgate issues, you need to deal with both of them at the same time. Maybe some can't, I don't know.

Stephen: [p] Is there anything else that you'd like to say about the material I've presented to you, umm, or, or more generally about, about your own life? I mean

you've said a lot already but I'm just giving you a chance if you want to say anything more.

5 Trevor: There's always something to say. All I, well all I can say as I'm sitting here today: I've given the Highgate 20 years of my life. I was 20 years when I was shot, so I had 20 years of a fair life, then I got shot at the age of 20. I've had 20 years of *hell*, pain, suffering. I'm now 40.

10 I *need* to put the Highgate behind me, no matter what. This year I need to focus on the Highgate, come hell or high water, with the NPA. I don't care who comes in my way, I want answers. Media, I'm talking my mind. I'm not just going to say things, I'm going to well talk the truth, what *I* know.

And then I need to make a decision for *my* life and to move forward year after. What am I going to do for the next 20 years? I haven't worked for 20 years and I need to then now focus on myself, what my [indistinct] going to be.

15 I've given the Highgate 20 years. If I get answers after this or not *I* know by walking away *how* the Highgate happened, *what* happened. I put it together myself, not by somebody just telling me. So I need... I've, I've thought or found my closure, I need to *end* this closure and then look at my next well 20 years, I don't know how much longer *I've* got to live, but ja, that's my aim.

20 Stephen: Thank you for, ja, thank you for your time and being willing to speak to me again.

Trevor: It's a pleasure.

Stephen: I really appreciate it.

25 Trevor: What's also helped is having these conferences at UCT with Pumla. I still remember my first conference I ever had, that was in 2006, I think. Was it 2005, 2006? I, I really thought, you know, *this* is not for me. I can't do this. I can't talk, you know, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.

It does get easier I suppose. It's given me the ability to actually do *more* than what I thought I could do then. It might not look like it to a lot of people but it's given me, [p] how can I say, more confidence to take on bigger things.

30 I'm not scared to approach the media anymore, say my say. I go stand in front of 500 people now if I need to, and *talk*. Where before I would have felt like I was having a heart attack. You know, that... I'm just telling my story, it could have happened to anybody but it's happened to me; *that's* what happened.

That's what this country's doing to us. And the *saddest* part is having the ANC as government and them anti apartheid, they're always running *apartheid* down but they are still protecting the apartheid government. Today you hear them talking about apartheid, apartheid this, apartheid caused that, apartheid this. *Here's our*
5 *case*, this government *knows* what happened and this government is still protecting the apartheid government. That's my story.

Stephen: It doesn't seem to make sense.

Trevor: No.

Stephen: Well thank you for sharing that.

10 Trevor: No, it's a pleasure, anytime.

Stephen: Thank you.

Trevor: It's just nice that people still find our stories interesting, something to... if it can help *other* people, you know, like in research and... but I'm sure our group has been the worst if they had to put all of the research together.

15 I've looked at... but I think there again it come-, boils down to East London people. I've never met... the worst people in my whole life, like East London people, really. They're *ungrateful*, they appreciate *nothing*.

I'm just *very* pleased with the amount of people that's come, that's come on board, that's helped us up until now. I mean, if it wasn't for Pumla, for Dr Frances, for the
20 CSV, I mean, Theresa, *where would we be* today as a group? I can tell you not where we are now. *Definitely* not. I wouldn't have had the ability to *push* as hard as what I've pushed if it wasn't for meeting the people I've met.

Stephen: Maybe just to say from the research perspective, that many support
25 groups only do stay together for a limited time and that they do have a limited function within the whole healing process. So that it's not... I mean the Highgate group is obviously unique in its own way but it's not necessarily an exception compared to other support groups.

Trevor: But the *complaints* I've heard from our group when we've gone on to Grahamstown or to Cape Town. A *lot* of individuals always said something. You
30 know, I've looked at other groups, like at the Healing of Memories, the, the black groups, like the Gugulethu, and, uh, the Mamelodi. I've, I've watched those groups and I've tried to compare them to us, our group. They were *grateful* for everything that was *offered* to them, *done* for them.

And I looked at our group, I never saw that. I never *saw* our group being grateful. In the same breath they were complaining about *this* or about the *food* or... what did we go there for? It wasn't for the food, it wasn't for the *flight*, we went there for a reason. Did they not see that? Did they just see it as we're going on a, a long weekend holiday? That's where I, I say *very* ungrateful, very...

You know what hurt me too and I still feel I should make that phone call but another half tells me I shouldn't get involved. Remember the last conference we had? I attended with Theresa and Jill. Clive flew up, you remember? Clive stayed at UCT campus. Me, Theresa and Jill, we stayed at, uh, Schoonstadt, we booked in there. We went up by car, Clive *flew* by himself to Cape Town to the conference. After the conference, remember there was that supper you had the one night? I don't know if you were there.

Stephen: I don't, I don't think I was actually at the supper.

Trevor: It's normally like the last supper of the conference, where I don't know... but anyway Theresa, I and, and Jill, we could not make the supper so we excused ourselves because we had to still travel like early the next morning to get back to East London or Grahamstown.

Clive went well to the supper and he was talking to Pumla. And apparently Clive goes a lot to where Pumla's mother stays. And Pumla asked Clive, here's R200, when you go there again give that to my mother. Clive took it. Up until *today* Clive has still not given that R200 to Pumla's mother. How long ago was that?

Clive says yes but he hasn't *gone* that way again, he can't go out his way. I understand, but with technology today, pick up the bloody phone, phone Pumla and tell her look, Pumla, I'm, I'm not *going* past there. There's no way I can get that money to your mother. Can I deposit it back into your bank account? Don't sit and keep that money.

That's how *bad* I feel with our group. And I just hope Pumla doesn't class *me* the same as Clive when it comes to that because I'm not like that. I'm sure she must have found out from her mother if she got that R200. And that's wrong, really it's wrong.

I feel like phoning Clive and telling him you are seeing Stephen this weekend. You still owe Pumla the R200, well give it to Stephen, he can give it to Pumla. Really that's the way I feel. But one half is telling me I should do it, the other half is saying it's got nothing to do with me, I wasn't even *at* the supper. But that's our group, very disappointing.

Stephen: So do, do you feel that there's a difference between your, your group and the, the other black survivor groups at the healing of memories?

5 Trevor: Most definitely, most definitely. *Our* group was just very much more confused afterwards. I don't know. When we got back it's like everything just went wrong. Not for me, I learnt *extremely* a lot. Even Shereen... in *everything* we done that whole weekend I *learnt* something out of it, by meeting the different ones, talking, interacting, *everything*.

10 I don't hear the other group, our members, talking about it. I *just* remember when I hear Clive, I remember him complaining. When I think on Nigel I hear *him* complaining. I wasn't with them, I mean like I said, we were scattered, so I don't know what happened in Clive's session, I don't know what happened in Nigel's. I was on my own. My *mother* was... I wasn't even *with* my mother.

15 And we weren't allowed or supposed to mention what happened in our group. What happens between you and me's got nothing what happens between Nigel and Clive and, you know. So I don't know. I really don't know if things went wrong their side but not my side.

20 I learnt extremely... well I remember *one* incident. We were told by Father Lapsley – he has a piece of paper and these crayons – we must go, find a table and go draw. I said *draw*, I can't draw. Now I'm thinking to myself, and I think I... okay, that's a little bit of moaning I, I done. I saw Shereen, because now we're *all* together. I said draw, I can't... I want to draw matchstick men, I'm not a drawer.

25 And I, I was like *complaining*, but you know, just about this drawing. And I sat there with the crayons and I see Father Lapsley walking in, also with a piece of paper and crayons, but he doesn't have hands, he's got hooks. And here *he's* sitting at the table and he's drawing a picture that he asked us to draw. And I thought to myself, *here* I'm complaining, I've got nothing wrong with this hand, this hand is half gebreklik. *Who am I* to complain? And here he's sitting, I don't know how long it took him to try just pick up that crayon before he can even start drawing what he wanted to draw. Those are the lessons I took away. [p] It's an eye opener.

30 Stephen: Ja, it's quite profound.

35 Trevor: You think you're bad, there's always somebody worse off than you. And that's what you see at Healing of Memories. Even the person that doesn't look as disabled, you don't know what they've gone through, what life they led, what damage was done *psychologically*, which can *never* be repaired. Don't judge people by their appearance or until you know them.

Stephen: Thank you, Trevor.

Trevor: Okay Stephen, I hope I've answered what you need.

Stephen: You gave great answers.

Trevor: Please tell me it was recording!

5

Nora S 2013

10 Stephen: Okay, so I'm just going to take a few notes while you answer the questions. Umm, so firstly has, has anything changed in the way that you think about your experiences in the group since I spoke with you in 2008?

Nora: No, it's got actually *worse*, because now my husband is *very bad*. And with him being so sick and my child has been...okay, there are some days that he's got his, uh, better days and he's got his bad day. But now I've got *him* and I've got my husband.

15 My husband's had *many strokes* but now he's, I think he's getting to that stage where...because I've got to do *everything* for him. I've asked him please not to get up because I'm scared he'll fall and sometimes Chappie trips, trips as well and I'm, I'm so worried that they fall, you know. So it's actually got worse now, I've got two of them on my hand.

20 Stephen: [p] So when you look back at your experiences in the group what do you value most about the role that it's played in your life and in your personal healing process?

25 Nora: Well being as a group it used to be... we used to *laugh* and then we used to sit and talk about the stor-, about what happened. And we would shed some tears and we would *all* feel the same and then *when* we were laughing we all laughed together.

It used to be so *good* as a group, we *knew* what each one, how each one was hurting, but we don't have that anymore because the group doesn't want to be together anymore. Clive started all his nonsense, anyway.

30 That's how I felt, I felt as if we were *more* than a group, we used to *get* together and we used to...sometimes we cried together, we laughed together, because we

could, you know, we, we *knew* what the next one was feeling, you know. They had their up and their down days and we had our up and down, down days as well.

Stephen: And when you, when you think about your interactions with other survivors in the group, umm, what do you think it was about those interactions that
5 made them helpful or beneficial?

Nora: I don't know. We would just *click*. If we could see that Clive wasn't, he, he wasn't, he wasn't joining in with us and we *knew* what was the matter, or if Trevor was very quiet that day, we would know that there is something. And when Trevor had lots of pain, you know you could see it on his face that he had pain. You could
10 just see.

We had our up and down days. [sighing] But I had to keep strong because I *had to*, I was a mother. [p] We'd still talk about it a lot. If only... it's twenty years this year, if *only* somebody would come and say it's them.

For example Trevor, I don't know if it's a friend of him or what, I know this has got
15 nothing to do with it, but he was involved in a motor car accident and he was injured. We heard later that he claimed from the, what do you call that, those people? He claimed millions.

Stephen: Insurance.

Nora: I mean that where you, you...insurance, ja, car insurance or whatever. He
20 claimed *millions*. These people were *shut up* by the government and they can't claim a thing. And do you think that's fair, I don't think that's fair at all.

We know of people that stay in Morningside that also had a motor car accident, him and her was involved in an accident. They claimed millions. They, well they were walking with sticks and everything but now that they've got the money now
25 they are fixing up their house, making their house look pretty. It's a cruel world. I'm sorry, this has got nothing... I'm just talking, sorry.

Stephen: No, it's relevant. [p] Are, are there any things that you, umm, continue to pursue, any of the causes associated with the group or any interests that you may have developed in the group?

Nora: No, we don't *worry* as a group anymore; we just carry on, on our own. *Shereen* is the only one that would phone us or we would phone her; but Clive, Nigel is family of ours, we never see him, we never hear from him. And, uh, we don't see Clive; we don't, we don't get to hear about anybody.

Stephen: Is, is there anything else that you'd like to say about the material that I presented to you? Any comments you'd like to make about it.

5 Nora: Everything's there that is right. It *did* happen. [p] My heart still feels like that, we were a group, we were a *family*. It was their decision to pull back. [p] I'm sorry I'm not a talker.

Stephen: No, that's, that's fine. Umm, you, one of the things you said earlier was that you had to keep strong because you're, you're, you're the mother, and you had to keep strong. Do, do you think that gave you a special role in the group, the fact that you, you were a mother of a survivor?

10 Nora: I think so. I worked a *lot* to get him where he is today. I was working at Johnson & Johnson at that time, when he was shot. I... we got a nurse in to look after him in the day time. When I get home, like on a Friday we would knock off at two o'clock in the afternoon, as soon as I walk in the nurse wants to go home already. So I would have the *whole* night shift and as soon as I walk in she wants
15 to go.

And he was, he was *sick* then. I had to do, I had to give him *bed baths*, I would do *everything*. Even when he was sick I never used to sleep at night. So I felt I had that duty that I could be one of the group members. I worked hard for that. [p] He wouldn't be here today if I didn't do what I had.

20 There was days that I *walked*. I would phone the ambulance up, sorry to say this plainly, I don't know if there's another word to say but the pus would just run from him. He would be taken in to hospital – it's from the bullet that was left in his leg that went septic. And when they would operate over there it had *moved*; the bullet was travelling up and down his leg. I tell you his leg actually went vrot, the pus
25 used to just *run* from him.

Till one day it came through to the, to the point we used to put, umm, Milton, that we used for baby's bottles, to sterilize baby's bottles, we used to put it through a catheter down his leg, shoot it right down his leg. There was a cavity that had opened up down his leg. We would clean his leg out with Milton to try and stop the
30 septicemia that he had. So I worked hard. [p] But we're here today to tell the story.

Stephen: So it, it was worthwhile.

35 Nora: Oh yes, it was my *duty* to do that for my son. I don't know if another mother would do what I was doing at that time but I did it. And my work was *kind* to me, they would tell me, Nora don't come in today, stay at home and have a break. And I think that's also that helped me a lot, was my work that I could do what I had,

what I *did* do, you know. [p] Is that the answers you wanted? Sorry man, I'm just talking nonsense.

Stephen: No, that's, that's a good answer.

Nora: Is it, is it what you wanted to know?

5 Stephen: It, it is what I wanted, ja. Is, is there anything else that you'd like to say about your life and the Highgate?

Nora: You know, I've got three babies, that's the *most* that I've always wanted was my three children. I've only got two but my grandchild is my third one. I've only got one grandchild. My sisters all beat me, they've all got three, four grandchildren but
10 I've only got one and I love him. He's a good boy, you know.

Stephen: [p] So is he, is he the, the racing car driver?

Nora: Yes, oh he's so mad on racing. He used to do stock car racing and, umm, he said he, he wants to do high-, better things than that. He got to where he wanted to go; you can't go further with stock cars. Now he started Wesbank, now he wants to
15 work himself up until he's on top. Maybe then, you see, he'll go overseas. I don't want him to go overseas.

[p] He's at... no he's not at Kyalami, Jo'burg is Kyalami hey? That is *today*, tomorrow, that he's at Kyalami. Then on the 16th of March he's at Killarney, that's Cape Town, 6th of April he's at [indistinct]. That's his racing dates he's got.
20 [pointing to wall] That's his racing days.

Stephen: For the, for the whole year.

Nora: Ja. [p] Anything else?

Stephen: No, that's all that I have, I have to ask you. Is there anything else that you want to say?

25 Nora: No, I'm just glad you've come down to East London and come and see us.

Stephen: Well thank you for, thank you for being willing to speak to me.

Nora: Just put this little thing off, does it go by battery?

Stephen: Yes.

30 **Shereen L 2013**

Stephen: So to start off with has anything changed in the way that you think about your experiences in the group since I spoke with you in 2008?

5 Shereen: I must admit the group has got *smaller*. We have *split up* quite a bit. And I think the, I think the main reason for that is everybody had different *goals*. I just think everyone had different goals.

And Trevor and I have always stuck *together*. It's also *friendship*. But I think we still, we've both got the same goals; we want to find out the truth. That's the bottom line. You know, it's not... I don't know, that's, that's our, that's *our goal*.

10 I don't know if anybody else's goal was that. I don't think so. I don't think so. So I remember saying that two people in the group is still a group and it's, it's like that, but it's *like* that. Mmm.

Stephen: So you said that at that time and that's still...

15 Shereen: [p] Ja, I'd say people had different goals and Trevor and I had the *same* goal. [p] It was like actually what did you want to get *out* of this and I don't know what *they* wanted to get out of it, I don't know. I don't know.

The group itself, I don't know what they wanted out of it. To me it was more monetary, I'm *sorry* but that's my... what they could get out of it. I, I better not go that way!

20 But going *away* and doing *this* and, and getting *paid*, and you know to me it was about that and Trevor and I... Trevor *does* need money but Trevor and I had smaller... we want to find out the *truth*. So our goals were totally different.

Stephen: [p] Since you share that similar goal with Trevor do you, do you continue to pursue that even though the group doesn't exist as it did?

25 Shereen: Trevor, *Trevor's* pursuing it and he's letting me know what's going on. Umm, uh, I think, I think Daryl's whole story got me sort of... put us on a *down*, you know, 'cos when you pay the guy R5 000, he doesn't come back with any *information*... and I think that sort of also put us a little bit down.

30 But Trevor continued and he does keep me informed *all the time* about what's going on. Umm, but Trevor's the one who's actually pursuing it. He is. And I'll *stand by him* totally with everything. You know, I'm not going to, I'm not, I'm not going to walk away from Trevor.

Stephen: [p] And when you look back at your experiences in the group what do you value most about the role that it's played in your own life and your own personal healing process?

5 Shereen: I do value the *friendship* I made, totally, I really value them. Umm, I value that I was able to connect with people on the same *level* when it came to mourning. 'Cos you know, we all had the same tragedy in our lives.

10 Actually I didn't, you know, that's the only thing. I didn't really connect with people that actually had *lost* someone. I think I was the *only one* that actually stuck in that big group. Fran was there for a little while, she had lost her husband. But there was *no one* that actually had lost anyone.

It was, you know, it was just really *me*, when I think of it. Mmm, ja. Denise [Bernice] and Fran were in and out, there was no sort of constant thing with them being in the group, it wasn't *constant*.

15 Umm, and, and you know when you lose a, to me when you lose a husband, a husband *can be replaced*, I'm not saying, I'm not saying that *bad*. But a husband can be replaced but a brother *can't*.

You can't get another brother, so it's a different sort of... you know, they do *move on*, not that they've forgotten about that person but they can move on. I can't get another brother back. So it's a different kind of... I think so.

20 Stephen: Do you think that gives, that gave you a special role in the group, the fact that you were the only one who had lost someone?

25 Shereen: It *did* in a way but also in a way it was... I used to always think you people are *lucky* because you're still here to talk about it. That's how *I* felt too. I'm not running anybody down, but I think you're still *here* to be able to say it, tell everybody how you feel and what you're going through.

My brother's not here to do that. I've got to do it for him. You know, so it was a little bit... and then people didn't look at me in the same way, because you weren't there so what do *you* know? So it was a little bit of a difficult thing to get through to people. [p] Mmm. It was.

30 Stephen: So the, the suffering you experienced as a family member was different to their suffering as survivors.

Shereen: It was. Umm, I always used to think these people are still here, you're *lucky* to be alive. Okay, I'm sorry you've, you've got all these *problems* in your life

and all that but you're *here*. You should thank God you're *here*, my brother's *not* here. You know, that's, that's how I used to think at that stage, I *did* think like that.

5 It was... as I said people used to look down at, people used to say things to me like, *you weren't there, you didn't go through it*. You should, you know, you've actually got nothing to say.

So I also felt a little bit on the *outside* as well, when I look back on it now, ja. So I did feel a little bit of an outsider. Because they could all relate to each other because they were all *there* in that situation, I wasn't.

Stephen: [p] How did you deal with that during the time in the group?

10 Shereen: I just *stood up* for myself, I *stood up* for myself, I did. Umm, I was lucky enough to be strong enough to actually stand up for myself and say well he's not here, I've got to talk *for* him, somebody's got to do it. I've got to talk on his behalf.

15 You people are *here*, you, you can still talk, you're *lucky*. I used to be...I wouldn't, I wouldn't say get *angry* but I used to, ja, you know, it wasn't a nice feeling you know when they used to sort of say, but you weren't *there*, you don't know what it *felt* like.

I know what it feels like not to have him *around*. I can relate with that if they, you know... but I *can't* relate what they went through, I *wasn't* there, I can *agree* I wasn't there, but, umm, they're here to tell the story, he's not. That's how it was.

20 Stephen: And when you think about your interactions with other members of the group what do you think it was about those interactions that was beneficial for you?

25 Shereen: You know, when something happens to a person in life you always think, as I said, you always think it's only happened to *you* until you find out other people's stories. You know, it's, uh, I wouldn't say selfish, but you always think of *yourself* and you don't look at people around you.

All that... okay not talking about the group now, but *all that's* made *me* a person that now, who cares about *anybody* and *anything*. I, I, like, anything I read in the paper and I start *crying*.

30 It's, it's, it's made me a more sympathetic, empathetic person, I don't know. It's changed me as a *person*, it's made me a *better* person, it definitely *has*. It's definitely made me a better person.

The group... uh, I don't know, you always have that one or two that you don't get on with, and it's in normal life too. So you know, you can't get on with everybody in life. [laughing] That's *normal*.

5 We used to get a, we used to get a bit down when Trevor and I used to do most of the *work* and people didn't do things around you and we used to get a little bit *upset*. And it sort of left on our shoulders all the time. I think that's another reason why it just sort of, you know...

10 Stephen: [p] I think that this idea of realising how other people have suffered, that was something that you mentioned in the quote that I read to you, about the healing of memories weekend as well, that you realised what *other* people had gone through as well. And that changed you in some way.

15 Shereen: It definitely changed me as a person, *definitely*. I feel for people terribly now, it's actually, actually quite *bad*, because I cry about *anything*. No I do, I cry, I read the paper, shame that raped girl, that girl that was raped in Cape Town, I *cried* when I read that story.

I was so... you know, just... because I can feel for her, I can *relate* to her family going through something, you know. I think it makes me a, it makes me a softer person, more caring and stronger. Like Trevor, as I say, Trevor's got *strong*, he has!

20 Stephen: [p] Does, does that, umm, prompt you to reach out to people more to try and help them?

25 Shereen: It does. The more time I listen to people... I sit and listen. And I give advice although my advice is not always the best but – not advice but I say what I would do in that situation. And it's up to them to decide. But, ja, it's made me... listen.

Stephen: [p] Umm, and is there anything further that you'd like to say about the, the material that I presented to you?

30 Shereen: I actually I see exactly what you're saying, the four themes, I can, I relate to that as well. I can relate to all that. But like with Trevor now, it's not *only* Trevor, it's his mom, it's his sister, it's everybody that's...you know what I mean, that, that's now part of it.

35 Stephen: [p] I think one of the comments you made about the group last time is that it had helped you, helped you to mourn your brother's death for the first time. That was quite a strong feeling that you put across. Umm, does that process continue, has that been completed or how, how do you think about that now?

Shereen: Umm, it, it's, I don't know... I, I think I went through a process of *really mourning* but now I've sort of come to accept it again. You know, at one stage... ja, I've come to accept it again. Umm, oh no I still think of him and all that but that mourning process I think is, not *gone* but I've worked through it. I've worked
5 through it. [p] Ja, it's 20 years this May, yoh, it's a *long time*.

Stephen: 20 years, ja, it is a long time.

Shereen: And I've got my son to remind me because he's turning 20 this year, so it's like a...

Stephen: So there *are* milestones that are there that continually remind you about
10 it.

Shereen: The birthdays and the Christmases and the... at my son's birthday. And my *son*, when I speak, speak to him sometimes I think of my brother because he's *Degan Deon*, my son's name, second name is my brother's name. So ja.

Stephen: [p] Is there anything else that you'd like to say about your life and the
15 Highgate incident? Is there anything else you'd like to add?

Shereen: I just want closure too, like Trevor. I just want to know who it was. You know, umm, I haven't, I'm not too... how can I say, umm? It doesn't worry me what *happens* to them, it sounds silly but it doesn't worry me because they'll get their day one day and that's what I *believe*.

20 But I just want to know who did it, I just want the answers. I don't want them to *hide* things from us, they must just be truthful and tell us who it was, that's all. And for Trevor, I want *Trevor* to get peace, I really do. I really do.

Stephen: So you want to know the who and the why as well, why it happened.

Shereen: And as I always said [indistinct] you know, and I want to know who it is, I
25 just want to know. And if *they've* got families and children, and, you know... which he never had a chance *to do*, you know what I mean. I just want to know.

[p] I'm looking at this thing about excluded from the group. I think you're talking about *Nigel*, when I read that. [indistinct]. But I, I had that feeling too really but I might not have shown it *because* I was like an outsider as far as they were
30 concerned.

Stephen: Okay, because you were a family member.

Shereen: And I wasn't *there*. I never portrayed that, I *never* did, no. I wasn't going to feel *sorry* for myself, because ja, feeling sorry for yourself... I mean, I wasn't

there to look for *attention*, I was there to find out the truth and help *other* people, you know. I'm not being ugly now, hey, I'm being truthful.

Stephen: Ja. So you, you said you stood up for yourself, you said that you wanted to speak on your brother's behalf, because...

5 Shereen: I was his voice.

Stephen: [p] I suppose that, that's quite important because, I mean, ja, he's, he could never speak about it.

10 Shereen: That's why I say they get to talk about it, they're *lucky*. But it's not, umm, they're not lucky, how can I say it, for being injured and all that, but *they* still have a chance to say *this* is what happened to me. You know, I'm still *alive*, this is what happened to me.

He's not here to say that. *I* was here to say it for him. But, they... I had *a lot of, a lot of*, umm, problems with people saying but you were never *there*. You can't say, you weren't *there*, you didn't... you weren't *involved* in it.

15 So I was like, not pushed aside but *questioned* a lot, you know. [p] Ja. And, and Fran and, and Denise [Bernice] didn't *take* the same sort of standpoint that *I* did, they were just *there*.

20 Do you know what I mean, they, they were just *there*. It wasn't like...I don't know, they never, not argued, but they never had a viewpoint, point, a viewpoint like I did, you see. They just sort of sat in the back and listened.

Stephen: So do you think that, that's one of the reasons why they withdrew from the group?

25 Shereen: I would say, as I said, they've *moved on* in life. They had husbands or boyfriends or fiancées, they had *moved on* in life. Do you know what I mean... it's, they're, not that they're replacing the person that's gone but they're on to *another life with someone else*.

30 Umm, I, I *can't* go on another life with another *brother*, I'm not going to get another one, it doesn't *happen* like that. Immaculate Conception maybe! But I'm not going to have another brother, you know, so for me he's always going to be my brother, that's not going to *change*.

I can't *move on* from him, he's still, he's *still* my brother. He's *still* my brother. They can have a new *husband*, a new *boyfriend*, a new... you know, so it is a little bit *different*, I think. It's, it's, it's blood, I don't know, it's blood.

But I can't, I can't get a *new* one. You see, that's, I think, different. I'm not saying they never *loved* their husbands or they didn't go through a lot of pain. I'm not saying that *at all*, really I'm not. But they *can* move forward, in that way, you know what I mean?

5 Stephen: [p] So the, the feeling of being pushed aside in the group, tha-, is tha-, are you saying that that's something you've dealt with, you don't...

Shereen: I stood up for myself. I didn't *let* them do that. I didn't *allow* it. I always had something to *say*. I was very *cheeky*, you know. I, I spoke up for my *brother*, bottom line, I, I did *his* talking. And ja, I spoke up for *him*.

10 So I didn't feel sorry for myself and sit in the background and complain about everybody around me. I, I did his talking. I *could have, easy*, but who was going to talk for him, there was only *me*.

Stephen: [p] Well, that's quite courageous.

15 Shereen: [laughing] To deal with what I had to deal with, it *was*. Had a few, been a *few* things, ja... especially with the plaque, *oh*, but anyway, that was... you heard about the plaque, hey?

Stephen: Umm, I think I have heard some, some things about it, ja.

20 Shereen: To me a mem-, in a memor-, a memoriam plaque is for the people who have left us. Survivors are here still to talk about it, to *me*. So to me it should just be the people that died. *Five people*, and loving... and then, you know "God be with everybody else who suffered" whatever, whatever.

25 So it was a *big* thing. I mean they wanted to put the *survivors* on, and, and then Nigel thought *his* name should be on there because *he's* a survivor. But that *whole bar* were survivors. *All of them* were survivors, even if they weren't hurt, they were *all survivors*. That's how *I* feel.

You know, so it was... we had a lot of, we had a lot of... ja. But it was only *me* to stand up for the people that had died and I just felt people that died should have been on *there* and, umm, you know, "God bless all the families and survivors of the hotel attack." But anyway, that... I was the only one to fight for that.

30 And that's one, that's one of the reasons Nigel did feel *excluded*, because his name wasn't on, on that seven injured. *But*, to me there were – how many people in those pubs that night? They *all survived*. You know. So, ja, I had quite a lot of...

Stephen: I suppose that is a difficult issue, about who's remembered in that way.

Shereen: That's, that's why I said, the people who *have* survived are here to talk about it. They don't need their name on a plaque. They're *here*, they can *tell you to your face*. Those people are *not* here, those people that have died. We've got to remember them. Why must I remember you when you're right here in front of me?
5 Sorry, but that's how I *feel*, that's how I felt and I still feel like that.

You know, it's... you're actually saying something for those people that actually their lives were *taken* because of this. That's what a plaque to me is about. And where do you put the cut-off of who survives? Then you might as well put the 200 or 100 people who were in that pub, you must put *all* their names on there.

10 Stephen: [p] I can, I can see that point of view.

Shereen: Can you see it? Ja. So that's why we had this big... there was a lot of...but I stood up. But still as I said there still the seven injured on there and I still think, to me, they're *here*, they can *talk* about it. They don't have to be remembered, they're *here*. I still believe that.

15 It's a plaque, I shouldn't, it shouldn't *worry* me. But ja. I didn't have ill feelings towards them *at all*, I'm not saying that. I'm not saying that at all. But I just feel that when you've got some *memorial* of someone it's when they're *gone*, not when they're here to talk about it.

Stephen: So it was kind of the principle.

20 Shereen: It was the *principle*. Ja, it was the principle. But I had no one fighting *with* me that could... you know, so I was fighting for it by myself against everybody in the group and it was *very* difficult for them to see what I was actually trying to get at. It was *very* difficult. And that Nigel and I... it's a big problem. That's when he *felt* left out, that's, that's where it all started.

25 But it wasn't that I was leaving... I mean, in my mind it wasn't that we were leaving him out. Because we wrote at the bottom "and all those"... you know, umm, what was it... "who were involved", or whatever, "God be with you", or something. You know, but no, that was...

30 And you couldn't just say the Highgate group now have their names on because it wasn't about the Highgate group, it was about the Highgate *massacre*. And I think everybody sort of went all over the place, you know, it was the *Highgate group*, now Nigel must be in there. But, you know it was a difficult one, Stephen, you're lucky you weren't there.

Stephen: That's a difficult issue.

Shereen: I *know*. But I fought it, I really did. I just, I didn't get my *one* way with it, as I said, with the injured names not on there. I just felt that they're here to talk about it; a memoriam plaque is about people who have left, okay. That's, I didn't get *that side right* but I got the side right of not putting Nigel on. Not that I didn't
5 want his *name* on there but I just believed that there's *lots of survivors*, not only *him*.

You know, they haven't come forward. Like Baling and all of them, they haven't come forward to be in the group but they're *also* survivors. And it wasn't about the *group*, it was about the Highgate massacre. So there was a lot of sort of in house
10 politics, as you could call it. But I stood up, I did stand up for what, for what I believed in.

And *from that day* Nigel felt left out. From that day. Just to get a *name* on a *plaque*. I mean, to me, I'm not being nasty now, I'm not running anyone down, it wasn't about getting your name in the *paper*, getting your name on a *plaque*, getting your
15 name anywhere. You know, it *wasn't* about that.

I didn't want to be in the press, I didn't *want* that. But if it was to get closer to finding out who did it then I would be ready to do it. Some people just wanted to be in the *limelight* and I, I *wasn't* like that. You know, it was more about the limelight than anything else. We all had different... as I said we all had different, umm,
20 goals. We all had different goals.

Stephen: So now it's just, is it just about pursuing, pursuing that goal?

Shereen: I'm standing by Trevor. Whatever he wants me to do I'll be with him. That's all, ja. [p] Him and I believe the same thing. You know what I mean, we've got the same *goal*. That's why I'll stand by him.

25 Stephen: I think it's an important goal.

Shereen: Mmm. It *is*.

Stephen: And if, if it could be achieved it would probably help many other people, not just you and Trevor.

Shereen: No it would help the whole group, *definitely*. It would, *definitely*. But they
30 have other goals as well, you know other things they also want from it. You know what I mean?

Stephen: Is there anything else that you'd like to, like to say?

Shereen: No, I think I've said quite a bit. [laughing].

Stephen: Well thank you very much for being willing to share and for giving your time, I appreciate it.

Shereen: It's a pleasure. It's a pleasure. Come in five years time, I'll tell you more or you can come after then.

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Clive R 2013

10 Clive: So ja, I don't know, you know, with the, with the *group*, I don't think it's because we all just, sort of *gave up*. I mean, some people have full time jobs. You know. Some people psych-, psychologically I think it was a bit too *much*. Umm, ja, so, you know, I, I stay in touch with Trevor to get *info* from Trevor about what's happening and about, how far, the case has been reopened for the second time I think it is, I'm not sure.

15 And guys have been down to *interview*, guys have been down to give us some information about the case but there's just no *feedback* on anything *what* is happening with the Highgate story.

20 You know, we don't *get*...it's just like as if there's, there's just no *interest* on the part of the investigating officers. You know, I don't believe they're doing the job properly. Umm, I honestly think that there *is*, umm... investigating with the Highgate wasn't done properly. *Evidence*, I'm sure there's *enough* evidence, but I think, it just wasn't investigated properly. That's what *I* think. I mean it's, it's impossible, 20 years and there's, there's just *no* evidence, it's, it's impossible. *I* think so.

25 Stephen: [p] So, has anything changed in the way that you think about your experiences in the group since I spoke with you in 2008?

Clive: *No*, nothing's changed. Umm, as I said I'm, I'm still *involved*. Umm, you know I, I *don't* know much about the group anymore. I don't see anybody, I won't mention names, but you know I don't see anybody in the group anymore *except* for Trevor.

30 You know, he'll phone me and say he's got some information for me and then I'll pop down there and see him and we'll speak about it. And, ja, I think he's *contacted* a few people, umm and spoken to a few people [indistinct]. But, no, I don't think anything's changed, I mean, you know I'm still there for the support and

all that, and still *would like to* carry on, you know, with... and, and *help Trevor* if there *is*, sort of, assistance that I can give him.

5 It's very *difficult* when one is working, you can't... I *travel* a lot, you know, I'm out of *town* a lot. I spend two, three nights away out of town. And you know I'm like a salesman so I've got to go out there and be away from home for about two, three nights a week sometimes.

10 Then when I *do* get a chance to see Trevor I might pop up there during working time and just say hi and find out what's happening. But, ja, the, groupwise... you know, I, I *don't know* what happened there, the group just fell *apart*. I don't know if everybody's just too busy doing their own things in *life*, or if people have got to a point now where they've just sort of called it a day. I don't know. Just wait and see what happens in the *future*. [indistinct] I don't know how they think, I can't think for them, but, you know, ja...

15 Stephen: [p] Umm, and when you, when you look *back* at your experiences in the group what do you value *most* about the role that it played in your life and your healing process?

20 Clive: Ja, I think when we were a group we were all sort of supporting each other, umm, at that time. And, and I'm sure we can still support each other *now*. But, you know wh-, when there was still a group around and we still all got together and had meetings and went to these healing of memories and all over, I think *being* with each other and, and gone through the same experience that we all *went* through I think it was just, there was *comfort* for each one of us from different people in the group that were with us at that time.

25 Umm, ja, it *hasn't changed* hey, *my* outlook of it hasn't changed, I mean, you know I'm still...as I say it's just a pity we *have* broken up as a group and that we don't get *together*. I mean, I don't even know where some of the guys, the people are still that were part of the group, like that other lady with the black hair... umm, Whitaker [Whitfield], I don't know what her name is...

Stephen: [p] Bernice

30 Clive: Ja, I haven't seen her for *months*. You know, so, I, I don't know I think they've just all moved on with their life, hey. Ja, you know the Highgate was, was a lot of *strain*, and a lot of *stress*. Umm, you know every time there was *this information* and *that information* and it was just, it didn't materialize.

It was just getting a bit too much *for me*. Umm, ja but I *miss* the group, I mean, you know we've had good times and we were there to support each other and share the same problems in life. Ja, it's a pity but we all move on, hey.

5 You know it's *my* decision if I want to wake up tomorrow morning and say I got *nothing* to do with Highgate any more, that's how *I* feel about it. You know, it's, do I *live* for the rest of my life with, with anger in me or do I move on with life.

10 You know, I've *moved on*, but prepared to *be there* when people need assistance. It's, it's not something I would sort of delete from my life, and say well I'm finished with it now, it's, it's there for the rest of my life but I've moved on one step to carry on with life and to... ja, that's *my* opinion.

Stephen: So your focus, your focus in life is not mainly on Highgate anymore.

Clive: *No*, I wouldn't say it's, umm, a full 100%. Umm, it's *always there*, the Highgate will *always* be there. But, you know the Highgate has, it's been *rough*, it's been *tough*. It, it nearly broke me.

15 Umm, but you know I've decided in life that if I'm going to sit *back* and let this anger me for the rest of my life it's going to destroy me. Umm, I've, I've got to carry on; it's the future. But I haven't forgotten about the Highgate, I mean like I've said it's, it's still *part* of my life but not a full 100%.

20 Stephen: Umm, and when you think about your interactions with the other members of the group what, what is it about those, or what was it about those interactions that was helpful or beneficial to you?

25 Clive: Ag, I think it was *happy times* hey, with the group. We all shared something different although we've all been through the same thing. But we could all sit around a table and joke, laugh and speak about different things *besides* the Highgate, not just the Highgate.

30 There were some *happy* memories; I mean we were taken to Grahamstown by Theresa where we had a *blast*. So ja, it's been, umm... I think we shared *a lot* in common, umm, but also some people had a lot of *differences* about how they would *accept* the Highgate if it had come to a point where the perpetrators were caught or somebody had come up and claimed responsibility for the Highgate.

Some people had *different* perspectives about *that*. But, ja it's each one for their own, hey... I think as a group I mean we, we learnt a lot from *each other* and, you know, even if people were *not there* but had family members that were killed, umm, we were there to sort of *tell* them what happened that night and what we all

went through, that they could *feel*, you know, the same pain that we were going through.

5 So ja, it's umm... I think just *sharing* with each and every one there, umm, was... well it's like part of the family, hey. I mean we, we could share it *with* them. As I said them not being there but ja it's...

And I think we grew *closer*, umm, as, as, as *friends* and there were a lot of good memories we've had together, umm, *because* of the Highgate I think it brought a lot of happiness to our lives as *well* being with everybody and then a lot of sadness as well.

10 But ja, we've had good times and bad times, hey. So I think *most* of the time with the group were happy times because we could relate to each other in *different ways* about *different things*. So ja, it, it was good times but also sad times, ja.

[p] You know I don't know *why*, I have no idea, you know, certain members, including me obviously had different views of each and every one in the group as well. You know, it might be a good thing that the group *fell apart* because I think at 15 a stage we were starting to sort of have differences about things *in* the group.

Umm, and I think that's what... there, there were *problems* about this one doing that and this one doing that and this one doing this. And you know, there were things that how could one, umm, sort of speak on behalf of the Highgate massacre when they actually weren't *involved* in the Highgate massacre? 20

So you know, those things started, umm... I *don't* think it was a lot of... because everybody was angry at the time but it was just that, you know *we'd been there* and umm, going through what happened that night right until the moment I was taken out into the ambulance I can remember *everything*. *Right* until the time I passed out in the ambulance. 25

Umm, so it's difficult for someone else to say what happened there if they were *never there*. You know, so I think this is what was causing a little bit of problems in the group as well.

30 But we sorted those problems out. It was just obviously at *that time* we were like all very sensitive at that time, and that every little thing was sort of just pushing up blood pressure because of certain things that were said. But they were always *solved* within the group again.

And we were *very close*, hey, you know where we went, went as a group. Umm, it's just that people started getting *sick* and people started *not coming*. And people started saying well, you know, their time... they're not going to be involved 35

anymore because it's been far too long and they've got other things to do in life. I think that's how it just sort of broke up, ja.

5 Stephen: [p] You said earlier that, umm, part of your role in the group was to almost *bear witness* for the family members who, who weren't actually present at the Highgate that night.

10 Clive: Ag you know, it's difficult umm, you know for someone to *be there* or someone not to be there. I mean, you've lost a, a family member in the Highgate massacre but you've physically *been there*, you know, obviously I don't know how... if it would affect the person the same way as a family member being lost at the Highgate or one actually physically *been* through the shootout.

But if you look at it again, umm, it obviously has the same effect on everybody, you know, it, it *must*. I mean, if, if, if *my* family member was at the Highgate obviously it would have the same effect, you know, on *me* as what someone else went through.

15 Umm, I don't know, it's, it's just that, you know to the point of the guy standing by the door, the shooting carrying on, the tear gas, people shouting, blood all over the show. Taking out another AK47, shooting again, you know, *watching* that... I mean it's... you know it's, I, I don't know.

20 For someone else to say... you know, *I don't know*, I can't explain how someone else would feel. For me it's, it's *different*, it's completely different. If you *have* a family member that has *been* there I know what they went through and I know what I went through.

25 They went through *exactly* the same as I went through. But they *cannot* speak on behalf of, of *me* and say what *I* went through that night. I know exactly what I went through. I was there, it happened in front of me, within five metres.

Ja, it's difficult but obviously, you know, I can't speak on behalf of someone else, it's, it's not for me to do that. To lose someone in a massacre like that, it's, it's difficult, it's not easy, it *can't* be.

30 You know, I lost an arm, umm, I never lost my *life*. So losing a *life* and losing an *arm*, I mean, I suppose it's two different things. You know, I could have been *killed* that night, thank God I wasn't. Umm... you know, it, it damaged my life but I'm *alive*. For someone to *lose* someone there it's difficult as well, it must be.

Stephen: [p] But maybe difficult in a slightly different way.

Clive: A different way, ja, ja. I mean I can know what *Trevor* went through when he was there. You know, I sit, close my eyes and think about what happened that night and I can *understand* what he went through.

5 A lot of *pain*, a lot of *anger*... I *know*. You know, so ja, like you say it's, it's *different*, it affected everyone, *I wouldn't say in a different way*. Umm, maybe by *losing* someone and me losing an arm it's different but I think by being in the attack it affected us all *that night*.

10 Umm, ja it's, it's... I would say it's sort of different, you know it's, it's *hard* to lose someone. I would *hate* to lose one of my sisters in *something* like that. You know, you can accept that if you're driving in a *car* and you have an accident, but someone, to just walk in and shoot everybody up, I mean really, it's not acceptable, you know who *does* that? It's a different way so I can see what people are going through and ja, I understand. Ja, and I feel for them, I mean it's, it's not *nice*.

15 Stephen: So it's the, the injustice of what happened. [p] And do you continue to pursue in your personal capacity any of the causes associated with the group or any interests that you may have developed in the group?

20 Clive: Ja, you know, I've been involved, I still am involved with Khulumani. Umm, I've been with Khulumani for... [p] ten or eleven years. Umm, as I say I am in touch with *Trevor*.

You know, if, if he *needs* help I'm there to support him. He's the *only one* that I actually get information from. You know, he'll *phone* me and say, Clive, do you want to come and see me, there's new information, and we'll sit and we'll talk about it.

25 And then it'll just *fade* away for months and nothing will happen; and then something will come up. But the, the rest of the people in the group, I don't know if they are keen or interested in *following up* what's happening, to carry on, you know, with this investigation, I have *no idea*.

30 But, you know, I've, I've, umm, I *support* Trevor, I *do*. He's done *a lot*, umm, towards this Highgate investigation and the group, and he's done it all on his own expenses. And I do... and if he *ever* needs help I'm always there for him, he knows it, I've told him.

35 Umm, I *can't* see him all the time, it's, it's difficult, I'm working. But I *do* pop in there when he phones me and says he needs to see me. He *phoned* me and asked me, he told me you were coming, did I want to be part of it?

I *never* replied straight away. I sat and I thought about it. And I thought about it... and then he *phoned* me again, SMS'd me and I still never replied and then he phoned, SMS'd Thora, and wanted to know what the problem was.

5 That he'd *told* me about you coming but he hadn't heard from me. Does she want to be *part* of it? And she said well she's not really part of the Highgate, she wasn't *there* that night.

10 And *he* said to her you know you *are* part of Highgate group, you *were* always part of the Highgate group and *will be*, but is there... you know, what's the problem with Clive? And then I SMS'd him and I said to him, you know, it's not going well with Thora, we're not sort of as a couple anymore. But I said *ja*, I'll be there. I mean, you know, it's just something I *thought* about.

15 To be *honest*, you know, I didn't *want* to be interviewed. Umm, *ja*, I didn't... umm, I just *felt* I had to break away for a little while, and then I thought, you know, it's not... I mustn't look at it like that, I'm now being selfish because there's *other* people that'll benefit, benefit from it as well.

And, you know, I'm a *member* of Khulumani support group and I always *will be*. So that's how... I thought well you know I've just *got* to carry on with it. I'm not *100%* involved in the Highgate but I will *be there* for support and for whoever needs information, *ja*.

20 It's not something I can just *close* the chapter. A lot of people said Clive, *close* the chapter, *forget* about the Highgate, you are going to get *nothing*. You are going to... you're not going to *know* who shot you. It's taken 20 years, do you *really* think now somebody's going to come forward and say I'm part of the Highgate?

25 I said, no, it's easy for *you* to say that, but for *me* to tell you I'm not going to be part of Highgate it's not easy. I said *I can't let myself down and I can't let other members down*. I mean I'm not the only one involved in this, there's other people involved in it as well. The more we get *involved* in it the better and the more we *stand* with each other the better as well. And the more *support* we can give for each other the better as well.

30 To be honest with you it's just Trevor. I, I, I'm not in touch with anyone else, I've never had a *call* from any one of them, I've never had *anything* from one of them, *nothing*. I've got nothing against them, I'm not fri-, I'm not enemies, I'm still their friend, I'm still *there* for them if they want to speak, but Trevor is the only person that I've been really close to, is, is, Trevor and myself.

And I've *given* him support when he needs it. I can't now back out and say I've got nothing to do with the Highgate and just leave *him* now. He needs someone to speak to, he needs *someone* that was involved in it that can relate to him, not his mother or his father or someone else, someone that was actually there that night
5 that *knew* what happened.

We can *relate* to each other. You know, it's, it's different like Thora relating to us than how myself and Trevor relate to each other. It's like, we've *been* through the *same* thing and we *know* how it affected us, and we know what we're going through, so we can relate to each other.

10 I can't just *throw* in the towel now and say I *don't* want to be part of it. I'm not 100% part of it but I can't just say well now that's it, throwing the towel in, I've got *nothing* to do with you guys, *sorry* Trevor, don't phone me, I don't want to know what's happening. I can't let *him* down, it's, it's been too long, you know I'm there for him if he needs support *always*, he *knows* it.

15 We *haven't* seen eye to eye at times. We *differ*. I'm, I don't know, I'm different. It's, it's, umm... he's obviously still very angry. Umm, I've... [p] I've got over it. You know, if the perpetrators knocked on this door now I'd let them in, let them sit down and make them a cup of *coffee*.

20 But other people I don't think have got the *same* view. And you *can't* go on living like that for the rest of your life just because the Highgate Hotel has not come to a decision or the Highgate Hotel has not been solved. You *can't* go on... that's how *I've* looked at it.

I'm very *open* about the Highgate. Umm, you know I went... I, I go, I sell a lot of stuff like surveillance cameras, and I get *speaking* to people. People have been in
25 *trauma* as well. People have been in house robberies where family members have been shot, and I'll say to them, you know, it's not easy, I've been through it too. I've *lost* my arm.

And then they will look at me and they'll say... and then I'll say to them what happened and we'll have a *long* conversation about the Highgate Hotel. And, you
30 know I went to a bed and breakfast in Bedford one night. And I was... I booked in there, and it was *late* afternoon, it was raining and the people, umm, said to me would I like supper?

I said ja, you know, I'd love supper. They said would you like to come through to the lounge, it was a husband and wife, and have an Old Brown Sherry? I said ja, it
35 was cold. And we started talking and the guy said to me what happened to your arm? I said, you know the Highgate Hotel, the Highgate massacre in 1993.

He said were *you* involved in that? I said *ja*. He says *we know all about it*, you know, *we saw it on TV*, *we saw it in the papers*. And it's strange now *you* sitting here with *us*, and telling us about the Highgate massacre and you were *there*. And it, it happens all over... I go to Fort Beaufort, I go to PE... so some people haven't
5 ever *heard* of it.

On Facebook I got chatting to a woman in, in *Botswana* not so long ago and I, I said to her, you know... umm, she started talking about something and I said to her, you know, I'm also in something that's very *politically* involved. And she said, what, are you an *AWB*?

10 I said *no*, I said I was in a massacre, the Highgate massacre. And she said, you know what, my child was *two years old*, I was in Cape Town and I heard about the Highgate massacre. Were you one of the *victims*? And I said *ja*. She asked me what happened to you? I said I was shot in both arms.

And it's funny how you just, you can *openly* speak about it, I mean, I don't *mind*.
15 You know, I think that's where straight after the shooting as well I could just walk into a pub with a short sleeved shirt and *guys* would ask me what happened and I could speak to them about what *had* happened.

And I still *do*. And I think I was very *open* about it and it's *healed* me a bit also in one way, than just to sit back and not, umm, *speak* about it, and just *hide* from what had happened. But I was very open about it, and I could communicate with
20 people exactly on *how* I'd lost my arm and what had happened that night.

And still to this day I can say *how* the Highgate Hotel investigation has proceeded and *this* has happened and *that* has happened. So *ja*, I'm very, very open about what happened at the Highgate, I think it's just to remind, just to put yourself at
25 peace, *ja*.

Stephen: So it's also given you an understanding of what *other* victims of trauma have been through.

Clive: *Ja*, I don't know if you remember I was invited to go and stay on Robben Island for a week with Shirley and them. And I mean, we stayed *there* with the
30 biggest *terrorists* that were running around in the, in the apartheid era, that were *fighting* the apartheid government.

And, I don't know, it must have been one of the *best* weeks I've ever had in my *life* with, with *those* guys. You know, and Thora would say to me be *careful* you know, they're the most wanted terrorists. I said *no* don't worry about it, I said, we here
35 *together* with them to share the *same* story.

And, I mean, I went *drinking* with them on the island there, there's a little pub there, until the early hours of the morning. We had *braais* with them, and it was *strange*, it was like part of a family. It's like I have, I had *been* with these guys for, for *years* and I had only known them for a week.

5 It all started at the Holocaust Centre, I think. And from there, *ja...* so *ja*, it was, you know, it didn't worry, it didn't worry me *who* I was with, umm, it was just that we communicated with each other and we were sharing the *same* sort of trauma in our life, *ja*.

10 And I became very good friends with some of them and then when I did healing of memories in PE, umm *some* of them were there again. And *ja*, it was like... some of the *best* moments of my life with those guys, I think. PE was the same, the museum, and the parties we went to and all that, was... *ja*, it was *fantastic*, it was amazing, *ja*. So *ja* it was... PE with everybody.

15 I mean Khulumani support group *opened* my eyes. When I joined Khulumani support, support group it was still *fresh*, the Highgate was still *fresh* then, only three... it was like *six years* and obviously I was still a little bit of an angry person. But I *joined* Khulumani support group because there were more *blacks* in the group, I was the only *white*.

20 And I joined it for that purpose to see what *they* had gone through and how *they* were affected. How the apartheid regime... and it was very *strange* because I did my national service in '77 and I had *no idea* of what was happening in this country.

25 And I was in national service for two years: I joined in '77 and I came out in '79. And, you know, when, when I joined Khulumani support group and I realised what was, *what had actually happened* in the apartheid eras I was actually quite *shocked* to see *at that time* while I was a *soldier* in the SADF that *this* was happening.

30 And I just didn't know about it, it was just like a hidden agenda that they were up to. *Ja*, that's why I joined Khulumani support group, is to *be* with these guys and to see, you know, what trauma *they* had gone through and how *I* was affected and to share our stories with each other.

35 *Ja*, I used to go to talks, and *ag*, you know with Shirley and the rest used to come here as a group. We all went to Grahamstown, they took us to the Grahamstown festival, with all, some of the group all went there. So *ja*, Khulumani was like an *eye opener* to me and that's when I realised, you know, that, umm, you need to share what happened to you and everybody around you.

Ja, so that was... it was a *good* thing, ja, it was actually the *best* thing that ever happened to me, was to join the Khulumani support group. Ja, so I've been a member ever since, I'm still a member, and, ja, it's, it's good.

5 You know, when I went to Cape Town in December now and I met some of the people that I met in 1999, they're *all* still with Khulumani and it was so *nice* to see them again and how they have sort of progressed in life and what they have done in life.

10 But some of them are still very, very *bitter*, you know, with reparation and with houses not being built and with this not being done and schooling and all this. The government hasn't done *anything* for them but just to *meet* them and to be with them again in December, not *all* of them, only a few of them were there. Ja it was fantastic, hey, ja.

15 And of course my sister, I had taken *her* with, and when the film was shown and people were talking, you know, she was also *shocked* to see what was happening or what *had* happened in the past. So, you know, you take someone new with you all the time.

20 I took my daughter with me to the Red Museum and, and she was...she couldn't *believe* what was happening and what *had* happened and all that. So ja it was an eye opener for everybody. So every time I get *invited* to do something I always take somebody *different* with me because *they* don't know. They know about the Highgate but they don't know about what had happened in the rest of the country in those years.

25 Ja, so it's, it's actually quite nice, it's good. So that's *my* involvement, [laughing] is bringing the word to everybody. Shirley says she hopes I'll be around for the next ten years to do We Never Give Up part three. So I said ja, well I hope I'm around still then, hey, so that will be quite good.

Stephen: It's quite a testimony that you've persevered for this long.

30 Clive: Ag it's been worth it, hey, been a worthwhile cause. Umm, I wouldn't say it affects me as *much* as it did in the past, you know, going to Khulumani and talking or going to places where functions are. It's like just *getting* there and *talking* and *going*.

You know, in the past it was difficult to express yourself about what you'd been through. But *now* it's just to help *other* people, you know, not worry about myself. It's to help *other* people and to show other people, that you know, what the

forward, what the path forward is and to show them, you know, how one can *be* strong and go through this.

You know, I went for counselling to Glynnis, and I went for a couple of times and I just stopped going. 'Cos I didn't feel it was giving me any, umm, joy. You know I
5 *felt* I'd counselled *myself* in the beginning when I was *open* about everything and had an opportunity to *speak* about it and not be *angry* about it. I think that's what helped me go through the whole process.

And then when I went for counselling I just *sat* there and I just thought, you know, I don't need this, you know. Maybe I *do*, umm, but I just didn't go back, I just didn't
10 feel that it was any, that it was doing me any good. You know I'd already *opened* up *right* from the start about the Highgate. Opened the wounds and healed my *own* wounds before I went for counselling, ja. So that's how *I* got through it.

I wouldn't say I'm 100% okay. Umm, I think it *has* affected me a certain way, but ja, as I say it's... I don't want to be part of the Highgate 100%. You know, I think if
15 you're involved in it *all* the time, day after day, for the *rest* of your life, it's actually going to *break* you.

I think to be a *part* of it, to *help* others where you can is, I think, for me the way forward. But to sit and be *everyday* for the *rest* of my life *year after year* worry about the Highgate and what's ever going to happen about *perpetrators*, if they're
20 *ever* going to come forward, for me it's a waste of time. You know, I'm not interested in going that way.

I know, I know Trevor's very *set* in *his* ways of what *he* wants and I'm, I'm *surprised* he can still take it all. That he, that *he* hasn't broken down. Because
25 *really* it's, it's something you've got to *live* with and you've just got to carry on with life. It's nothing, it's something you can't just, umm, let it pressurise you day after day for the rest of your life, hey. I mean it's, it's... I don't know, that's, that's how I look at it, ja.

Stephen: So the aspect of helping others where you can, that's quite important.

Clive: Ja, it is. I mean it's, umm, I think a lot of people are trauma-, traumatised not
30 for the Highgate people, umm, *only*, there's a lot of *other* people. You know, I, I worked with a lot of *staff* that have been affected by, umm, different trauma and, you know, when I speak to them about the Highgate, umm, they feel more *comfortable* after I have spoken to them, umm, and not sitting with this trauma of theirs when they've never been helped.

So when *I* come to them and speak about the *Highgate*, say I've, I've gone through it they feel a little bit happy and they feel more, I don't know, like it's done them *good*. And, you know, now take it step by step, ja, so...

5 I've worked with a lot of *blacks*. A lot of them are HIV and a lot of them *have* got nothing, you know, so to communicate with *those* people... umm, ja, it's something I *do* and in the *right* way, and they are very happy about how I do it and *speak* to them.

10 You know, I had a guy working for me that committed suicide. He was 20 years old, *black* guy, *very* intelligent, umm, ja, they just found him hanging in his little shack in the location. And funny enough it could be a *month* or so before he committed suicide he said to me, you know, the Highgate Hotel, I would like to know *more* about the Highgate Hotel.

15 I said, well don't worry, I've got DVDs. I'll *give* them to you, I'll *bring* them to you, you can download them on your laptop and then you can show *friends* in the township what actually happened and *how* it happened.

20 And I tell you he was so...he *downloaded* all these things and he went and showed everybody. And he said, Clive, everybody wants a *cut* of this, you know, the, the, the Highgate, and, umm, We Never Give Up part one. And I cut them copies and I gave it to them. And ja, they were so *shocked* to see what was actually happening *back then*, you know, in the country.

So ja, that's, that's how I've sort of *healed* myself as well, by helping *others* going through trauma, they are going through trauma but in a different way, they were affected in a different way, but we *all* go through the same trauma. You know, it affects everybody the same way.

25 Umm, so ja it's... you know that's it. I went to Cape Town and Shirley gave me a copy of We Never Give Up part two, and my cousins there wanted a copy. And I said, you know I've only got one copy. I'll *give* it to you, you can download it.

30 And then the Sunday I met Shirley and she'd brought *other* copies to give to people. Because they, they all wanted to see, you know, how this was all put together, part one and part two now. So ja, that's how it... just *let* everybody see what's happening, ja. Ja, that's it, hey.

Stephen: And is there anything further you, you'd like to say about the material I've presented to you?

35 Clive: No, it's very professional, it's good. I hope you make *use* of it, umm, so ja, for your... I hope you, umm, can *use* it in a way to benefit other people. Umm, You

know, if there's names mentioned or things one really doesn't, it doesn't really matter, it's all part and parcel of the Highgate, no matter who or what.

And I think the more the merrier that gets out there the better. Umm, you know, we... this year will be... '93... I think 20 years in May, hey. We were *hoping* to do
5 *something*, uh, like a big get together, umm, with this Highgate. I don't know if Trevor *spoke* to you about it. But I don't know, you know, it's really difficult if there's no *funds* available.

Umm, you know, but I think it's got to be, it's got to be *put* out there. I think the
10 *more* that we can get into the paper the *better*. Umm, just so that people can still see that it's not *forgotten*. People are *still* around and people are still *trying* to find out the truth.

So I *don't* know what Trevor's got in plan, umm, at one stage he *was* going to have
15 *something*, umm, but I don't know, I haven't spoken to him. I mean, May is just around the corner. Umm, do you want to do something, you have to sort of think about it *now*?

Ja, I'll be out of action for like two weeks. I'm in hospital next week and the week after next. But as soon as I'm *back* I want to go and see Trevor, give him a buzz, ja and ask him.

But ja, that's the, that's the story, hey. I *don't want to be* sort of, like I said 100%
20 involved with it, I *don't*. It's, it's just not, it doesn't *benefit* me in any way. It's, umm, just there's a person a part and, umm, I *will be there* for support but, you know life goes on, hey.

I mean, you know, it's something you will never forget. I will always remember the Highgate, I still do sometimes when I sleep. But umm, I just can't, umm, *worry*
25 about the Highgate every day. Life goes on, hey, ja, life goes on.

Umm, I *would* love to know who was responsible for the Highgate. That's *one* thing I *would* like to know. And, and *meet* these guys, whoever they are. You know, we, we've had so much of information from *this* one and *that* one, it was *these* people, it was *those* people. Now they're saying it's *this* one again, and they're saying it's
30 *this* one again. You know, we don't know *what* the hell is going on.

You know, maybe Trevor's had some *more* information. I haven't *seen* Trevor for some time. But ja, I don't know, I *really*, I really don't know what's happening with the investigation. I think it's very *poor*, *poorly* investigated, it *is*. Umm, there's just
35 *no* interest shown, umm, even although at one stage we were *told* that it's being investigated and they are still *following* enough leads.

But ja, I don't know, 20 years, it's, really is... a case in South Africa that's taken 20 years for them to solve? I doubt it. Except the Heidelberg, not the Heidelberg, that aeroplane, that *boeing* that crashed, they haven't come, that has never been...

5 So ja, I, I don't believe them, honestly I don't. It's, it's *impossible* to think that after 20 years there's just *nothing* that they have come forward with, *nothing, nothing, nothing*. It's, umm, you know it's, it's... I don't know, it's a bit strange, *very, very* strange.

10 You know, this lead that we got was a lot of *crap*. I *do feel* that *someone* – umm, I won't mention names – that still to this day has an *idea* of what happened at the Highgate Hotel, I *do*, umm, and I don't know. I do feel that that person has *some* information about what, what was actually... I don't know, I could be wrong but it's not impossible.

15 So ja, it's been a difficult ride, hey, but you sort of try and, ja, just let it go on as it wants to, hey. Time might tell. I might be *dead* in years to *come* and nothing's ever happened, but hopefully my *family* will still be there, if anything ever happens one day, to, to *meet* the perpetrators. You know, ja. And they feel the *same* way I do, there's no hatred or anger or anything. You know, it's... they feel the same way, the truth, that's it.

20 Stephen: So your, your statement at the last interview that if you had to meet the perpetrators there would be forgiveness, that still stands?

25 Clive: I'll still stick to that, I mean, it's, umm, it's been like that, I *was* angry at the one stage, umm, but I don't think I ever *said* that. Umm, I can remember the TRC when I *went* there, and I said it's not for me to decide, it's for the justice system to take its course. It's not for me to say put them against a wall and shoot them. That's what I said in the TRC and that stays *like* that.

I mean it's, it's, it's, umm... you know, forgiveness, it's, ja, it's part and parcel hey, of everything. Umm, they, they, you know, they've been through trauma and obviously they need counselling.

30 And ja, forgive hey – that's what it's all about. You've got to *forgive* and ja, I still stick with that, hey. It's no use being angry... [indistinct] because of what happened to me. You know, these, these guys, it might have not been their decision, it might have been someone *else's* decision.

35 I was in the army for two years, I know what it was like. I know what you're *forced* to do. I ran away from the army and I was, I was sentenced to 90 days, umm, detention in barracks. And so you know, it's... I know what it's *like*, you know, to be

given a gun and say to go to this place and shoot this place up. Ja, so ja, it's, it's umm, it's not a nice thing. But I'm sure they've realised now.

5 But there's just *one* thing that, that I *don't* understand is, you know they, they've got *nothing to lose*. If they came forward and asked for, for *amnesty* umm, and said fine, we'll *come* forward on the conditions that, this and that and that... this is the *only thing* I don't understand why it's never happened.

10 Umm, is there...? You know it's, I don't know, it can't be *easy*, hey, but ja, it's, it's a bit *strange* [p] you know, *someone* hasn't come forward to say, well fine, you know we shot the Highgate but we weren't behind the planning. What have they got to lose? They've got nothing to lose. Surely.

I mean, you know, at one stage we heard that these guys were in their twenties. Umm, they must be in their early forties now, late forties... what have they got to lose? If they were in their thirties they are now in their late fifties. What is there for them to lose?

15 Umm, you know, if they went forward and said, fine, we'll come forward but this is what we want, a plea bargain or whatever it is. Fine. I *don't understand* why that's never happened. It's just a bit strange.

20 I mean when the TRC was around everybody went forward and got *amnesty*. I mean, even the biggest *murderers* got amnesty. You know, what's the difference with these guys? You know, why can't they come to that agreement? It's a bit *strange*, umm, that that has never happened, that the Highgate has just carried on and on and on and on.

25 And no one's ever said well fine, you know, let's just go forward. *We* can't live with this trauma, *victims* can't live with it, let's just *make peace*. After 20 years let's just now...

Maybe May will be our lucky year, our lucky month, maybe someone will come forward after 20 years and say we've had enough, it's just too much on us. I don't know, maybe... something will happen, I don't know, something positive.

30 But ja, forgive them hey, why not? *We* all want to carry on with life, we've all got a purpose in life so ja. They must have families with kids. Ja, that's my story.

Stephen: Well thank you very much for being willing to, to share.

Clive: Pleasure.

Stephen: Thanks.

Nigel H 2013

Stephen: So firstly has anything changed in the way that you think about your
5 experiences in the group since I spoke with you in 2008?

Nigel: Well a lot of things have changed. First of all I met a woman and then I got
married. So my whole perception and everything has changed. Umm, I mean,
before something like that bothered me or whatever. I mean I've been to the
Highgate now three times already and I've looked at the name on the thing there.
10 And I know in my heart I was there. If they haven't got the thing up there, I mean,
I've just got to live with it.

It's no good, how can I say, like the psychiatrist said at, at St Marks, he says you
might go, you might walk in the jungle, there might be one, *one* lion, you might be
the one attacked by the lion. So I mean there's nothing you can, you can do. I
15 mean it's up, it's *up*. I mean, if they don't want to, umm, how can I say, accept me
in that thing, like they all were shot and whatever, I've just got to live with it.

But I have changed quite a lot since the last interview we had. I mean, umm,
before I was like stuck here, I never went out, I never done anything. And my
wife's actually *dragged* me out here; believe me when I say she's dragged me.
20 And *now* she doesn't have to say... she says we're going to the movies, I'm in the
car, I'm the, I'm the first one. Before she like had to *drag* me out. So I have
changed quite a lot from the last interview we had.

Stephen: Umm, and, so you, you say you've dealt with the fact that your name
wasn't, wasn't included on the plaque. Umm, and how about the, the experience,
25 umm, you related last time of feeling excluded from the group? Have you...

Nigel: I've, I've dealt with that as, as, as well. I mean, it was a bit *hard* but, I mean,
you've got to move *on* in life, you can't worry about the past. You've got to worry
about the future. I mean, umm, how can I say it? Umm, it's no good, how can I
say, *moping* about things in the, in the, in the past, you've got to look into the
30 future, you've got to look at the future.

I mean, I've got to concentrate now on my *marriage*, my *wife*, all that stuff. Before I
never *had* that so you think of the past. Now you're thinking of everything in the, in
the future.

[p] But it's, but it's, but it's *still* there in the back of my brain, don't well, well, well don't get me wrong. It's still there but it doesn't bother me like it did before. I mean, if I drive past there I *still* think about it. Umm, if I see someone from the, that was there it's still, still there, don't, well don't get me wrong that way. But I've pushed it
5 one side and I'm trying to go forward, and not back.

Stephen: So, it's not an obstacle.

Nigel: It's not an obstacle any more.

Stephen: So when you, when you look back now at your experiences in the group, umm, what do you value most about the role that it played in your life and in your
10 healing process?

Nigel: I think it was a good thing, well the, well the reason being is, umm, how can I say, you've got to *talk* about it. If you bottle it up it just makes it worse and worse and worse, it makes you sick. But the more you talk about it the more you get it out and the better you feel.

15 So if you hold it in, you, you know what I'm saying, if you, if you don't talk about it, and you bottle it up and you don't tell anybody or you just think... it makes it *worse* than what it really is. But once you talk about it and you get it out it feels better.

So it was actually a *good*, a good experience because everyone else spoke about *their* problems and their issues and I also had a chance to speak about mine. So
20 the *more* you speak about it the *better* it feels.

Stephen: You, you say you had an opportunity to speak about your experiences, did you feel that what you said was acknowledged?

Nigel: I did, yes, because when we went to that healing of memories thing, how can I say, there was, we, our, our group got split up, okay. Umm, one person went
25 that group, and then, there was all different people from South Africa. Umm, there was people from Cape Town, Jo'burg, whatever. Umm, I think there was someone else from the, from the Eastern Cape as well.

And all our things were *all* different. I mean ours was like the Highgate, those ones were people being evicted from their houses unlawfully and when they came,
30 umm, back there was no one of their family there. Their houses were just *broken* down. So it was, it was all... it wasn't all the *same* thing, like the same related things. It was all different, different things.

Stephen: People from different backgrounds.

Nigel: Yes, from, from, from different backgrounds. So if you, if you, how can I say, you, you experienced *their* problems and then you gave *your* output, and, and everybody was supportive.

5 Stephen: So was it really at the healing of memories workshop that you felt you received acknowledgment?

Nigel: Yes. And then also when I went to St Mark's. I think it was just after *you* were there, but that was *also*, but that was a different thing again, that was, umm, how can I say, people with nervous *breakdowns* and what they experienced and all that st-, and all that stuff. And how to handle it and that kind of stuff.

10 Stephen: And when you think about your, the actual interactions that you had with the other members of the group what do you think it was about those interactions that was helpful to you or beneficial?

15 Nigel: Umm, well let's put it, put it that way, if, if, if we never had that group and we never went to those things maybe, maybe I wouldn't have met my wife, maybe I would still be stuck here at the, at the house. So it actually got me out, got me... how can I say, *mingling* with people again?

And *spoke* about, umm, how can I say, we, we all spoke about the, the, the same thing and we mingled with people from different, umm, how can I say, different *parts* of South Africa.

20 I mean, when they all went to, I think they went to *Grahamstown*; I didn't go to Grahamstown because I was stuck in St Mark's, that's why I couldn't, couldn't go. Umm, I *wanted* to go but unfortunately the psychiatrist and that said no, rather just stay here.

25 Stephen: I think, I think when I interviewed you last time it was just after you'd come out of St Marks.

Nigel: Yes, yes. Then I was on *heavy* medication. [laughing].

Stephen: Uh, are you still on medication?

30 Nigel: I am on medication, but small, small, small doses now, but it's more for, how can I say, stress at work. Because the last time you interviewed me was when, umm, I got a *big* promotion at work. I'm, I'm now manager of the department, so that's also a big change in my life as well. Umm, and I've got like seven or eight staff members under, under me. And you know what that is sometimes.

Stephen: Quite a big responsibility.

Nigel: Maybe, maybe with-, without me going and mingling with the people I wouldn't have *had* this job what I've got now, because it's given me a, how can I say, a *break* of [indistinct]. I mean, just after, after you left here I went down to Cape Town for *two months*. I was in Cape Town by myself for two months. I done
5 a vehicle examiner course there for two months at Gene Louw Traffic College. Before I wouldn't have been able to do it.

Stephen: So there, there have been a lot of new opportunities that have opened up for you since, since being part of the group.

Nigel: Because it's taught me not to just *sit back*. Get out and *do* something. If
10 you're, if you're going to sit on your backside you're not going to *go* anywhere. You've got to get up and move.

Stephen: And do you continue to pursue, in your personal capacity, any of the causes associated with the group or any interests that you developed in the group?

Nigel: Umm, well a lot of the people have passed away, in the, in the group, as
15 you, as you have known. Thora [Maria] passed away now about two weeks ago. I think Fran passed away, I'm not sure.

So the only ones that are actually there is Trevor, and Clive comes and visits me now and again at, at work. Umm, and that's the only three actually we have in
20 contact with that are, how can I say, are more or less in our age, age group. All the other people are slightly older so they will more mingle with their age group. [p] And I see Lyn-, Lyn-, Lyn-, Shereen's husband quite a lot as well. I don't know if you know Shereen?

Stephen: Ja, I do know her.

Nigel: I see, umm, her husband quite a lot.
25

Stephen: And is there anything, anything else that you'd like to say about the material that I presented to you?

Nigel: Umm, it's just that, that, umm, *plaque*. I mean, I still, I still feel that, umm,
30 how can I say, we were, we were wrongly, wrongly done in. But I'm saying there's nothing we can, we can do about it. I mean, the plaque is up, it's up. Umm, and I still stick to my guns that, umm, those, although we weren't hurt we were still, weren't counted in as surviv-, survivors.

They say, oh, they were physically hurt, I, I, I agree with that, I haven't got anything *against* that; but they should have also taken into consideration that we were mentally hurt as well.

5 I mean, they, they didn't see all the other people getting dragged out on stretchers and everything; they were in ambulances and whatever going away. We saw all the dead bodies being dragged out and everybody screaming and shouting, and whatever. I mean I still tried to *help* a lot of the people there. But I'm saying there's nothing we can, we can do about it. I mean, they're not going to take it down now and add our names on it.

10 Stephen: But you still feel that it's, it's unfair.

Nigel: Ja, it was unfair, yes.

Stephen: And is there, is there anything further that you'd like to say about your own life or about the Highgate incident?

15 Nigel: Umm, the only thing I can, I can actually, actually say is that the Highgate was actually a big turning point in my, in my *life* because I mean it *happened* and I was like stuck here for maybe ten, fifteen years, until this group was formed, and then I eventually started getting in-, involved.

20 Because believe me when I say I didn't move here, I, I *stayed* here. I went to work, back, work, back, *every* day. I never went out here; I stayed here at the house. Now I go out, I mingle with people.

25 Because you always had in the back of your mind is, you're going to go out and this is going to happen again. Okay, it *might* happen, it might not happen, that's the way... you might go out, you might be killed in a car accident. It might never happen again to you again. It was just that we were in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Stephen: So after the Highgate happened you sort of shut yourself off from the world for a while.

Nigel: Yes.

30 Stephen: And do, do you think it was, it was the... umm, let me put it this way, was, was the group the, the turning point in allowing you to, umm, reconnect with the world again?

Nigel: I think so, I think so. It was more the, how can I say, talking about it and the mingling with people.

Stephen: [p] And the, the, you say mingling with people, have, have you continued some of the relationships within the group?

5 Nigel: You see, we don't, we don't see, we don't see them as much. I mean, the only one I actually see is Chappie, but I, I haven't seen him for quite a while, but I mean he's family so we do see each other on a regular basis.

Umm, Clive I only see when he comes in, comes in there to check the cameras at work. Umm, Lyn-, Shereen's husband I only see him whenever there's a stock car race or a *meeting*, whatever. Or when we pop in by him in the nursery, to go and fetch *flowers* or something, then I see him. But I'm saying we don't... I mean I
10 haven't seen, umm, Whitfield's wife, I don't know what her, what her name is.

Stephen: Bernice.

Nigel: Bernice. I don't see her a lot. I don't even know if she's in East London any more, but I don't see her at all.

15 Stephen: [p] So you've, you've continued with some of the relationships and not others.

Nigel: Yes, yes. I mean, you, you, how can I say, you *choose* the people or, how can I say, you find out who... how can I say, you, you know who your *friends* are and how can I say... it's a difficult thing to say, how to explain, but I'm saying, even if you bring fifteen, twenty people in here you will, how can I say, favour maybe
20 *three* of those people.

Stephen: Ja. You connect with them.

Nigel: Ja, you connect with them *better* than the others.

Stephen: So the, the relationships in the group were quite important.

Nigel: Yes.

25 Stephen: Is there anything more you'd like to say about that?

Nigel: No, there's nothing.

Stephen: Well thank you for your time, umm, I really appreciate it. Thank you for speaking to me.

Nigel: When are you going, going, going back?

30

5

10

15

APPENDICES

APPENDIX THREE: CONSENT FORM

Consent Form for the Highgate Survivors

What is the research project about?

Stephen Keggie, together with Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, from the University of Cape Town (UCT) Department of Psychology, are doing research on the stories of the Highgate Survivors. We would like to invite survivors and family members to participate in interviews as part of the research.

What happens in the interviews?

If you decide to join the research project, we will contact you to schedule an interview. In the interview, you will be given the opportunity to tell your story about how you are connected to the Highgate incident and about your present life.

Psychological support and counselling

Some of the questions may cause emotional distress for you because of the painful nature of your memories about the Highgate incident. For this reason we have made arrangements with Glynnis Martin at the University of Fort Hare (UFH) Psychological Services Centre to provide counselling for you should you need it. I would strongly recommend that you take advantage of this service. Glynnis Martin can be contacted on 043 704 7114.

Important information about the interviews

- Interviews will take place at the University of Fort Hare (UFH) Psychological Services Centre or at the homes of individual survivors. You may choose where you would like to be interviewed.
- We will set aside 1½ - 2 hours for each interview. If it takes longer than this for you to tell your story, we will wait and listen.

- The University of Fort Hare (UFH) Psychological Services Centre is providing counselling support to the Highgate Survivors.
- You do not have to share any part of your story that you are not comfortable with sharing.
- The recordings of the interviews, as well as interview transcripts, will be kept confidential.
- Your name will not be used in the research report or in any publications about the research.
- Participation in the research is voluntary, and if you decide to take part you may withdraw at any time.
- If you decide not to take part in the research, you will have the same access to counselling and support services as those who do take part.
- It will not cost you anything to participate in the research.
- Participants will receive a gratuity of R150 for each interview in appreciation for the time that they are giving.

Contact Details

If you have any questions about the research, you may contact Stephen Keggie on 082 055 3922.

If you would like to join the research project, please sign here:

Participant’s name (printed)

Participant’s signature

Date

Researcher's signature

Date

APPENDICES

APPENDIX FOUR: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

The Highgate Survivors' Group: Interview Questionnaire

1. Please would you tell me about your experience of the Attack on the Highgate Hotel, how things happened, and how this has affected your life, up until now? Please begin wherever you like.
2. How has your involvement with the Highgate Survivors' Group influenced your life, and what has been your experience of meeting with people who went through a similar experience to yourself?
3. Please would you tell me about your experience of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and of how it dealt with the Highgate Attack? How do you feel about the way in which the Highgate Survivors were treated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?
4. How has it affected your life to find out that the Highgate Attack was not carried out by APLA, the armed wing of the PAC? How has this new information impacted on your life, and on your view of the apartheid government, which may have been responsible for the Attack?
5. Please would you tell me about your experiences of meeting with other survivors or groups of survivors (for example, at the Healing of Memories weekend in Cape Town in 2007)? How do you relate to other groups of people who also suffered traumatic experiences during the years of apartheid?
6. Please would you tell me about your day-to-day experience as a survivor (or surviving family member) of the Highgate Attack? How has this experience affected your work, your family life, your close relationships?

7. Would you like to say anything more about your life story, and about the story of the Highgate Survivors?

Interview Questionnaire – Second Cycle

1. Has anything changed in the way that you think about your experiences in the group since I spoke with you in 2008?
2. When you look back at your experiences in the group, what do you value most about the role it has played in your life and your personal healing process?
3. When you think about your interactions with other survivors in the group, what do you think it was about these interactions that made them helpful or beneficial?
4. Do you continue to pursue, in your personal capacity, any of the causes associated with the group, or any interests you may have developed in the group?
5. Would you like to say anything further about the material that I have presented to you from the first set of interviews?
6. Would you like to say anything further about your life and the Highgate Incident?

Summary of findings for Highgate Survivors – Second Interview Cycle

I interviewed some of the Highgate Survivors during 2008. When I analysed these interviews, one of the areas I focused on was the way in which survivors spoke about their experiences in the Highgate Group (Highgate Survivors Group, Highgate United Group etc.). I identified four groups of themes in relation to survivors' perceptions of the group. The first group of themes may be identified by survivors' perception of the group as a "family": this refers to the environment of safety, mutual support and care created by the group; the resources of the group for mirroring or acknowledging the experiences of each member; and the capacity of the group to enable mourning. The second group of themes is related to survivors' experience of the group as a means of reconnection with other people, in particular through opportunities to meet other groups of survivors of political violence (for example, at the healing of memories weekend in Cape Town in June 2007). The third group of themes is related to survivors' perception of the group as a basis for future social action (for example, the survivor mission of finding out the truth about the Highgate Attack). A fourth group of themes refers to a negative case of a survivor's experience of feeling excluded from the group.