

Judd D. Olshan, an undergraduate student majoring in history, received an award in the category of Academic Writing for “The Trojan Horse Incident.” The essay paper was written in HIS 431 for Distinguished Teaching Professor Don Wright.

The Trojan Horse Incident

Judd D. Olshan

On October 15, 1985, the CBS Evening News in the United States broadcast less than two minutes of footage from a disturbance in Athlone, a township in the Cape Flats, outside of Cape Town, South Africa. Viewers watched as armed men shot from crates on the bed of an orange railway truck into a crowd of students.¹ Two children and a young adult were killed and many more wounded as security forces used shotguns to attack the crowd. No tear gas was used in an attempt to clear the crowd, nor were rubber bullets employed. The videotape that held the incident had been rushed to the airport where it was flown out of the reach of government censors.² The broadcast was credited with contributing to the growing opposition to Apartheid, especially in America.³ Because security forces had either hidden their identity or were concealed in crates, the attack became known as the Trojan Horse Incident.

The broadcast created unwanted attention for the Apartheid state. Legislation such as the Protection of Information Act already prohibited the publication of any information prejudicial to state security with jail time and fines.⁴ After the incident, a ten year imprisonment penalty was imposed for even filming disturbances.⁵ Under such conditions, news organizations in South Africa were forced to limit their coverage of violence within the country. Even liberal news organizations were careful about what they printed. The Trojan Horse Incident, which had received prime time coverage abroad, appeared locally only on page three and five of the Cape Argus.⁶

The story of the Trojan Horse Incident is one that exemplifies the inherent violence of Apartheid. Apartheid legislation regulated every segment of South Africans' lives. The racist nature of Apartheid trapped South Africans within a system that limited their rights and potential by race, condemning most to lives of poverty and violence. It forced people into a struggle to survive in which their only recourse lay in opposing the state. The Trojan Horse Incident was unique only because it had been caught on tape and broadcast abroad. Violence, created by Apartheid, much of which was unreported, occurred daily. The forces that conspired against both victims and perpetrators of the Trojan Horse Incident existed long before it took place. Perhaps as much as any other

¹ Television News Archive, Vanderbilt University., <http://tvnews.vanderbilt.edu> accessed 10/04

² Testimony of Dennis Cruywagen, Willie De Klerk , Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearing on Trojan Horse Incident (TRC Trojan Horse), Athlone, SA 2/06/97, http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/trc_frameset.htm accessed 10/04

³ The Guardian (London) 2 Aug. 1989 Guardian Newspapers Limited Copyright 1989 Lexis-Nexis

⁴ Gavin Cawthra, Policing South Africa: The SAP and the Transition from Apartheid (New Jersey: ZED Books LTD, 1993), 23.

⁵ The Guardian (London) 2 Aug. 1989 Guardian Newspapers Limited Copyright 1989 Lexis-Nexis

⁶ Testimony of Dennis Cruywagen, Willie De Klerk , (TRC Trojan Horse) 6/02/97

episode, the Trojan Horse Incident illustrates the major issues of the 1980's that combined to lead toward Apartheid's demise in the 1990's.

In 1985 the Coloured⁷ township of Athlone was filled with tension. Young people wandered the streets, looking for ways to vent their frustration and rage. barricades where cars were often brought to a halt and set alight.⁸ South Africa had entered into a new phase of the struggle caused by Apartheid.

In 1982 and 1983, leaders of the ruling Nationalist Party had introduced legislation to incorporate the Indian and Coloured populations as junior partners in the political process. The move was seen as a blatant attempt at cooptation and was regarded with contempt by those it sought to win over. The response to the government's plan was the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which included over five-hundred de-centralized civic, youth, women's, political, religious, anti-apartheid, labor, and student organizations.⁹ Local struggles relating to housing, labor, and education were linking through the UDF, facilitating an insurrectionary movement that had a wide base of community support.¹⁰

During this "insurrection of 1984-1986," as historians have come to designate it, African communities attempted to drive the agents of the state from their midst.¹¹ Township youths formed groups called "commerades," which set up barricades, threw stones, and used petrol bombs. Other segments of the community used rent strikes and consumer boycotts. Guerilla attacks increased, especially against black township police and government councilors. Necklacing, the practice of killing by trapping a person inside a tire and then setting it alight, was the fate of hundreds of those who were seen as collaborators. Systems of indirect rule sponsored by Apartheid were largely removed, forcing the government to use direct intervention.¹²

The government responded with increased violence that included the use of long batons, tear gas, and firearms.¹³ Security forces underwent an increased buildup as the Nationalists moved to quell the insurrection. The state of emergency that was declared in July of 1985 for thirty six of South Africa's 266 magisterial districts allowed for unrestricted use of security personnel. This was later extended to the Western Cape in October and to the rest of the country in June of the following year.¹⁴ By August of 1985, between 650 and 879 people had been killed, almost 400 directly at the hands of police.¹⁵

⁷ The term coloured has a different meaning in South Africa than that in the United States and was used by the race conscious Apartheid state in South Africa to describe a specific mixed race population which mostly lives around Cape Town.

⁸ Various testimony, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97; 5/21/97

⁹ Saleem Badat, Black Students Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: From SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990 (Pretoria: Human Science Research Council, 1999), 180.

¹⁰ Robert M. Price, The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975-1990 (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 179,181.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹² Anthony W. Marx Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 163.

¹³ Price, 183.

¹⁴ Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, The War Against Children: South Africa's Youngest Victims (New York: 1986), 12. ; Marx, 159.

¹⁵ Marx, 162.

The use of open force by the government fueled desires for retribution and helped consolidate and validate the resistance.¹⁶

The recent disturbances could not have been too far removed from Amina Abraham's mind, when, on October 15, 1985, she found herself hurrying along Thornton Road in Athlone with her two children, Toyer and Ashraf. The armored security vehicle called a Casper that they passed on their way to their Muslim school would have been a potent reminder of the recent violence. After she dropped the children off at school, she went for her daily visit with close friend Zainab Ryklief, who lived in a house at the corner of St. Simons and Thornton Roads. As the women watched a growing crowd of students at the intersection, Amina felt something evil in the air.¹⁷

The students outside of the Ryklief's home were only a fraction of the seven hundred thousand youths nationwide who were out of school that year because of school boycotts or school closings.¹⁸ South African students had a long standing tradition of protest that began over such relatively trivial matters as food quality in the 1940s and grew increasingly sophisticated.¹⁹ The 1953 Bantu Education Act had centralized education for Africans, taking students out of the various schools run by provincial governments, churches, and communities.²⁰ This centralization in many ways aided the sophistication of student resistance by concentrating youth within a system designed to oppress them.²¹ Control over education was one of the pillars of Apartheid, making it a primary issue in the freedom struggle.²²

By 1985, student movements had been gaining momentum for a decade. In June, 1976, police had attacked twenty thousand students protesting in Soweto, sparking nationwide unrest. Close to a thousand students were killed in clashes with police that year, fifty of them from the Coloured townships of the Western Cape.²³ In 1979, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), a federation of student groups at secondary schools, was formed. The next year, school boycotts broke out in the Western Cape to demand that South African Defense Force veterans be removed as teachers and that banned students be re-admitted to school.²⁴ At Alexander Sinton High School on Thornton Road, a committee connected to the Cape Youth Congress, a smaller federation among Cape schools, participated in the boycotts. A United States congressional study tour that visited in 1980 summed up what African students already knew: "The South African government has used education as a political instrument to keep black South Africans in a semi-permanent state of ignorance and economic deprivation."²⁵

Residents of the Cape Townships recognized the importance of education. Between 1977 and 1985, enrollment in Coloured schools had risen to 50%, and

¹⁶ Ibid., 165.

¹⁷ Testimony of Amina Abrahams, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

¹⁸ Price, 193.

¹⁹ Jonathon Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South African Schools 1945-1976" (African Studies Seminar No. 200: University of Witwatersrand African Studies Institute, 1986), 23.

²⁰ Lyle Tatum, South Africa: Challenge and Hope (Toronto: Collins Publishers, 1987), 17.

²¹ Hyslop, 23-24.

²² Tatum, 4.

²³ Ibid., 64.

²⁴ Price, 167-168. Tatum, 68.

²⁵ Tatum, 20.

graduation from secondary schools approached 90%.²⁶ School-age children were craving a quality education that they knew they were being deprived of.²⁷ The Bantu Education Act had been replaced by the Education and Training Act in 1980, which provided for compulsory education, free books, and tuition, but was never funded. Minister of Education Punt Jackson put it bluntly in 1980: “We want to give white education the very best, and then we want to give the other people the best possible...”²⁸ The student movement in 1985, through the unifying forces of the UDF, had been brought into the mainstream freedom movement. Students were no longer fighting only for their needs; they were fighting for the total removal of Apartheid.

Amina Abraham knew that the children’s young age would not protect them. The police had a record of violence with regard to students and routinely opened fire to disperse crowds. Just a month and a half earlier, twenty four people had been killed in a peaceful “free Mandela” march to Pollsmoor prison. The next day, Cape Town police had wreaked a Coloured school and used rubber bullets and tear gas on students while they were in their classrooms. On September 3, police raided nearby Vista High School, holding teachers and students at gunpoint while they carried out arrests.²⁹ The casper Abrahams had seen earlier and the growing crowd of students outside alarmed the two women. Abrahams decided to pick her children up early and get them home.

Most of the students the two women were watched attended Alexander Sinton High School, just down Thornton Road from the Ryklief home. The school had been raided on September 17, just over a month before, when it had re-opened its doors in contravention of a government closure order. Parents, teachers, and students had been arrested on the premises. Community members stepped in and surrounded the building with their cars, locked their doors, and walked away, momentarily trapping police and those they had arrested inside. Police responded by firing birdshot, tear gas, and rubber bullets.³⁰

As Abrahams hurried back to the Muslim school to collect her children, security forces had already gotten underway with the day’s operation. A regional task force, consisting of the South African Railway Police, the South African Police, and the South African Defense Force, was working out of a Joint Operations Center (JOC) located in nearby Manenburg. The October 15 operation was designed to address the stone throwing in the Athlone area, as well as the damaging and burning of private vehicles at makeshift blockades.³¹

The task force arranged for an unmasked railways police truck to enter the area with security forces concealed within crates in the back. The driver and his passenger were instructed to wear khaki coats over their police uniforms. The rationale was that a marked police vehicle or visible uniformed officers would scare away the ringleaders of the unrest. Sneaking up on a group would allow security forces to identify those leaders and make a maximum number of arrests. Officers were told to carry side arms and

²⁶ Badat, 189.

²⁷ William Finnegan, *Crossing the Line: a year in the Land of Apartheid* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986) 172.

²⁸ Tatum, 18.

²⁹ Lawyers for Human Rights, 33,61,62,65.

³⁰ Alexander Sinton High School web page <http://www.wcape.school.za/sinton/800600index.htm> accessed 10/04 ; testimony of Basil Swart, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

³¹ Testimony of Brigadier Christian Loedolff, (TRC Trojan Horse), 5/21/97

automatic shotguns loaded with birdshot and AAA ammunition, the smallest type of pointed shot. Each officer carried only one pair of handcuffs. Before they left under the command of Lt. Douw Vermeulen, Major Christian Loedolff, the head of the JOC, reminded him of section 49 of the Criminal Procedure Act: if there was no other way to perform an arrest, then a person could be killed and violence used to achieve the objective. The truck was to follow a route that would take it right down Thornton Road.³²

Amina Abrahams reached the Muslim school and asked the principle if she could take her children early. Seeing she was upset, the principle walked her and the children to the corner, where the casper was still parked. Abrahams hurried her children back to her friend's home, near where tires were now burning in the intersection. After reaching the Ryklief's house, she wanted to continue to her own home. Zainab Ryklief told her not to go, however; there were too many people in the street and it was not safe to be outside with younger children. While the children went to the bedroom to play, Amina Abrahams, Zainab Ryklief, and her mother went to the kitchen. Abrahams felt a bad premonition as she watched the growing crowd through the window.³³

Ismail Abrahams, a nephew of Amina, who was playing at the house, also wanted to go home. Zainab Ryklief had just ushered her own children and some of their friends into the house, but Ismail insisted. Ryklief's two sons, Ismail and Shafwaan, and their friend, Shaun Magmoed, decided to walk with him. The younger children, who had been playing in the bedroom, went to see them off. As they walked away from the house, they saw the orange railway truck near the intersection. Soon after, members of the crowd began throwing stones. In the next moment, gunfire erupted from the truck.³⁴

Standing orders for South African security forces explicitly discouraged the use of warning shots; the risk was too great that shots could injure someone some distance away and they would only serve to incite a crowd.³⁵ The children, who had made it just a few steps from the door, turned and ran back towards the house, which officers on the truck were now pelting with bullets. Ten-year-old Toyer Abrahams, who had come just outside to see what was going on, tripped in front of the front door and was picked up by his friend Shaun, who threw him into the house. Believing all the children were inside, Zainab slammed the door shut behind him.³⁶

In the Kitchen, where she had been looking out the window, Amina Abrahams fell to the ground and then began desperately trying to locate her children. She picked herself up and ran to the door, but Zainab Ryklief and her sister held her back as she tried to go outside. As the three women crouched by the door, bullets continued to smack into the house. The children dashed into the bedroom. Shaun leaped onto the bed and Toyer hid underneath the dressing table.³⁷

When the shooting stopped, Abrahams rushed to the bedroom to find her children. Toyer and Ashraf had both been shot and she gathered them in her arms. She called for Ryklief to help her, but her friend has been shot in the shoulder and was also trying to

³² Testimony of Brigadier Christian Loedolff, (TRC Trojan Horse), 5/21/97

³³ Testimony of Amina Abrahams, Zainab Ryklief, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

³⁴ Testimony of Ismail and Shafwaan Ryklief, Toyer Abrahams, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

³⁵ Gavin Cawthra, 1993 Policing South Africa: The SAP and the Transition from Apartheid (New Jersey: ZED Books LTD, 1993)12-13.

³⁶ Testimony of Ismail and Shafwaan Ryklief, Toyer Abrahams, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

³⁷ Testimony of Ismail Ryklief, Shafwaan Ryklief, Toyer Abrahams, Amina Abrahams, Zainab Ryklief, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

locate her children. One of her boys was hiding in a chicken coop in the back yard and as police came to the house he strangled the hens to keep them from making noise. Shaun asked Toyer if he was all right, but before he could answer the front door was kicked in. Toyer looked up at Shaun, who was lying on the bed. He looked back at Toyer and said “the struggle must go on.” Those were his last words.³⁸

Chaos engulfed the neighborhood. One man came into the bedroom and leveled a gun at Amina and the children. The phone was pulled out of the wall. It took a long time for the ambulances to arrive. By the time they came, Shaun had already died, Ashraf was near death, and Toyer was bleeding from a gunshot wound in his leg. As news of the shooting spread, crowds of angry adults descended on the intersection near the Ryklief home and the high school. Community doctors had to disguise themselves in order to get past police barricades to treat wounded children, who had taken refuge in the surrounding houses.³⁹

Twenty-one-year-old Jonathan Claasen, was also dead; he had been killed in the street. He had not been part of the demonstration earlier in the day, but had either joined the crowd later or just been walking home from work where he had been all day. Claasen had been a street kid who used to beg for food. He had found a family to take him in and later had taken a job. His adopted sister, Charmain Jacobs, had been scared to go to the police station to find out what happened to him after the shooting and was accompanied by two UDF men. At the Station, the policemen to whom she spoke simply said, “the pig has died from throwing stones, do you agree with me bushman?” Jacobs did not know what had happened. She signed the papers required for the release of the body, a statement which, among other things, demanded there would be no more than fifty people at his funeral.⁴⁰

Eleven-year-old Michael Miranda, was another one of the children killed on October 15. He died across the street from the Ryklief household. When he did not come home that night, his parents held out some hope that he had been taken in by one of the households near the incident. His mother went to the police station that evening, but was told to go home. The next day, a family member found Michael’s body at a mortuary. He had two bullets in his forehead, three in his face, and one in his throat. Michael had been throwing stones.⁴¹

The Trojan Horse Incident did not end after the shooting stopped on October 15. Two days later, the bodies of the victims had not yet been released. Islamic practice calls for burial at the earliest opportunity. The community gathered at the local mosque in a meeting that was described as electrifying and angry. After a delegation was assembled to demand the release of the bodies, the Imam asked congregants to disperse in small groups. As the first group attempted to leave, security forces poured tear gas and gunfire into the crowd and at the mosque, setting the mosque carpet on fire. Abdul Kariem was shot through the stomach as he and his brother tried to re-gain the safety of the mosque. When family members went to collect the body, they were asked to sign the same piece

³⁸ Testimony of Ismail Ryklief, Shafwaan Ryklief, Toyer Abrahams, Amina Abrahams, Zainab Ryklief, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

³⁹ Various Testimony, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

⁴⁰ Testimony of Charmaine Jacobs, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

⁴¹ Testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Williams, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

of paper that Jacobs had signed, guaranteeing that no more than fifty people would attend the funeral. This time, the family refused.⁴²

The cycles of violence created by Apartheid and the immediate effects of a tragedy were often magnified by the subsequent response of the state. Funerals often turned into political rallies in the 1980's.⁴³ CBS reporter Chris Everson described the cycles of violence associated with such gatherings. Saturdays were the day that most funerals took place:

“And the more people that they killed, would be buried the following Saturday. And the cycle just went on and on and on. And it didn't seem as though it was ever going to end. And it was so difficult. I mean you're talking about living day to day, but we used to live at that time from weekend to weekend, hoping the next Saturday would never come. We would pray for the end of that Saturday, hoping that nothing would happen, no one would get killed, but they always did, they always did somehow or other. Saturdays was the day for killings down at that part of the world, and it was a very emotive thing.”⁴⁴

The aftermath of the incident was personally devastating. The survivors from the Ryklief house suffered nervous breakdowns, separation from their families, and repeated police interrogations during the months and years that followed. Zainab Ryklief could no longer maintain her job as a teacher. Amina Abraham's son Ashraf suffered diminished mental capacity and Toyer was alienated from his family as they tried to shelter him from the continued violence. Ryklief's son Ismail underwent several operations to remove bullets, and another son Shafwaan developed a drug dependency. Their lives has been changed forever.⁴⁵

The government treated the victims from the Ryklief home as criminals. Often after the event, caspers were parked in their yard and armed police would wander outside the house with guns cocked. Two weeks after the Trojan Horse Incident, the home was stormed and Zainab Ryklief's husband was charged with speaking against the government and holding illegal meetings.⁴⁶ A police investigator came by every day for weeks to take repeated statements.⁴⁷ The victims received no sympathy from the government or compensation for their damaged home.

Apartheid created a system in which security personal could operate unimpeded by legal or moral consequences. Such forces were essential to maintaining white dominance during Apartheid. As Apartheid became increasingly entrenched, security forces were expanded and given additional powers. Terms like subversion, terrorism, and

⁴² Testimony of Ebrahim Rastool; Sharifa Fridie, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

⁴³ Report on Police Conduct During Township Protests, August – November 1984. (Compiled and published by Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference) 26. ; Price, 195.

⁴⁴ Testimony of Chris Everson, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

⁴⁵ Testimony of Ismail Ryklief, Shafwaan Ryklief, Toyer Abrahams, Amina Abrahams, Zainab Ryklief, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

⁴⁶ Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 48.

⁴⁷ Testimony of Zainab Ryklief, (TRC Trojan Horse), 6/02/97

communism were given the broadest meanings. The authority to detain persons without trial had risen from twelve days to ninety, 180, and then in 1967, indefinitely.⁴⁸

Special task forces like the one at Manenburg had been established as elite anti-terror squads. These units were trained in urban warfare techniques and immersed in a culture of counter insurgency. Lessons learned while fighting in neighboring Rhodesia and Namibia were increasingly used in South Africa itself. In 1977, P.W. Botha came to power at the head of the Nationalist Party and instituted “Total Strategy.” This policy followed the tenants of French strategist Andre Beaufré, who argued that total strategy could be implemented from several directions: economic, social, political, and psychological. By the mid-1980’s the police had fully accepted the stratagem.⁴⁹

Botha reinforced already draconian laws with new rounds of legislation. In 1982 the Nationalist legislature passed bills to allow for indefinite detentions if persons were thought likely to commit a crime or if persons were witnesses to crimes. Police were allowed to carry out search and seizure without warrants. Increasing cooperation with military units was authorized. Police were given indemnity from prosecution. Security personnel were immune to criminal prosecution from any action resulting from “internal disorder,” with the statue of limitations for all other prosecutions limited at six months.⁵⁰ The state of emergency that had been declared in 1985 was briefly lifted and then re-imposed until 1990. What had started out as “Total Strategy” quickly moved towards open civil war.

Perhaps only because of the international attention the case received, the South African government launched an investigation into the Trojan Horse killings. At the conclusion of the investigation in March of 1988, an inquest was held in which the magistrate in charge ruled that the police action had been unreasonable. The case was referred to the attorney general of the Cape Province. Even though the court had found the thirteen-man task force responsible for the children’s deaths, on May 3 of that year the attorney general declined to press charges without offering an explanation. He simply pointed out that private citizens were welcome to press charges.⁵¹

The invitation was unprecedented. Aided by sympathizers from abroad, Martin Magmoed attempted the first private prosecution against South Africa’s security forces. In South Africa at the time, private prosecutions were required to make a security deposit against costs. The defense began by asking for £250,000, an inconceivable sum for the victims’ parents to raise.⁵² Somehow, the case went forward, but Magmoed was to receive no satisfaction. In December, 1989, all thirteen men involved in the shooting were acquitted.⁵³

In December, 1989, President F.W. de Klerk announced, “The only way to prevent a revolution is a negotiated settlement that can win major credibility among all population groups.”⁵⁴ As the Nationalists government began releasing its hold on the

⁴⁸ Cawthra, 12-13.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 15-25.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 29,48.

⁵¹ The Associated Press, May 3rd, 1988 AM cycle. Copyright 1988 Lexis-Nexis

⁵² The Guardian (London) August 2, 1989 Guardian Newspapers Limited Copyright 1989 Lexis-Nexis

⁵³ World News Digest, December 31, 1989 Facts on File World News Digest Copyright 1989 Lexis-Nexis

⁵⁴ M.L. Mathews, Philip B. Heymann, and A.S.Mathews, Policing the Conflict in South Africa (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993) 28.

country in 1990, the African National Congress began anticipating the need for a reconciliation of the races in order to move forward with a democratic future. After studying reconciliation efforts abroad, the National Executive Committee produced a memorandum on a commission of Truth and Reconciliation (TRC). The goals of the TRC were to return civil and human rights to victims, restore moral order, record truth, grant amnesty, create a culture of human rights and respect for the rule of law, and prevent violations from happening again.⁵⁵ These goals were incorporated into one of the first acts of the new government, elected by a true majority of South African citizens: the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995.⁵⁶

In 1997, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission held a special hearing relating to the Trojan Horse Incident at the Athlone Technical College. Students from Alexander Sinton High School were present to witness the historic event. On two separate dates, the commission listened to the testimony of those involved, victims and perpetrators. It was as much of a chance for those involved to come to terms with the event as it was an investigation into the targeting of children as a deliberate attempt to destabilize communities.⁵⁷ While the secrecy surrounding the police action had been removed in part, the officers involved did not fully answer the panel's questions. Commission members often repeated questions several times and security personnel seemed unwilling to stray from their written statements. Many questions, such as the specific purpose and impetus of the Trojan Horse Incident, remain unanswered.

The testimony made possible by the TRC pulled together many segments of the story however, highlighting the unavoidable nature of the Trojan Horse Incident, and many others like it from the Apartheid era. The story of the Trojan Horse Incident illustrates the frustration of non-whites in the 1980's, the consequences of the powers given to security forces, the criminalization of victims of violence, and the failure of the government to include non-whites in the justice process.

Epilogue

History can be seen in terms of policies, dates, and famous figures; to disconnect it fully from the stories of the individuals involved is to lose part of that history, because to learn from history one needs the facts, but to care about learning from history, one needs the human story. In March, 2000, an official memorial was dedicated to the three who lost their lives on October 15, 1985, in Athlone⁵⁸, but more stirring is the unofficial one: on a cement wall close to the intersection where the incident took place is a message in spray paint: "Remember – The Trojan Horse Massacre: Shaun, Michael, Jonathan – 1985."⁵⁹ This message reminds us not only to remember the story of the Trojan Horse Incident, but to remember it in terms of the individuals and neighborhoods that were caught up in the country's racial conflict.

⁵⁵ Alex Borain, *A Country Unmasked* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)11,48.

⁵⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Home Page http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/trc_frameset.htm accessed 10/04

⁵⁷ "Trojan Horse" killers still a mystery" March 27, 1997 (*Mail and Guardian*, Johannesburg), Copyright 2000. Lexis-Nexis

⁵⁸ *Global News Wire*, March 21, 2000 SAPA (South African Press Association) copyright 2000, Lexis Nexus

⁵⁹ Andy Tarcia "Choosing the Rebel Tour" *MSNBC News* <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/5593107> accessed 11/04

