RIOTS & DISTURBANCES — T.V.L

1992 JUNE

Mandela launches new attack on FW

B/Day 1/6/92 (278)

ALAN FINE

ANC President Nelson Mandela yesterday again attacked President F W de Klerk — likening violence against blacks in SA to violence against Jews in Nazi Germany — and spelt out reasons for the deterioration in the personal relationship between the two leaders.

Speaking at the ANC's policy conference in Crown Mines, Johannesburg, Mandela also criticised the "mainstream" media, saying they had failed in their duty to highlight "crimes" of omission and commission perpetrated by De Klerk.

Mandela gave four reasons for the hostility he had displayed recently towards the President:

- De Klerk's failure to use the capacity of strong and efficient security forces to end violence;
- By liberalising laws which previously forbade the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, De Klerk had intensified violence. When Mandela asked De Klerk to explain these amendments, De Klerk had been unable to supply an answer;
- Nothing had been done about controlling exits from hostels, despite government agreeing to do so in May last year; and
- Homes of township residents had been "occupied", and although police promised to investigate nothing had happened.

"After all this you cannot expect me to continue praising him (De Klerk)," Mandela said.

"But I have never attached undue importance to our personal relationship. When I first said he was an honest man I also said progress depended on NP policies."

WILSON ZWANE reports that early yesterday Mandela told cheering crowds in Phola Park that De Klerk had either lost control over security forces or the forces were doing what he wanted them to do.

Visiting the East Rand squatter camp in the wake of police operations in the area, Mandela warned that unrest could spread to new areas unless De Klerk took concrete steps to end violence.

Mandela said government's inability to curb violence had resulted in people taking the law into their hands.

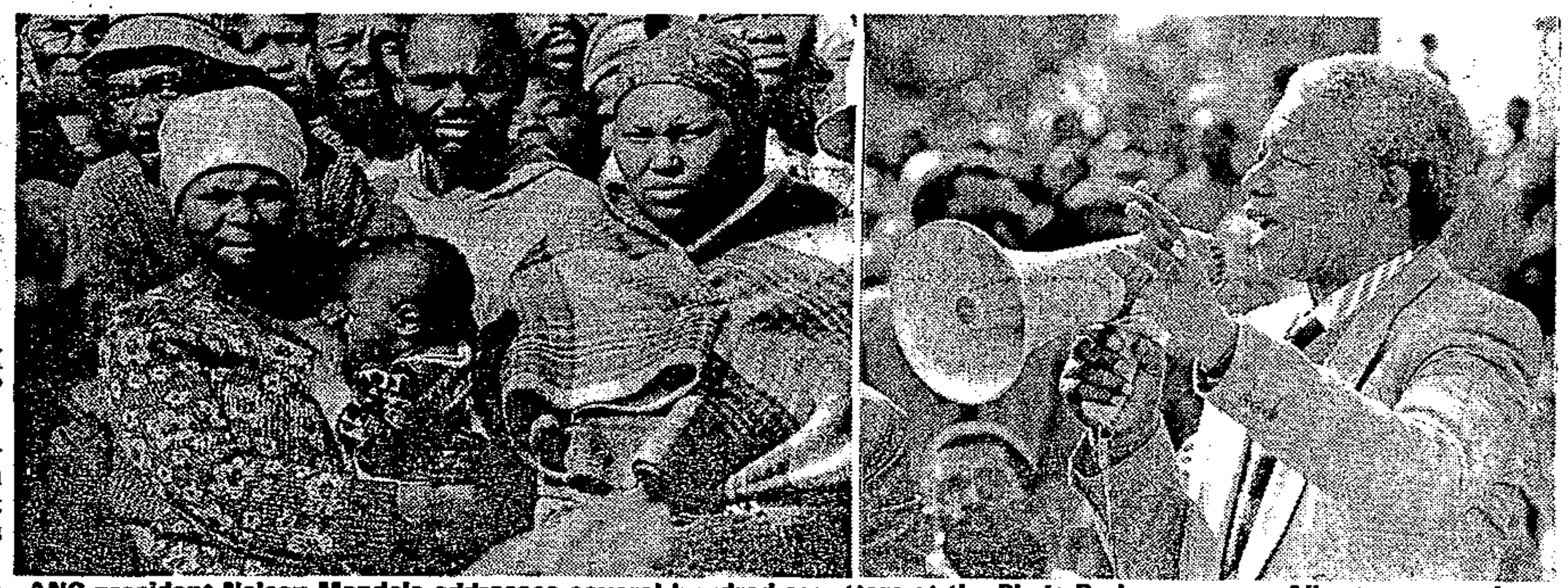
He said the ANC would "sooner or later" have to take disciplinary action against members who were involved in acts of violence. But he warned that if government did not take appropriate steps to end violence, it would be difficult for the ANC to discipline its members.

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrald said nine people — including two illegal immigrants — were arrested during a cordon and search action on Saturday.

Although no firearms were found, ammunition and a large number of dangerous weapons were seized.

Shortly after Mandela left Phola Park yesterday, journalists heard several shots in the squatter camp.

Police yesterday reported seven new unrest-related deaths on the Reef.



ANC president Nelson Mandela addresses several hundred squatters at the Phola Park camp near Alberton yesterday. Mandela repeated accusations that government was not doing enough to end unrest. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Beltel lines open for saucy calls

MELANIE SERGEANT

TELKOM may be clamping down on naughty 087 lines, but its Beltel users are not short of sexually explicit fun and games.

They can dial into a "Confessions" service and get explicit details on the ins and outs of oral sex — not to mention lots of other saucy information.

Currently, the Teletel-based system can be accessed only by Minitel terminals, but will soon be available to all Beltel-linked computer users.

Beltel also has a few "sex shops", with names such as Sextel, running. Here, many products (including fancy condoms and sadomasochistic accessories) are ad-

Buthelezi calls for joint peace rallies

B/Day 1/6/92

MARITZBURG — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called for joint peace rallies with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Making the call at a rally near Maritzburg on Saturday, Buthelezi said it was time for the leaders of the ANC and Inkatha "to put the interests of SA first", reports Sapa-AFP.

Reacting to Buthelezi's speech, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu told reporters while touring troubled Phola Park squatter camp near Johannesburg that the ANC would investigate whether the suggestion was "genuine".

Political fighting between the ANC

Walter Felgate said at the weekend Inkatha would be prepared to hold joint political rallies with the ANC once the two organisations improved their bilateral relationships.

Earlier, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) said a working committee comprising Inkatha, the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and homeland parties would meet this week to work out strategies by which joint rallies could be held in trouble-torn townships.

Felgate said that although something had to be done urgently about violence, Inkatha wanted to meet the ANC privately before the two organisations held joint rallies.

Gunshots ring out in Phola Park after Mandela speaks

Sowetan 1/6/92

African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela addresses residents of trouble-torn Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand yesterday. Later residents clashed with police and shooting was reported. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

● Goldstone report misused, says ANC — page 3

GUNMEN opened fire on police at Phola Park yesterday soon after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had addressed squatters at the troubled settlement.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said police did not return the fire.

No one was injured in the attack in which AK-47 rifles were used.

"Unknown persons fired several rounds with an AK-47 at a police patrol moments after Mr Mandela spoke. The police did not return fire and the attackers immediately disappeared among the shacks," Opperman said.

Earlier, Mandela had warned that the violence plaguing black townships could spread to white areas if President FW de Klerk did not act.

Factional fighting

He blamed De Klerk for the black factional fighting that has killed thousands and said the ANC would hold unprecedented strikes and demonstrations in protest.

Eight more people died in unrest incidents in black townships, according to a police report covering the previous 24 hours.

"People are getting very angry," Mandela told about 2 000 chanting, singing residents of Phola Park.

"Sooner or later, this violence is going to spread to all areas of the population.

SA Press Association

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"You are going to see mass action in this country on a scale you have not seen before," he said.

"That is our weapon - we must use whatever power we have," Mandela said.

Opperman said police were hunting the attackers in the squatter camp which is under virtual seige in what police say is a crackdown on criminal elements.

Razor wire

Police have said defence units linked to the ANC are operating in the area.

Yesterday Phola Park residents were shifting razor wire placed around the camp.

"Police warned the persons in question to cease their deliberate provocative actions. When police moved towards the fence, the residents moved back," Opperman said.

Police on Saturday strung the wire around Phola Park, considered an ANC stronghold, and began a shack-to-shack search for weapons.

Nine people were arrested and hand weapons such as axes and spears seized but no guns were found, police said.

ANC officials called the police action harassment aimed at driving the residents from Phola Park.

'Hit list' policeman is stoned, burnt by mob

(278) CT 1/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A black policeman accused of working his way down a hit list of black activists had been lynched and his charred corpse hauled on a roof for all to see, police said here yesterday.

Mahoko "Skuta" Marumo, 28, was one of seven people killed in political unrest in Sharpeville and among 12 on the Rand since Friday, police said.

On Saturday in Sharpeville Marumo was chased by a mob, stoned and then necklaced, police said.

Police who tried to get him out were beaten back, and by the time they regrouped the body had vanished. His body was found yesterday morning on top of the chimney of an empty house. Police said he was "unrecognisable".

Marumo's nephew, Mr Alfred Marumo, 19, was shot dead when he went outside to confront the car, and his brother's house was burnt down.

Marumo, a special constable attached to an "unrest" investigation squad at nearby Sebokeng, was himself under police investigation for shooting dead Mr Montoeli Andries Molebatsi, 18, in Sharpeville on March 1.

Marumo had then boasted he was working his way down a hit list of 15, according to the ANC's chairman in Sharpeville, Mr Siza Rani.

A doctor who witnessed the killing, Dr Nkopodi Motsitse, was shot dead on March 9, the day before he was to sign a statement accusing Marumo of Mr Molebatsi's murder.

● Two police constables from Langlaagte were killed on Friday evening when a shot allegedly went off from the firearm of a colleague.

Police said on Saturday that the three policemen were at the Langlaagte police station recreation centre when one of the men put his firearm down. A shot went off, killing Const A C Pietersen and Const N Foster.

A charge of murder is being investigated. — Sapa-AFP

Police vow to bring peace to Alexandra

B/Day 2/6/92 (278)

WILSON ZWANE

POLICE and soldiers yesterday swooped on Alexandra township north of Johannesburg in a massive anti-crime operation, and vowed to remain there until peace was restored.

Acting police commissioner Lt-Gen Hendrik de Villiers said in a statement the operation was to bring Alexandra's continuing violence under control as soon as possible.

In apparent reference to criticisms levelled at the security forces, De Villiers said: "We will not allow more innocent people to be harassed by criminals ...

"Police will use all means at their disposal to curb violence."

An Alexandra resident John Kgomoswane had laid a charge of theft against a policeman at a local police station.

The policeman had allegedly robbed Kgomoswane of R1 280 during the operation in the township.

Police spokesman Col Frank Alton confirmed that a charge of theft was laid and said police would investigate the matter.

Alton said the operation — similar to the one launched in the East Rand Phola Park squatter camp last Friday — would remain in place until peace had been restored in Alexandra.

By yesterday afternoon, no arrests had been made. However, a homemade firearm and 41 9mm cartridges were found.

In another development police admitted yesterday that they had not found any firearms so far during their anti-crime operations in Phola Park.

Police arrested nine people on Saturday when they conducted shack-to-shack searches in the squatter camp.

Although weapons such as axes, sharpened iron rods and spears were found, no firearms were found.

A police spokesman said although no firearms had been found yet, they would still be going over the area.

On Sunday, gunmen opened fire on police in Phola Park moments after ANC president Nelson Mandela had addressed residents in the squatter camp.

Meanwhile, Inkatha has claimed that two of its members were killed and at least 20 injured in an attack on them by ANC supporters.

An Inkatha source said yesterday the attack on Inkatha members was launched in the Soweto suburb of Mzimhlophe on Saturday.

Police put the number of dead at three and injured at four.

The Inkatha source said Inkatha members were on their way to bury two children, who had been killed in a handgrenade explosion on the previous Saturday, when they were attacked.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said he had heard that Inkatha mourners had been attacked in Mzimhlophe, but denied the allegation that the assailants had been ANC members.

Meanwhile Sapa reports that a man was stoned and necklaced yesterday morning in the Vaal Triangle township of Sharpeville.

☐ In their daily unrest report, police said nine people were arrested in Kwadela township, near Davel in the eastern Transvaal on Sunday in connection with the killing of a policeman the previous day.

Also on Sunday, police found the body of a black man who had been necklaced in Sharpeville. In Soweto, a handgrenade was hurled at a police vehicle at a bus terminal in Soweto. The grenade detonated behind the vehicle, injuring a pedestrian.

Barricades as Vaal seethes

(278) Sowetan 2/6/92

By VICTOR TSUAI

RESIDENTS in the Vaal Triangle townships of Sebokeng and Sharpeville have erected heavy duty barricades to keep police out after the body of a third necklace victim was found.

Residents have embarked on a concerted campaign to disarm members of the security forces in the townships to stem mysterious attacks.

In yet another macabre development, the necklace system found its way back into the area. An unknown man became the third victim of the dreaded necklace yesterday.

The man was the third victim in five days. The others were former Lekoa mayor Mr Esau Mahlatsi and Constable Mahoko "Skuta" Marumo. All three were shot, stoned and then set alight.

Residents in the tense townships yesterday put up barricades, some of them as large as minibuses, in almost all the streets of the two townships.

The townships are virtually no-go areas and motorists and taxis have to manoeuvre their way through the treacherous barricades.

In what amounts to a self-imposed curfew, the barricades are entirely sealed off at night with only vantage points accessible to motorists.

The Vaal barricade crusade is the first of its kind and comes amid the spiralling violence in Reef townships and the almost total collapse of the Peace Accord.

According to a Vaal branch Congress of South African Trade Unions' official, the tension and the ugly mood of the residents follows a spate of hit squad attacks on activists and their families.

About eight activists were assassinated by mysterious hit squad members in the past week. Countless other activists and their families have been slain under similar circumstances.

A police spokesman for the Vaal, Captain van Deventer, said police were not aware of the decision to harm its members. He, however, confirmed that the police were aware of the barricades lining the township streets.

Student teachers given a chance

Sowetan 2/6/92.

THE Department of Education and Training is to give student teachers who failed their third-year courses between 1984 and 1991 a chance to qualify.

Permission has been given for them to be re-examined on the subjects they failed until 1995.

Students may supplement subjects and papers they failed at a fee of R15 a subject.

The College for Continuing Training will offer courses in specific subjects most students still have to re-write.

Interested students can contact their nearest area offices.

Phola Park residents on the march after tearing down a security fence. Pics: MBUZENI ZULU

Phola Park man held after fight

Sowetan 2/6/92. (278)

By RUTH BHENGU
Investigations Staff

A MAN was arrested when he tried to stab a policeman during a clash between residents and the police in Phola Park last night.

According to the spokesman for the police Captain Piet van Deventer, the man tried to stab a policeman with a sharp instrument.

This happened shortly after gunmen opened fire on the police soon after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had addressed the squatters.

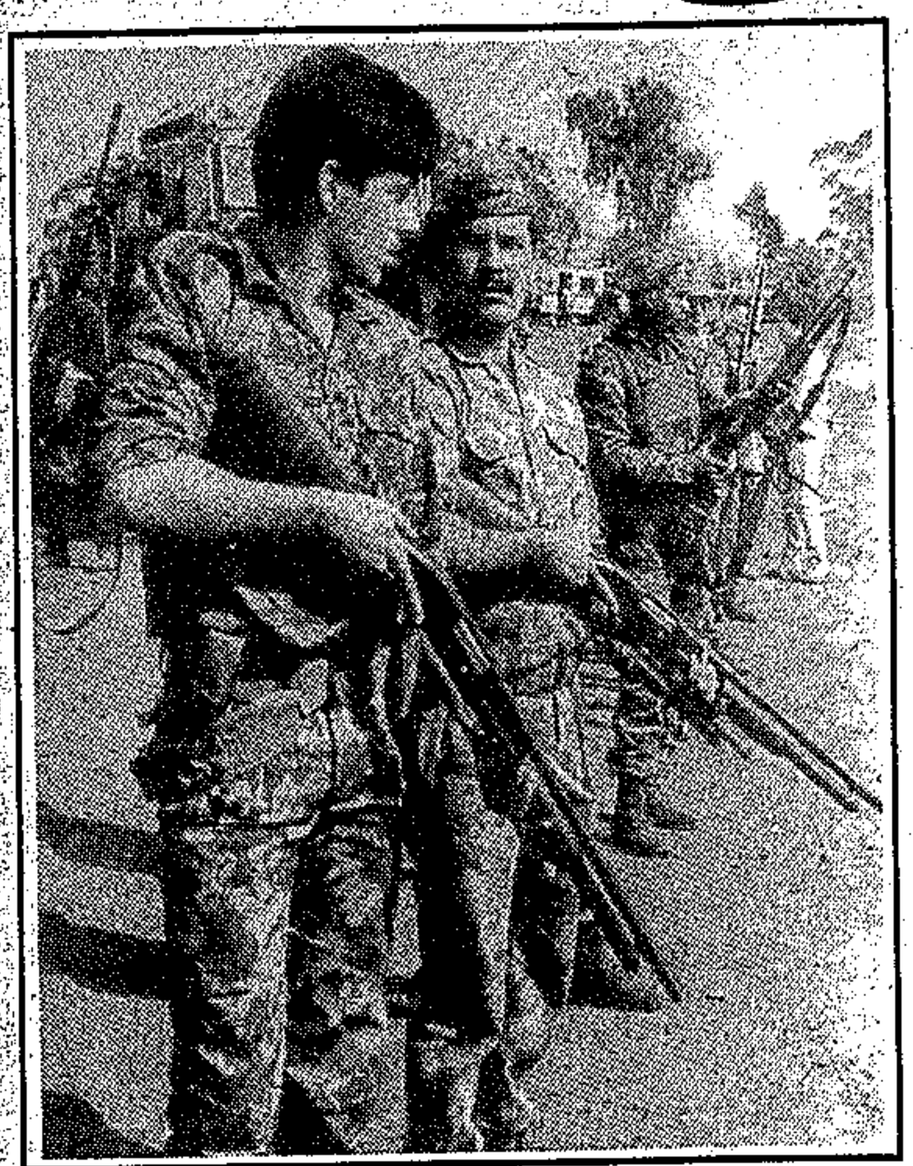
The police say no one was injured during the skirmishes that followed after residents tried to shift razor wire around the camp.

In what the police described as a crackdown on criminal elements, they had, on Saturday, placed the wire around the camp and conducted a shack to shack search.

This morning Van Deventer said the embattled settlement was quiet.

But it is an ominous quiet. Those who have followed events at Phola Park recently, describe it as a time bomb. The persistent police raids which have led to clashes where people died, were arrested, injured and lost property, does not make for a quiet neighbourhood.

The fear generated by a balaclava clad man who travels with the police in the dead of night pointing out "the troublemakers", is palpable.



Police prepare for action after shots are heard in Phola Park

A member of the residents' committee, Mr Eric Siswana who managed to avoid arrest by disguising himself as a woman during one of the fiercest raids two weeks ago, describes it as a "nightmare".

"That was the night 10 people were arrested, several injured and a two-month old baby was hospitalised after inhaling teargas.

"The police came in Hippos at about 10pm. They smashed doors and frogmarched all the men into the yard. Inside one Hippo was a man wearing a balaclava. We could only see his eyes.

"They would grab a man and bring him close to the Hippo and ask the man inside if this was one of them. If the man nodded you were thrown into a police van, if he shook his head they would let you go."

Peace Action who have been monitoring the situation in the settlement have protested against the manner in which police raids are conducted.

They have called on the Minister of Law and Order to intervene and immediately stop security police actions which lead to community distrust and prevents the possibility of residents co-operating with the police.

Spokesman for Peace Action Ms Venita Govender, said: "The operation by the police at Phola Park is understandable, since this is clearly police work.

"However, when these raids are carried out in a manner that completely disregards human dignity and property, it becomes totally unacceptable and needs to be addressed with the urgency it deserves," she said.

Apart from the police raids Phola Park residents have engaged in ongoing clashes with the inmates of the Tokoza hostel and the local taxi owners.

They accuse the taxi drivers of taking Phola Park residents into the hostel where they are killed. During one particularly violent week Phola Park residents went on the rampage burning minibuses, private cars and company trucks which passed by the settlement.

This was in response to the murder of Mr Velile Mbuyisa who was found in the hostel. Three other people were missing and they were last seen being driven into the hostel.

There have been numerous attempts to bring peace to Phola Park. Mrs Winnie Mandela has addressed several meetings there. The police and leading politicians have held meetings in an attempt to work out strategies to stop the violence.

Yet the volcano erupts at regular intervals.

Man in the hot seat to take the heat off Alex

STAR 2/6/92 (278)

ALEXANDRA'S new administrator, Andre Jacobs, often uses the word "chaotic" to describe both services and conditions in the violence-racked township and his task of trying to restore municipal normality to the troubled area.

The man in the hot seat is determined to make a difference to the lives of Alex residents.

The most pressing challenge, he said, was to provide acceptable services to the community — services which had broken down almost completely due to protracted violence.

"Before the violence in March, we had a good working relationship with residents and had achieved an 84 percent payment-of-services success.

"There is now a state of chaos and we have to start building relations all over again.

"We plan to establish some kind of daily administration. Basic things have to be done, such as cleaning up damaged areas and buildings. We are considering getting the township declared a disaster area to get assistance from the State.

"The hostel problem is also high on the agenda and we are working on some kind of solution," said Mr Jacobs, former *Randburg Town Council* management committee chairman and leader of the Democratic Party caucus in the council.

"We aim to change the attitude of the community towards the council, not unilaterally, but by building a good relationship with residents. We want to break down their resistance towards the council."

A Randburg town councillor for six years, Mr Jacobs said housing was another urgent priority. The township's 100 000 shack dwellers needed a more acceptable form of accommodation and, depending on financing, he hoped to have 7 000 houses constructed within the next three years.

Alexandra's new administrator, Andre Jacobs (above), is determined to make a difference to the violence-ravaged township. By ANNA COX.

"We would also like to start community projects to clean up the river and the environment.

"In the long term, the role of Alexandra must be looked at in respect of the entire sub-region.

"Although the township is in a state of chaos, I am facing the challenge with a positive attitude and am certain things will come right," he said.

Born in Johannesburg and educated in Randfontein, Mr Jacobs obtained a BA Honours degree in political science from the Rand Afrikaans University and an MBL through the University of South Africa.

He currently holds the position of chief executive of the National Association of Private Transport Operators.

"I have a great challenge ahead of me and my life will be chaotic for a while. But if things can be improved in Alexandra, it will all have been worthwhile," he said. □

Firearm licence dilemma

(278) STAR 21/6/92

JO-ANNE COLLINGE examines the wrangle over unlicensed firearms and activists' self-protection.

IN AN attack on the ANC last week, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel stated that "several hundred" ANC members had been arrested for unlawful possession of weapons since February 1990.

He did not stipulate how many had been prosecuted, but there has been a stream of cases through the courts.

Philemon Mauku of the Alexandra Civic Organisation and ANC branch was recently sentenced to a jail term for possessing two AK-47s.

When stopped at a roadblock he told police that he had in his bag arms and ammunition to establish protection units in strife-torn Alexandra.

Mr Mauku testified he was driven out of the Nobuhle hostel in March 1991 by "men" with weapons and red headbands". He told the court: "I fear for my life. These people attack any time. They'll kill anyone — even a child."

The argument of self-defence or defence of fellow residents in a situation where the police are unable to guarantee the safety of all is repeatedly advanced by activists charged with illegal possession of Makarov pistols, AK-47 rifles or other firearms.

The National Peace Accord stipulates that self-protection units should not be run on party-political lines, but notes that they are perfectly legal and that members of such units are legally entitled to carry licensed firearms.

So the question arises: Why do ANC members (or other township residents in possession of unlicensed guns) not license their firearms if they are intended purely for defence?

From the point of view of the authorities, this would reduce somewhat the huge number of unlicensed firearms.

It would separate those whose intentions were purely defensive — ordinary citizens and activists alike — from those intent on violent crime or politically motivated offensives.

If it is such an obvious step in the right direction, then why is nobody doing it?

One probable reason is that it is about as hazardous — legally speaking — to try to license an unlicensed firearm as it is to keep such a weapon unlawfully.

The licence applicant invariably incurs a risk of being prosecuted just by setting the licensing process in motion.

Asked how to license an unlawfully owned Makarov, police spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg said: "What happens is that, as soon as it comes to the attention of the police, a case docket is registered and the firearm is confiscated.

"The docket is forwarded to the Attorney-General and once he has made his finding — once he has decided to prosecute or declined to prosecute — then the licence may be applied for in the normal way."

Major Bloomberg noted that prosecution did not block individuals from applying for licences; nor did a decision against prosecution necessarily mean the Makarov would be licensed.

Even in the most positive outcome — no prosecution and the granting of a licence — the time period would be extended by several weeks if not months. This would scarcely answer the need for immediate protection which many township residents — not only members of political groups — require.

When it comes to AK-47s, as with all automatic weapons, the normal licensing procedure no longer applies. A permit from the Minister of Law and Order himself is necessary for a private individual to legally possess an automatic weapon.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze, asked if permits had been issued for possession of any AK-47s — particularly to members of the ANC security staff — replied with a monosyllabic "no". He then clarified: "No permits, not to the ANC or any individuals."

Another less complex option is for individuals who perceive themselves to be under threat to obtain firearms commercially, in the normal manner, and apply for licences. They would scarcely be asking for exceptional treatment: in 1991 179 241 firearm licences were granted and only 18 268 refused.

While the cost of weapons on the commercial market might be prohibitive for most township residents, a number of ANC security personnel and regional and branch officials have been granted licences this way.

However, the process is not always rapid. In the case of an ANC branch secretary on the East Rand, The Star learnt, a licence stamped in January was handed to the applicant only in mid-May despite regular inquiries at the police station.

And there is the likelihood that activists might feature among the minority who have had licences refused.

The national secretary of the ANC Youth League, Rapu Molekane, facing charges of unlawful possession, is one who tried but failed to get a licence.

His wife, Patience — avoiding comment on the present charges — said Mr Molekane had applied for a licence some months before the police raid which preceded the current charges. The application concerned a firearm purchased in the normal way.

"After Rapu was charged, we were told that his application for a licence was not successful," said Mrs Molekane.

She pointed out that her husband's parents' home — where he had lived before his marriage — had twice been attacked in the 1980s and that he was still subject to unsettling surveillance. □

Cops, army in raid on Alexandra

Sowetan 2/6/92 (278)

Sowetan Correspondent

POLICE, supported by members of the SA Defence Force, moved into Alexandra Township yesterday in a "crime-combating operation".

The operation was described by acting commissioner of police Lieutenant-General Hendrik de Villiers as "similar to that launched in Phola Park" last Friday.

He said it was to control continuing violence.

"The SAP will use all means at their disposal to curb the murder and pointless bloodshed," he said.

The raid was condemned by residents, who claimed the police damaged their property and stole their money.

Some claimed they were prevented from going to work by police who insisted they remain inside until the search was over.

Transgress the law

Mr Steve Mashile, speaking from the Alex-San Community Centre, said police had cordoned off the entire squatter camp between Sixth and Eighth avenues, which is inhabited mostly by ANC sympathisers.

Police went through the area, searching every shack for weapons.

"They are not allowing any cars or pedestrians anywhere near the place," he said.

He said police had searched everybody they came across and said it was all "just a routine operation".

De Villiers appealed to the Alexandra community to co-operate with the police.

He said the operation was aimed only at those "who transgress the law. We will not allow more innocent people who want to live in peace to be harassed by criminals".

National Environment Awareness Day was held at the Safari Ranch's Phumangena kraal in Honeydew. Among those celebrating the day were: Mrs Reginah Buthelezi, Mrs Thokozile Ntombela, Mr Judas Zungu, Mrs Siphiwe Mpungose and Mr Mloyiseni Mpanza.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Sebokeng killings 'lasted 8 minutes'

STAR 2/6/92

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

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A witness in a trial concerning a Sebokeng ANC night vigil massacre — which claimed the lives of 38 people and left eight others injured in January last year — told the Vereeniging Circuit Court yesterday he was in the kitchen on the premises of the funeral wake when the shooting suddenly started.

According to Albert Nongalembe, the shooting, which included single shots as well as rapid gunfire, lasted about eight minutes.

He was testifying at the trial of seven men, all allegedly members or supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party who are facing 38 counts of murder and eight of attempted murder.

The accused, Zebuse Khuzwayo (32), Aubrey Myeni (23), Aaron Mtshali (21), Daniel Mabote (22), Silwane Khubeka (37), Thomas Lokhozi (28) and Hunter Ndlovu (18), have pleaded not guilty.

A warrant for the arrest of Harry Mamato (19), was withdrawn after evidence was led that he was killed during a shooting incident in Evaton on May 23.

Giving evidence before Mr Justice W Schutz and two assessors, Mr Nongalembe said about 200 mourners were assembled in a tent.

He said the shooting lasted about eight minutes and a hand grenade was thrown.

He told the court he did not see who fired the shots, but that he had seen one of the accused, Myeni, driving past the scene and pointing out the house to other occupants in the vehicle much earlier that day.

The trial continues today.

Police accused of theft during raid

STAR 2/6/92 (278)

By Stan Hlophe and Bronwyn Wilkinson

Police and SADF patrols combined in an anti-crime sweep through Alexandra township yesterday that yielded a sawn-off shotgun and a pistol.

Squatters in the township, near Sandton, said shacks were broken into and ransacked, and residents were harassed.

A spaza shop owner, John Kgomoeswane, alleged that more than R1 000 was stolen from him by police. He reported the theft to the local ANC branch and the matter was taken up with the Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee, which said last night it would help him lay a charge of theft with the Wynberg police today.

Some residents also claimed police prevented them from going to work, allowing no one to leave the cordoned-off area.

The blitz came after a weekend operation at Phola Park on the East Rand, where police launched a shack-to-shack search for weapons.

When The Star arrived in Alexandra yesterday, police manned roadblocks and searched vehicles between Sixth and Eighth avenues — an area inhabited mostly by ANC sympathisers.

They later moved to an area between First and Fifth avenues known to be occupied by IFP sympathisers.

ANC branch general secretary Obed Bapela condemned the raid as a ploy to disarm the community. He said the raid should have been conducted in broad daylight when residents were at home.

"We know that police are also human beings, and are capable of damaging people's property and stealing their valuables. We have received several reports of misconduct and thefts by the police during the raid," Mr Bapela said.

The Alexandra ANC office was puzzled over the raid because the area had been relatively quiet for some time.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said claims of police misconduct were propaganda to discredit the police force.

But he conceded it was possible that police had had to force open doors "because some people refuse to open".

He said the operation would continue for as long as necessary to stabilise the area.

Late last night, police headquarters spokesman Colonel Frank Alton said two firearms — a sawn-off shotgun and a pistol — and a quantity of ammunition had been seized during the day's raid.

● In Phola Park on the East Rand, where police were keeping a close watch, shots were fired in the direction of a police vehicle at about 7 pm last night, Lieutenant Wikus Weber said. Lieutenant Weber said the vehicle was not hit and the police did not retaliate.

Smokers on the job targeted

STAR 2/6/92

By Shirley Woodgate

Johannesburg businesses are to be subtly targeted by the city council to introduce anti-smoking moves in the workplace.

Speaking yesterday at the fifth World "No-Tobacco Day", the council's health chairman, Marietta Marx, warned that pressure, and not force, would be used to protect all employees in the city.

Urging business leaders to follow the example of her council, which had initiated by-laws to start wiping out smoking in public places, she said: "It's time for the silent majority to stand up and be counted."

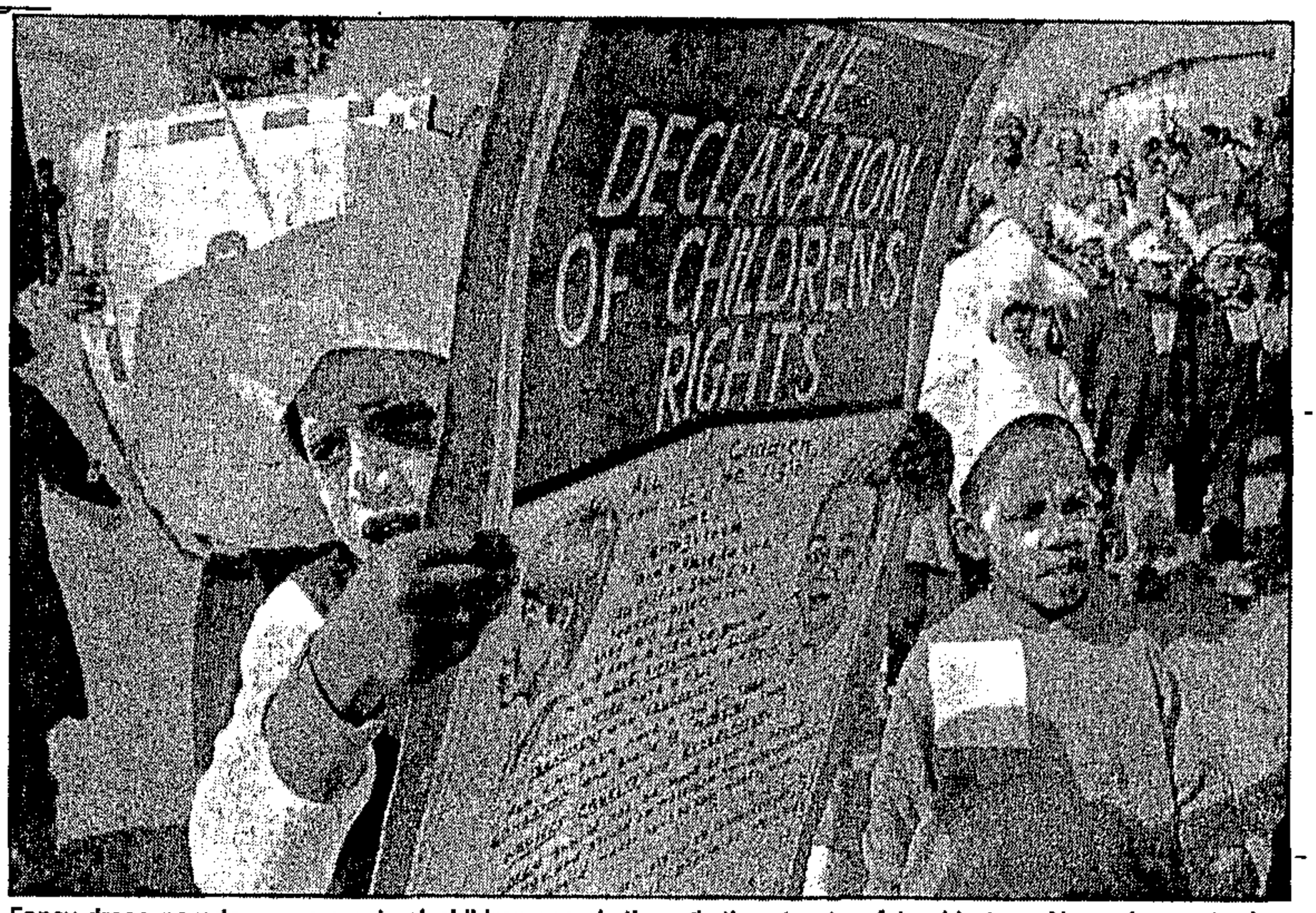
In a speech read last week for Nelson Mandela by National Council Against Smoking's Dr Yusuf Saloojee, the ANC president claimed that smoking now ranked alongside Aids, famine and pestilence as a threat to world health.

His claims were backed by Dr Saloojee, who said that in the light of recent findings, it made economic sense for employers to employ only non-smokers.

Johannesburg director of community health Dr Eric Buch challenged trade unions to back the anti-smoking lobby by placing the issue on the negotiating table.

Natalie Stockton stressed that while the Department of National Health and Population Development, which she represented, had ignored the problems of smoking and passive smoking for years, progress had been made.

"Even President F W de Klerk has not smoked for the past six weeks," she said.



Fancy-dress parade ... pre-school children march through the streets of trouble-torn Alexandra yesterday to mark the start of International Children's Month. Picture: AFP

Partnership for city's future

STAR 2/6/92.

Staff Reporter

Johannesburg received a boost last night with the launch of the Central Johannesburg Partnership.

The company is the first of its kind to include the community in the traditional link between business and city government.

CJP chairman Cliff McMillan said at the launch that the company did not plan to repeat the work of the city council, but would be using partnership and consensus as its fundamental principles.

Cas Coovadia, general-secretary of the Civic Association of Johannesburg, said the CJP was a prime indicator of the current socio-political climate in South Africa.

"The coming together in a development partnership of three stakeholders who have previously been either hostile to, or suspicious of, each other is a clear sign that we have moved into the development and reconstruction phase of the struggle for a democratic, nonracial South Africa," Mr Coovadia said.

Ian Davidson, representing the city council on the board, said the council realised the city centre had a vital and necessary future.

"We are committed to making the city centre a safe, pleasant environment and the financial and commercial centre of Africa," he said.

Anglo American Property Services managing director and CJP executive committee chairman Gerald Leissner said that while business was looking for specific action in the short term regarding security, cleaning and maintenance, he believed business should become involved in the funding of longer-term projects for the city.

Detention of 'Klein Koos' extended

An application by the police in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act to extend Boksburg CP councillor "Klein Koos" van der Merwe's detention period by 14 days was granted yesterday.

Mr van der Merwe faces his third week of detention without trial. It is not known when he is due to appear in court.

He was arrested with 10 other rightwingers when police swooped on their homes a fortnight ago. They were held in connection with a limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show and other allegations. — East Rand Bureau.

STAR 2/6/92

7 killed in minibus taxi hijacking

(278) ARG 3/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

RANDOM warfare and brutal slayings gripped Soweto in terror yesterday and at least 17 innocent people were killed in separate attacks between dawn and midnight.

In the most senseless and brutal attack, seven people were killed when four passengers in a minibus taxi sprayed other passengers with automatic gunfire during an argument over the driver's route.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the packed taxi was on its way from the Baragwanath taxi rank to Meadowlands.

Some of the passengers started arguing with the driver about his route. They pulled out guns and sprayed the taxi with bullets.

Five men — including the driver — and two women were killed. Another woman, who was seriously injured, was taken to Baragwanath Hospital.

A resident in the area, who did not want to be identified, said he saw the bodies of two men who had been shot lying next to a taxi. Inside the taxi were the bodies of three more men and two women.

"One survivor who had been injured ran to a house where she collapsed in the garden.

"We understand the gunmen had told the driver to drive to Mzimhlophe Hostel in Meadowlands. The driver did not want to go there because there had been trouble earlier in the day, and they started shooting."

Get 32 Batt out — counsel

CT 3/6/92 (278)

PRETORIA. — The SADF's 32 Battalion should be withdrawn from Phola Park, counsel for the state said yesterday at the Goldstone Committee inquiry into the unit's alleged rampage through the East Rand squatter camp.

Mr Torie Pretorius told the committee here that the battalion should be withdrawn because of perceptions after incidents during the April 8 raid on Phola.

He added the committee should look into suggestions to train army units deployed in urban areas.

Mr Pretorius also suggested the committee should not pay much attention to the shootings on April 8 because the evidence was not clear as to who was responsible for shots that hit residents.

He criticised a statement by Captain Mark Hermanse, an officer of 32 Battalion and a witness for the unit, who said during cross-examination he did not regard a blow at a person's face as assault, but rather heavy-handedness.

"With the building of a new South Africa in the process, we cannot tolerate such a statement made by a military commanding officer," Mr Pretorius said.

He suggested the matter be referred to the attorney-general.

Counsel for 32 Battalion, Mr Barry Roux, said the unit should not be withdrawn from the squatter camp as it had not done anything to warrant that.

He said witnesses had failed to prove total misconduct by the battalion's members.

Mr Roux said Captain Hermanse's claim that he heard shots from the squatter camp before investigating was hearsay.

Committee chairman Mr Solly Sithole said he believed an interim report on the matter would be made available to Mr Justice Goldstone, chairman of the commission, by the end of next week.

He said the committee would then inform the different parties if further witnesses would be called.

Meanwhile the Goldstone Committee inquiring into public violence and intimidation and certain aspects of Weekly Mail reports of an Inkatha political commissar who accompanied a group of Inkatha members for military training in Caprivi in 1986 heard yesterday that the men were also trained to use Eastern Bloc weapons.

Mr Daluxolo Luthuli said he did not know if the 200 trainees ever fired shots from Soviet-made AK-47 rifles during training because he himself had not taken part. He also said he was taught how to use an AK-47 during his days as an ANC member before being arrested and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for terrorism, which he served from 1969 to 1979.

Mr Luthuli said he knew how to dismantle and assemble an AK-47.

Cop Board is an 'impartial force'

PRETORIA. — The newly-established Police Board could be a major contributor to impartial policing, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said here yesterday.

He told the first meeting of the Police Board, established under the Peace Accord, that yesterday marked the true birth of community policing in South Africa.

A range of academics, attorneys, policemen and representatives from the self-governing territories serve on the board, which will advise Mr Kriel on police matters.

South Africa was being swept by an unparalleled wave of crime and violence, Mr Kriel said. The police were controlling this in the best possible way, and did not need destructive criticism. The police needed the community's trust. — Sapa

Four die in Soweto shooting

B/Day 3/6/92

WILSON ZWANE (278)

FOUR people, including three security guards, were killed and and at least 10 injured in Soweto yesterday morning.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the three security guards were killed at about 5.30am yesterday when unknown gunmen opened fire on pedestrians outside a shopping centre in the suburb of Dobsonville.

Six people were injured in the incident, Mamoepa said.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn confirmed that the security guards had died in a hail of AK-47 bullets. He could not, however, confirm the injuries.

In another unrest incident in Dobsonville, one person died and four were injured when gunmen sprayed a house with AK-47 gunfire.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer said yesterday attacks on members of the police would not be tolerated. "Strong action will be taken against people who try to disarm policemen," he said.

Van Deventer was responding to reports that residents of the Vaal Triangle town-

☐ To Page 2

Soweto

B/Day 3/6/92 (278)

☐ From Page 1

ships of Sebokeng and Sharpeville had embarked on a concerted campaign to disarm members of the security forces.

Van Deventer said police were patrolling the two townships.

In another development, a former SADF member is being sought in connection with a cache of weapons found at his Kempton Park flat on Monday night. The weapons include seven live mortars, an R1 rifle and an anti-personnel mine.

Police said East Rand squatter camp Phola Park and Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, were quiet yesterday.

During their anti-crime operations in Alexandra yesterday, police arrested four men in connection with an armed robbery committed in Johannesburg last month.

In Phola Park police arrested 12 illegal immigrants.

☐ In their daily unrest report police said a body with hack wounds was found in Alexandra on Monday.

Several killed in shoot-out

(278) CT 3/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Several people were killed during a shoot-out in Orlando-West in Soweto yesterday evening.

Residents reported eight people were killed, but a police spokesman was unable to confirm this.

In the Soweto suburb of Dobsonville one person died and four were injured when gunmen sprayed a house with AK-47 gunfire.

In another incident in Dobsonville, town council employees and scores of residents protested against the deaths of five men who were gunned down in three incidents in Soweto yesterday.

Police said East Rand squatter camp Phola Park and Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, were quiet yesterday. During their anti-crime operations in Alexandra yesterday, police arrested four men in connection with an armed robbery committed in Johannesburg last month. In Phola Park police arrested 12 illegal immigrants.

In their daily unrest report police said a body with hack wounds was found in Alexandra on Monday.

● A minibus passenger, Mrs M Ramodibe, travelling on the N12 near Edenvale, east of Johannesburg, was hit in the mouth by a shot fired from another vehicle on Monday night. A witness said she swallowed the bullet. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Ten killed in taxis of death

Sowetan 3/6/92. (278)

Relatives of Thami Mlambo weeping uncontrollably next to his body. See more pictures of the taxi carnage on page 9. Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

TEN people were killed in two separate incidents of violence in Soweto last night.

The worst incident took place near Orlando Gardens where two men who had alighted from a taxi turned around and sprayed passengers with bullets from automatic rifles, killing at least seven people.

Two of the dead were identified as Mr Thami Mlambo of Zone 10, Meadowlands, and Mrs Leah Thabethe of Orlando West.

When *Sowetan* arrived on the scene last night, bodies of the dead were still lying in the taxi. Others were still lying where the victims had been mowed down.

By MOKGADI PELA

A distraught Mr Vusi Thabethe said he was waiting for his wife, Leah, when he saw ambulances rushing to the scene.

He said he went to investigate and saw his wife lying dead in the back of the taxi.

The taxi was travelling from the Baragwanath Hospital terminus. The gunmen also boarded the taxi there, according to eyewitnesses.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn last night said he was aware of the incident.

He could, however, not confirm the number of

● To page 2

P.T.O.

Ten mowed down in taxis

Sowetan 3/6/92.

● From page 1

of people who were killed.

Unconfirmed reports put the figure of the dead in the Orlando Gardens incident at eight, but Sowetan could only confirm seven.

In the second incident, three people were killed when men who tried to hijack a taxi on the Rand Show Highway were thwarted by passengers.

The taxi skidded off the road and knocked down pedestrians.

Two of the hijackers were apprehended by members of the public, Halgryn said.

Last night's killings brings to 14 the number of people killed in Greater Soweto over the past 24 hours.

VICTOR TSUAI reports that four people were shot dead and six others injured after a rampaging group went on a pre-dawn shooting in Dobsonville yesterday.

ELIAS SIWELA

JACOB MOTSWIRI

The attack, described as mainly indiscriminate, was carried out by men brandishing AK-47 rifles and traditional weapons.

Shortly after, the attackers jumped into a minibus and sped off in the direction of Siphiwe hostel.

Those reportedly killed in the 5.15am attack were two nightwatchmen, Mr Ben Malefa and Mr Moseleka Mvula Nokeri, taxi driver Mr Elifas Sefora and another man.

The injured who were taken to Leratong hospital were Mr Jacob Motswiri (65) and Mr Elias Siwela.

The attackers first forced their way into the Sekhutlong Home and attacked the occupants.

Three members of the family, George, Regina and a third unidentified victim, were treated at Baragwanath Hospital for gunshot and hack wounds.

One of the night-watchmen who escaped, Mr John Monnafola, ran for his life while the attackers shot wildly at him.

"We were waiting to knock off when we were surprised by a burst of gunfire," said Monnafola.

"My colleagues were hit almost immediately and I had to run for dear life."

Motswiri said although the attackers took him by surprise, he half-expected trouble after hearing gunfire about 3.00am near the hostel.

(278)

Malefa said: "When I left for work I kept thinking about the gunfire. But being shot was the last thing on my mind.

"I saw a group of men walking briskly towards me and tried to run into someone's gate, but it was too late. After shooting me the men just went on and I heard more shots being fired near the shopping complex."

Massacre trial told of prowling cars

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

The Vereeniging Circuit Court yesterday heard that three cars repeatedly drove past a Sebokeng house where a funeral vigil was in progress in January last year. Shots fired at mourners later that night killed 38 people.

This evidence was led by William Twala at the trial of seven men facing 38 counts of murder, eight of attempted murder as well as charges of unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition in connection with the massacre at the ANC night vigil.

They have pleaded not guilty to all charges before Mr Justice W Schutz and two assessors, and will deny any involvement in the incident.

The men are allegedly members or supporters of Inkatha. An eighth suspect was scheduled to be tried with the group, but was apparently shot dead during a robbery in Evaton last month.

Mr Twala told the court he was present at the wake in Zone 7 on the night of January 11 last year.

His task was to monitor "suspicious-looking" vehicles which passed by the house and to stand guard over the proceedings.

He said that during the course of the evening he noted several cars which aroused suspicion, and he jotted down their particulars. There were three cars which he regarded as particularly suspicious as they repeatedly drove past the house together.

Recognised

However, he did not pass this information on to anyone else, as he was only expected to do so if anything happened. He recognised two of the vehicles as belonging to two of the accused.

Mr Twala said that while he was standing outside a tent on the premises where the night vigil was being held, he noticed six or seven people approach the gate to the property on foot.

They had four "long" guns and one pistol with them, and without saying a word, suddenly started shooting at those in the tent.

Mr Twala continues his evidence today.

Council employees protest over five killings

STAR 3/6/92

By Zingisa Mkhuma (278)

About 50 angry Dobsonville Town Council employees took to the streets yesterday morning to protest against the "cold-blooded" killing of five men by gunmen yesterday.

They were later joined by scores of residents.

The protesters demanded the resignation of councillors and the removal of Dobsonville hostel inmates.

A reign of terror started when unidentified gunmen, said to be travelling in a minibus, shot dead two nightwatchmen at a shopping complex before killing another man, said to have been on his way to work.

The other two victims were shot and killed next to Dobsonville hostel.

Residents say they believe the attacks were to avenge the killing of a hostel inmate whose body was set alight by youths on Monday.

A man, who refused to give his name, accused the council of harbouring Inkatha supporters who have continued to stay in the hostel although they had stopped paying rent and service charges a long time ago.

Phola Park clashes as 12 arrested

STAR 3/6/92

(278)

By Monica Oosterbroek and Isaac Moledi

Security forces and residents of the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand clashed again yesterday as 12 illegal immigrants were arrested.

SAP spokesman Constable Louis Vermaak said nine men and three women were being held at the immigration office in Germiston.

Police confiscated a number of dangerous weapons such as axes and knives, several AK-47 cartridges, and petrol bombs.

While a large contingent of uniformed men in armoured vehicles surrounded the camp, dozens of Casspirs patrolled through the camp and a large force on foot searched shacks and residents.

Police allege snipers fired at them on Monday night and residents claim the police are shooting them.

A crippled man, David Mashaba, was arrested outside a shack where he was sitting with his wife and children. His wife, Gladys Nyati, said police believed her husband was a Mozambican. "Why were the police hitting and kicking him?" Mrs Nyati sobbed as she watched her husband being driven away.

Residents said police asked for their identity documents and passports. Those found to be Transkeian citizens were arrested and taken to the police station.

A constable said the police were on an anti-crime operation which would continue until the criminals had been arrested and the area stabilised.

'Police beat us in Alex'

Crime Staff (278)

Three Alexandra men, who claim policemen assaulted them in a random attack on residents early yesterday morning, intend laying charges of assault.

David Mangaliso (27), Reginald Maleke (21) and Jeffrey Mthapo (21) said the policemen entered their homes and assaulted them at about 2 am.

The three men were reportedly treated at the Alexandra Clinic and would lay charges at a later stage.

SAP spokesman Colonel Frank Alton said he had no knowledge of the assaults, but would welcome it if the alleged victims registered a complaint.

Staff at the clinic said they had no record of three people being brought into the clinic with assault injuries.

Colonel Alton said the township was quiet yesterday and residents had reacted positively to the police anti-crime operation which was launched on Monday morning.

There had been no incidents of violence overnight, although a man was taken to the clinic for treatment for stab wounds, he said.

STAR 3/6/91

'Anti-crime drive' in Phola

Sowetan 3/6/92 (28)

SECURITY forces and residents of the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand clashed again yesterday morning as 11 illegal immigrants were arrested.

While a huge contingent of uniformed men in armoured vehicles surrounded the camp, dozens of Casspirs patrolled the camp and a large force on foot searched the shacks and residents.

A disabled man, Mr David Mashaba, was arrested outside a shack where he was sitting with his wife and two children. His wife, Mrs Gladys Nyathi, said police believed her husband was a Mozambican.

"Why were the police hitting and kicking him?" Nyathi sobbed as she watched her husband being driven away in a Casspir.

Residents said others with Transkeian passports had also been arrested.

Police spokesman Constable Louis Vermaak said the operation was "anti-crime" and they would be in the camp until criminals were arrested and the area stabilised.

Harassing

The ANC believe police are harassing residents and targeting ANC leaders.

An ANC spokesman told Sapa that police had inadvertantly told a resident - "they did not know who he was" - that they were looking for ANC members.

The media were harassed by police today: security forces apparently believe the Press interfere with police operations. Media cars and Pressmen were thoroughly searched several times in an hour. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Train thugs targeting taxis now, says ANC

B/Day 4/6/92. (278)

WILSON ZWANE

THOSE responsible for train violence had changed tactics and were now targeting taxis, an ANC official said yesterday.

ANC PWV official Wally Mbele said yesterday violence had resulted in a large number of commuters deserting trains in favour of other modes of transport.

It was suspected now that perpetrators of train violence had changed tactics and were bent on "striking terror into taxi commuters", Mbele said.

There had been no attacks on train commuters on the Reef in the past three weeks but, said Soweto police spokesman Capt Joseph Ngobeni, there was no evidence to link the present upsurge in taxi violence with "the lull in train violence".

On Tuesday seven people travelling in a minibus taxi were killed in the Soweto surburb of Orlando West when four fellow passengers, believed to be Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers, opened fire on them. Police said the incident had resulted from an argument over the taxi's route.

Mbele dismissed that theory. He said that had the shooting been sparked by an argument over the taxi's route, "only the driver ... and not the other passengers would have been shot".

Another ANC PWV official Floyd Mashele was reported as saying the attackers had demanded to be taken to a single-sex hostel in Meadowlands — scene of fighting between residents and hostel dwellers.

Inkatha official Musa Kubheka dismissed as "nonsense" the allegations that Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers were behind attacks on taxi commuters.

Another police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said police were investigating possible involvement of hostel dwellers in the incident.

In another development, the establishment of five working groups by the SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC) and community leaders failed yesterday when representatives from Cosatu and churches did not turn up for a meeting.

The working groups were to be set up in terms of an agreement which Spoornet, Transnet and the SARCC reached with representatives from the ANC, Cosatu, churches and the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) last month. Yesterday's meeting was attended by representatives of only the ANC and Cast.

The working groups' objective is to find ways of curbing train violence.

□ Sapa reports the controversial 32 Battalion has been withdrawn from Imbali in Maritzburg and the internal stability unit — formerly the riot unit — will be replaced by ordinary SAP members.

This was announced after a meeting yesterday between the SAP, the ANC and the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Coetzee did not collect

NATION BUILDING The power is in your hands

Alex group in plea to Nation Building

YOUTHS from embattled Alexandra are pleading for an end to the violence. Sowetan

"The violence must stop!" says youth group leader Abram Mathekga. 4/6/92

"It has had a devastating effect on our lives and what is left of our community will probably collapse if the unrest continues.

"We decided to appeal to *Sowetan's* Nation Building for assistance in getting the people of Alexandra together to decide on a programme to solve our problem."

"We want to continue with normal schooling but we cannot do so in the current situation. As a result *Sowetan* has agreed to host a workshop on Sunday June 7 at the Thusong Youth Centre in Alexandra."

Abram is one of more than 2 000 youths struggling to restore order to the township.

Their activities at local educational centres and schooling have been affected.

"It is very difficult to learn under the present circumstances," says Abram.

Unpredictable

278

"Every day we are faced with unpredictable situations that fill us with anxiety. Will we survive the night? Will we be shot on the way to school where we are exposed daily to random gunfire and physical attack?

"Will our homes still be standing when we return and if so, will it be safe to live in them?

"It is almost impossible to concentrate when one is preoccupied with township problems and we are struggling to keep up with our educational programmes."

Sowetan has held several workshops under Nation Building. They have assisted residents implement programmes to deal with local problems and rebuild structures.

The success of the workshops inspired the Alex Youth Group to ask for similar support.

Clinical psychologist Mrs Anne-Gloria Masetle, coordinator of Nation Building workshops, said:

"The situation in Alex has deteriorated to a stage where even the parents are unable to provide a healthy, emotionally stable environment for their children to grow up in.

Status

"Further, the status of parents in the family has been superseded by township politicians and the youth regard this highly visible group of people as role models and look to them for direction.

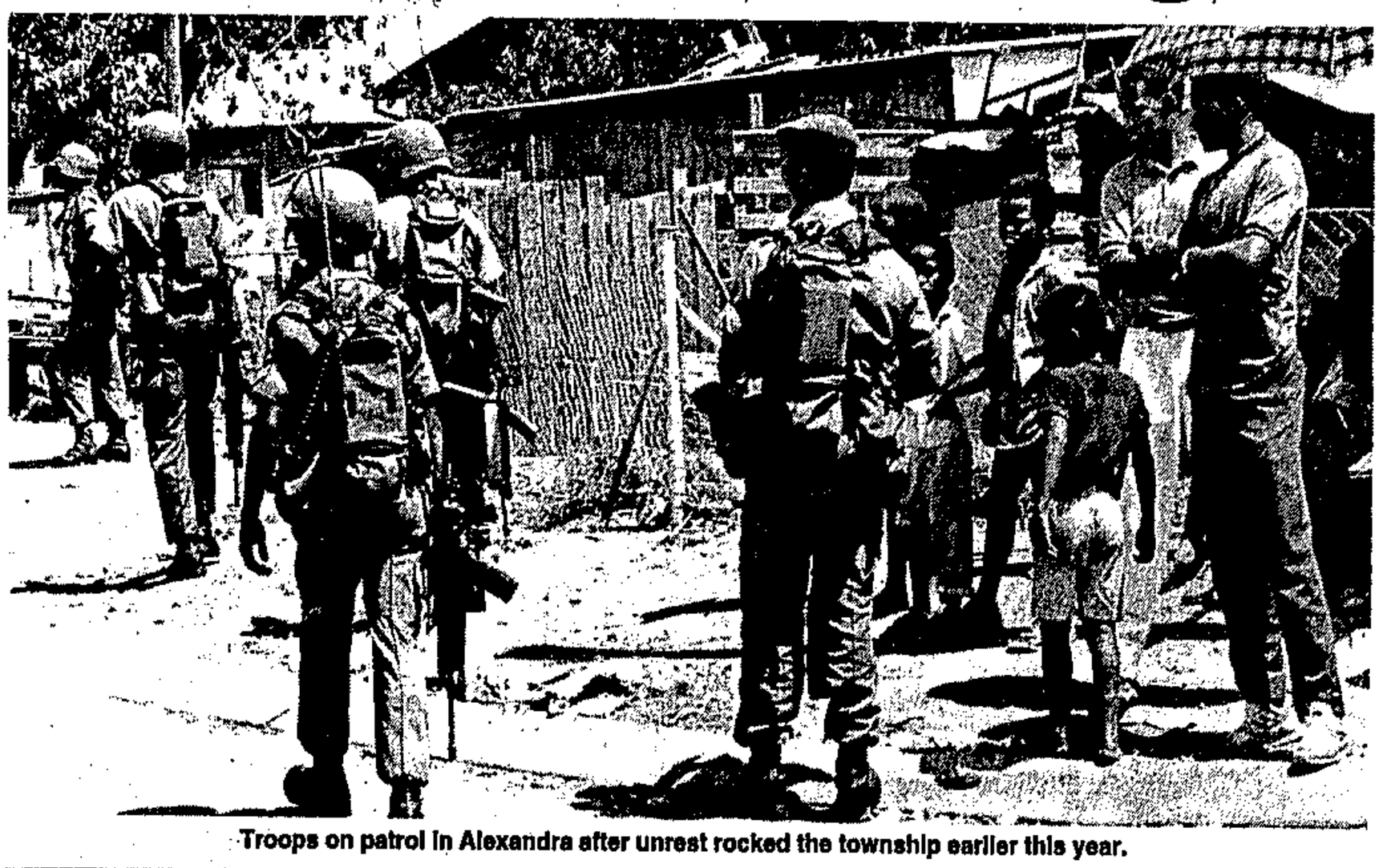
"It is vital for the parents to get involved in their children's lives and to provide some stability for the young adults.

"Recent research required a large sample of township youths to draw a picture of their choice. Without exception, each picture depicted horrific scenes of violence.

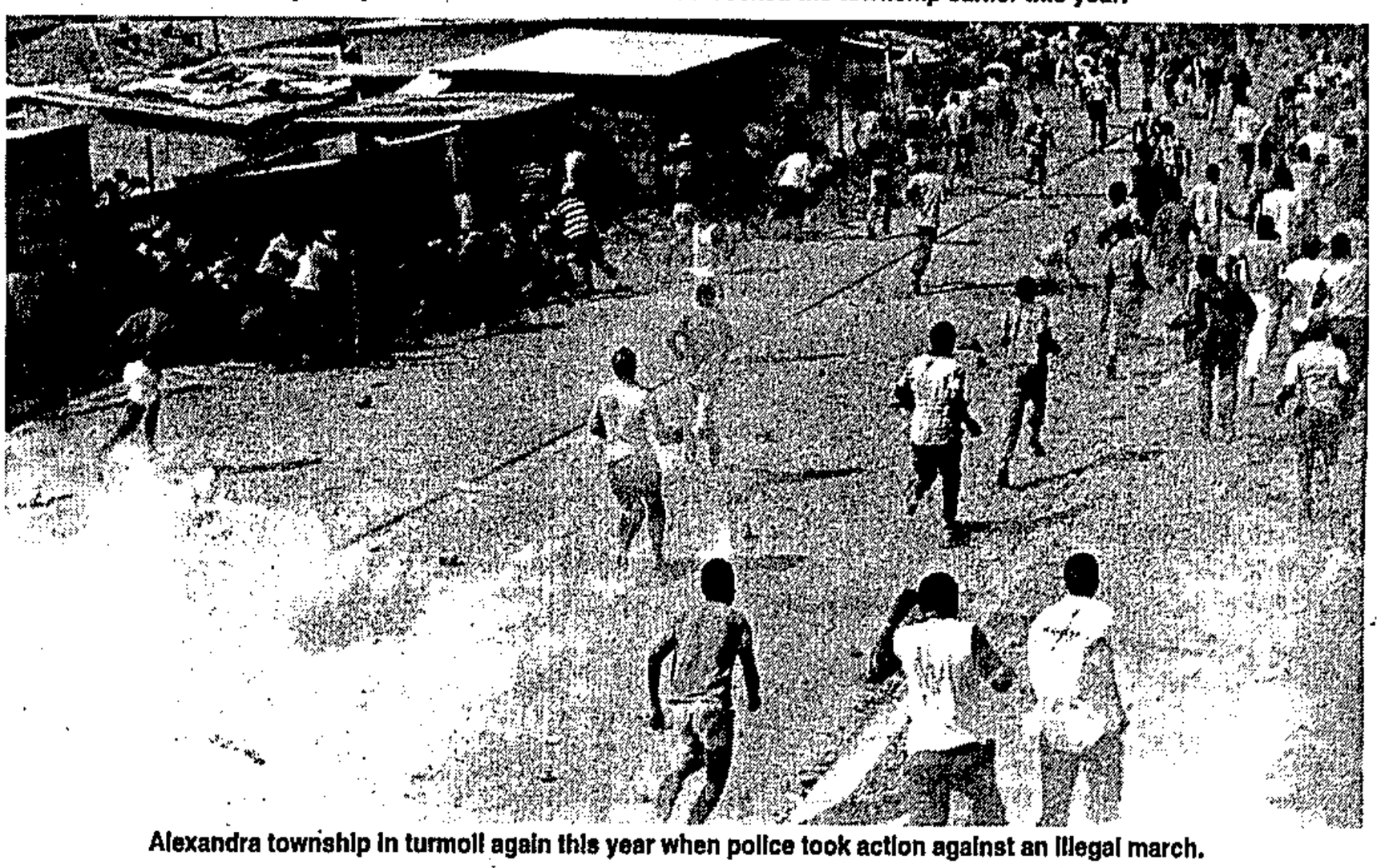
"The uncertainty in daily routine has produced anxiety levels so high that even the creativity of the youth is affected.

"Sunday's workshop will provide a forum for the youth and parents to identify and prioritise their problems. The Nation Building team of professionals guiding the workshop will then assist local people in developing a plan of action to deal with the problems."

The Nation Building workshop at the Thusong Youth Centre starts at 10am. There is no admission fee and all Alex residents are welcome.



Troops on patrol in Alexandra after unrest rocked the township earlier this year.



Alexandra township in turmoil again this year when police took action against an illegal march.

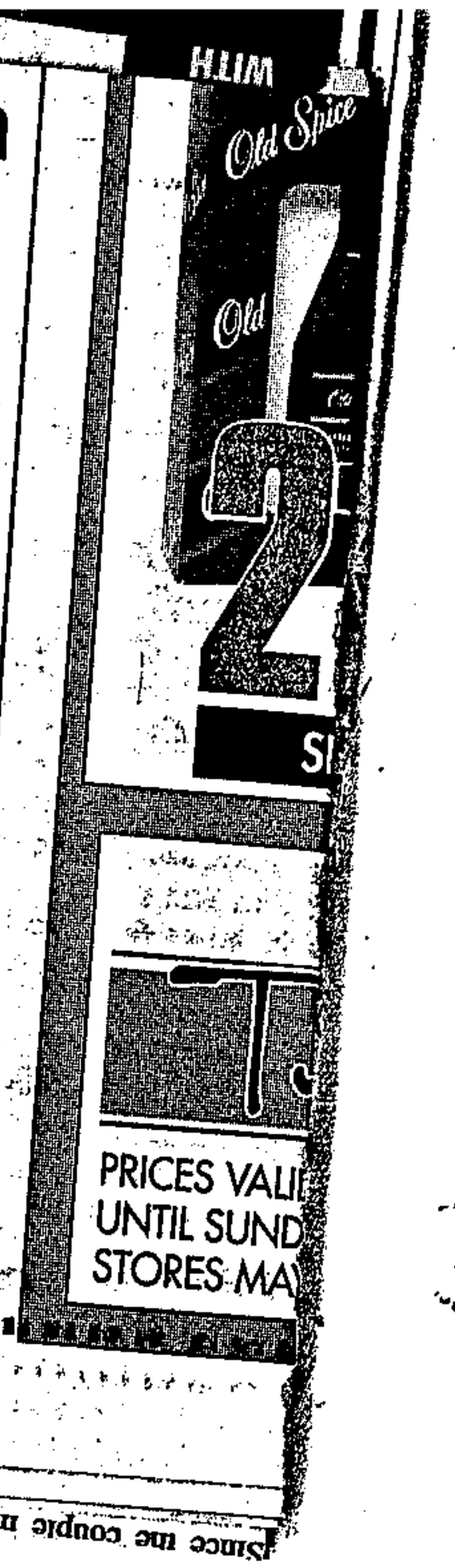
Taximen agree to talks

Sowetan 4/6/92.

POSSIBLE bloody fighting was averted yesterday when rival taximen agreed to discuss their year-old dispute.

There was alarm when between 40 and 50 Sinamuva Taxi Association drivers, allegedly armed with guns and knobkierries, arrived at the Springs Taxi Association ranks in the morning and started redirecting passengers. (278)

The incident seemed likely to end in a blood, but ended in hope when two rival taxi associations agreed to seek a meeting to end their year-old dispute.



Since the couple married in 1977, police raids and

Hello Africa, tell us how you're doing!

Hello Africa! These excited Canadian women arrived in South Africa yesterday on an Afro-Canadian Women's Cultural Exchange Programme. Their tour is co-sponsored by *Sowetan*. See page 3. Pic: SELLO MOTSEPE

Ride of terror

278

Sowetan 4/4/92

SURVIVORS of an attack on taxi commuters in Soweto on Tuesday night in which seven passengers were killed, yesterday gave chilling accounts of the cold-blooded massacre.

Altogether 10 people were killed in Soweto taxis in separate incidents on Tuesday night; the worst occurred near Orlando Gardens where two men sprayed passengers with bullets from automatic rifles leaving seven dead.

And yesterday, there was widespread belief in Soweto that attacks on commuters had now shifting from trains to taxis.

P.T.O.

By KENOSI MODISANE

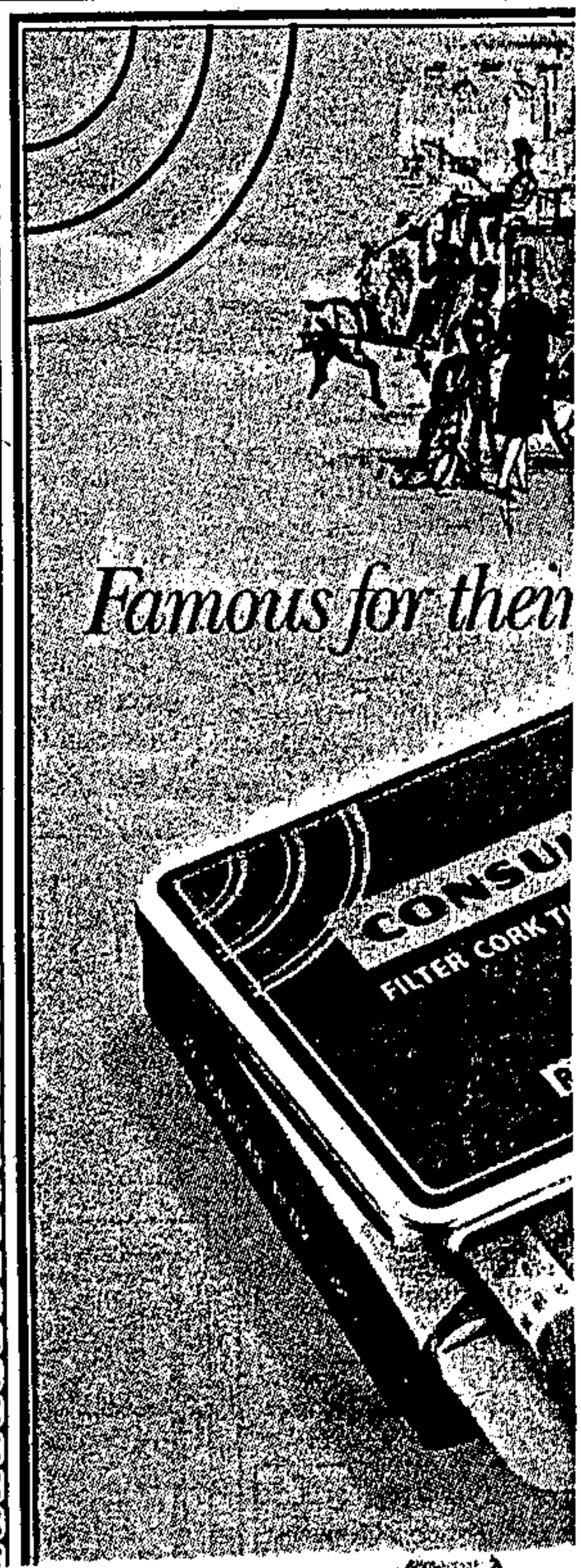
Callers to *Sowetan* cited incidents of attacks in the past few weeks in which people waiting for taxis had been fired at by gunmen. Several people have been killed in this way.

Former Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana said there was a definite new pattern of attacks on commuters.

"Attacks on taxis happen almost daily in Soweto and I have personally had to deal with people injured in such attacks.

"It as if these people are now saying: 'Because you have now moved from trains to

To page 2



Move to form self-defence units

Sowetan 4/6/92.

By MONK NKOMO

(278)

LIBERATION and community organisations in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, have decided to form defence structures following the assassination of a local PAC cadre, Mr Jan Shoba.

At a meeting called by the local branch of the PAC on Tuesday night, representatives of liberation groups including the ANC as well as church, civic and professional bodies, condemned Shoba's murder.

They described it as "a dastardly act of enemy agents".

The organisations also resolved that Shoba's death was not due to inter-organisational strife within liberation movements or criminally motivated.

"His assassination could only have been the work of the enemy or agents of the State which is consistent with the pattern of State-sponsored activities," they said.

Shoba was mowed down with AK-47 rifles after parking his car at his sister's house in Ntsu Street, Saulsville, last weekend.

No arrests have been made.

Tuesday's meeting, which was attended by about 20 representatives of liberation and community organisations, was called to discuss ways and means of preventing similar attacks.

The organisations resolved to jointly monitor counter-revolutionary activities and "to act in defence of our people against perpetrators of this violence".

A resolution committee comprising members of the PAC, ANC and the business sector was appointed at the meeting.

The committee includes PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, Dr Abe Nkomo and Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, both from the ANC, Mr Reeves Mabitsi, chairman of the local civic organisation, Mr Eddie Ditshego, a businessman, and Mr Charles Laka, of the PAC.

A convening committee of six was also appointed to look, among other things, into the formation of defence units.

Suggestions were also made to seek expert advice and assistance from former cadres of both the ANC and PAC.

The organisations called on members of the community to remain "vigilant and to act in unison and solidarity against perpetrators of violence in the township".

They added: "Despite efforts by liberation movements to end this carnage, violence continues to escalate and unless State President FW de Klerk is removed from power, violence will continue.

"We also urge our people and all other liberation and community movements who were unable to attend this meeting to attend Comrade Shoba's funeral on Saturday."

The funeral service will be held at the local community centre from 9am.

The cortege will proceed to the Saulsville Cemetery at 12.15pm.

Speakers will include members of the ANC and Azapo.

ANC family lives in fear after raid by police

(278)

Sowetan 4/6/92

By RUTH BHENGU

A SOWETO family is living in fear after a police raid last week during which a helper and one of their children were allegedly assaulted.

Mrs Nonqaba Musunkutu of Pimville, an executive member of the ANC Women's League and chairman of the Pimville branch, said she was called home from work by a "hysterical" helper who was with her children.

She said the raid was one of many incidents in a "consistent attempt to terrorise my family".

"Since the raid I have insisted we sleep on the floor in the lounge because I am afraid that something terrible is going to happen," said Mrs Musunkutu, whose husband, Kgapisi, is a senior member of the ANC.

"A few weeks ago our house was petrol-bombed."

Her helper Tshepiso (23), who was in the house during the raid, said there were more than 10 policemen.

"We heard a loud knock but we were too scared to open the door. A few minutes later the door was kicked open and a group of policemen came in. They asked us where the AK-47s were.

"When we said we did not know what they were talking about, they slapped me and one of the children, Queen, and demanded the keys to the garage.

"They started searching. Some were waving guns at the pictures of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo which are hanging on the wall," she said.

Since the couple married in 1977, police raids and searches have been a "way of life", said Mrs Musunkutu.

Each of them has received telephone calls saying the other had been killed in a car accident.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said yesterday a case of assault and malicious damage to property was being investigated and a docket would be sent to the Attorney-General before the end of the month.

Residents to sort out problems in Alexandra

STAR 4/6/92.

By Shirley Woodgate (278)

PEACE TRAIN

Alexandra simmers, and thousands of residents of the township on Johannesburg's eastern boundary struggle against enormous odds to lead normal lives.

The aged, the children and at least 20 000 youths in the prime of their lives seek an end to violence.

"What is left of our community structures will probably collapse if the unrest continues," said youth group leader Abram Mathekga.

He is one of the people who sleep fitfully at night, wondering whether they will fall victim to regular random gunfire or physical attack on their way to school the next day.

A daily school routine has in the past been relied on to provide structure to youth activities.

But Alexandra's educational centres have also been affected in the on-going violence.

If the pupils get to school safely, they endure nightmares about returning to homes which may have been burnt out. They fear whether their homes are safe havens where they can escape the township terror.

"It is almost impossible to concentrate when one is preoccupied with township problems. We are struggling to keep up with our educational programme," Abram said.

So a group of young people approached the Sowetan's Nation Building Programme. They wanted to get the people together to decide on a programme to solve their problem, to be able to continue with schooling.

The result is a workshop on Sunday June 7 at the Thusong Youth Centre in Alexandra.

The forum at 10 am is free and all residents are welcome.

STAR 4/6/92

10 taxi deaths linked to boycott

278

Attacks on taxi commuters, which left at least 10 people dead in Soweto on Tuesday night, could be a result of the train boycott implemented last month, said ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

The ANC would soon meet the Southern frican Black Taxi Association to discuss the violence, he said.

At a brief meeting of working groups of the Train Peace Accord yesterday, the SA Rail Commuter Corporation committed itself to increasing its internal security force.

Sneeze wire' in Phola Park

STAR 4/6/92

Crime Staff (278)

Police in Phola Park on the East Rand yesterday sprinkled razor wire with sneezing powder to prevent residents tampering with the barricades, according to SAP spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said residents had been alarmed to see police dusting and spraying razor wire with "a mysterious chemical substance".

However, Captain Opperman stressed that although the sneezing powder produced very similar effects to those of teargas, it was harmless.

He said the measure was the "least drastic" that police could take against residents who had moved razor-wire barricades into roads to stop police patrols.

Teargas

The sneezing powder meant that police would not have to take action against anyone attempting to move barricades, he said, as the people would simply bring the consequences on themselves.

Captain Opperman said the sneezing powder, which had been spread on and underneath the coils of razor wire, would produce similar effects to those caused by teargas.

"Anyone who goes near the wire will begin to sneeze, and their eyes and throat will start to burn," he said.

Captain Opperman dismissed claims by Mr Mamoepa that residents' reference books, passports and clothes had been torn up by members of the security forces.

"Of course, if anyone can identify any police officer doing anything like this, and lays a charge, we will deal with it," he added.

Inkatha accused of kidnap and torture

(278)

B/Day 5/6/92

WILSON ZWANE

ANC members fired a broadside at the Vaal Triangle's Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers yesterday, saying they were kidnapping, torturing and murdering their rivals.

At a news conference in Johannesburg, four ANC members gave accounts of how Inkatha supporters were allegedly using Sebokeng's KwaMadala Hostel to launch attacks on ANC members.

George Mapeyi, David Pabe, Mosotho Tsotetsi and Mandla Mokhaane said they had been kidnapped, tortured and forced to join Inkatha.

They also claimed hostel dwellers had kidnapped a number of young Sebokeng women whom they were treating as sex slaves. Mokhaane said during his captivity he witnessed three killings of ANC activists by the hostel dwellers.

The four alleged that white men were colluding with the hostel dwellers.

The ANC PWV region reiterated its demand for the immediated closure of KwaMadala Hostel and the arrests of the perpetrators of violence in the Vaal Triangle.

Inkatha West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu denied Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers were "terrorising" ANC activists in the Vaal Triangle.

"I urge the ANC to refer the allegations to the Goldstone commission for investigation," Ndlovu said.

Mapeyi said he was kidnapped on May 16 by people he knew "very well". He said he was taken to KwaMadala Hostel, where he was threatened with force if he did not provide the hostel inmates with the names of returning exiles.

"On realising that my life was in danger, I gave them names of some of the ANC activists in Sebokeng ... not returning exiles," he said.

He said after he had given the hostel dwellers the names, he was issued with an Inkatha membership card. His kidnappers then left the hostel complex and returned later with an ANC activist in tow.

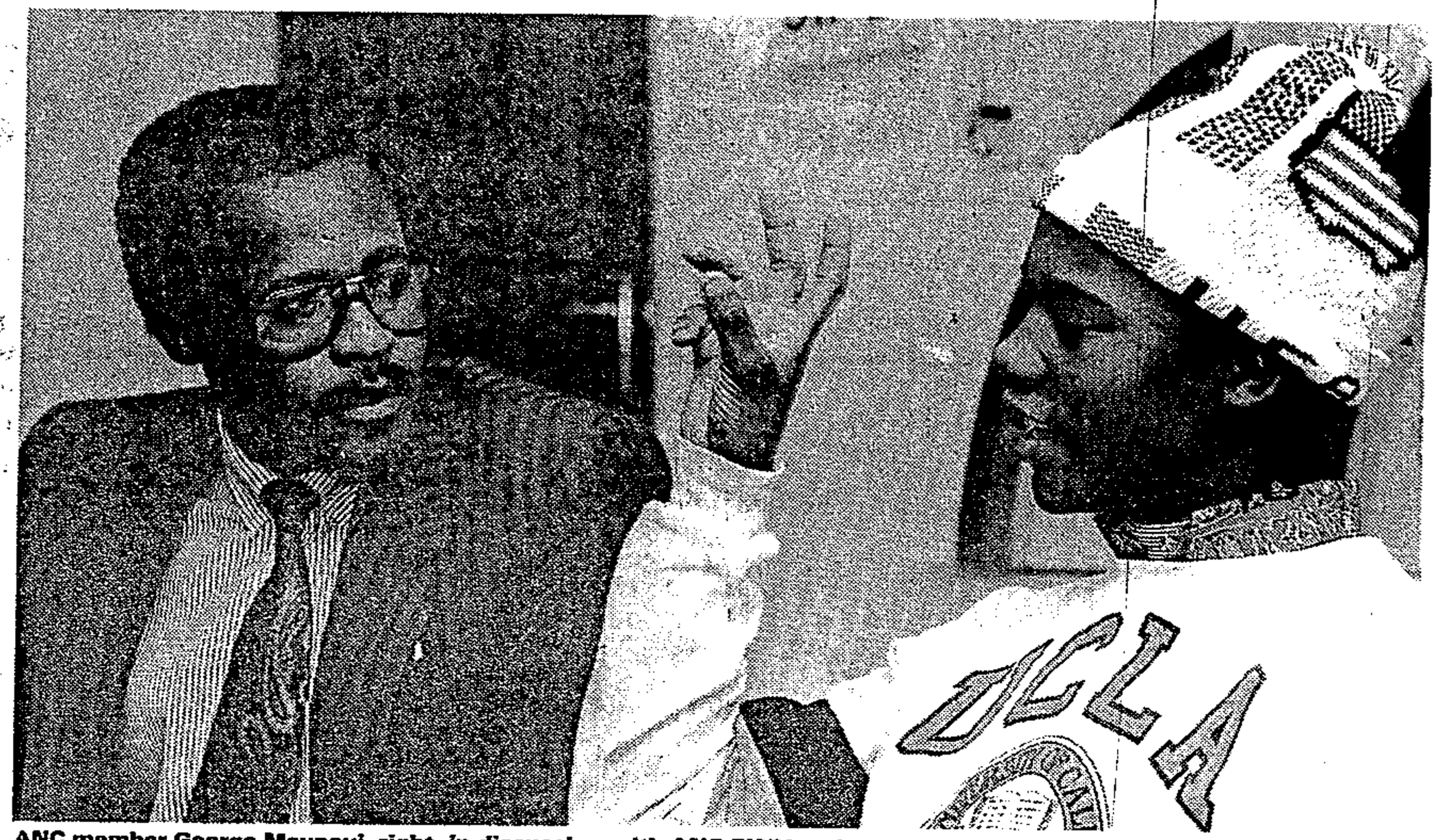
"They told me they were going to kill him. They left with him and on their return, they had blood all over their clothes," Mapeyi said, adding that he believed the hostel dwellers had killed his "comrade".

David Pabe said he was not forced to join Inkatha. He had joined the organisation "voluntarily" to see what was happening behind the hostel walls.

Tsotetsi said that after he had been kidnapped on May 11, he was taken to the hostel where he was given rudimentary training in the handling of firearms and explosives.

He said he was told he would be expected to attack houses of two ANC officials in the area. After refusing to do so Tsotetsi was assaulted. He woke up in a hospital.

ANC PWV said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa would visit the Vaal Triangle next week to assess the situation.



ANC member George Maypeyi, right, in discussion with ANC PWV region official Floyd Mashele at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday at which ANC members alleged they had been kidnapped and assaulted by Inkatha supporters.

Four shot during attack on taxi rank in East Rand

B/Day 5/6/92

(278)

WILSON ZWANE

FOUR people were wounded during a shooting at a taxi rank in Springs on the East Rand yesterday, police said.

The incident happened a day after the ANC had claimed that those responsible for train violence had changed tactics and were now targeting taxi commuters in-

bangu, and his "comrades" were launching frequent attacks on taxis ferrying hostel dwellers to and from Meadowlands Hostel.

Police have said they were investigating all possibilities.

Bees invade honey farms

KATHRYN STRACHAN

CAPE invader bees are threatening the future of bee farming in Transvaal.

Honey production fell 70% after the bees destroyed beehives, SA Professional Beekeepers' Co-operative spokesman Mike Schoonraldt said.

ANC member George Maypeyi, right, in discussion with ANC PWV region official Floyd Mash
Johannesburg yesterday at which ANC members alleged they had been kidnapped and assau

Four shot during attack on taxi rank in East Rand

B/Day 5/6/92 (278)

WILSON ZWANE

FOUR people were wounded during a shooting at a taxi rank in Springs on the East Rand yesterday, police said.

The incident happened a day after the ANC had claimed that those responsible for train violence had changed tactics and were now targeting taxi commuters instead of train passengers.

At least nine people have died as a result of attacks on taxis in Soweto this week.

Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweel said the Springs shooting was linked to a feud between two rival taxi associations. Three of the wounded were taken to hospital — where one was in a serious condition.

Sapa reports that the National African Federated Transport Organisation (Nafto) claimed that an "invisible force" may be behind the killings.

The ANC PWV region has already claimed that Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers were behind the attacks.

But Inkatha West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday it was "common knowledge" that a Soweto civic leader, whom he identified only as Shabangu, and his "comrades" were launching frequent attacks on taxis ferrying hostel dwellers to and from Meadowlands Hostel.

Police have said they were investigating all possibilities.

In another incident, police arrested seven people — including two ANC members — in Gamalakhe township, near Port Shepstone in Natal for possessing a pistol, ammunition and military clothing.

It is not the first time that ANC members have been found in possession of such uniforms. Recently two ANC officials were arrested for wearing police jackets in Sebokeng.

Meanwhile the body of a man apparently thrown off a moving train was found between Johannesburg's New Canada and Crown stations on Wednesday morning. An injured man was also found nearby. Later in the evening police found two injured men alongside tracks between Felside and Wadeville stations.

Thugs hijack exiles' dream project

W/mail 5/6 - 11/6/92. (278)

A group of Soweto youths have taken over a project providing 'education with production' to returning exiles. The thugs are damaging property and held a group of ANC officials hostage.

By **PORTIA MAURICE**

A "DREAM project" for returning exiles in kaNgwane, torn apart by claims of corruption and mismanagement, has been hijacked by Soweto youths.

The kaNgwane Work and Study Centre was a first local attempt at "education with production", a model made popular in southern Africa by exiled educationist Patrick van Rensburg. Less than a year after its launch the project has collapsed.

Its two centres — at Mthimba and Khumbula near Hazyview in the eastern Transvaal — have been closed. About 100 youths have forcibly occupied the Mthimba campus and are damaging its facilities and allegedly terrorising locals. Staff members have fled, fearing for their lives.

Senior members of the African National Congress, who went to investigate, were forcibly held for a few hours by the youths.

At the centre of the storm is ex-director Chris Seopesengwe — a former education chairman of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. He stands accused by the board of the Johannesburg-based Youth Education Trust (YET), which owns and manages the project, of recruiting the youths and busing them to kaNgwane in March to destabilise the centre. Yesterday the board applied for a court order to have the youths removed and restrain Seopesengwe from meddling in the project's affairs.

"It is tragic that this has been derailed by a power struggle which has nothing to do with the principles on which it was founded," said Van Rensburg.

It is also alleged Seopesengwe organised the youths' parents into a self-styled committee which, despite pleas from ANC leaders, insists the children have a right to the school.

The YET board is chaired by Van Rensburg and includes Albertina Sisulu, Sister Bernard Ncube, Sydney Mufamadi and attorney Chris Watters. Van Rensburg is a former South African diplomat who resigned in 1957 to join the Liberal Party. He went into exile in Botswana during the State of Emergency declared in 1960. There he pioneered the establishment of work/study brigades for Botswana youths.

Board members tell horror tales of how the group of youths have intimidated and assaulted staff members, seized motor vehicles for use as taxis, harassed locals, and stolen equipment for resale.

"Beer bottles are strewn all over, and the ablution block is in a terrible condition," said YET programme officer Lesley Gumbi.

The Mthimba centre is now completely under their control. The lights and water have been disconnected, as well as the telephone.

Board members — including Sisulu, Gertrude Shope and Van Rensburg — were held hostage when they tried to investigate the situation there on March 20, five days after the youths arrived.

"The parents got wind of our trip there and went in advance," said Mohamed Tickly, spokesman for the Batlagae Trust, set up to sponsor education for returned exiles. "After lengthy meetings they refused to let us out unless we allowed them to stay. They barricaded the gate with chairs, on which they sat. After about two hours, they let the women in the delegation go, and allowed us out eventually just before midnight."

The executive of the ANC's eastern Transvaal region has also tried to negotiate with the youths, but they would not listen. They and their parents have rejected offers from the Batlagae Trust to place them elsewhere subject to screening and interviews.

Seopesengwe, who quit his job in February and is unemployed, denies any knowledge of the intruders. "If there are allegations against me, I'd prefer to keep quiet," he told *The Weekly Mail* this week.

He described the project as a "brilliant" one, which he "built singlehandedly" and "saw mushrooming" before his eyes. The youths, he said, may have arrived of their own accord.

"You know how many of our young children fled into unknown territories seeking political asylum," he said. "Travelling to kaNgwane is nothing in comparison."

The group's origins are unclear. It is said many of them hail from Emdeni in Soweto, where Seopesengwe stays. ANC sources say some may have left the country for its refugee camp at Dukwe in Botswana in 1990, and since returned. Others, it is claimed, are foster children or on the run from police. Only a handful were recommended by the ANC's repatriation committee.

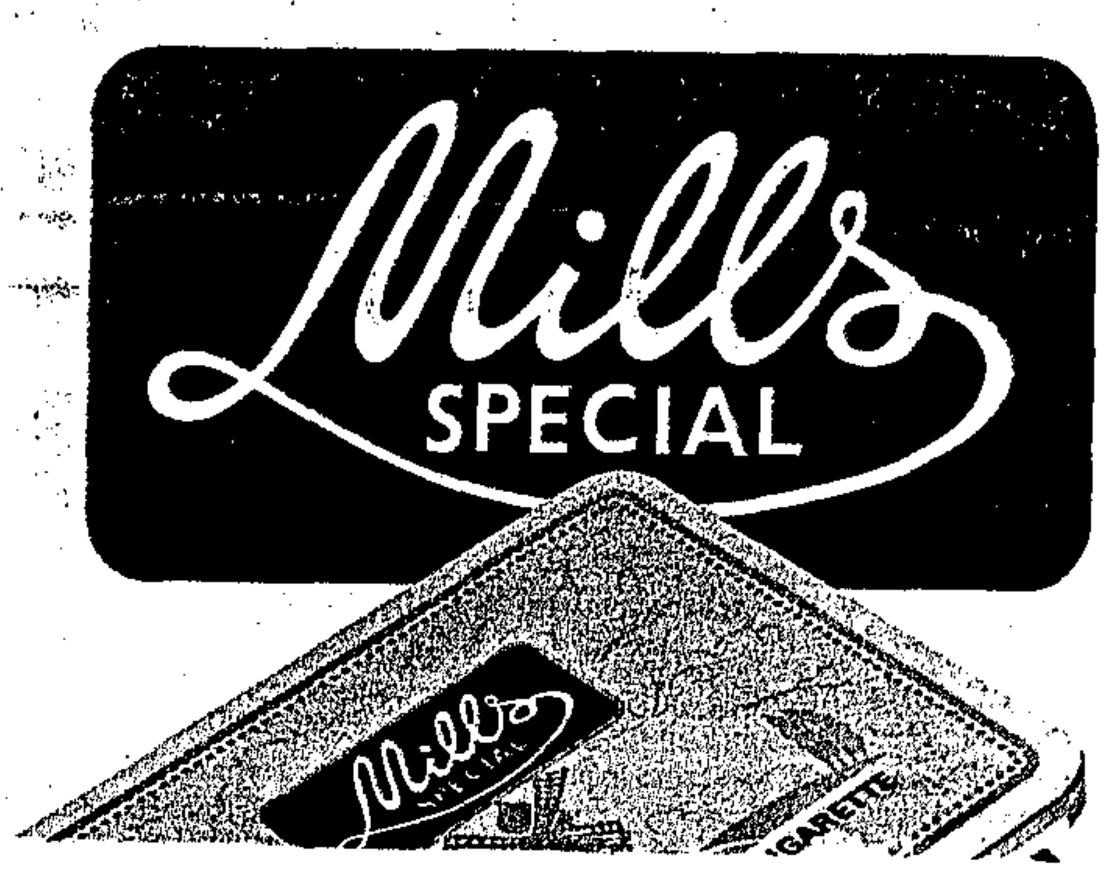
The parents' committee has accused the YET board of financial irregularities and mismanagement. But Van Rensburg said there was no evidence of this, and that an audit is in progress.

Initiators had high hopes for the kaNgwane centre, set up with advice and assistance from the International Foundation for Education with Production, which has its head office in Botswana. Its 14 teachers were seconded by the kaNgwane government.

Students split their learning time between academic activities and work, according to the innovative education with production curriculum — an alternative to Bantu Education. Production units engaged the 278 students in agriculture, carpentry, catering, construction, electrical installation, motor mechanics and metal fabrication. Assets to the value of about R500 000 were built during the first seven months.

THE CIGARETTE FOR CONNOISSEURS

In the traditional 20s tin



...n kill

The untold story of how restless young ex-guerrillas with AK-47s in their arms turn against their fellows in the townships... in the name of freedom

The perfect gentleman at the centre of a battle

W/Mail 5/6-11/6/92. (278)

It was the murder of his wife in July that turned Ernest Sotsu into a general at the centre of a bitter war

By PHILIPPA GARSON

ERNEST SOTSU is a slightly-built, wizened man who laughs a lot and looks much older than his 64 years. A humble-looking veteran in a houndstooth jacket, he's the picture of vulnerability. But looks can be dangerously deceptive.

Sotsu is a shrewd and powerful man who, by all accounts, commands the support of several thousand African National Congress-aligned hostel-dwellers in Sebokeng and is at the centre of a raging battle between rival defence units jockeying for power in the Sebokeng and kwaMasiza hostels.

A resident of Boipatong township in the Vaal since 1956, Sotsu went underground as an Umkhonto weSizwe operative after being hounded by the police for his involvement in the 1984 Vaal uprisings. He was detained in 1986, charged with terrorism in 1988 in Transkei where he was active, sentenced to five years but was released from Robben Island a year later.

When his wife and two children were killed in a gun ambush in July last year while he was attending the ANC congress in Durban, Sotsu was taken into Sebokeng hostel by workers loyal to him. Now he seems to lord over the hardened fighters that make up the original defence units.

In part, the power struggle in the two hostels, and in ANC and civic structures in the Vaal Triangle, stems from conflict between some 200 MK members returned from exile who support Sotsu, and existing leaders within the local ANC and civic structures. The latter are apparently *threatened by the skills the MK* members acquired abroad and are attempting to isolate them for fear of losing their positions.

Such tension may have been defused were it not for the fact that defence groups, loyal to either side and both armed to the teeth, have entered the fray.

Confusion reigns, with "comrades" grouping themselves around those with the most ammunition, fearing each other more than those they're supposedly defending their supporters against — Inkatha and the security forces.

"Bernard", a commander of one of Sotsu's units, says the situation has degenerated into one of "defence units of comrades fighting other comrades. This has only diverted the attention of the defence units against the real enemy".

The divisions are murky and complex and not even those in the defence units seem to know who, if anyone, is fuelling the rivalry. Neither does anyone seem to know what the defence units in the rest of the township are doing, or who supports them. All liaison between the units seems to have broken down.

But Sotsu is adamant that the rival defence group is led by a core cell of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa shop stewards who have been bribed by a "third force" of Iscor management and the security forces to sow the seeds of conflict in the two hostels.

Together, the hostels constitute a potentially powerful ANC stronghold of 8 000 men.

The new defence unit, apparently led by a Numsa shop steward, is supported by several ANC branch leaders, apparently anxious to isolate the MK returnees. The unionists deny this claim.

Accompanied by a motley group of his defence unit commanders seated around a steel table in a sparse hostel room that is now his home, Sotsu describes the anarchic rivalry raging between the defence units.

"The present differences said to be existing are merely the enemies' way of doing things. They are trying to divide our people. The workers are calling upon the intransigent shop stewards to step down, as they are not satisfied with them," he says vehemently.

Always articulate and politely formal, Sotsu runs the interview. "I do not advocate any division within the ANC. I'm all for unity. It's wrong for any member of the ANC to turn a gun against another."

Colbert King, a Numsa shop steward was gunned down in the grounds of the kwaMasiza hostel on May 5. Sotsu denies any part in his death: "It's unfair for these accusations to be levelled against me. Firstly, I'm not a worker at Iscor, and neither am I a member of Numsa. I only came to the hostel after my family was wiped out and my house burnt down. I have the sympathy of the people in the hostels who, having seen my fate, decided to look after my interests and see to it that I am safe."

His commanders, preparing for their dusk-till-dawn guard of the hostel, time and again bow to his experience and dominant personality. Everyone speaks at length about how the other side has an endless supply of the latest AK-47 model — a weapon which MK apparently does not possess and which proves they are being backed by some other force.

"We believe MK is not supplying them with guns. The mystery is, who is supplying them?" asks Sotsu.

But when asked whether "this" side has guns, one commander, wearing a Texan-style felt hat, smiles haltingly. "No," barks Sotsu. But, according to another source, Sotsu's defence units have plenty of AK-47s and other weapons brought from Transkei.

"Bernard" is finally given the floor to describe how his and the rival defence units were formed: "We established defence units after September 4 last year, in order to defend ourselves against attacks by Inkatha and the police. In recruiting we decided that each block should have 20 people. We mainly recruited the young, who were still fresh and trainable."

Training at that stage centred around crude weapons like assegais and spears, says Bernard.

But early this year rivalry set in when an MK initiative to co-ordinate the defence units in the Vaal under the Defence Co-ordinating Committee, to ensure they were made accountable to the communities and kept under control, met resistance from the emerging rival defence unit.

Says Sotsu: "These new units boycotted this initiative. MK was prepared to give skills. But they rejected the MK cadres. We called them to meetings and they didn't come."

Then the battle began in earnest, with the new defence unit aligning under local union leaders and allegedly backed by local ANC leaders Shaka Radebe and Lucky Kamulane and supported by "misguided" sections of the youth.

Before, matters of defence were more simple, says Bernard. Members of a defence unit would stand posted at hostel block entrances from dusk until dawn, knowing whom to look out for. Until now "the enemy" was easily identified as inhabitants of the Inkatha-supported kwaMadala hostel, who would quickly be encircled and repulsed when they entered the ANC hostel grounds.

Now, the "enemy" is all around and standing guard is doubly dangerous: there's more chance of being gunned down by an insider, approaching from behind with an AK-47.

According to an MK source, the leader of the rival group drives around with a fold-up AK-47 on his lap; the shop stewards, he says, operate from a house near kwaMasiza, the scene of a gun attack two Sundays ago. The shop stewards deny allegations that they are running a rival defence unit.

But, for the worried MK cadre, tensions are about to explode. "We have told the ANC leadership that people will die inside this hostel. If they leave this thing there will be war."

Sotsu's men seem to have control of the kwaMasiza hostel and all except two blocks of Sebokeng hostel.

Both sides have brought in reinforcements from Phola Park, where a similar internal power struggle, rooted in the defence units, is at play.

The MK source believes the Vaal ANC and aligned structures have been infiltrated to the core. He says the rival's defence cell is being supported by "mafia-like" leaders of the local ANC branches, who have shadowy dealings with the police, Iscor and Inkatha. Others say that this faction enjoys the support of Winnie Mandela.

"When we say the ANC is highly infiltrated, we are not playing," says the MK source. "Everyone in the (other) unit is armed and we don't know who's arming them. Sebokeng hostel is so well armed it's like a training camp. This war going on in the Vaal is not an open war. It's a secret intelligence war. The other side has money and someone is financing them."

Violence moves to Soweto

(278)

Sowetan 5/6/92.

By VICTOR TSUAI

SOWETO became the flashpoint of political violence this week with 23 deaths and 17 injuries recorded in which renewed taxi attacks were prominent.

The taxi attacks follow a welcome lull in train attacks which had become a daily occurrence in the past two years.

There is, however, an indication that the violence follows a clearly defined geographic pattern.

In a glaring example of how the rampant vigilantes operate, the fortnight's violence predictably shifted from one area, the Vaal Triangle to Greater Soweto and Dobsonville.

Last week the Vaal was the flashpoint with the return of the necklace system and the mysterious assassination of activists. The erection of heavy duty barricades contributed to the lull.

What typified the rotation of the violence was the fact that there was no violence or death in Alexandra since March. The only exception is the East Rand, where violence continued unabated with eight deaths.

According to the Human Rights Commission, the 55 deaths and 46 injuries recorded by yesterday were in the Reef and the other trouble spot, Natal, where five deaths and 13 injuries were reported in the Midlands area.

Vigilante related actions have accounted for 38 deaths and 36 injuries.

Security Force actions accounted for six deaths and five injuries and 32 arrests in the PWV, eastern Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Hit squads have killed 36 people so far this year.

NOW ON

ABDUCTED

Sowetan 5/6/92 (278)

The four Sebokeng youths who yesterday claimed to have escaped from Iscor's Kwa-Madala Hostel after they were allegedly abducted by members of Inkatha Freedom Party. They are (from left) David Babe (19), Mosotho Tsotetsi (20), George Mapei (16) and Mandla Makhoane (23). Pic: SELLO MOTSEPE

FOUR youths claimed yesterday they were held hostage by members of the Inkatha Freedom Party at Kwa-Madala Hostel in Sebokeng and forced to commit or witness atrocities against supporters of the ANC.

The youths, all from the Vaal and three of whom are high school pupils, have made sworn affidavits to lawyers which will be released "in due course", according to the ANC.

The four claimed they escaped from the hostel after being tortured and threatened with death.

They made these startling allegations at a Press conference in Johannesburg convened by the ANC's PWV region.

IFP membership

Three of the youths - George Mapei (16), Mandla Makhoane (23) and Mosotho Tsotetsi (20) - told journalists that they were abducted and kept in the hostel where they were forced to take IFP membership against their will.

The fourth, David Babe (19), said he had joined the hostel dwellers voluntarily after he was recruited by a man known as Khethisi - also known as the "Vaal Monster" - and told "there was lots of money and

By RUTH BHENGU
Investigations Desk

things to be gained".

IFP spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos last night said the allegations were "preposterous".

The IFP would investigate the allegations because "they are very serious", she said.

"I think this should be brought before the Goldstone Commission and reported to the police immediately," she said.

Sex slaves

The three who were allegedly abducted said they were forced into cars and driven to the hostel by people known to them.

During their captivity they witnessed several criminal activities, including murder and rape.

They also saw goods ranging from cars and TV sets to groceries which were looted from nearby white and black areas.

They said they also saw women - who they can identify - being kept in the hostel as sex slaves.

Tsotetsi, a pupil at Khutso Tharu Secondary

To page 2

Anger over police raids

Sowetan 5/6/92. (278)

By VENILLA YOGANATHAN

ANGER has greeted police actions in Phola Park and Alexandra, where residents accuse police of harassment and theft.

Amid police announcements of the success of the raids, which have sealed the two areas to carry out raids, calls have been made for neutral observers to monitor police actions.

In Phola Park on the East Rand, where police have sprinkled sneezing powder on barricades to stop residents from removing them, residents and political organisations have described the measure as callous.

The powder, described by police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman as causing people to sneeze, have burning eyes and chest, has become the focal point of a battle between the ANC and police. The ANC insists that the powder is poisonous and dangerous to children.

The ANC said police had embarked on massive arrests of people found without identification documents. It added that several women had been taken away.

In Alexandra yesterday, several organisations presented a memorandum to the police demanding that raids be carried out only during the day.

This followed allegations by several people that police had broken into their homes in their absence and removed goods.

The groups, including local branches of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and SA Democratic Teachers Union, presented the memorandum to the Alexandra police station late yesterday.

Harassment

Secretary of the Alex ANC branch Mr Obed Bapela said the memorandum demanded:

- That all police searches be conducted during the day and not at night;
- That police only enter homes when the occupants are present; and
- That police harassment of residents stop immediately.

According to Bapela, police have allegedly conducted random searches in the township since the beginning of the week.

"In many cases police officers broke down doors to enter locked homes and verbally abused residents during the searches," he said.

Police have maintained that the two raids have been successful in curbing violence in the two areas and said the powder was harmless.

They said law-abiding residents of the two areas had nothing to fear.

Youths 'held hostage at hostel by Inkatha men'

(278) Sowetan 5/6/92

From page 1

School, said he was abducted twice, beaten and left for dead when he refused to burn a school and a house belonging to an ANC member.

Tsotetsi, who said he was a member of the SRC and of the Vaal branch of the SA Communist Party, claimed he was first abducted on April 28 and hit with an iron bar when he refused to join the IFP.

"I was hit on the head and passed out. When I came to the following day I was in hospital," he said.

"On the 11th of May I was forced into a kombi by four black men and two whites."

One of the whites asked him if he could use an AK-47 rifle.

He was shown a plastic bag full of grenades and asked if he could use them. He said he could not and was told he would be shown how to use them.

He was taken to his school, accompanied by a hostel dweller who kept him under close guard, and told to blow up the school.

He refused and his captors became angry and beat him up.

"They tied my hands and feet and threw me into the schoolyard. They said I would die from exposure. I woke up in hospital the next morning."

Mapei, who said he was a member of the ANC Youth League, claimed he was abducted on May 16 by three men and taken to the hostel.

"When I got to Room 5 I was asked if I knew any returned exiles. I was beaten when I said I did not know any. Eventually I gave them names of people I knew. They were not necessarily exiles," he said.

Makhoane told of how he witnessed three murders where the men were stabbed to death in three separate incidents.

It's 'war' on squatters

Sowetan 5/6/92 (278)

THOUSANDS of residents throughout the whole north-western PWV area are mobilising forces against mushrooming squatter camps in the region.

And there is growing concern that bloody conflict between armed residents and squatters is imminent.

Residents' associations have been formed and joined forces to incorporate residents in Randburg, Sandton, Marlboro Gardens, Kelvin, Linbro Park and Lombardy East.

Their aim is to fight squatter developments with arms and court action if necessary.

If the Transvaal Provincial Administration, as widely suspected, makes an announcement today on the future of the Zevenfontein squatters, it will face mass action from thousands of residents.

Major residents' organisations have gone public with a warning to Administrator Mr Danie Hough.

One organisation, Robert van Tonder's Garden Triangle Action Group, has warned of the danger of bloodshed if its militant allies become involved in resisting the relocation of the 4 000 families to Cosmo City.- *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Attacks shift from trains to the taxis

(278)

W/Mail 5/6 - 11/6/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

A REFUSAL by taxi drivers to use routes which run through Soweto war zones was the spark which ignited the spate of taxi killings in the township.

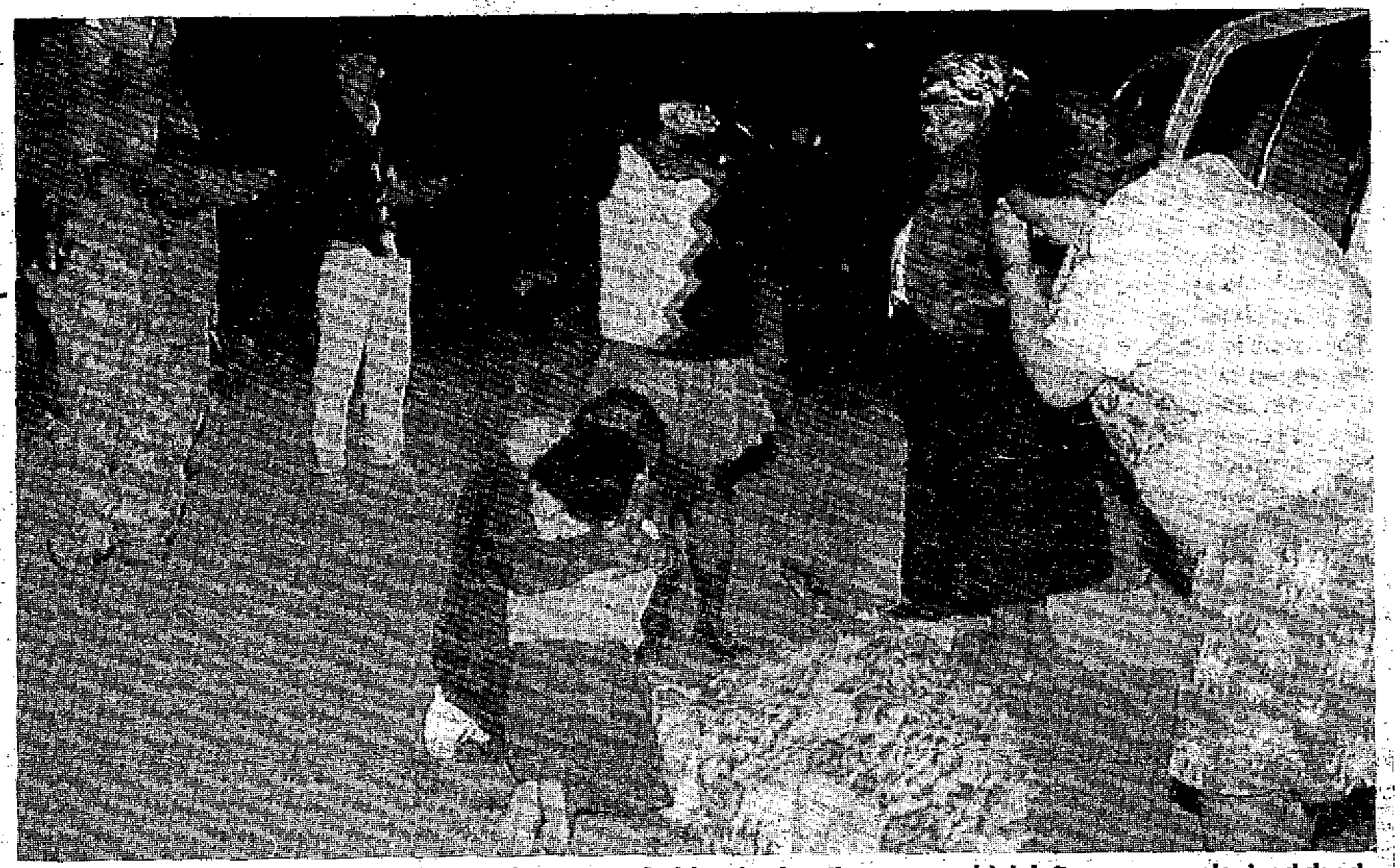
At least nine Soweto residents have been gunned down in taxis this week, although the toll may be as high as 17.

There are signs that hostel-based attacks on Soweto commuters are shifting from the trains, where security has been tightened following last month's train boycott, to taxi operators.

Two weeks ago, Soweto taxi drivers staged a one-day strike to demand taxi owners take measures to ensure the safety of drivers on routes running past the Meadowlands and Mzimhlope hostels.

On Tuesday, a taxi driver and six passengers were killed when the driver refused to take two men to the Meadowlands hostel. The men climbed out of the taxi and then sprayed it with automatic gunfire.

According to police reports, later the same night, a driver and two passengers were killed when their taxi crashed into a wall during a struggle to prevent a number of men from hijacking the vehicle. Two of the hijackers were caught, beaten and handed to the police by residents. They are under police guard in hospital.



The family of a slain taxi driver grieve at the scene of a bloody shooting spree which left seven people dead dead
Photo: GREG MARINOVICH/AP

Last Saturday, residents claimed a taxi headed for Kagiso was taken to the Meadowlands hostel by its driver. At the hostel entrance, passengers overpowered the driver and the taxi was later burnt by residents.

The African National Congress has reported that one of its members, Alfred Buka, was killed in Mshayazafe hostel, Thokoza, when the taxi in which he was riding was forced into the hostel by unidentified men. The men allegedly threatened the survivors with similar attacks in the future.

These, and other incidents over the past few weeks, have convinced many residents of Witwatersrand townships that attacks on commuters are shifting from trains to taxis.

"Attacks on taxis have increased since the successful train boycott last month. Since then there has been a tremendous decrease in train attacks and the perpetrators have turned on taxis," said the ANC's PWV region.

The organisation condemned the inability of the police to end the recent spate of killings.

The ANC (PWV region) plans to convene a meeting with the South African Black Taxi Association and other organisations to develop a joint response to the growing problem.

Sabata was not available for comment.

In a response to the ANC statement, the South African Police accused the organisation of "seizing on purely criminal acts to further its political agenda". The SAP said the circumstances of the killings indicated they were committed by criminals. "While the police are doing everything in their power to stop the taxi war, it is impossible for them to be on every taxi."

Meanwhile, with both trains and taxis regarded as moving deathtraps, Witwatersrand commuters are rapidly running out of transport options.

5/6/92

STAR

Hostels: places of refuge or barracks?

278

Township violence has often pitted the poorest of the poor against one another, hostel dwellers and squatters. The violence is made more tragic by the fact that many squatters are expelled hostel inmates. The Independent Board of Inquiry has examined the role of the hostels in the fighting. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

STAR 5/6/92

HOSTELS have been at the centre of the bloodletting in Reef townships since July 1990, serving either as barracks from which to launch attacks or as fortresses from which to resist attacks.

Whether they are regarded as a threat or a refuge is determined by the perspective of the viewer: from the outside they tend to be seen as a scourge, but from the inside they are often experienced as a haven.

Kgabisi Mosunkutu, of the Soweto Civic Association, says: "For the violence to cease, the hostels must be emptied ... (They have) been turned into barracks for vigilantes who are directed to maim, kill, rob and indeed rape."

Bafana Mazibuko, of the Inkatha Freedom Party, ripostes: "It is our conviction that the war against hostels is not a war for peace but a war for ANC supremacy."

The role of the hostels in the violence is examined by the Independent Board of Inquiry (IBI) in its report, Fortresses of Fear.

Since July 1990, when the township war ignited after clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in Sebokeng, more than 260 attacks have been launched from hostels, resulting in more than 1 200 deaths and nearly 3 700 injuries, the IBI report says.

The report describes its figures as "conservative" for two reasons: they are based solely on attacks recorded in the media, and then only when "hostel dwellers have been positively identified as participating in the attacks".

Attacks have been launched from hostels controlled by IFP or pro-IFP forces, according to the report.

Nearly all hostels in Johannesburg, Soweto and townships on the East and West Rand are controlled by the IFP, the report says.

It offers no information on attacks from two ANC-controlled hostels in Sebokeng but notes that inmates of the two hostels, KwaMmziza and Madala, were "attacked by IFP members" assisted by outside reinforcements.

Confrontation . . . armed police block the way of Zulus outside a hostel after factional clashes between Xhosas and Zulus in Alexandra left four dead a few months ago.

278

Nor does it explain how these two hostels came to be ANC strongholds or comment on IFP allegations that its men were driven out by superior forces after fighting started in July 1990.

IFP control of hostels in the Witwatersrand is the result of a policy of seizure and expulsion, the report contends.

Thus it says of Lewisham hostel in Kagiso on the West Rand: "It was decided at (an IFP meeting in August 1990) to remove all non-IFP members from the hostel." Referring to hostels on the East Rand, it says: "All non-Inkatha members were forcibly removed from the hostels."

The report contains a table reflecting the level of IFP support in hostels in Johannesburg, Soweto and Alexandra. According to Humphrey Ndhlovu of the IFP, it varies from 87 percent (Dube) to 100 percent (Jabulani, Merafe, Denver and Alexandra).

(278) (204) (127) (310)

IFP-dominated hostels, however, have been the target of attacks as well as the launching pads for attacks, the report records.

"In the last two months at least five hand grenades and a bomb have exploded at (Mzimhlope) hostel.

"It is believed that the attacks were launched by local residents." At least four people were killed.

"On August 9 1990 the Khalanyoni hostel (in Tokoza) was set ablaze by the people of Phola Park. As the hostel burnt, groups of youths hammered the walls, beat the corrugated roofs and looted."

The report provides an indication of the extent to which the hostels serve as arms depots or even arm factories. Between July 1990 and April 1992, 58 AK-47 rifles, nine revolvers and 16 pistols were seized from hostels.

The report again labels its figures conservative, noting a statement by Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers that nearly 280 AK-47s and just under 250 homemade weapons were seized nationwide from IFP and ANC members in the four months ending on April 30.

Many IFP hostels — there are more than 50 on the Witwatersrand — are controlled by "warlords", the report says.

It defines a warlord as a person who is "in a position of power and commands respect from the predominantly rural people occupying the hostels".

One of the techniques used by the "warlords" to enlist fighters into their bands is to tell hostel inmates that the Zulu nation is under threat.

The inference is that most inmates are Zulu-speakers, the expulsion of non-IFP members having excluded most men who are not Zulus.

Most but not all: according to the report, some non-Zulus, mainly Vendas and Shangaans, have been persuaded and/or coerced into joining the IFP and acknowledging the leadership of the warlords.

STAR 5/6/92.

The warlords are a law unto themselves and refuse to obey Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the report avers. "When Ulundi has attempted to intervene to end the violence, the warlords have told hostel dwellers to ignore Buthelezi."

There is no easy solution to the problems posed by the hostels and the alienation of their inmates. The cry to dismantle the institutions will be met by fierce resistance from the hostel people.

The report quotes the prescient observation of sociologists Mike Morris and Doug Hindson that the most exploited section of black society, migrant workers, have been most threatened by the demise of apartheid.

The disintegration of apartheid signals the end of migrant labour and hostels, a development which hostel dwellers see as "the destruction of their entire urban survival base" rather than their salvation from drudgery and poverty. □

Crackdown: Cops search ANC's Alex offices

(278) CT 6/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday searched the ANC's offices in the strife-torn township of Alexandra for weapons and ammunition as part of a campaign to crack down on township violence.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman denied the police had singled out the ANC's office, saying the offices were part of a larger area which had been searched by the security forces.

An estimated 200 policemen and members of the defence force were involved in the search, part of attempts by the security forces to stabilise the small township to the north of Johannesburg which has been the scene of violent clashes since March.

About 1 000 security personnel are stationed in the township and police say they will only be withdrawn once the situation has stabilised.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the search of the offices, which lasted two hours, took place in the presence of the local ANC officials. No weapons were found.

Police also searched the township's Madala Hostel and found an AK-47 assault rifle, a machine pistol, three handguns and ammunition. No arrests were made.

On Thursday police arrested two suspected Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in Alexandra for the illegal possession of an AK-47 assault rifle and a full magazine.

The man and the woman will appear in the Wynberg Magistrates' Court on Monday.

● In Phola Park on the East Rand similar crime prevention operations by police yielded an arms cache containing a Chinese stick grenade, three handgrenades, a teargas canister and four full AK-47 magazines.

Mr Mamoepa said the ANC was investigating claims that security forces had demolished several shacks during the operation. — Johannesburg Bureau, Sapa

ANC men shot dead

PIET RETIEF. — The local ANC Youth League branch chairman, Mr Goodwin Sithuli Hleza, was shot dead outside his home near here on Wednesday night. (278)

Middelburg police yesterday confirmed Mr Hleza's death, saying the matter was under investigation. No arrests have been made.

● uMkhonto weSizwe soldier and South African Communist Party Transkei regional chairman Mr Fani Jiba was shot dead on Wednesday afternoon in Butterworth, it was reported yesterday. CT 6/6/92

A Transkei Road Transport Corporation security guard has been arrested. — Sapa

Light falls on dark dee

STAR 6/6/92

(278)

Painstakingly, the Goldstone Commission tries to make sense of what happened on a brutal day in August 1990, when an ANC man was gunned down at a funeral. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN reports.

IT is about 200 km from Wesselton near Ermelo to the NGK Synod Hall in the centre of Pretoria.

It is nearly 22 months since that Eastern Transvaal township was convulsed in violence as both the African National Congress and Inkatha tried to hold funerals for comrades killed in earlier bloodshed, and clashed again in Wesselton's dusty streets.

One man at the ANC funeral was attacked at the graveside and pumped full of 9 mm shells.

This week, in a large conference room, four "judges", five advocates, a handful of witnesses and an interpreter were trying to make sense of what happened on that brutal day — August 11 1990.

This is the daily work of the Goldstone Commission, far removed from the war of words that boiled up around it last week. The process is deliberate rather than dramatic, a painstaking attempt to uncover the roots of past violence so that these may be dug up to prevent such bitter fruit from flourishing again.

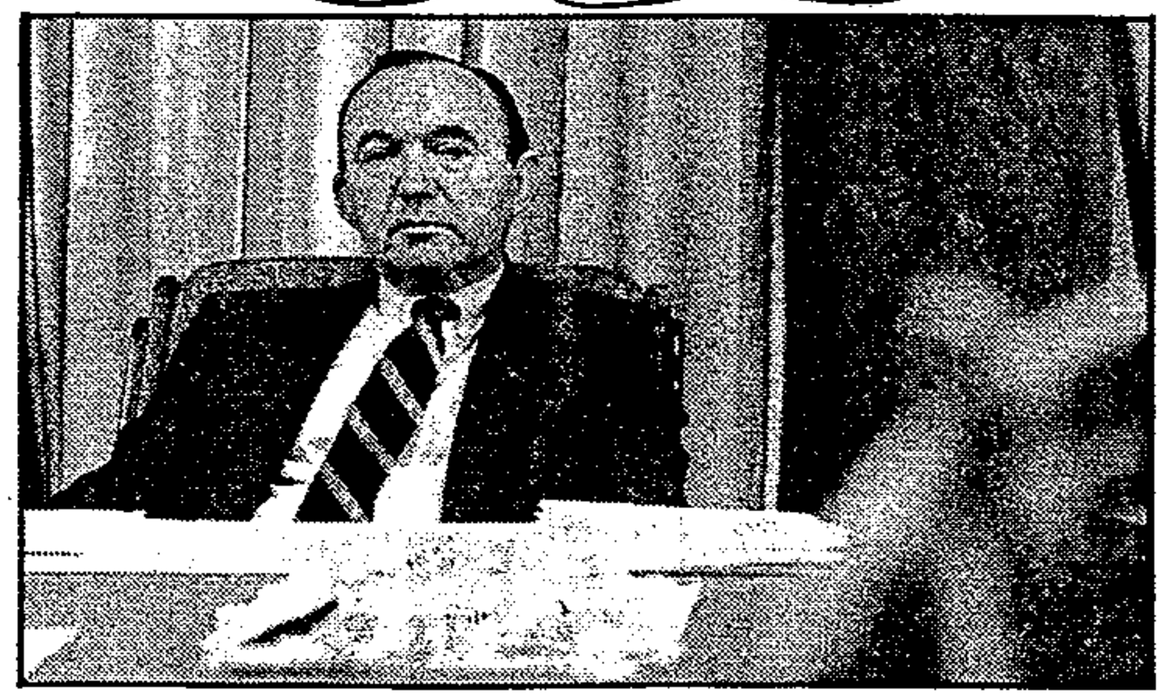
This inquiry has been investigating reports published in the Weekly Mail that 200 Inkatha men were taken to an SADF base in the Caprivi in 1986 for six months: There, it is alleged, they were turned into crack gunmen and then deployed in the war against the ANC and its allies, in Wesselton and elsewhere in the country. There is much more at issue than just finding out who committed a murder.

The "commissar" of those trainees, Daluxulo Luthuli, is in the dock. He does not deny going to Caprivi in charge of the 200 men, but he disputes that they were being trained to act as gunmen. Their future role would be to protect the officials and property of the KwaZulu government from the growing threat posed by ANC-aligned groups in Natal, he says. Ironically, Luthuli himself was once an ANC guerilla and spent time on Robben Island after being convicted.

Luthuli was in Wesselton on that day in August, in a car in which firearms were found. Police arrested him, but charges were withdrawn.

Sergeant Anton Botha, a detective-sergeant at Ermelo, who first investigated the murder, takes the stand. Du Toit's questioning reveals that statements taken at the time of the incident have gone missing. Conspiracy? Carelessness?

The process of cross-examination is laborious, each questioner with little brushstrokes trying to paint a picture of what happened. Then suddenly a firm denial, a convincing explanation, wipes a smear in paintwork just beginning to dry.



EAGLE EYE: Mr Justice R S Goldstone probes violence.

In the corridors outside — watched over by stern black and white portraits of NGK moderators — advocates meet their clients during breaks and insist everything is going fine.

One is struck by the fact that were it not for the Commission, many things would not have been dragged into the daylight — the existence of the Caprivi camp, the nature of the police investigation into the Wesselton shootings. Whether any wrongdoing is proved is perhaps less important than a slow retrieval of the public's right to know.

Even so, the difficulty the Commission faces in pinning down the facts is a telling reminder of just how far truth and the law have been twisted in this country, of just how many dark corners exist for the planning and practice of dark deeds. A newspaper billboard in the street outside reads: "Soweto Savagery as 17 Die" — a reminder that while these horrors are being investigated, fresh blood is being spilled. And each day the commissioners pass the offices of the Pickard Commission, which is housed in the same building — a reminder, perhaps, that there is no way of knowing how this Government will react to the findings of inquiries it sets up.

But for all the obstacles, those involved in the Commission believe it can make a difference. The commissioners believe that they can play a preventive role, particularly when they have advance warning. Earlier this year, a timely inquiry revealed that an alleged ANC plot to murder Zulus on the Reef — which prompted strong war talk in response — was based on the flimsiest of evidence.

While he is unwilling to give public interviews, Mr Justice Goldstone has made it clear that he sees the work of the Commission as more than just the sum of its parts. His second interim report gave a clear indication of where he wanted the Commission to go. Unnoticed in the row over who should bear the bulk of the blame f
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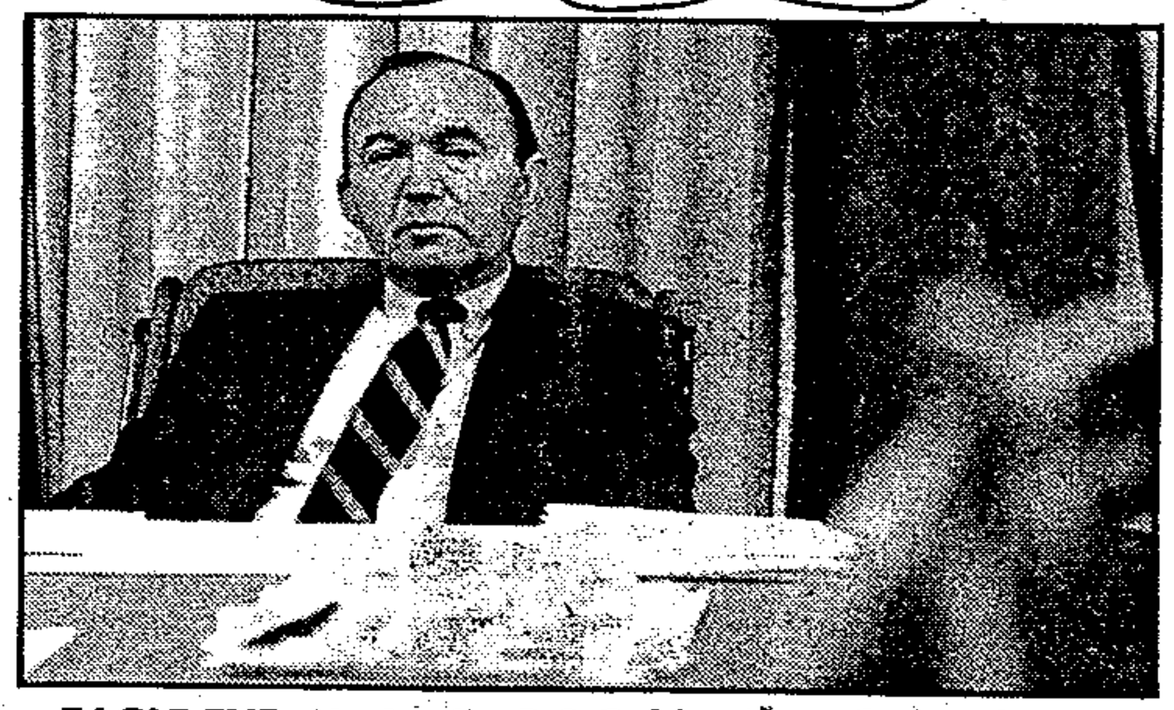

EAGLE EYE: Mr Justice R S Goldstone probes violence.

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While he is unwilling to give public interviews, Mr Justice Goldstone has made it clear that he sees the work of the Commission as more than just the sum of its parts. His second interim report gave a clear indication of where he wanted the Commission to go. Unnoticed in the row over who should bear the bulk of the blame for the violence, Judge Goldstone said that one of the Commission's most important functions "is to act as a catalyst in the process of transforming the police force into a body that has the confidence, respect and co-operation of the vast majority of the people of South Africa".

The first attempt to use both what has been learned in the course of the Commission's work and outside expertise will take place next week in Cape Town, when a forum will consider new approaches to the policing of mass demonstrations. The findings of the group will be presented in public next month, opened to debate and finally proposals for legislation will be made.

The Goldstone Commission intends setting up similar processes. The long-term intention seems to be that what is learned from the inquiries can help in re-casting justice and law and order. Whether the politicians — in their haste to find evidence of the other side's fault — allow these lessons to be learned, remains to be seen.

Taxi killings provoke war talk

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE brutal killing of at least 15 Soweto taxi commuters this week may force taxi owners to join in the internecine township violence to defend themselves and passengers, Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (Sabta) communications manager Molefe Rapodile warned yesterday.

He said: "The attacks will ultimately force the industry to enter the unnecessary and unwarranted war we dearly hate."

He said it was unfortunate that such attacks happened at a time when taxi owners were still recovering from taxi feuds, which had claimed many lives. C/Press 7/6/92.

"We strongly condemn the indiscriminate attacks on our drivers and innocent passengers. These are cowardly, savage deeds orchestrated by a group of terrorists who would hate to see peace and stability prevailing in our community.

"Our commuters have suffered unprovoked attacks. This damage and suffering is intolerable."

The ANC (PWV) said the killings appeared to be well-orchestrated from certain quarters.

Toddler not spared in hostel hitjob

C/PRES 7/6/92 (278)

By SOPHIE TEMA

A FIVE-YEAR-OLD girl watched in horror as gunmen shot and killed her father and three-year-old sister in cold blood in Iscor's KwaMasiza hostel in Vanderbijlpark on Wednesday night.

Xoliswa Betshe sat wide-eyed and petrified as two men pumped bullets into her father Sithembele, 41, who was sitting on a chair with sister Khayakazi, 3.

Sithembele fell to the floor and crawled behind Khayakazi and the callous killers continued shooting, ripping bullets into both father and daughter.

It is believed one of the weapons was an AK-47.

Xoliswa sat on her parents' bed, mute with terror, as her screaming mother Sylvia sprang through the bedroom window on to an outside balcony with three-month-old baby Mzwandile strapped to her back.

People close by came running but the two killers had gone.

It was another ghastly and cold-blooded killing in a week of continuing violence on the Reef.

Earlier the killers had confronted sub-tenant Bennet Dumile and demanded to be taken to Sithembele. Holding guns at the back of his head they frog-marched him to the Betshe's living quarters.

They stormed into the kitchen past Sithembele's eldest son, Nkululeko, and into the bedroom.

Nkululeko said: "One of the gunman called my father by his name 'Bhayi' and when he answered they shot him at close range."

The killers were strangers to the quiet Transkei.

■ See pages 2 and 6

"We find it disturbing that police failed to take a statement of this serious nature and we will try to find out why," Halgryn said.

helped a neighbour pump ...

It was alleged the police were trav van and the group in a Toyota min

'No!!!' to hostel renovation

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

City Press 7/6/92

IN spite of outraged cries of "No!" from residents, the notorious single men's hostel in KwaThema will soon be renovated.

Residents claim that during pitched battles last year Xhosa-speaking migrant workers were driven out of the hostel by heavily armed IFP impis.

They also say that 10 residents were killed by hostel inmates in a revenge attack last year after an Inkatha man was beaten by angry residents while he was trying to rape a woman near the hostel. A detailed report of the incident was published in City Press.

KwaThema City Council town clerk Stephen Muller told City Press that the agreement to renovate the hostel and turn other sections of it into family units was reached last year between the council and the now ousted Civic Association, but the agreement "still stands". (278)

The TPA was providing the money for the upgrading, Muller said.

He added that the present inmates could continue to live in the hostel when the renovations were finished.

At an emotional meeting called by the interim committee last Sunday at the local stadium, residents vowed that they would not allow the renovations to go on.

They jeered and heckled speakers, and demanded to be consulted.

A spokesman for the committee, Bangilizwe Solo, said the decision entered into by the ousted civic was not binding, and as it had not been mandated by the committee "we cannot rubber-stamp it".

He said the community did not want hostels. "Township people have been attacked by hostel-dwellers, and there is no certainty that that attacks will not be continued."

City Press visited the hostel this week, and found it had deteriorated to unacceptable levels. Families are staying there although this is illegal. Businesses nearby have complained of many break-ins, and put the blame on hostel-dwellers. Residents have similar complaints.

■ The Minister of Local Government and National Housing, Leon Wessels, announced during his Budget vote on May 14 that almost R295-million was to be spent on converting and upgrading hostels.

KNOC title a place

'Hostel men' step up raids in Soweto

(278)

C/Press 7/6/92

By MOSES MAMAILA

SOWETO residents living close to the Meadowlands and Dobsonville hostels continued to flee their homes this week in the face of stepped up attacks by hostel dwellers.

At least five residents were killed on Tuesday in a dawn raid residents say was launched by hostel inmates against a shopping complex in Dobsonville.

A group of about 10 men brandishing AK-47s and traditional weapons opened fire, shooting indiscriminately at bystanders, before they jumped into a white minibus, eye witnesses said.

Police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn confirmed the five killings and said the sixth victim died in hospital.

Escaped

Esther Malaka, who escaped unhurt when another group of hostel inmates attacked their home, said: "We are vacating this area for our relatives' home far away from this hostel."

Her common-law husband George Sekhutloung was shot in the stomach.

Describing the attack, Malaka said inmates from Dobsonville hostel broke down the door of their home and started searching the rooms.

"They chopped all the doors in the house and damaged furniture. My sister-in-law, who was washing herself, screamed when one of them stormed into her room. She was chopped in the head with a panga.

"Her attacker was annoyed by her screaming as they had repeatedly said women should not be attacked," the shocked Malaka said.

After her lover was shot once the gang leader said: "Don't waste bullets."

Troops march in a the bloodshed sto

Forces respond to 'unhealthy Alex situation'

(278)

By THEMBA KHUMALO C/Press 7/6/92.

TEMPORARY relief from the bloody violence returned to Alexandra near Johannesburg after the SADF and police occupied the township this week.

While the occupation has been roundly condemned by a wide range of political organisations, local residents heaved a collective sigh of relief when the security forces moved in on Monday.

Violence in the area has claimed more than 100 lives and funerals of victims killed with gunfire have become an almost weekly occurrence.

The fighting is mainly between township residents and Madala Hostel inmates who are predominantly IFP supporters.

Until the arrival of the security forces, fierce fighting between the two groups had divided the township into two sections: Beirut, an Inkatha stronghold and Vincent Tshabalala, which falls under the control of the residents.

Chased away

The IFP, which draws its major support from Zulus and migrant workers, chased away all non-Inkatha shack-dwellers who lived near the gigantic hostel and took over their shacks. Their stronghold now stretches from 1st to 3rd avenues, which is between Rooseveldt and London roads.

For the first time in many months residents feel they can walk around freely without fear of being attacked.

In the first two days of their presence in the township, the security forces confiscated dozens of dangerous weapons from residents and hostel-dwellers.

Spokesman for the Witwatersrand police, Captain Eugene Opperman, described the operation in Alex as a "tremendous success in curbing violence".

The police were sick and tired of individuals and organisations who "opened their mouths very wide to complain about violence and offer no solutions because none of them is blameless", Opperman said.

He said violence was made worse by the criminal element that took advantage of the situation for their own ends. Alexandra had been one of the major townships affected by violence which was earmarked for police action.

Dangerous weapons

"We decided to move in after we felt that the situation in the township was unhealthy and was gradually getting out of hand. Since we moved in on Monday there has not been a single incident of political violence," he said.

So far two shotguns, one of which was home-made, and dozens of dangerous weapons had been confiscated by the police during their house-to-house and room-to-room searches, which were conducted in the township and hostel, said Opperman.

But PAC spokesman Gora Ibrahim disagreed that the police operation would end violence.

"It's unfortunate that there are organisations and individuals who have called on the regime to send its troops into the townships. Pretoria will always welcome the opportunity to send in reactionary forces such as Renamo, Koevoet and 32 Battalion to harass the masses," Ibrahim said.

■ Sapa reports troops surrounded the Alexandra ANC offices on Friday. Obed Bapela, secretary of the local branch, said the security forces arrived to search the offices. The activists had demanded an independent monitor and they were waiting for an official from the Interim Crisis Committee of Alexandra to arrive, he added.

Opperman said the swoop was part of the police campaign to crack down on violence in the township.

"It so happens that the ANC's offices are also in the block been searched this morning, and therefore these offices will also be searched," said Opperman.

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In the wake of a brutal murder

Fears in Sharpeville: Cops will gang up with thugs to avenge death

By SOPHIE TEMA (278) C/Press 7/6/92.

RESIDENTS in Sharpeville fear that police are working with a gang to avenge the death of police reservist Wessels "Skuta" Marumo.

Marumo was brutally killed in the township last week after he had been stoned, dismembered and "necklaced".

Part of his body was hauled on to the roof of an empty house where it was displayed to passersby.

This week several residents claimed they had been raided by police accompanied by a KwaMadala resident – and member of a gang that has been harassing residents in the township.

Tina Mokoena said her son Ndusi Martin Mokoena was brutally beaten and taken from his home by a group of policemen – which included the gangster from KwaMadala hostel who is known to most township residents.

Mokoena said: "One of the men in the group had his face smeared black but I could see that he was not white. I could also hear that he spoke in Sotho.

"After they had thrown my son into a Casspir I heard him scream for help and when I tried to speak to him one of the policemen threatened to shoot me.

'Look in the mortuary'

"When I wanted to know where they were taking him to, one of them said I should go and find out from the mortuary."

Residents in the township told City Press that the man whose face was blackened was a member of a hit squad that was set up by Skuta to eliminate political activists in the township. (His name was given to City Press.)

After leaving the Mokoena home residents claimed the same police and the gangster went to the home of MK member Andries Montoedi Molebatsi, who was killed by Marumo on March 1 this year.

Molebatsi was gunned down by Marumo, who pumped three bullets into him at a street corner, allegedly after an amicable chat.

A witness to Molebatsi's killing, Nkopodi Doctor Motsitse, was also found dead outside the gate of his home a day before he was to have signed a statement on Molebatsi's murder.

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said Marumo had shot Molebatsi in self-defence when he (Molebatsi) and two others attacked him.

Rebecca Thoba, Molebatsi's sister said: "I spotted a minibus with Free State registration numbers stopping outside the house.

"Next I saw a Casspir and a number of police jumping from it. They all entered the yard and demanded to know where Andries was.

"I lost my cool and told them that they must be crazy to come and ask for him when they knew full well that their man 'Skuta' had killed him.

"They then conducted a search and found a pair of boots which they claimed were part of the uniform worn by police – and burnt them."

The Molebatsi family claimed the boots belonged their son Jerry, who had bought them a long time ago.

Commenting on the allegations Van Deventer said: "There were raids carried out in some houses in Sharpeville and several arrests were made in which people have been held under unrest regulations."

Commenting on the burnt-out boots Van Deventer said no report was made to him concerning the issue, but he would have the matter investigated once it was reported.

■ See Page 6.

BURNT OUT ... Relative John Mpunki Molebatsi holds the boots that were allegedly burnt by police. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

3 policemen hurt in attack

(278) CT 8/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Three policemen were injured — two of them seriously — by an exploding handgrenade when they refused to hand over their firearms to two suspects in Meadowlands on Saturday night.

A police spokesman said the three policemen were on patrol when they saw two men who were behaving suspiciously.

They ordered the men to stand still and walked up to them. The men pulled out handgrenades and when the police closed in, demanded their firearms.

The policemen refused to hand over their weapons and ran for cover behind their patrol van. The suspects then apparently lobbed one, or both, of the handgrenades at the policemen and ran off.

The police van was rendered useless in the attack and the injured policemen had to seek help on foot.

They were admitted to the Garden City Clinic where two are still in a serious condition and one was reportedly in a satisfactory condition. Police are investigating. No names have been made available as yet.

A policeman was shot and wounded by unknown gunmen in Katlehong, on the East Rand, on Saturday morning, police reported.

A police spokesman said the policeman was returning to the Katlehong police station about 2.30am when he was fired on by passengers in a parked vehicle.

The policeman was wounded in the right arm and stomach. He is in a satisfactory condition in the Union Hospital in Alberton.

In Natal, a woman was killed when gunmen fired on a bus in Mountain Rise, Maritzburg, on Saturday.

In Imbali shots were fired at the home of an unnamed KwaZulu minister, injuring a KwaZulu policeman.

At Ogies in the Eastern Transvaal, two policemen were slightly injured in a stone-throwing incident.

A woman was shot dead in Dobsonville when a group armed with AK-47 rifles attacked a home.

In Orlando West members of a security patrol firm arrested two men and seized an F1 handgrenade when a group shot at them.

On Friday a commuter was stabbed to death and three others injured in separate train attacks near here.

The injured victims were thrown from moving trains. — Sapa

Dobsonville residents demand end to hostels

(218) ARG 8/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Residents of strife-torn Dobsonville in Soweto are to march to the council offices today to demand that the government demolish all hostels.

At an ANC-organised meeting yesterday, residents claimed hostels contributed to much of the political violence which in Dobsonville alone has claimed five lives since last Tuesday.

In two attacks on Saturday, a 74-year-old man was shot dead in his house by a gunman and a hostel inmate was necklaced by residents.

According to his daughter Beauty, pensioner Mr Amos Leburu was in the kitchen about 7.30pm on Saturday when a gunman knocked at a window demanding he open the door.

"Anticipating trouble I tried to persuade my father to go to the bedroom, but he refused," said Ms Leburu.

She escaped through the front door and locked her father inside the house hoping the attacker would be unable to enter.

"I ran to get help from neighbours.

"I then heard gunshots. And by the time I returned home my father lay dead in a pool of blood in the kitchen."

In the other attack, a hostel inmate was attacked and necklaced about 5pm at Mawasha Street.

Leading an ANC delegation on a tour of Dobsonville yesterday, Umkhonto we Sizwe acting chief-of-staff Simphiwe Nyanda called on the government to dismantle hostels in the townships, adding people had "a right to defend themselves".

Youths die in clashes

Sowetan 8/6/92

(278)

TWO youths were shot dead and two others injured by police in the trouble-torn Meadowlands Zone 1 area in Soweto at the weekend.

At about 11am yesterday police travelling in a yellow patrol bus stopped three youths, one with a car engine and gearbox loaded on a wheelbarrow. Two of the youths panicked and ran and the police opened fire, killing one, witnesses said.

However, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the two youths had escaped unharmed.

By SONTI MASEKO

He said police only opened fire and killed two people after a crowd of about 300 people gathered around the police and threw stones.

"There were also shots fired at the police who returned fire and two youths aged between 20 and 25 years were killed," he said.

Halgryn said the police arrested a youth found with a stolen engine loaded on a wheelbarrow.

The dead youth, who was hit in the chest, was Mr Johannes Rapoo (23). Another escaped unhurt and

To page 2

P.T.O.

3 policemen injured in grenade blast

(278)

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

STAR 8/6/92

Three policemen were injured — two of them seriously — when they refused to hand their firearms to two suspects who then threw a hand grenade at them in Meadowlands, Soweto, on Saturday night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Soweto police said the three men were on patrol in the area when they saw two men behaving suspiciously.

They ordered the men to stand still and approached them. The men pulled out hand grenades and demanded the policemen's firearms.

The three refused to hand over their weapons and ran behind the patrol van for shelter. The suspects allegedly threw one or both of the hand grenades towards them and ran off.

All three of the policemen were injured. They were admitted to the Garden City Clinic where two are in a serious condition and one is satisfactory.

Police are investigating. No names are available.

In two armed attacks on the East Rand at the weekend, three men, two of them policemen, were shot and injured.

Captain Piet van Deventer, police spokesman for the area, said Detective-Constable V S Ndlela of the East Rand Vehicle Theft Unit was seriously injured when an unknown gunman shot at him from a car in Katlehong on Saturday morning.

The policeman was hit in the arm and stomach. He is in a serious but stable condition.

On Saturday evening Constable Robert Seckle (21) accompanied a friend, Mike Balea, to a house in Leon Ferreira Avenue, Reiger Park, Boksburg.

They saw a suspect and walked to their car. The man shot at them and Constable Seckle and Mr Balea were hit by the same bullet.

Both were taken to hospital. Their condition is satisfactory.

Police are investigating.

Eight killed in PWV violence

(278) CT 9/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Soweto police found the badly mutilated bodies of two unidentified youths after an explosion was reported in Meadowlands, Soweto, yesterday — bringing to eight the number of unrest deaths in the PWV area since Saturday.

Police were still trying to determine the type of explosion that caused the blast, a spokesman said.

In another incident in Soweto yesterday a youth was accidentally shot and wounded when one of his companions fired at a police vehicle during a confrontation between residents and hostel-dwellers in Dobsonville.

The incidents followed a weekend in which six people were killed in Soweto and Sebokeng — among them a 15-year-old boy who was necklaced after having one of his hands chopped off.

Ten people, including three policemen, were wounded.

A man was shot dead and two others wounded when unidentified gunmen opened fire at them in Sebokeng near Vanderbijlpark.

The body of a man who had been stabbed to death was found in Dobsonville, Soweto. Police believe the man, who was apparently a minibus taxi driver, was stabbed by his passengers and thrown from the vehicle, which was then set alight.

In Meadowlands two men in their early 20s were fatally wounded and a youth was shot in the leg when police fired into a crowd.

The police's daily unrest report said members of the crowd were trying to free a suspected car thief from a lock-up police van. The police tried to force the mob back but shots were fired at them and what appeared to be a handgrenade — but later turned out to be a smoke grenade which did not detonate — was hurled at them. The police returned fire and later established that three men had been wounded, two fatally.

A spokesman for the ANC's PWV region, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, said no shots had been fired at the police, who, without firing any warning shots, had fired indiscriminately into the crowd.

In Meadowlands on Saturday night, three policemen were injured — two seriously — when they refused to hand their firearms to two suspects who then threw a handgrenade at them.

Police found the burning body of a man with hack wounds at Mzimphlope station in Soweto.

In Lenasia, near Soweto, an off-duty policeman was fatally wounded when unidentified gunmen fired shots at him and a colleague outside the local post office. His colleague, also off-duty at the time, was not hurt.

In KwaZulu, four people were killed and four wounded at the weekend. — Sapa

Bible saves 'okay old man' from necklace

JOHANNESBURG. — A Bible saved a white man from probable death by "necklacing" at the hands of three robbers, police said yesterday.

A police spokeswoman said three men attacked Mr Lionel Botha at his Free State home on Sunday. They tied him up, doused him with petrol and dragged him towards a burning tyre.

One of the robbers saw a Bible in Mr Botha's car and ordered that he be freed.

"You're okay, old man," the robber said. The three left graffiti on Mr Botha's house describing themselves as men of God.

"The Bible probably saved his life," the spokeswoman said. — Sapa-Reuter

tion (ISC), dealings and '80s y the US

risked unfavourable publicity for his company," Inman said.

US attorney Michael Baylson, who headed the investigation that led to

forces in Operation Desert Storm.

The smuggling conspiracy came to light in 1987 after Guerin sold ISC to British defence contractor Ferranti.

Seven killed in Soweto, Sebokeng

(278)

Business Day Reporter

POLICE yesterday reported seven unrest-related deaths in Soweto and Sebokeng.

The official SAP unrest report said two bodies were found in Soweto and one in Sebokeng. B/Day 9/6/92

Police said two men were shot and killed after a mob confronted police attempting to question a man in connection with a suspected stolen car engine.

The ANC claimed, however, that police assaulted one of the youths and fired on the crowd without provocation.

Soweto police found the badly mutilated bodies of two youths after an explosion was reported in Meadowlands early yesterday.

Sapa reports police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said part of an R4 rifle was found on the scene and police were still trying to determine the type of explosives which had caused the blast.

Police said 10 people, including three policemen, were wounded in political violence in Soweto and Sebokeng over the weekend. A 15-year-old youth died after being necklaced at Soweto's Meadowlands Station on Sunday afternoon.

A man was shot dead and two others wounded when unidentified gunmen opened fire at them in Sebokeng near Vanderbijlpark.

In another incident in the township four men were wounded when shots were fired at a hostel.

In Lenasia near Soweto an off-duty policeman was fatally wounded when unidentified gunmen shot at him.

A Bible saved a white man from probable death by necklacing at the hands of three robbers, police said yesterday.

Sapa-Reuter reports police spokesman Capt Jolene van der Merwe said three blacks attacked Lionel Botha at his Free State home on Sunday.

They tied him up, doused him with petrol and dragged him towards a burning tyre.

But one of the robbers saw a Bible in Botha's car and ordered that he be freed.

'Inkatha man fired shots into coffin'—

Police fan taxi battle claim

278

Sowetan 10/6/92

WHITE police and town councillors in Springs have been accused of encouraging the fight between two rival black taxi associations that recently seemed on the verge of a truce.

Members of the Springs Taxi Association say the cops and councillors are not impartial because they own taxis in the rival Sinamuva Association.

Springs members claim police restrain them and not the rival faction and that cases of violence against Sinamuva members are never investigated.

Police fan taxi battle claim

(278)

Sowetan 10/6/92

WHITE police and town councillors in Springs have been accused of encouraging the fight between two rival black taxi associations that recently seemed on the verge of a truce.

Members of the Springs Taxi Association say the cops and councillors are not impartial because they own taxis in the rival Sinamuva Association.

Springs members claim police restrain them and not the rival faction and that cases of violence against Sinamuva members are never investigated.

ANC and police wrangle over death of official

STAR 10/6/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Staff

The ANC and the police in the eastern Transvaal are at loggerheads over the death of an ANC executive member shot in KwaDela after being arrested as a suspect in the murder of a policeman.

Police said investigating officers shot Reuben Nkosi (36) when he pulled out a gun in his home yesterday.

But the ANC claims Mr Nkosi was gunned down in cold blood.

A police spokesman said Mr Nkosi was arrested on Monday on the strength of an affidavit linking him to the death of Constable Jacques Scheepers in the township last month.

Mr Nkosi took members of the Crime Investigation Service to his home after his arrest.

While the police were searching the house, Mr Nkosi pulled out a loaded 9 mm pistol which had been hidden and "swung it towards the investigating officer", the spokesman said.

The policeman fired a shot that fatally wounded Mr Nkosi.

A 9 mm pistol, with the serial number removed, was seized and an inquest docket was opened for investigation.

ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu disputed the police version of Mr Nkosi's death, claiming he was shot in cold blood in front of his relatives.

Mr Mthembu said the policemen who killed Mr Nkosi were implicated in "what can be interpreted as retaliatory victimisation of the (KwaDela) community" after the death of Constable Scheepers.

"The Davel police have become a law unto themselves," he said.

Constable Scheepers was beaten to death on May 30 when he and a Constable Nkonde were on patrol in KwaDela.

According to police, a crowd surrounded the police van when the two constables stopped at a restaurant. The crowd attacked the constables several times and seven people were wounded when Constable Nkonde fired into the crowd. The wounded men were arrested and two other suspects were later picked up in Bethal.

Mr Mthembu disputed the police version of Constable Scheepers's death, claiming the two policemen picked up Constable Nkonde's girlfriend from a beerhall before firing into the hall for no apparent reason.

Mr Mthembu said Constable Scheepers was beaten to death in the ensuing chaos.

He claimed police had assaulted several KwaDela residents during their investigation.

Five fined R3 000 for park assault

STAR 10/6/92

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Five men were sentenced to fines of R3 000 each (or 18 months' jail) in the Pietersburg Regional Court yesterday after being found guilty of public violence.

The convictions arose from the assault on a group of black Sunday school pupils in Louis Trichardt on November 24 1990.

Christoffel Johannes Wolfaart (45), Barend Johannes Marthinus Terblanche (50), Phillip Terblanche (43), Johan George Nagel (25) and Stephanus Hendrik Boshoff (41) were also each sentenced to an additional 18 months in jail suspended for three years. (3[redacted])

Initially, 15 men appeared in court in connection with the incident, but charges against nine of them were withdrawn at various stages

(278) ● To Page 3 [redacted]

Five fined for assault at park

(278) [redacted]

STAR 10/6/92 [redacted]

● From Page 1

of the prolonged hearing.

Gerhardus van der Linde, another suspect in the case, was acquitted yesterday by magistrate W J Fourie because of insufficient evidence against him.

The magistrate said it was clear that the group of children, under the supervision of two ministers, were on an organised outing when the confrontation took place in a Louis Trichardt park.

Policemen went to investigate why the group had stopped in the park, and were told that the party were on their way to a nearby church.

A group of men, armed with sjamboks and sticks, then arrived in several vehicles and assaulted the children, despite being assured by police that the situation was under control and that the church group would be moving on.

One of the men insulted and attacked a police officer, saying "the AWB is now in control", the court found.

It was evident that, apart from the physical attacks on the children, at least two vehicles were driven into the crowd. Several children were injured during the chaos, the magistrate said.

Earlier, Olaf de Meyer, defending the accused, claimed the evidence of the two ministers in charge of the children had been unreliable. He also questioned the testimonies of two detectives who were at the scene of the violence.

Arguing in mitigation, Mr de Meyer claimed the entire situation had become an emotional matter for the men, as there had been threats of an unruly ANC march on that day.

The magistrate pointed out that the accused had no right to take the law into their own hands or to obstruct police.

He said he had taken into account that some of the men had lost their jobs since the attack.

Unrest horror hits top SA journo

278

CT 11/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The 30-year-old son of acclaimed photo-journalist Mr Peter Magubane, was murdered last month in violence-ravaged Soweto. Mr Magubane found the body of his son Charles in a police morgue this week.

"I have seen all the violence in this country, but when it lands on your doorstep it hits you very hard," said Mr Magubane, who has covered violence in South Africa since the 1950s.

ANC CALLS FOR PEACE
See PAGE 5

He said yesterday his son, unmarried and a budding photographer, left home in Soweto's Mzimhlope district on foot on Monday, May 18.

His body was picked up by police two days later a few hundred yards from the Dube migrant workers' hostel, an Inkatha stronghold.

Mr Magubane discovered him in the morgue on Tuesday. He had been hacked and shot.

Blaming IFP supporters for the murder, he said: "Hacking is the method used by hostel-dwellers; the community doesn't use hacking."

He said his son was "in the wrong place at the wrong time and the morgue was the last place we thought of."

Train security 'inadequate'

B/Day 11/6/92 (278)

WILSON ZWANE

ARMED people were still able to board trains because many stations continued to lack adequate security facilities, police said yesterday.

The police admission came after a spate of attacks on Reef trains and at stations yesterday morning and on Tuesday night.

Two people were injured in two separate incidents on the Reef yesterday morning. One person was injured after he had been hacked and thrown off a train near Soweto's Nancefield station, while another was stabbed several times at Johannesburg's Braamfontein station.

On Tuesday night, three people were injured when they were attacked on a train between New Canada and Nancefield.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said since Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel banned the carrying of dangerous weapons on trains and at stations, police had been doing everything possible to prevent armed people from boarding trains.

However, a number of people carrying weapons had been able to board trains because many stations lacked adequate security facilities, the spokesman said.

He also admitted police found it difficult to arrest armed commuters because culprits got rid of their weapons when they saw policemen.

Trains and commuters arriving from Soweto were extensively searched at Johannesburg station yesterday morning. A number of dangerous weapons were found but no arrests were made.

Spoornet, Transnet, the SA Rail Commuter Corporation and police signed an agreement in April with community leaders which stipulated that people carrying dangerous weapons should not be allowed to board trains.

Sapa reports that police, in their daily unrest report, said the body of a man was found in Thokoza, on the East Rand.

□ Sapa-AFP reports that award-winning Time magazine photographer Peter Magubane's 30-year-old son Charles has been murdered in Soweto.

Magubane, 55, said Charles, unmarried and a budding photographer, left his home in Soweto's Mzimhlope district on foot on May 18.

His body was picked up by police two days later a few hundred yards from the Dube migrant workers' hostel.

Magubane found his son's body in a police mortuary on Tuesday. Charles had been hacked and shot.

"I've been covering violence from the '50s to now. It has never struck me as it's struck me now."

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Hospital strike spreads

STAFF at Leratong Hospital in Krugersdorp yesterday stopped work in solidarity with strikers at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital, unionists said.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) Johannesburg branch secretary Bongane Tsimo said all general assistants as well as 50% of nurses at Leratong had gone on strike.

The hospital's superintendent would not comment, referring reporters to the TPA's head office in Pretoria. TPA spokeswoman Elsabe Ferreira said a statement would be issued later.

The work stoppage at Leratong brings to five the number of hospitals on the Witwatersrand hit by strikes this week. The others are Natalspruit, Benoni/Boksburg and Hillbrow. B/Day 11/6/92

Meanwhile, the TPA has applied for a court interdict to restrain strikers who yesterday allegedly went on the rampage at Natalspruit Hospital near Germiston.

Natalspruit superintendent Dr Beata Binkowska said a mob of 250 Nehawu supporters had systematically damaged hospital property.

She said protesters had emptied dustbins, thrown around food, ripped off pictures, damaged desks and hampered patient care.

However, Tsimo said Nehawu had not received reports of looting and that the union did not condone such criminal behaviour. — Sapa.

Priests to pray for calm

(278)

Sowetan

By VICTOR TSUAI

MAJOR political organisations have accepted invitations to a prayer service for peace at Regina Mundi in Soweto on Sunday.

Leaders who confirmed they will attend include the ANC's Andrew Mlangeni and the South African Communist Party's Mr Chris Hani while the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said a regional delegation would be present. 11/6/92.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) also acknowledged they will attend.

The prayer meeting is called by Ministers United for Christian Co-Responsibility (Muccor) and Father Emmanuel Lafonte in conjunction with other ministers and religious groupings.

Unwelcome return of dreaded 'necklace'

W/Mail 5/6 - 11/6/92

Weekly Mail Reporter (278)

THE dreaded "necklace" — the uniquely South African method of incinerating political enemies with a burning tyre — is making a comeback in the townships of the southern Transvaal.

In the past week alone, three people have been burnt to death in the Vaal Triangle. One of them was Moahoko "Skuta" Marumo, a former special constable, who was chased down the streets of Sharpeville, caught and necklaced. His head was deposited on the chimney stack of a house and a hand and one leg were found in the yard of a primary school.

In April, 14 people were burnt to death, four by the necklace method, according to the Human Rights Commission's Repression Report. Of the 14, 12 were killed in the Vaal and Soweto.

Five people have been necklaced in the Transvaal since May 20. They include the former mayor of Lekoa, Esau Mahlatsi, an off-duty security guard in Soweto and an unidentified woman outside the Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto.

The necklace first surfaced in Uitenhage in 1985 as a brutal way of dispatching suspected collaborators.

Its recent resurgence in the Vaal is linked to growing township anarchy, marked by ongoing assassinations, allegations of police brutality and complicity with hit squads, and internecine conflict within the ranks of the African National Congress.

The Witwatersrand/Vaal complex has overtaken Natal as South Africa's prime killing field. The HRC reports that of the 53 people killed in political unrest countrywide over the past week, 43 were from the PWV area.

That the southern Transvaal is the current focus of necklace murders may also point to a "copycat" dynamic, in terms of which political killers emulate each other.

The response to the resurgence of necklacing has been unanimous: harsh condemnation of "a gruesome and inhumane" act.

The Azanian People's Organisation's publicity secretary, Strini Moodley, called it "a cowardly method used by political gangsters who do not have the faintest idea of political awareness or understand the liberation struggle".

"We have always condemned necklacing, as well as other intimidatory methods, to settle political scores, to eliminate political tolerance and to hold the free flow of political debate," he said.

Certain organisations had to take responsibility for breeding such inhumanity, Moodley added. "These organisations have for a long time denied political tolerance and sought to force down the throats of people their political ideology. Those organisations have sown the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind."

ANC regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisation was bound by its former president Oliver Tambo's call in 1988 to "stop this barbaric practice". He added that the ANC had "never encouraged violence".

For South African Council of Churches' secretary general, Frank Chikane, the resurgence of necklace killings can be traced to "certain criminal elements" taking advantage of political turmoil. "These are not acts motivated by politics," he said.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Eugene Opperman, confirming that necklace killings are on the rise, commented that mounting impatience with the protracted negotiations process could be a factor.

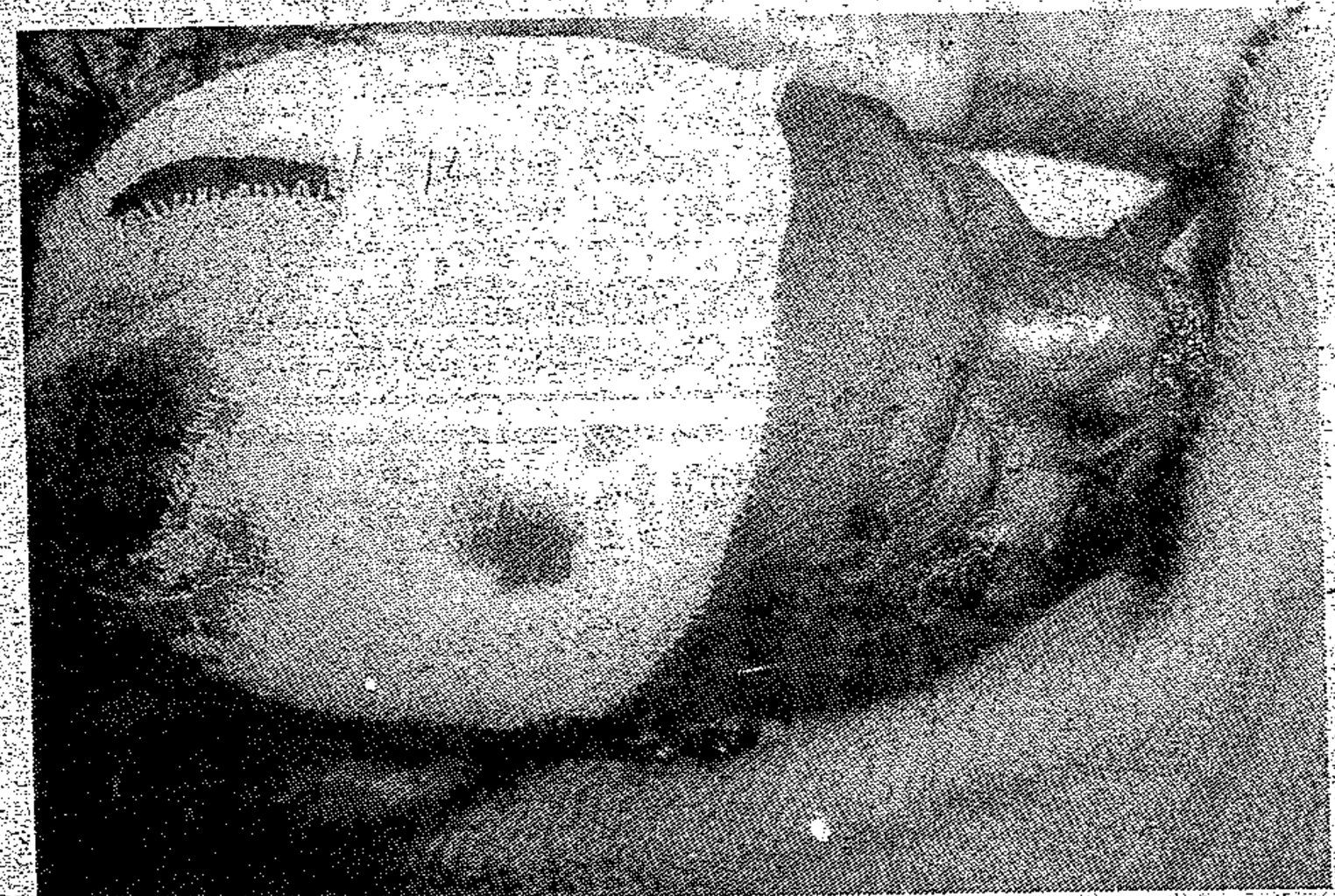
"There are some supporters of certain political organisations who want to fall back into the old revolutionary ways because they find that the newer methods used to bring about change are too slow," he said.

Commenting on the symbolism of the necklace method, Lloyd Vogelman, of the Project for the Study of Violence, said its perpetrators, driven by "enormous rage, wish to destroy the soul of their victim". The ritual surrounding the killing, with people singing and dancing, served as a way of binding the group.

12 injured in new train attack

Sowetan 11/6/92.

By KENOSI MODISANE and VICTOR TSUAI



AMOS DLADLA: Suffered hack wounds to the head during the Nancefield train attack yesterday.

THE lull in train attacks was shattered yesterday with the wounding of 12 commuters in a train at Nancefield station in Soweto.

(278)

One of the commuters, a pensioner, was fighting for his life in hospital last night after being hacked all over the body. Seven of the victims were discharged after treatment and five admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

The latest attack follows a four-week lull in which no incidents were recorded after a week-long boycott of trains in protest against violence.

Sowetan has learnt that the first signs of attacks on trains surfaced on Monday when several trains were stoned in the vicinity of Nancefield station.

According to a survivor, Ms Phindile Mlambo (25), the attack took place shortly after the train pulled into Nancefield station. The men jumped into the train and started swearing at passengers before hacking them.

"There were about 100 of them carrying a variety of weapons," a bandaged Mlambo said. "I was chopped on the arms until I passed out and woke up in hospital."

According to Mlambo, 10 policemen who boarded the train at Lenz were barricaded inside one of the coaches.

One of the victims, Mr Amos Dladla, was hacked on the head. He could not talk to the Press.

PHINDILE MLAMBO: Still shocked after the attack.

Man kill

Men in AWB uniforms assault teachers

By Monica Oosterbroek
Crime Staff

STAR 11/6/92

(278)

A teacher was injured when five men wearing AWB uniforms attacked a group of teachers and students in Braamfontein on Tuesday night.

The group, including teachers from the Department of Education and Training, had left a seminar on teaching English, run by Macmillan Boleswa Publishers, when they were stopped by the AWB members.

An injured teacher, who wants to be identified only as Poppy, was taken to the Lady Dudley Nursing Home.

Speaking to The Star from her hospital bed, she said the seminar members were getting into taxis at 9.30 pm on the corner of Simmonds and Ameshoff streets when a car flying an AWB flag and containing men wearing full AWB uniform and insignia drove past.

"Four teenagers armed with batons and shotguns jumped out and surrounded us, while the driver of the car, a man in his fifties, starting asking us questions in Afrikaans," Poppy said.

When one student answered in English, the youths began attacking them with batons.

While their attackers kicked and smashed the windows of a car and a minibus, most of the terrified group ran away. Glass from the broken windows injured Poppy's eyes.

After the attackers drove off, she fainted from shock.

Terence Creed, publishing director of Macmillan Boleswa, said: The AWB should make a public apology."

Police in Hillbrow have opened a docket for serious assault, malicious damage to property and criminal injuria.

Anyone with information is asked to telephone Lieutenant Engelbrecht on (011) 643-4811.

SOWETAN BUSINESS

18 Achib members killed in violence

Sowetan 11/6/92 (278)

AT least 18 spaza shop owners and hawkers were killed and several others robbed in acts of violence in the PWV areas in the past three months.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

The president of the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Businesses (Achib), Mr Lawrence Mavundla, said nine of their members were killed in Tembisa, three in Soweto and five in Alexandra.

He said this after his organisation, a key player in job and wealth creation for the unemployed in South Africa, had received regional reports at a meeting in Johannesburg this week.

Mavundla said violence had devastating effects on the economic growth of the informal sector that was creating job opportunities at a time when the country was faced with large scale unemployment.

He conceded that there could be more members of the emerging black businesses who were killed in acts of violence, but their tragedy had not been reported to the informal sector organisations.

"Stop this violence," Mavundla said, adding, "these people are contributing to the country's economy as well as earning a decent living for their families."

Mavundla said that the informal sector was faced with the prospect of going into the doldrums if violence was not stopped through a negotiated settlement by all leaders.

The National Peace Accord was one of the attempts to stem the growing violence, but seemingly there were other elements that acted against the agreement.

He said that Achib had embarked on a programme to revamp its structures after it experienced financial setbacks in most of the regions.

Most branches were paying their subscriptions but the money never reached the head office, through lack of communication.

As a result, he said, the organisation lost membership because there were organisers who pocketed the money.

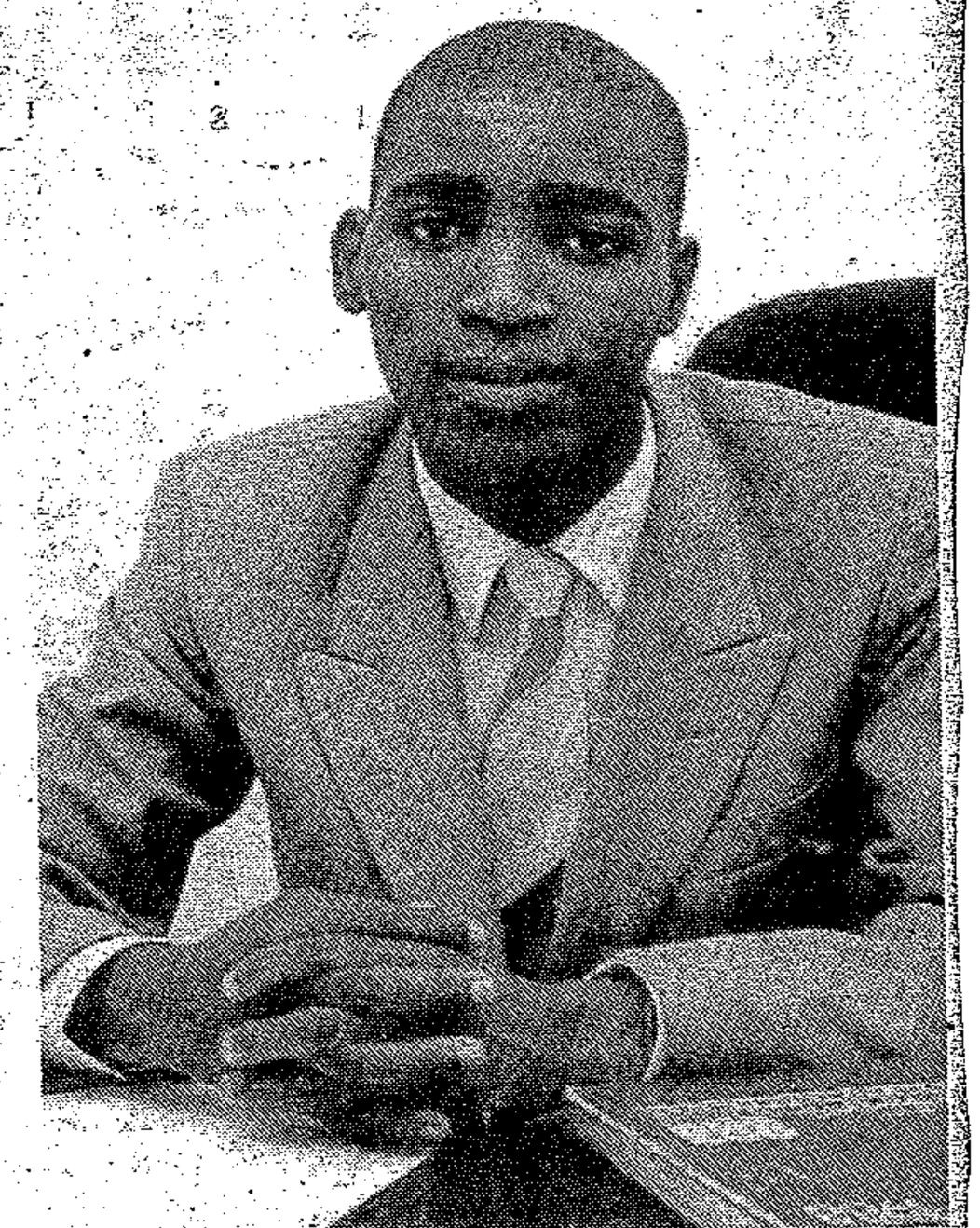
"We have appointed auditors to look into the books of our regions and if anybody is found to have pocketed the money he or she is in for trouble," he warned.

"We cannot allow people to misuse the organisation's funds because this will create a bad impression. Heads will roll if anybody is found to have squandered the organisation's money," he added.

Mavundla said that members were still being harassed by local authorities in some areas, including the so-called independent states.

"We are, however, engaged in discussions with the authorities in an attempt to stop them from stifling our members' aims to earn a living," he said.

Achib members were still experiencing hardships with some banks refusing to grant them loans as well as accepting stop orders for the subscriptions and their burial scheme.



LAWRENCE MAVUNDLA

Fleeing policeman kills man

Staff Reporter (278) STAR 11/6/92

One man died and two more were injured last night when a policeman shot at a group of people from whom he was fleeing in Orlando, Soweto, a police spokesman said.

Lieutenant Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the uniformed policeman was confronted by a group of about 50 people at about 7 pm after he stepped off a train — on which he was a passenger.

The group demanded to search him, but when he realised that they could possibly rob him of his service firearm, he fled to the nearby Orlando police station.

He was pursued by the group who threw stones at him and also fired shots.

"Fearing for his life, he fired two warning shots, but the group continued after him and he fired several more shots at the group," Colonel Halgryn said.

One man was killed and two wounded.

The policeman was not injured.

Nuts and bolts in place, now let's make peace

STAR 12/6/92 (279)

We all know of the National Peace Accord, but what is it really all about? PETER WELLMAN tries to bring it down to earth.

PEACE TRAIN

IF ATHEISTS can't find original sin in the Bible, they'll find it in the National Peace Accord. The nature of it is the lack of sufficient political will among the parties from the time they signed it in September.

It is this, more than anything else, which explains a frustration one senses behind the diplomatic phrases of Antonie Gildenhuys when he talks about the accord.

If the will were found, he says, there would then be a real chance of the two big breakthroughs the accord needs: police-community relations, and ending physical strongholds for political organisations.

In the meantime, says Dr Gildenhuys, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, the accord is going "functionally well", which means the nuts and bolts are being fitted, committees are being put together and they are working, some better than others.

The job of the secretariat begins with these committees, called regional dispute resolution committees (RDRCs) and local dispute resolution committees (LDRCs).

To confuse you further, Dr Gildenhuys says these are misnomers — they should have been called "peace promotion committees". It is better to stick with DRCs until you hear more on this from him.

Reviewing the accord's progress, he says there were some difficulties getting the necessary infrastructure in the beginning, but the secretariat managed to get Government approval, and simple needs such as fax machines and telephones are now being provided by the Department of Justice.

Read between the lines and you will find the bureaucrats were dragging their feet.

The first, urgent, necessity of the secretariat is to get peacemakers into flashpoints, he says. People with sufficient time to give, and mediation expertise, are vital, which is why the secretariat uses half a dozen professional mediators in the Wits-Vaal area alone. Some are hired, some seconded.

The secretariat has no budget, but Dr Gildenhuys explains that the Government plans to make it a statutory body and it will then have a budget, and will work according to civil-service regulations.

One can easily imagine a mediator being carpeted for rushing out to a trouble-spot without first filling in three copies of form TS67859447, but the regulations are probably the only way to go.

Grassroots plea . . . the National Peace Secretariat is distributing posters in the townships, with a simplified version of the National Peace Accord in several languages.

It is when Dr Gildenhuys talks about the success of the accord that his frustration eases, for these are real and tangible.

Violence from mass action, protest marches, rallies and so on has almost been eliminated. One suspects this is because the occasions are high-profile, with plenty of media cameras around, and it would be difficult to launch an attack unseen.

But is still a success, and the secretariat can claim it, because it is central to the planning and monitoring of such events.

The RDRCs have been patiently trying to establish a culture of tolerance and co-operation, and it is a bit like marriage counselling for devout Catholics — divorce is out of the question.

Some of this has filtered down to the local structures, some have done it on their own. In Alexandra, where an LDRC has not even been established yet, the ceaseless work of Liz Carmichael's Interim Crisis Committee (under the secretariat) has produced a reasonably good relationship with the security forces, and it monitors crime-sweeps.

Equally important, it is accepted by the ANC and Inkatha in Alex.

The secretariat provides mediator training down to grassroots level, which is a large part of the work of the DRCs, and that is going well.

Police are now taking part in the secretariat's mediation training, which delights Dr Gildenhuys, and the SAP leadership agrees with his premise that "onbekend is onbemind", which translates as "you can't get close to the community if you don't get to know it".

Damage-and-needs assessments for communities, and socio-economic reconstruction, are areas where the accord has not succeeded, and although Dr Gildenhuys did not say it, he seems to feel that big business has plainly not done enough.

"In areas where all municipal authority has broken down, we need a return of basic services, an interim authority, and money," he says starkly.

Dr Gildenhuys ended full-circle, pointing out it will take time to establish the voluntary political will to end violence.

In the meantime this sophisticated upmarket lawyer will continue to get his hands dirty in an earthy quest for peace. It's a tall order ... but then he's well over six feet tall. □

Minister: Reef train boycott cost R2m

(218)

CT 12/6/92

Political Staff

THE week-long train boycott on the Reef at the beginning of last month cost the South African Rail Commuter Corporation about R2 million.

Replying to a question by CP MP (Pretoria West) Mr Joseph Chiole, Transport Minister Dr Piet Welgemoed said R83 million was budgeted this year for security on trains and stations. A further R28m was needed but had not yet been approved.

Dr Welgemoed said the SAP budgeted R44,8m for securing commuter services this year. The corporation budgeted R38m for security. The R28m was needed because the corporation's five-year security plan was shortened to three years.

He said 1 234 police in the Vaal Triangle would constitute a special unit to secure commuter services, while the police would be responsible for securing trains and stations.

Arms cache at Phola Park

CT 12/6/92

(278)

JOHANNESBURG — Police uncovered a weapons cache yesterday in Phola Park, the East Rand squatter camp, and believed more firearms and ammunition might be buried in the area, police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said here.

He said a rifle with one magazine, eight empty AK-47 magazines, one AK-47 magazine filled with bullets, one packet containing a number of 9mm rounds, 244 live rounds for an R1 rifle and one pistol grip for an AK-47 rifle were found during a routine search of the squatter camp.

He dismissed claims that policemen were "wilfully and maliciously" breaking down shacks during their search.

Unrest victims

In other unrest incidents reported by police:

- The body of a man, identified as Mr Jan Mphase, thought to have been thrown from a train, was found near Phola Park yesterday.
- A policeman was shot dead when three gunmen fired at him in Katlehong, Alberton.
- The body of a woman with hack wounds was found in Daveyton near Benoni.
- Mr Michael Mtsheshetsha, thought to be an employee of the strike-torn Natalspruit Hospital, was shot dead at a taxi rank near the hospital on Wednesday. — Sapa

Hit list plot

Trade union bosses the target

278

Sowetan 9/6/92

A MYSTERIOUS hit list targeting Vaal trade union officials for assassination is threatening to cause a new wave of violence.

More than 20 top-ranking officials of the Vaal branch of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa are on the list, *Sowetan* has learnt.

By VICTOR TSUAI

Already three trade unionists have been assassinated under mysterious circumstances.

The latest victim, whose name apparently appeared on the list, was KwaMasiza Hostel Iscor worker Mr Gwebu Nongwetyana who, with his child, was shot dead at their home

● To page 2

Hit list may inflame violence

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● From page 1

on Friday night.

The other victims were Mr Frans Monakedi who was killed last week, and Mr Colbert King, who was gunned down a fortnight ago. All those killed were Numsa members.

Numsa officials were yesterday tight-lipped about the hit list "because of the far-reaching, harmful ramifications the list would have on the community".

Although the officials confirmed the existence of the hit list, they refused to divulge names "because of precautionary measures".

Officials of Numsa's Vaal region were also locked behind doors yesterday discussing the list.

The list, according to high-ranking Numsa Vaal region officials, contains the names of officials targeted for assassination.

They include shop stewards, mostly based at the giant Iscor steel corporation in Vanderbijlpark, and fulltime union officials.

According to *Sowetan*'s information, the man suspected of being behind the hit list is a leading African National Congress official in the area.

The official, whose name is known to *Sowetan*, confirmed there was a hit list but refused to discuss its origin.

"It would be a basic untruth to link me with the list," charged the official.

"I have heard about the list but I flatly deny that I'm behind it. The rumours are basically spoiling my good name in the community, for which I have fought for ages.

"As far as I'm concerned the list has its origins at KwaMasiza Hostel and, as a reporter, you should go there and speak to the people concerned."

The man refused to name the people he suspected of being behind the hit list.

Numsa officials have indicated that a Press conference on the hit list will be held before the end of the week.

Yesterday a delegation from the Vaal branch was holding urgent talks with officials at Numsa's head office in Johannesburg to discuss the list.

Caught in the middle of the elephants' war

W/Mail 12/6-18/6/92 (278)

Taxi owner Paul Ngobeni is one of the ordinary people caught in the crossfire of the Thokoza violence. He spoke to **PHILIPPA GARSON**

"WHEN two elephants fight, the grass suffers." For Thokoza taxi owner Paul Ngobeni, it's ordinary people like himself and the passengers who catch his taxis each day who bear the brunt of the relentless factional violence between supporters of the African National Congress and Inkatha.

Ngobeni (37) is lucky enough to have an office in town, where he conducts his other business on housing alterations, to retreat to now and again. But as a Thokoza resident and owner of three taxis, he cannot escape the conflict.

He is, in fact, something of a crusader, an honest oddball in the shadowy world of taxi wars and political rivalry, fearlessly criticising the "two elephants" for not controlling their members and the Thokoza Taxi Association (TTA) for entering the fray.

A member of neither the ANC nor Inkatha, Ngobeni is a Methodist, guided by his religious beliefs. Some ignore him because he's non-aligned but others are tired of his ceaseless criticism of the TTA leadership, which in his view is involving itself in the factional violence to further its aims.

Ngobeni, who resigned from the executive in disgust early this year, but continues as a member, is convinced that his own days are numbered. "I have heard," he says, "that my own taxis will never again operate in Thokoza."

His own son, 19-year-old Solly, was killed two months ago when he and three others were abducted into the Kwesine hostel, an Inkatha stronghold in Katlehong. They were all made to run from the hostel and inmates fired at them to "test their guns", says Ngobeni. Solly, a matric student, and another youth were killed.

"They don't know me and they don't know my child. Why did they do it?" he asks.

Turning to the TTA, Ngobeni says the association is plagued by internal division stemming from the leadership of TTA chairman Piet Mbele and his strongmen.

Mbele, whose house is heavily guarded, is said to support Inkatha and maintain extremely close links with the police. Over the past few months he has apparently recruited hostel dwellers and his "friends and cousins" as taxi drivers, keeping legitimate drivers on the waiting list and those on existing routes out of work.

Many drivers and taxi owners in the TTA have been harrassed and intimidated to pay exorbitant fines for refusing to pay their weekly rate of R13,50 — money they withheld because they believed it was being squandered on arms to fuel the war and protect Mbele. Several drivers have died and scores of taxis have been gutted since members began their boycott.

Mbele denies the allegations levelled against him, though admits to staying on the right side of the police. "Of course I work with the police. I cannot deny that, it's my protection."

Ngobeni has just received news that yet another driver was gunned down this week. Most have begun to pay again, after being urged to do so by the Local Dispute Resolution Committee, to avoid a potential bloodbath.

"We find our taxis in the hostels — they are being used by both sides for gun-running. There are rumours that those cars with more Zulus are taken to Phola Park and those with more Xhosas to the hostel," he says.

Last month, numerous taxis were stoned and set alight near Phola Park.

For most, the explanation was simple: Xhosa-speaking Phola Park residents were retaliating against drivers for dumping them in the Thokoza hostel at the mercy of Inkatha hostel-dwellers. But in Ngobeni's opinion, elements in the TTA leadership were paying youths in Phola Park to target certain taxis in an attempt to wipe out mutineers in its ranks.

Paul Ngobeni ... Slams the climate of intolerance

"Everybody's wondering who's next in this taxi war. Owners and drivers are being targeted; we are both in danger."

He adds: "I hear rumours all over that they want to discipline me. There is lots of intimidation going on and we no longer trust each other." Many TTA members support Mbele simply because they want to operate their taxis without hindrance, Ngobeni says.

He claims he has given evidence time and again to the police to help them apprehend those he believes are fuelling the violence. "But when the very same man you are accusing is a policeman, do you think the investigation will go any further? I'm not a politician but I can see how things are happening."

In his view, the police invest all their time and manpower in crime-ridden Phola Park, leaving Thokoza wide open to lawlessness. He rages against the climate of intolerance that prevails in the townships, and the fact that he was labelled a sell-out for attending rallies across the political spectrum.

"I've got the right to listen to anyone, even De Klerk if I want to — and everybody else selling their material," he says. "But some people began to call me a sell-out and a spy. They just don't understand this concept."

'The night there was fire all over Soweto'

SOUTH 13/6-17/6/92

By Quentin Wilson

JUNE 16, 1976 — a date emblazoned on the minds of many.

For some it was the day agitators mustered thousands of schoolchildren to run riot in Soweto.

For others it was a sharp, clear message to apartheid's architects that their game would not be played — whatever the cost.

It started as a student march to protest against a government ruling that school subjects be taught in Afrikaans. But after police fired the first volley of ammunition into unarmed schoolchildren, the protest escalated into the biggest uprising this country has seen.

The dramatic picture of the first victim, 13-year-old Hector Peterson, being carried by Mbuyisu Makhubu, was published locally and internationally. It has come to represent the anguish and pathos of the uprising.

The commemoration of June 16 has been earmarked "National Youth Day" by the country's political left.

Tuesday's 16th anniversary has brought another spate of calls for the day to be declared a public holiday.

But the government says there are "already too many public holidays".

ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus said: "For the ANC it is a day on which the youth of our country stood up and said to the world: 'we have had enough of apartheid.'

"It was a strong voice to the government, telling them that apartheid would end sooner rather than later.

"We are going to honour all those, specially the youth, who gave their lives and died for the struggle. It is a time when the people of South Africa highlight their suffering.

"But it's not only a commemoration, it is a time to rededicate ourselves to continue the struggle against apartheid and its consequences. We therefore feel very strongly that the day should become a public holiday," Nichaus said.

NP spokesperson Ms Sheila Camerer said: "The NP would not be in favour of it. We have too many public holidays around this time. Codesa should look at the question of public holidays."

Nichaus said1976 was a turning point because it was the first time "the people took the lead in the struggle rather than leaders of political organisations".

A LIVING MEMORY: June 16 1976 is a day South Africa will never forget

He said many of the youth who had been involved in the uprising left the country to join the ANC and its military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), leading to a tremendous growth in MK ranks.

An example is Mr David Ndaba, who left South Africa to join the ANC three months after the 1976 uprising had started. For those three months he worked in the underground.

For Ndaba, "June 16 instilled revolutionary spirit among the students and our parents, the workers".

Ndaba gave his impressions of what happened that fateful Wednesday morning, 16 years ago.

"We were marching to Orlando Stadium peacefully in protest against the imposition of Afrikaans. It was during that peaceful demonstration that the police opened fire on children.

"The students were marching and collecting other students from different schools in Soweto. The police came to cordon off groups as they were moving towards the stadium.

"After a worried resident was given assurance by a black policeman that there would be no bloodshed, the students were asked to disperse.

"You can't expect thousands of people to disperse in a minute! The police opened fire. At first there was confusion. Nobody thought the police would fire at children.

"Large crowds of students gathered in front of the police. At one stage some of the police surrended and took to their heels as they were chased by the crowds.

"That afternoon the students regrouped and decided they were going to attack all symbols of oppression in the township. The first target was the administration offices. One office after another went up in smoke as they were attacked with petrol bombs."

"The night of June 16 — that Wednesday — there was fire all over Soweto. Police opened fire as building after building was set alight. By now they had been joined by the workers who had come home.

"The following day more people were killed by the police. At one point there was a helicopter that hovered low over the heads of crowds, indiscriminately firing from the machine guns in the helicopter," Ndaba said.

"By Friday, the chaos had spread to Pretoria, Durban and towns in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

"The streets of Soweto were red with blood. People were lying in the streets bleeding to death, but instead of ambulances being sent to take them to hospital, they were loaded into police vans and taken to the police station. There were bodies stacked high. These were people but they were lying there like mealie bags," Ndaba said.

Heavyweights keep the lid on Sebokeng

W/Mail 12/6-18/6/92 (278)

By PHILIPPA GARSON and STAN MHLONGO

TOP African National Congress leaders intervened this week in the brewing crisis in the Vaal township of Sebokeng, where sparring between ANC-aligned factions in two hostels has already claimed several lives.

A delegation including ANC president Nelson Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa met representatives of the various ANC branch leaders in the Vaal Triangle and officials of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa).

The meeting was an urgent move to avert a possible bloodbath in the two hostels, where inmates have grouped into two factions: one supporting Numsa shop stewards and the other throwing its weight behind ageing ANC veteran Ernest Sotsu.

At least 10 people have died in gun attacks in the vicinity of the kwaMasiza and Sebokeng hostels since last weekend, and Numsa claims to have lost at least five of its members over the past few weeks.

On Sunday, snipers targeted men playing soccer outside the kwaMasiza Hostel, killing one and injuring two. Later that night, four more people were found dead and the next evening an ambush launched against a bus-load of workers returning to the hostel left one person dead and several injured.

Gun attacks at the Sebokeng Hostel on Sunday and Monday claimed the lives of four people, including a two-year-old child, and an ambush in Block Four of the hostel left several men wounded.

A second delegation of unionists and ANC/South African Communist Party heavyweights, including SACP leader Chris Hani, visited the hostels on Wednesday in an attempt to diffuse the tension and to address Sebokeng residents. Mandela is due to visit the hostels later next week.

The rivalry is partly due to a struggle between Sotsu and Numsa shop steward Jeffrey Ndamase for the support of Iscor workers living in the two hostels.

Sotsu has the support of about 200 former ANC exiles, many of them Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). Ndamase's supporters, opposed to MK domination in the setting up of township defence units against Inkatha and police attacks, set up their own rival units early this year. The competing defence units are both heavily armed and are jockeying for control of the hostels, which together house 8 000 inhabitants.

Numsa's national organising secretary, Bernie Fanaroff, said this week's meetings had helped to improve the level of co-operation between the two factions and that a joint liaison committee had been formed to come up with long-term solutions to the conflict.

Tuesday June 9 1992

Mystery Soweto blast kills 2 youths

Sowetan 9/6/92

By KENOSI MODISANE, VICTOR TSUAI and JOE MDHLELA

(278)

TWO youths were killed in Zone 1 Meadowlands, Soweto, yesterday when an explosive device detonated near them.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn yesterday confirmed the incident.

"Police found the badly mutilated bodies of the two youths at the scene of the explosion," Halgryn said.

And in another incident in Soweto, at least five people were injured, two seriously, when police fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd that had earlier tried to destroy Simphiwe Hostel in Dobsonville.

The crowd had earlier marched or the local council offices.

Halgryn said forensic experts had not yet determined the type of explosive which killed the youths. He said police found part of an R4 rifle at the scene.

Angry residents yesterday refuted claims that a group of about 300 people had on Sunday stoned police, who then opened fire, killing two youths.

"It is all a lie. It is ridiculous that residents attacked police while they were carrying out their duties. They just opened fire at the people without provocation," a witness said.

Halgryn, however, maintained that police had acted in self-defence when a group of residents attacked them.

In Dobsonville, residents handed a petition to the town clerk demanding the demolition of the hostel, the resignation of councillors and the removal of the police from the township.

There was chaos after police ordered the crowd to disperse. The crowd refused and decided to storm the hostel. A 14-year-old boy, Steve Makwate, was seriously injured. A middle-aged woman, Mrs Ruth Kgwathisi, was also hurt.

In Alexandra, a love triangle allegedly led to the death of a 36-year-old woman who was burnt to death in her shack yesterday morning.

Witnesses said that the previous night the dead woman, Ms Agnes Khosa, apparently had an argument with her lover. The man claimed Khosa was having an affair with a "family friend".

Mrs Nester Ziqubu, who was a close friend of the dead woman, said: "Agnes's lover had vowed that he would kill her because of the affair she was having with their family friend."

Two die as blast rocks Soweto

STAR 9/6/92

Staff Reporters (278)

Two youths were killed when an explosion occurred in Meadowlands early yesterday morning, Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said.

When police went to investigate the explosion, they found two badly mutilated bodies and part of an R-4 rifle. Colonel Halgryn said the youths had not been identified and police were still trying yesterday afternoon to determine the cause of the blast.

In Dobsonville yesterday morning, a youth was accidentally shot and wounded when one of his friends fired at a police vehicle during a confrontation between residents and hostel dwellers, police said.

Colonel Halgryn said police had earlier turned back a march by residents on the local hostel. He said the residents then barricaded roads leading to the hostel, and police used teargas to disperse the crowd.

According to Colonel Halgryn, nine men, one of whom was armed with a shotgun, broke away from the crowd and stormed the police.

He said the armed man fired a shot at an SAP vehicle but hit one of his friends who had run into the firing line.

Earlier yesterday a man was attacked and seriously injured at President station in Germiston when he refused to sing with a group of men described by eye-witnesses as Inkatha supporters, police said.

Jeffrey Malopa was beaten over the head and stabbed several times. He was admitted to Willem Cruywagen Hospital.

In another attack yesterday, at Braamfontein station in Johannesburg, a security guard saved the life of a man who was attacked by five men. The guard fired a shot in the air and tha attackers fled, leaving the man unharmed.

The body of a 24-year-old man who had been set on fire was found next to a railway line in Daveyton yesterday.

Police said the victim had hack wounds on the head. The motive for the slaying was unknown.

● At least six people, including a toddler and a policeman, were killed, and seven others injured, in a weekend of bloody violence in the Vaal Triangle.

The majority of the deaths and injuries were reported at hostels in Sebokeng, police said.

The bodies of three men were found by police in different parts of the Sebokeng hostel complex yesterday morning.

Two of them had been shot, and the charred remains of the third was found next to a gutted car.

Police believe that the men, who have not yet been identified, were killed the previous evening.

The body of a De Deur policeman, Detective-Constable John Pooe, was discovered yesterday morning in his bakkie in front of a house in Zone 13, Sebokeng. He had been shot several times.

In another attack at the Sebokeng hostel on Sunday night, an unknown gunman burst into a room and opened fire on the occupants with an AK-47 rifle, killing two-year-old Nosefunde Mlenga and wounding his mother, Nolitre Mlenga (26), in the chest.

One man was killed and six were wounded during two separate shooting incidents at the KwaMasiz and Sebokeng hostels on Sunday night.

Power struggle meeting

(11A) (278)

CT 10/6/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — High-level meetings are to be held this week to try to resolve a power struggle in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, which is threatening to cause large-scale violence in the Vaal Triangle.

A senior Numsa official confirmed yesterday that "personality clashes" among officials of Vaal Triangle branches of Cosatu, its affiliate Numsa, the ANC and the SACP, and the existence of a hit list targeting Numsa shop stewards for assassination, were threatening to destabilise the region.

He said more than 20 shop stewards at Vanderbijl Park's Iscor plant were targeted for assassination. Three Numsa shop stewards and three union members were murdered in the past few weeks, he said.

Another shop steward's house was attacked twice with AK-47s.

The official refused to name either the people suspected of being behind the hit list or the Numsa officials whose names appeared on the list.

But he acknowledged it was believed that "police spies", who infiltrated Numsa, and some members of his union, Cosatu, the ANC and the SACP were implicated in the plan to break the union's power base in the Vaal Triangle.

Numsa claims to have more than 6 000 members at the Iscor plant in Vanderbijl Park.

The official said his union would have met ANC leaders yesterday to discuss the hit list and "personality clashes" among officials and members of the alliance.

Discussions would also be held with Cosatu, the SACP and, possibly, the Civics' Association of Southern Transvaal leadership before a news conference on the hit list was called. The conference was expected to be on Friday.

Grenade hurled at police, child killed

(218)

CT 10/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A child was killed and another seriously injured when two youths threw a handgrenade at three policemen in Soweto yesterday.

Police said the incident occurred when the three constables were on patrol. As they got out of their car, one of two youths standing nearby threw a handgrenade at them.

The grenade rolled under the car and exploded near a house where children were playing. Sibongile Zondi, 4, was fatally wounded and one-year-old Themba Dlamini sustained serious chest injuries.

Two of the policemen were slightly injured. The two youths fled.

Seven people, including two policemen, were killed and five wounded in unrest-related incidents on Monday.

The bodies of four men were found in Sebokeng, Vanderbijlpark. Two had bullet wounds, one was found in a burning car and the fourth — a policeman — had been shot.

A man who was attacked and stabbed at President station on the East Rand was admitted to hospital.

A man was shot dead and a man and woman were wounded when a gunman fired at a police car in Katlehong, Alberton. The police escaped injury.

The body of a man who had been hacked to death and then set alight was found in Daveyton, Benoni.

A youth was seriously wounded when his comrades opened fire on a police vehicle in Dobsonville, Soweto, and accidentally shot him in the back.

Also in Dobsonville, a man in a bus fired shots at a police car. Police returned fire and the driver was wounded. A passenger was arrested.

Boksburg policeman Constable A J Khubeka, 37, was shot dead in his house in Tsakane near Springs. He was asleep when men wearing balaclavas arrived at his house and forced his wife and a relative into a room.

They demanded Constable Khubeka's firearm, but he resisted and was shot in the chest and arm. His assailants fled on foot. — Sapa

Suspect killed in room search

JOHANNESBURG. — A suspect arrested in connection with the death of a 22-year-old policeman in KwaDela near Middelburg, Transvaal, was shot dead during investigations yesterday.

Pretoria police said the suspect had been arrested in Bethal on Monday on the strength of an affidavit.

"While his room was being searched, the suspect pulled out a loaded 9mm pistol which had been concealed in the room and swung toward the investigating officer. The latter fired a shot and the suspect was fatally wounded," police said.

The serial number of the pistol had been removed. An inquest docket had been opened.

Constable Jacques Scheepers was shot dead, allegedly by the suspect, on May 31.

● The ANC's Eastern Transvaal region yesterday called on the government to suspend the Davel police force and institute a commission of inquiry to investigate their alleged involvement in the destabilisation of the KwaDela community.

Major-General J J van Zyl immediately rejected the charges. "The South African Police are not harassing the people of KwaDela." — Sapa

ANC killing: Mayor held

MARITZBURG. — Imbali's mayor and deputy mayor and a KwaZulu special constable appeared before a magistrate here yesterday charged with murdering prominent ANC activist Mr S'khumbuzo Ngwenya in February.

The hearing was held in camera as the special constable is a minor. The prosecutor said later the case had been postponed until tomorrow and the three were refused bail.

The accused are Imbali mayor Mr Phikelela Ndlovu, deputy mayor Mr Abdul Awetha and the youth. Mr Ndlovu and Mr Awetha are prominent Inkatha leaders in Imbali.

Cape Corps curb urged

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC has called on the SADF to discipline its Cape Corps unit, following "numerous" reports of assaults and brutalities allegedly committed by the unit in Imbali at the weekend.

"Alternatively, the ANC will be forced to embark on a massive campaign against them and their actions," ANC Natal Midlands region deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe said in a press statement.

A spokesman for Natal Command said the SADF would give its full co-operation in a police investigation.

Mobs injure 4 commuters

(278)

The Argus Correspondent

ARG 10/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Four people were injured in attacks on trains in Soweto last night and early today.

Police said three people were injured on a train between New Canada and Nancefield stations during peak traffic yesterday.

A commuter was attacked by a mob early today on a train near Nancefield Station and a man was hacked on the back of the head before being tossed from the carriage.

Baragwanath strike spreads

KATHRYN STRACHAN

PROTEST action by 1 500 general assistants at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital spread to the Natalspruit and Boksburg-Benoni hospitals on the East Rand yesterday.

Nehawu East Rand representative Martha Sehlogo said more than 600 workers, including medical staff, had held demonstrations in protest against the minimum wage offered and alleged poor working conditions.

The TPA said protesting workers had damaged hospital property and broken windows. It said appropriate measures would be taken if the situation deteriorated, and another court appeal made if necessary.

Boksburg-Benoni Hospital superintendent Freda Pretorius said the situation had returned to normal yesterday afternoon, but she did not know what to expect today. B/Day 10/6/92.

Nehawu assistant general secretary Neil Thobejane said demonstrations by general assistants continued at Baragwanath Hospital yesterday. The TPA said it would act strictly in accordance with the court order — issued last week in the Johannesburg Supreme Court in favour of the TPA against Nehawu and the strikers — to ensure no further disruptions at the hospital.

Thobejane said members countrywide were balloting for a strike — the results of which would be known next week. The union would also launch a campaign of demonstrations throughout the country to highlight its demands under the motto "No pay, no work."

He said communities across the country would be consulted "to ensure that the lives of people are not affected in an adverse manner".

Phola Park units hijacked — police

278

B/Day 10/6/92.

WILSON ZWANE

FORMER Renamo instructors and dissident members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe had hijacked self-defence units in the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp, police said yesterday.

In an open letter to the Phola Park Women's League, police said the squatter camp had a "terrible" history of violence and intimidation.

In the past 18 months, police in Phola Park came under attack on 121 occasions. Five policemen were killed, and12 others, including two soldiers, were injured.

"Criminals see Phola Park as a haven because its so-called defence units supply some protection by carrying out armed attacks on policemen and soldiers when they enter it in search of suspects.

"Renegade MK members, who have hijacked the self-defence units, have used firearms and other brutal methods to murder, rob financial institutions and individuals in and around Phola Park — even as far afield as Soweto and Bethlehem.

"During their investigations into several murders and armed robberies on the Reef and elsewhere, police have uncovered evidence that MK dissidents and former Renamo instructors are actively involved in the training and supplying of firearms to the self-defence units in Phola Park," police said.

They said they would remain in the squatter camp until armed attacks on security forces had ceased and criminals stopped operating from there.

Meanwhile, the national peace committee meets in Johannesburg tomorrow to set the stage for its meeting with political leaders on July 31.

Committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday invitations would be issued to President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other leaders.

It was understood the leaders would be required to debate the Goldstone Commission's second interim report with the committee executive.

☐ Sapa reports that in the latest unrest incident on the Reef, a child was killed and another seriously injured when two youths threw a handgrenade at three policemen in Soweto yesterday morning.

The injured child was taken to Baragwanath Hospital. Two of the policemen were slightly injured by shrapnel. No arrests were made and police were investigating.

In their daily unrest report, police said four bodies — including that of a policeman — were found in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng on Monday. On the East Rand, a man armed with an AK-47 rifle opened fire on a police vehicle. One person was killed and two injured. No policemen were injured in the attack.

In Daveyton, near Benoni, police found a body of a man, who had apparently been hacked to death and set alight.

seats in and out of the country, airlines will be forced to market themselves more actively," South Africa, did not believe that the present offer would make much difference to future

never find more discounted fares than full fares on a flight," Mr Els added.

Grenade blast kills toddler

Crime Staff (278) STAR 16/6/92

A toddler was killed and another was seriously injured when a hand grenade aimed at a police van exploded where the children were playing yesterday morning, Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said.

Captain Ngobeni said two youths were standing near a house in Zola. When policemen got out of their van, one youth threw a grenade.

The grenade rolled under the van and stopped against the fence of the house on the other side of the road. It exploded next to the children, who were playing in the garden.

Sibongile Zondi (4) died instantly and one-year-old Themba Dlamini sustained serious chest injuries and was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

Captain Ngobeni said two policemen were slightly injured.

Men ordered me t corpse in morgue

Pretoria police confirmed yesterday they were investigating a complaint by a taxi driver that three men in a police vehicle instructed him to "sleep" with a woman's corpse in a morgue. Police Captain Andrew Lesch said the SAP was investigating taxi driver Frans Mlongwana's charges.

He said the men, in a vehicle with a police registration, had

Canadian boat sets off on enviro

Phola Park police 'have faced 121 severe armed attacks'

(278)

STAR 10/6/92.

Police had come under "severe armed attack" 121 times during the past 18 months in the troubled Phola Park squatter settlement south-east of Johannesburg, the SAP said yesterday.

The police figure was supplied in a letter to the Women's League in Phola Park giving reasons why security forces were in the area.

In the letter, handed over to the Women's League of Phola Park/Eden Park and Tokoza yesterday, Witwatersrand liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said the police would leave the camp only when armed attacks on the police ceased completely, criminals stopped operating from the squatter camp and the situation stabilised.

Responding to a protest note handed to the police by the Women's League on June 4, Captain Opperman said police were in Phola Park because the squatter camp had "a terrible history of brutal violence, killings, intimidation and criminal activity".

Captain Opperman said that criminals, dissident MK members and residents with no regard for the law had forced the police to take severe action in Phola Park.

He said the squatter camp had become a haven for criminals because the so-called "self-defence units" in Phola Park had been taken over by former Renamo instructors and renegade members of the ANC's military wing, and that the units had become brutal killing and criminal machines.

Police had already arrested several members of Phola Park's self-defence units. Five of the 12 people had appeared in court on charges of murder, armed robbery and attempted murder. Two of the five men were MK members, according to police.

Captain Opperman said that some of the suspects arrested by police during an operation in Phola Park on May 14 had been connected to the following crimes, to mention only a few:

- The much publicised killing of four people in an armed attack on a Rand Water Board minibus on the Old Vereeniging Road in February this year.
- An attack in which Constable Lourens Oosthuizen and Constable Hermanus Joubert were seriously wounded when they went to the aid of an elderly couple who were being attacked on a smallholding near Bethlehem.
- The brutal murder of Germiston traffic officer Richard Cussins, who was shot five times in the back on March 27 this year in Phola Park.
- The murder of 18 IFP members on September 8 last year while they were marching to a rally at the neighbouring Tokoza stadium.
- The murder of a Coin Security guard during an R8 0000 armed robbery last September.

Captain Opperman said: "The SAP also uncovered evidence that members of the ANC's military wing as well as former Renamo instructors were actively involved in the training and supplying of illegal firearms to the SDU (self-defence units) in Phola Park.

"Since January 1, 338 cases of serious violent crime and unrest have been committed in and around Phola Park, and more than 30 vehicles were hijacked on roads near Phola Park every month."

Captain Opperman demanded that the ANC members, leaders and resident of Phola Park should do everything in their power to take action against criminals.

"In terms of the National Peace Accord, it is the duty of the ANC and its members to supply the police with information which would lead to the arrest and conviction of criminals," Captain Opperman said.

He sympathised with the Women's League complaint that children had no place to play because of the SAP vehicles driving around. However, he said that criminals were using children as human shields.

"Attackers very often come up from behind children and then fire at police. It is not even uncommon that some of these attackers grab a child to use him or her as a shield," he said. — Staff Reporter and Sapa.

Biggest arms cache found

(278)

Sowetan 15/6/92

POLICE yesterday confiscated the largest arms cache in a single raid on a train carrying Inkatha Freedom Party supporters on their way to a rally in Jabulani.

By KENOSI MODISANE

Twenty-seven people arrested and police confiscated 14 pistols, six AK-47 rifles, 11 revolvers, two Russian made automatic rifles, four self-made shotguns and five AK-47 magazine with 30 rounds of ammunition each.

Police also discovered two coachloads of traditional weapons, including pangas, axes and spears.

A team of senior police officials, including General Johan van der Merwe, were specially flown from Pretoria to view the cache.

Addressing a Press conference at New Canada police station last night, Van der Merwe said the commuters were on their way to an Inkatha Freedom Party rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Van der Merwe said the commuters, who were arrested between New Canada and Dube stations, were from hostels outside Soweto.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the train was intercepted at Phomolong Station.

Halgryn said the IFP supporters were not allowed to proceed to the rally but were instead escorted back to New Canada Station where another search was carried out.

Injured

At the station a woman was arrested after she had shot and injured a policeman.

The policeman was reported to be in a satisfactory condition in hospital.

Meanwhile, police reported that a person was killed in Moletsane.

The body of another person who had been shot and set alight was found in Meadowlands Zone 5.

● See page 16

VAN DER MERWE

Mayhem averted

(278)

ARG 15/6/92

Alert police grab coachloads of arms

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A policemen was seriously injured and 27 suspects were arrested when police confiscated thousands of weapons at three Soweto stations from men on their way to an Inkatha Youth League rally.

And in Dobsonville yesterday, "comrades" used earthmoving equipment to demolish sections of the hostel there between 12.30am and 1pm, while most Dobsonville hostel-dwellers were at the rally.

They commandeered an earthmover and a road leveller and crashed through the razor wire, smashing into the hostel.

Four rooms on the hostel's Jonas St side, including two family units, were torn open by the heavy machinery but there were no injuries. Three of the damaged rooms were unoccupied.

After confiscation of the weapons at Phomolong, New Canada and Dube stations, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said police would not tolerate unlawfullness.

He said police were convinced they had prevented "serious consequences".

"All indications are that action had been planned," he said.

Five people were killed and 14 injured — including a policeman — in clashes between the IFP and ANC.

Apart from dangerous traditional weapons — which filled railway coaches — almost 30 pistols, at least 10 AK47s and more than 300 bullets were seized on trains.

Other weapons ranged from axes, spear pangas, sjamboks and sticks.

Police intercepted trains without warning. The raid infuriated IFP supporters but was cheered by residents.

During the operation a policeman was seriously injured.

But police could not confirm those arrested and raided were Inkatha members.

But Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said most had travelled into Soweto, probably from George Goch Hostel.

Among those arrested were eight women. All 27 are expected in court today.

● Up to midnight on Saturday police said four people were killed and 12 injured in township violence.

Cops find huge arms cache on train

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Weapons of terror

Sowetan 15/6/92.

278

POLICE yesterday intercepted a train at Phomolong station, Soweto, and found what they describe as the largest large arms cache ever confiscated.

The train was carrying hundreds of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters who were on their way to a June 16 rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto.

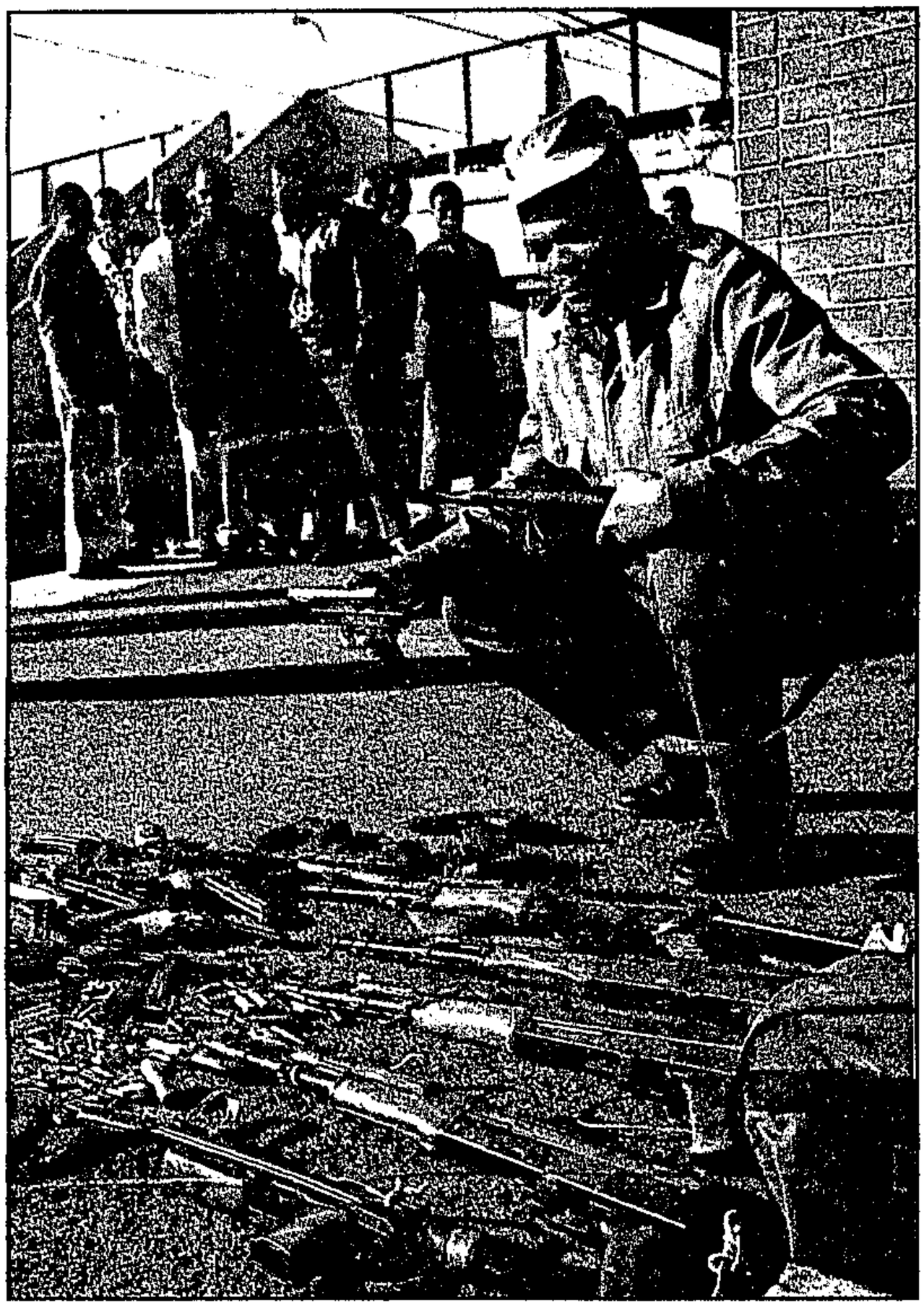
AK 47s, an Uzi machine gun and two coach loads of traditional weapons were found. Close to 25 people were arrested, including a woman who had a firearm hidden in her underwear.

This incident is the latest in the build up to June 16, with the Government and the ANC squaring up to each other.

By late yesterday it was evident that confrontation between the Government and ANC was unavoidable. The ANC will from tomorrow embark on a mass campaign while thousands of soldiers and policemen have been deployed to maintain law and order.

● Picture on page 3

Full report on page 2



A policeman inspects some of the weapons found on a train in Soweto yesterday.

Sowetan, your favourite newspaper, will not be published tomorrow, June 16. It will be back on the streets on Wednesday.

2 shot dead

(28) Sowetan 15/6/92

Sowetan Reporter

TWO workers at a factory in Boksburg were shot dead on Friday night.

A spokesman for Langeberge Ko-operasie Beperk, also known as Jam Factory, said yesterday that reasons for the shooting were not known.

Police confirmed the incident but said they could not release the names of the dead men before their next of kin had been informed.

"We believe that a small hand weapon was used in the shooting. Police are investigating the incident," a police spokesman said.

Anger and cheers for police

STAR 15/6/92 (278)

Police yesterday disarmed IFP members going by train to a rally in Soweto. Their action dismayed and angered the IFP passengers but won the approval of nearby residents. The confiscated weaponry included traditional and decidedly untraditional weapons. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

STAR 15/6/92

POLICE yesterday intercepted trains carrying Inkatha Freedom Party members to a rally in Soweto and disarmed them of an assortment of weapons, ranging from AK-47 rifles to battle-axes.

Residents from houses near Phomolong station, where the interception took place, gathered on overhead bridges and on an embankment near the entrance to the station and cheered the police.

At least 10 AK-47 rifles were confiscated. When the first one was discovered, a white police officer raised it triumphantly above his head to wild acclaim from the spectators above.

The rifles were put into a nearby railway coach. Spears, sharpened iron rods, shields, axes, pangas and sticks were piled into an open truck. It was filled to the top by the time the police completed their work.

When the trains came into the station, the police commanded the drivers to stop. With guns cocked, policemen lined the train on either side and ordered the Zulu-speaking IFP men out of the train.

The IFP men initially ignored the orders. Their resistance met with firm action from the police. "Teargas!" shouted a police officer. Canisters were fired into the train.

IFP men — and a few women — emerged within seconds, coughing and vomiting, their eyes streaming.

Some of them protested vehemently. Some were clearly confused. They thought they were being shot at with live ammunition and came out with their hands up.

All were rapidly deprived of their weapons. IFP women were searched by a lone, pistol-wielding policewoman. One of the arms netted was a shining homemade silver pistol.

One young IFP man complained angrily: "You see those people up there," he said, pointing to the cheering Soweto residents. "They are laughing at us." Tears of rage might have mingled with those induced by teargas.

Another young man, Patrick Magazine — coincidentally an employee at The Star — said: "The police point their guns at us. What for. What have we done?" Referring to the pile of sticks, spears and shields on the platform in front of him, he said: "We are just carrying them to protect ourselves. Yesterday (the ANC) shot three of our people."

A third, older man bellowed defiantly at a policeman: "This is our country. This is a Zulu country. We are Zulus."

On the bridges the atmosphere was entirely different. The people were jubilant. "They should have done that a long time ago," a man said. "Those weapons are used to kill us."

A woman interjected: "They must take those weapons and burn them."

Later, at Jubulani Amphitheatre, thousands of IFP members were in an angry and dangerous mood. When journalists walked through the milling crowd at the entrance, they were sniped at verbally by suspicious IFP members, many of whom are migrant workers living in the hostels.

"What do they want, these dogs?" an IFP woman asked in Zulu. "They have come to take messages to the ANC." A man offered his opinion in Zulu: "They are pompous. What do they want here?"

The presence of journalists at Phomolong station could have added to the hostility. Earlier a Zulu man blamed journalists for the teargassing and humiliation. "You are whites," he declared. "You are the regime. You are doing this to us. You are making the ANC happy." □

SOWETAN BUSINESS

GEORGE NEGOTA...made call for an end to violence

Call to rescue SA from anarchy

Sowetan 15/6/92. (278)

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

BLACK business has called on all South Africans to rescue the country from anarchy.

Addressing the fifth conference of the National Transport Policy Forum in Johannesburg at the weekend, its chairman, Mr George Negota, said taxi killings should be stopped immediately.

The meeting, attended by about 60 delegates from community-based organisations, including transport-user groups, expressed concern at the continuation of violence, especially the killing of innocent people on taxis.

Negota called on all people to contribute in ending the violence. He said black business was put under virtual siege by elements that sought to destroy the economy.

Similar calls have been made by business organisations in the PWV-area where entrepreneurs have been robbed, vehicles stoned and shops attacked by thugs.

On the East Rand, the treasurer of the Daveyton Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Mr Derrick Madiba, said one businessman was killed and 25 others were shot and robbed of their money in the past two months.

Mr J Makhaya, who owned a shop in the township, was shot dead by gunmen and robbed on his money, last week.

Madiba, who was also a victim of an attack, said he was closing his shop when gunmen pounced and threatened to shoot him. He said he was robbed of R8 000.

Madiba said even businessmen in the informal sector, such as spaza shop-owners, had become victims of unruly elements. He did not know the motive of these attacks.

"We are forced to close our shops as early as 5pm because we fear for our lives," Madiba said.

In the Vaal Triangle townships of Sebokeng and Evaton, streets have been barricaded. Delivery vehicles have been looted and set alight by youths.

"When dust falls, we become edgy because we fear of being attacked," a businessman who did not want his name published said at the weekend.

A spokesman for a beverage company in Vereeniging said: "We stop on the borders of the townships where business people come to collect their goods. We can no longer afford this. Calm must return," the spokesman said.

The general secretary of the Soweto Independent Shopkeepers Association, Mr Thami Skenjana, said business was on the decline as a result of violence.

The association, together with other concerned people, has formed an interim committee aimed at fighting "this total onsluaght on black business" by criminals.

Cops get a big pat on the back

Sowetan 15/6/92 (278)

By KENOSI MODISANE

ULULATIONS filled the air at Soweto stations yesterday as police searched and confiscated arms from an armed mob of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters who were on their way to a rally in Jabulani.

At New Canada Station, excited crowds shook hands with members of the Train Unit and congratulated them for "a job well done".

"Oh my son, please carry on with these operations everyday," exclaimed an elderly woman as she embraced a policeman at Dube Station.

Senseless

"Only if we could get the same co-operation from other forces like the Riot Unit can we contain this senseless carrying dangerous weapons," said an elated member of the Train Unit.

But from the armed mobs in the trains came cries of "please escort us back home" and "our enemies will now kill us" as police took away guns, spears and knobkierries.

"We would rather be killed by you than be killed by the ANC," said one of the men after police had confiscated a spear and a shield from him.

Most of those who were disarmed accused the police of colluding with "their enemies".

Kid gloves

"You have arranged with the ANC to wait for us in town and kill us. That's why you are taking our arms away from us," exclaimed a man.

But, responded a member of the unit: "They have been treated with kid gloves for too long. If we sided with their enemies, why didn't we shoot at them seeing that they were so heavily armed?", the members said.

Vaal teacher shot dead by youths

15/6/92 Sowetan

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Sowetan Reporter

A VAAL Triangle schoolteacher was brutally assaulted and later shot dead by groups of youths in two separate incidents in Sebokeng at the weekend.

Mr Ernest Kopo Molefe (31), a teacher at Thusa Secondary School in Venterspost, was first attacked by a group of youths in Zone 11 at 8am on Saturday but managed to escape.

An hour later he was shot five times in the body and head by another group in Zone 13 Sebokeng. He later died at Sebokeng Hospital.

Sebokeng police confirmed they were investigating the killing.

Mr Dennilton Mphumphela, his father-in-law, yesterday said Molefe left home to photostat half-yearly examination question papers in Zone 11. The family later received a report that he had been assaulted and went to the scene where he was found badly wounded.

Molefe became the centre of controversy last year while teaching at Lebogang High School in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark.

Pupils accused him of being a member of a notorious gang. The pupils protested and demanded that his services be terminated. He was subsequently transferred to Venterspoort.

He was once admitted at Baragwanath Hospital after he was assaulted by pupils last October.

Mphumphela denied that Molefe belonged to any gang.

5 shot dead at station

(278) CT 16/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Five commuters were killed and at least 18 injured when an unknown number of gunmen, apparently armed with automatic rifles, opened fire on commuters at Daveyton station on the East Rand yesterday evening.

According to police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman, the shots were fired from outside the station.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the shots were fired by one man on the station platform.

No arrests have been made.

The injured were taken to nearby hospitals. — Sapa

● Policeman kills squatter — Page 5

ANC heavies step in

By SOPHIE TEMA

278

A HIGH-POWERED ANC delegation visited the Vaal Triangle this week as five people lost their lives amid deadly union rivalry.

Allegations of a hit list are also receiving urgent attention from the ANC-/SACP/COSATU leadership. C/Press 14/6/92.

Five people have already being killed at the KwaMasiza Hostel following personality clashes between members of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa). Union officials said three of the victims had been shop stewards.

At a meeting held at the KwaMasiza and Vietnam hostels, SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, accompanied by ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and ANC national executive committee member Sydney Mafumadi, called on members of the ANC and its alliance to stop the killings immediately.

Midnight hell-ride

C/Press 14/6/92

Kidnapped by 3 AWB men for a trip to the dead

By ELIAS MALULEKE (278)

THE image of the SAP took anotner knock this week after three white men in AWB uniforms used a police van to abduct a black taxi driver who was taken on a "hell-ride" to a mortuary.

The allegations are said to confirm reports that the AWB has strong links with white policemen.

However, Brig Wilhelm Blignaut said it was an isolated incident which did not form part of a pattern.

Taxi driver Frans Molongwane, 28, this week revealed how he was punched and kicked last Friday by three alleged AWB supporters who were in a police van.

He alleged that his assailants wore khaki clothes and carried an AWB flag with them.

Kidnapped

The men kidnapped Molongwane in the Pretoria city centre and took him to an unknown mortuary after a 20-minute ride in a blacked-out police van, registration number BHK 204B.

Police on Thursday confirmed arresting one policeman in connection with the incident, after admitting earlier in the week that the description of the police van fitted one used by the SAP.

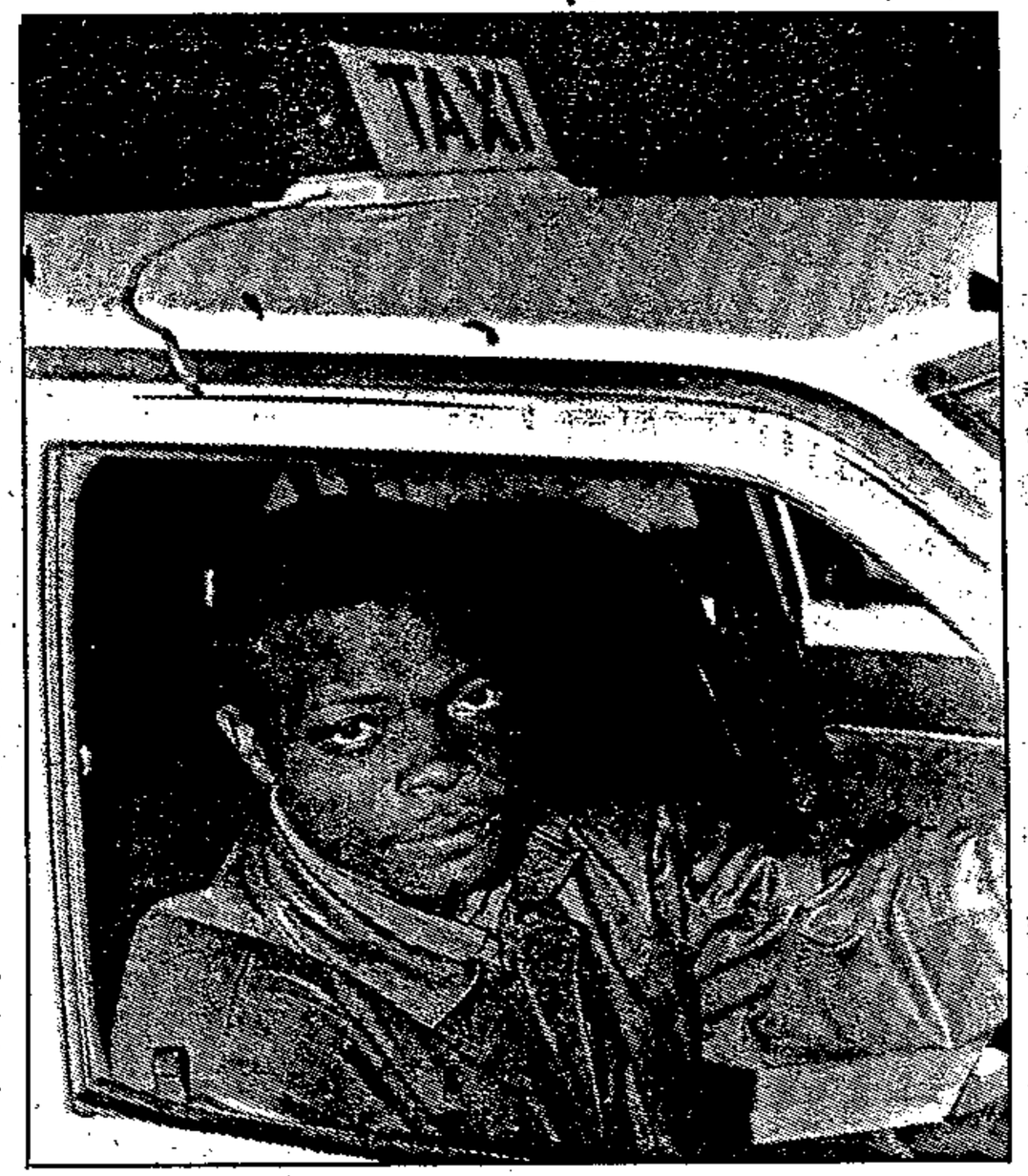
Molongwane, a family breadwinner from Seshego who drives a minicab in Pretoria, has approached the Legal Resources Centre for help to institute a claim for damages he suffered as a result of his ordeal.

He told City Press he was parked at the Pretoria station when a call came through his two-way radio asking him to pick up passengers in Van der Walt Street, minutes before midnight last Thursday.

On arrival at his pick-up point he parked his taxi next to the kerb and waited for his passenger.

Just after he parked a police van with three khaki-clad whites in it parked next to him, blocking his way. The well-built, clean shaven driver and a thin, bearded passenger climbed out and rushed to his door.

His door was pulled open and the thin man showed him a miniture AWB flag and aggressively asked:



BAD DREAM ... Frans Molongwane felt the brunt of brutal AWB racism. Pic: JONAS MANGKA

"Ken jy hierdie ding, kaffir?" (Do you know what this is, kaffir?) Molongwane told them he was not interested.

They then attacked him. "They were like crazed people, they punched, kicked and dragged me out of the car, causing me to fall to the ground."

He tried to scream, but was throttled and thrown into the van.

The trio then allegedly lowered the van's side blinds before driving away, leaving his car door open, with the keys in the ignition.

"After about 20 minutes, I could feel the van reversing and the door was opened. Directly in front of me was a door which was opened and I was ordered to walk in. I suddenly felt cold when I saw all the naked corpses lying about," he said.

Molongwane saw many corpses in the old and dilapidated room. There were shelves against the wall with corpses and more on the cement floor. All the corpses were thoses of black people.

The men told him that they were going to kill him and started assaulting him.

The beating continued for several minutes until he stumbled onto the bodies. When he tried to rise, a body of an old man was thrown onto his chest.

The bearded man then allegedly grabbed him by the shoulders and ordered him to have sexual intercourse with the body of a young woman. "I told them that I would rather die than have sex with a dead person."

After further assaults, he was ordered out of the mortuary and driven back to his taxi.

He radioed for help and was joined by colleague Petrus Chaka Mpanyane, who took him to the Central police station where he made a statement.

According to a medical report, Malongwane suffered injuries to his head, face, shoulders, lips, back, chest and right knee.

Lt-Gen Louw Erasmus of the police crime investigation unit has vowed that no stone would be left unturned in bringing those involved to justice.

Nation braced for mass action

Argus 14/6/92.

By SEKOLA SELLO and SAPA

THE government and the ANC were yesterday locked in serious talks in a last-minute bid to avoid confrontation over mass action planned for this week.

The emergency talks come in the wake of a hardening of attitudes and trading of accusations by the two parties.

Against a backdrop of deteriorating relations, the ANC alliance announced this week that Tuesday's national June 16 rallies would be a launching pad for mass action on an "unprecedented scale".

In response, the government has put Citizen Force and Commando Force members on standby to help the police "maintain peace, stability and law and order".

This decision amounted to "declaring open war against the people", the ANC said.

It further charged that "there can be no question that the mobilisation of the SADF is intended to intimidate the disenfranchised majority with a massive display of force".

The ANC said it would not be intimidated by a show of force. Rather than "participating with sincerity in the negotiation process", the government chose to rely on propaganda and brute force.

Contrasting its hardline attitude towards mass action by the ANC was the government's leniency towards armed vigilantes parading the streets, the organisation added.

"The people of SA and the international community will hold De Klerk responsible for any loss of life or injuries."

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus confirmed the emergency talks saying mass action, the call-up and the "situation in general" were being discussed.

At the time of going to press, the outcome of the talks was not known.

Meanwhile, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short a trip to the US because he feared the campaign would exacerbate violence, while the PAC and Azapo said they would not support mass action if it aimed to resuscitate failed talks at Codesa.

On arrival at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, Buthelezi said he was "very disturbed" with the planned action and foresaw clashes between IFP members and those planning the campaign.

Reiterating its commitment to strive for a reconstituted Patrotic Front, the PAC urged the ANC to desist "from further participation in Codesa".

ANC leader Nelson Mandela shrugged off the PAC's decision not to support the campaign. Speaking in Durban, he said: "Whether they support us or not is irrelevant. Progress has been made so far despite the PAC."

Depite behind-closed-doors attempts to make up, the ANC launched a scathing public attack on the government saying: "The De Klerk government, rocked by corruption, proof of police and military involvement in the murder of activists and a complete failure to protect the lives and property of all South Africans, wants to return to rule by the old ways of coercion and repression.

"Instead of guaranteeing the protection of people whose only means to make their views known is to vote with their feet, De Klerk and his colleagues are identifying them as the enemy."

Killings deepen hospital crisis

278

Argus 14/6/92.

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE crisis in black hospitals in the Transvaal deepened yesterday following the brutal gunning down of three trade union members and a bystander in two separate incidents in the East Rand's Natalspruit.

It has also been alleged that strikers have been harassed by police.

A statement issued on Friday by the National Education and Health Workers Union (Nehawu) said Victoria Mazibuko, a nursing sister at Natalspruit Hospital and Grisell Marubelela, both Nehawu shop stewards, were gunned down by men who burst into a meeting at Mazibuko's house on Thursday evening.

The husband of one of the dead women was also killed in the attack.

In an incident on Tuesday, Nehawu member Vuyo Mtshekeshe was shot dead in Natalspruit.

Nehawu alleged that a nurse at the Boksburg/Benoni Hospital had also been assaulted and her vehicle damaged on Friday morning. This was confirmed by the TPA.

Nehawu said: "This is clearly a cowardly attempt to scare our members and to stop them from exercising what are basic trade union rights."

Nehawu general secretary Phillip Dexter said in addition to the 11 hospitals that were affected by the strike, unconfirmed reports said more hospitals in the Transvaal and Free State have been hit.

At a press conference in Johannesburg on Friday the Nehawu leadership said strikers would not be intimidated by "union-bashing tactics". They emphasised, however, the strike was not linked to the planned ANC/Cosatu mass action.

Nehawu president Bheki Phakathi said his union would blame the government for any deaths of patients during the strike.

Nehawu condemned "in the strongest terms the revival of the death of 20 babies who allegedly died during the union's 1990 strike at Garankuwa Hospital".

It said the TPA was trying to present the strikers as "insensitive people" and was desperately trying to shift attention from the strikers' legitimate demands.

Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini said the union federation supported the strikers' demands.

Nehawu is demanding a 15 percent wage increase and the TPA is offering 9,2 percent. By late yesterday the TPA and Nehawu were still locked in negotiations.

Midnight hell-ride

Kidnapped by 3 AWB men for a trip to the dead

By ELIAS MALULEKE (278) CIPress 14/6/92

THE image of the SAP took another knock this week after three white men in AWB uniforms used a police van to abduct a black taxi driver who was taken on a "hell-ride" to a mortuary.

The allegations are said to confirm reports that the AWB has strong links with white policemen.

However, Brig Wilhelm Blignaut said it was an isolated incident which did not form part of a pattern.

Taxi driver Frans Molongwane, 28, this week revealed how he was punched and kicked last Friday by three alleged AWB supporters who were in a police van.

He alleged that his assailants wore khaki clothes and carried an AWB flag with them.

Kidnapped

The men kidnapped Molongwane in the Pretoria city centre and took him to an unknown mortuary after a 20-minute ride in a blacked-out police van, registration number BHK 204B.

Police on Thursday confirmed arresting one policeman in connection with the incident, after admitting earlier in the week that the description of the police van fitted one used by the SAP.

Molongwane, a family breadwinner from Seshego who drives a minicab in Pretoria, has approached the Legal Resources Centre for help to institute a claim for damages he suffered as a result of his ordeal.

He told City Press he was parked at the Pretoria station when a call came through his two-way radio asking him to pick up passengers in Van der Walt Street, minutes before midnight last Thursday.

On arrival at his pick-up point he parked his taxi next to the kerb and waited for his passenger.

Just after he parked a police van with three khaki-clad whites in it parked next to him, blocking his way. The well-built, clean shaven driver and a thin, bearded passenger climbed out and rushed to his door.

His door was pulled open and the thin man showed him a miniture AWB flag and aggressively asked: "Ken jy hierdie ding, kaffir?" (Do you know what this is, kaffir?) Molongwane told them he was not interested.

They then attacked him. "They were like crazed people, they punched, kicked and dragged me out of the car, causing me to fall to the ground."

He tried to scream, but was throttled and thrown into the van.

The trio then allegedly lowered the van's side blinds before driving away, leaving his car door open, with the keys in the ignition.

BAD DREAM ... Frans Molongwane felt the brunt of brutal AWB racism. Pic: JONAS MANGKA

"After about 20 minutes, I could feel the van reversing and the door was opened. Directly in front of me was a door which was opened and I was ordered to walk in. I suddenly felt cold when I saw all the naked corpses lying about," he said.

Molongwane saw many corpses in the old and dilapidated room. There were shelves against the wall with corpses and more on the cement floor. All the corpses were thoses of black people.

The men told him that they were going to kill him and started assaulting him.

The beating continued for several minutes until he stumbled onto the bodies. When he tried to rise, a body of an old man was thrown onto his chest.

The bearded man then allegedly grabbed him by the shoulders and ordered him to have sexual intercourse with the body of a young woman. "I told them that I would rather die than have sex with a dead person."

After further assaults, he was ordered out of the mortuary and driven back to his taxi.

He radioed for help and was joined by colleague Petrus Chaka Mpanyane, who took him to the Central police station where he made a statement.

According to a medical report, Malongwane suffered injuries to his head, face, shoulders, lips, back, chest and right knee.

Lt-Gen Louw Erasmus of the police crime investigation unit has vowed that no stone would be left unturned in bringing those involved to justice.

HEA
She

Horror tales of 'base of violence'

SOUTH 13/6-17/6/92.

By Johannes Ngcobo and Mbulelo Sompetha 278

HORRIFIC stories have emerged about a Vaal Triangle hostel that has allegedly become a base where attacks against key ANC activists are planned by elements of Inkatha, the police and hit squads.

This startling picture was painted at a press conference this week by four youths who were abducted to the Iscor-owned hostel where they were assaulted and offered money to attack ANC officials.

The youths claim their abductors took them to the Kwamadala Hostel where policemen assisted Inkatha members in planning the attacks.

One of the youths, Mr Mandla Mkhwane, from Sebokeng, says he was taken to Room 5 at the Kwamadala Hostel and questioned about township comrades' guns.

He tells a hair-raising story of an activist from Sharpeville who was decapitated, had his heart taken out and prvate parts removed.

Mkhwane believes his abductors mistook him for a friend who was recently charged with illegal possession of arms.

He alleges that he slept at the hostel that night and witnessed "terrible beatings" and the looting of residents' homes in nearby townships.

Mkhwane escaped from the hostel on May 23 and reported his abduction to the Violence Monitoring Group and community organisations.

He says that he knows the men who abducted him.

Mr David Babe, another youth, says he was recruited for Inkatha in October 1991 by an Inkatha member known as Kgethis.

Babe alleges that when he arrived at Kwamadala Hostel he was accused of spying for township activists. He was assaulted and stabbed in his chest with an assegai.

Another abductee, Mr Saul Tsotetsi claims he was asked to attack the homes of ANC PWV deputy secretary Mr Bavumile Vilakazi and a relative, slain SACP executive member Mr Saul Tsotetsi.

"A white man called Tuis offered me R2 350 to attack Bavumile Vilakazi and Saul Tsotetsi's houses and R6 000 to attack three schools," Tsotetsi says in an affidavit.

He was told he would be given handgrenades to use in the attacks.

Lawyers investigating their allegations say Tsotetsi was given photographs of white men who visit the Kwamadala Hostel regularly and identified "Tuis", who is known to be a policeman.

Vaal Triangle police spokesperson Captain Piet van Deventer said police were aware of the affidavit made by Mr Mosotho Tsotetsi and were investigating charges of assault and abduction.

A common thread in the claims is the collusion of white men in planning the attacks on ANC members and the use of walkie-talkies during their abductions.

Iscor management has denied that they house Inkatha warlords and vigilantes at the Kwamadala Hostel which is at the centre of claims of police collusion in the Vaal violence.

Violence mounts in hospital strike

Three unionists 'assassinated'

STAR 13/6/92

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The National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union has blamed government-supporting vigilantes for the slaying of three strikers. BRENDAN TEMPLETON reports.

STRIKE-HIT state hospitals may well become battle zones following the deaths this week of three health workers whom union leaders believe were assassinated.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) member Vuyo Mtshekeshe was gunned down as he was leaving the Natalspruit Hospital on Tuesday evening.

On Thursday night, Nehawu shop stewards Victoria Mazibuko and Grisell Marubelela were shot dead in cold blood while they were holding a small union meeting at a private house.

An undisclosed number of gunmen burst into the house, killing them and a unidentified family member who was also present.

Last night Nehawu organisers expressed fears that the deaths marked the beginning of a brutal crackdown on the strike by "vigilante" forces supporting the Government.

General secretary Phillip Dexter believed the Government had mistakenly identified the strike, which has hit 11 hospitals in the Transvaal, as part of the ANC's mass action campaign.

Apart from the three "assassinations", union officals said that workers had been sjambokked and teargassed on hospital premises.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) has alleged that a nurse at Boksburg/Benoni Hospital was also assaulted, her vehicle damaged and the building itself damaged by strikers.

Hospital staff at Baragwanath also accused union members of intimidation.

Police arrested 13 people at the hospital on Thursday, one of whom was a visitor, after a court interdict had been brought against workers being on the premises. A similar interdict was brought against Natalspruit workers.

The TPA has threatened to institute disciplinary action against striking workers because public service workers are not allowed to strike in terms of legislation. Most can be fired within 24 hours because they are classified as "temporary workers".

The five-day strike has begun to make itself felt. Medical staff at Baragwanath Hospital are treating emergency cases only. Patients at the hospital described conditions as "filthy".

The strike was sparked by the breakdown in pay negotiations. The Commission for Administration has offered a 9,2 percent increase and the union is demanding 15 percent.

Order returns to Alex — at a price

STAR 13/6/92

WHEN JOE LOUW visited Alexandra township this week he got a shock: it was a picture of peace and tranquillity. He set out to find out how it happened.

(278)

PEACE, or at least peace of a kind, has descended on strife-torn Alexandra like a warm blanket on a cold winter's night.

The usually harried doctors and nurses at the Alex Clinic have been rediscovering what it is like to take a coffee break. There are times when nobody talks about violence, gunshots, stabbings and assaults — there have been so few violence-re lated injuries in the past two weeks that the clinic has stopped counting.

The price of this peace, however, has been a massive police and army presence, daily street-to-street searches for weapons, and a strictly enforced 9 pm-to-4 am curfew that has many community leaders complaining about police methods.

But residents are happy. Since the SADF and police moved into the township last week, the violence that has claimed more than 100 lives in the past three months has subsided. When this reporter visited the township, residents were relaxed and seemed relatively happy, although some are still sceptical about the new-found peace. Children were back on the streets playing with balls. Older folk were sitting on their stoeps having a quiet beer.

At one end of Third Avenue — the scene of murderous gunfire a few weeks ago — a squad of municipal workers was cleaning up debris left by barricades. There I found Walter Makheta tending his tiny garden, not far from Madala hostel and, until recently, in the middle of the "war" zone.

"I tend my marigolds now," he said with a smile, "but I keep my tomahawk nearby."

Last week Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman declared the exercise a tremendous success: "Since we moved in there has not been a single incident of political violence."

In the first few days the police conducted door-to-door searches and confiscated dozens of dangerous weapons from hostel-dwellers and residents alike.

The ANC has always maintained that the Government had it in its power to end political violence countrywide, but Opperman would not be drawn on the possibility of police action in other areas racked by violence.

Despite the apparent success of the action, Richard Mdakane of the Alex Civic Organisation is not impressed. He condemns it wholesale as a public relations ploy to improve the police image.

"What they should be doing is retraining these police instead of polishing their image. People who have witnessed them condoning violence will take a long time being impressed," he said.

Obed Bapela of the Alex branch of the ANC admits that police action did help to restore peace, but says that after the first few nights of "raids by police" the ANC negotiated for a change of methods.

Bapela reports that the police did respond positively to some suggestions. "For example, they agreed to allow peace monitors to accompany them while conducting searches. They agreed only to conduct searches during daylight hours unless absolutely necessary.

"They also agreed not to assault people found on the streets after the curfew," he said.

Francois Bill, chief administrator at the Alex Clinic, said: "There can be no lasting peace in Alex unless the root causes of violence are eliminated. In Alex, that means first of all cleaning out the hostels and shacks. Everybody needs a house where they can breathe, and not live in chaos.

"There must be the political will to change the way people are living and stabilise the community. People will never be healthy unless they live in healthy conditions and an environment that guarantees primary health care."

'Beirut' battleground the target of Alex peace bid

A TECHNICAL study is under way to assess the damage in Alexandra's "Beirut" area.

The idea is to have it declared a disaster area and to formally apply for funds for its reconstruction and rehabilitation, says Dr Liz Carmichael of the Interim Crisis Committee.

"The effort includes all parties involved in the peace process — the political organisations and the administration," she says.

"We are also undertaking a survey of all hostels in the township to find out exactly who is there and how many people live in them."

Carmichael says the move to have "Beirut" declared a disaster area will also be taken up with the relevant committees of the Goldstone Commission, which can make recommendations for the release of departmental funds to help in rehabilitation.

Other efforts to stabilise the community include getting the Alexandra Town Council working again and finding ways to repair destroyed buildings.

"This will take a lot of time. Meanwhile, we have to do a lot of work to change people's attitudes at the grassroots," Carmichael says.

Sebokeng – where death comes easy

STAR 13/6/92

SEBOKENG is one of the Vaal's most gruesome killing fields. Its rock-strewn streets and gutted houses give it the atmosphere of a movie-set war zone — a backdrop for clusters of youths many people describe as the "lost generation" but whose activities no adult dares to question. JOE LOUW went there to see for himself.

(278)

AS DUSK falls shortly after 5.30 pm, passengers in the combi speeding along the main road towards Sebokeng Township begin to get edgy.

A curtain of smoke descends on the pall of dust left by the taxis as they zig-zag among the boulders and barricades. The yells of the drivers and their banging add to the tangible aura of fear.

To be caught on the streets at night is to court disaster. Sebokeng has entered a state of anarchy and getting killed is a simple matter — political affiliation is not important, nor does it matter whether you are a man, woman or a child.

A woman was stabbed taking her washing from the line. A man was shot on his way to an outside toilet. A child (4) perished in a shoot-out between comrades and the police.

Zone 7 in Sebokeng is among the most notorious districts of the Vaal region. Its rock-strewn streets and gutted houses give it the atmosphere of a movie-set war zone — a backdrop for clusters of rowdy boys, often accompanied by girls in school uniform, who many people describe as the "lost generation" but whose activities no adult dares to question.

They are the products of a long-standing tradition of violence in the township. It has instilled a fear into its victims that will last a lifetime. Starting in 1991 with what became known as "The Sebokeng Vigil Massacre" — 27 mourners murdered and 50 injured by AK-47 bullets at a funeral of a slain community leader — Sebokeng is one of the Vaal's most gruesome killing fields.

The entire family of Vaal Civic Organisation and ANC leader Ernest Sostu was killed in one night while he was attending a meeting last year. Only last month a notorious policeman, "Skuta" Marumo, a Sebokeng cop was found muti lated and burned with his necklaced torso dragged about the township and then displayed on the chimney of a local house.

Zone 7 has seen fighting not only between residents and the nearby hostel dwellers and between residents and the police, gangs of youths against each other and recently, factional fighting between union leaders of the National Union of Mines and local ANC leaders commanding dissident factions of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The situation is very complicated," Sam Ntuli of the Evaton/Sebokeng Civic Association told the Saturday Star. 'While the nightly attacks by hit squads are going on, we face rival fighting between sections of the 'alliance' leadership. We have appealed to the national leaders of both the unions and the ANC as well as the SACP to intervene and restore peace and order."

'Vaal Monster' takes over teenage gang

A YOUNG man, a school drop-out born and bred in Sebokeng, is now being called "The Vaal Monster".

He leads what residents believe to be a vicious hit squad. And many parents in this Vaal Triangle township fear their children might begin hero-worshipping "The Monster".

He is said to "commandeer" young girls to extract information and sex. Apparently many respond willingly.

William Mabaso, whose house in Zone 7 was set on fire last month and who knows "The Monster" well, swears that he has a link with the police.

He remembers "Victor" (not his real name) well. "He was an intelligent boy at school but dropped out when his father left his family. He was soon into robbery and stealing cars, and took over the leadership of a gang of vicious little thugs who were already terrorising the neighbourhood.

"Soon he was arrested for car theft and convicted. But soon afterwards he was released and announced he was a member of Inkatha.

"Many of his neighbours began to notice police cars arriving at his home. The back part of the house would go dark and there would be activities. I believe guns were being off-loaded, then the police would leave.

"The boy I had known had changed. He organised others in the neighbourhood. And his gang boasted openly about being a hit squad."

Last month "V" and his friends suddenly turned on Mabaso. At 2 am they knocked on his windows and pointed guns at him. They ordered him and his children under the beds and proceeded to rob his house.

"They took everything from my kitchen stove, blankets, even the food and groceries. They took our TV and two radios and, after that, they poured petrol on to the house and set it on fire."

The next day Mabaso reported the incident to the Sebokeng police and laid a charge of arson and robbery. Asked what had happened since, he replied: "Nothing."

R25 000 JACKPOT

PATRICIA LEWIS

Alleged train killers go free

By BEATHUR BAKER

THE Witwatersrand attorney general's office this week announced it was dropping all charges against three alleged train killers who were caught virtually "red-handed" and arrested by police during an attack on a Soweto-bound train last year.

Seven people were killed and 17 injured in the incident.

Khulekani Mvalazi, Mlanulene Mchunu and Richaros Khoena Majola appeared in Johnnesburg magistrate's court shortly after the attack, facing seven counts of murder, 17 of attempted murder and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

However, on their third appearance this week they were set free and an inquest ordered into the deaths of the seven killed during the July 25 train attack. The attorney general's office declined to state the basis on which the decision had been made.

The release of alleged train killers is not unusual. Several other suspects have been arrested and charged. But after a first court appearance on charges such as murder and culpable homocide, they are regularly allotted bail as low as R2 000 and then released to await a second appearance.

Alfred Dlamini, one of the first alleged train killers arrested by police, was remanded for the sixth consecutive time last week. He has been free on R2 000 bail since he appeared in the Germiston Magistrate's Court in October last year.

The attorney general's office said the Dlamini case had been postponed six times because they were trying to establish whether the charge against him should be culpable homocide or murder. This week the office announced that Dlamini will face a murder charge in the Rand Supreme Court in October.

Only one person has been convicted for his part in the violent attacks on trains: Walter Matlaba from Soweto, who received a seven-year sentence for his part in an attack at Braamfontein station on September 15 last year.

26/6/92

Sowetan

278

Wrong to bar SAP men

IN this climate of violence, it was shocking and narrow minded of Soweto Vista University students to prevent a seminar of members of the community and SAP from taking place.

The pretext under which the gathering was booted out of Vista can only convince kindergarten children.

So many people have lost their lives in violence that any attempt to bring about a solution, no matter how small, should be supported by everybody.

Especially Africans who are dying like insects in these politically inspired skirmishes.

What is most disturbing is when people at university level cannot discern between what is urgent and not.

The deaths of people in violence, irrespective of who the perpetrators are, are more important than dubious consultations with students for permission to hold a seminar on violence at Vista.

Through self-centredness and lack of maturity, those mentally malnourished students do not realise that violence knows no status.

pened to the skills used then.

The Vaal townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Evaton and Bophelong have become communities under siege after massacres and assassinations which have left at least 192 people dead.

Of these, almost half were assassination-type killings involving activists in the area. Some of the killings have been linked to some in-fighting within Numsa and to some extent local structures of the ANC.

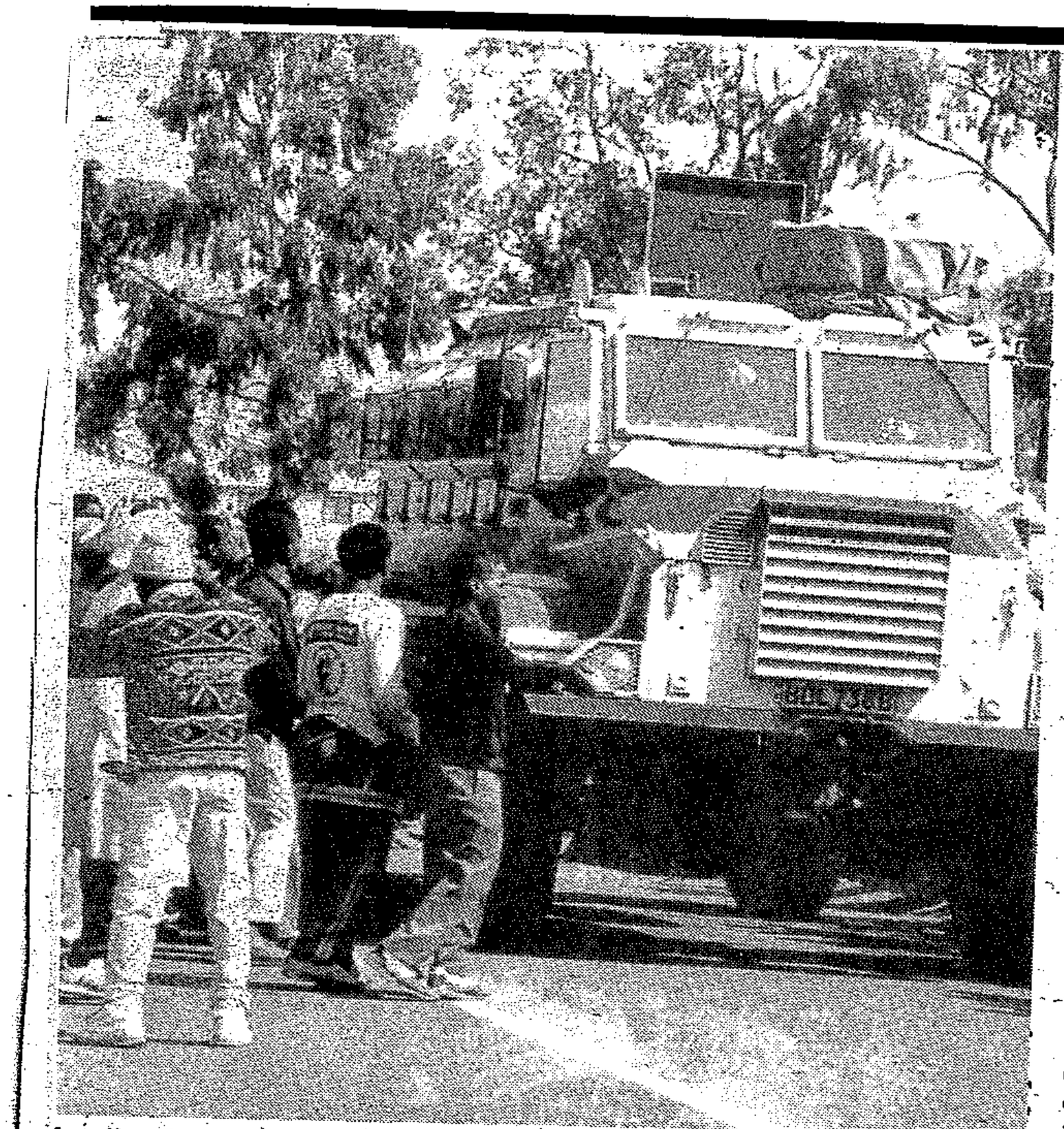
But the KwaMadala Hostel, springboard of last week's attack on Boipatong, has been at the centre of many attacks on residents which accounted for many of the killings.

The seven men released on Friday had all given KwaMadala as their address despite the fact that they were not employed by Iscor, owners of the hostel.

Allegedly known killers, such as the now infamous Victor "The Vaal Monster" Kheswa who were pointed out by residents have been known to be staying in the KwaMadala Hostel, and when they were arrested and later released, this generated even more community anger and accusations that police were less than impartial in their handling of suspects.

In a now seemingly prophetic article last year after the Sebokeng massacre, colleague Themba Molefe wrote after visiting the now-impenetrable complex which then housed 450 men:

To next page



A police Casspir goes through a crowd at Boipatong during unrest in 1991.

Tracing an ugly trail of death

(278)

Sowetan 26/6/92

By MATHATHA TSEDU
Investigations Editor

CHRISTOFFEL Nangalembe was abducted and later found dead, his neck wrung with a wire.

The night before his funeral, his family received information that an attack would be launched at the night vigil. They told the police.

Nangalembe's brother, Mandla, told the media: "I went to the Sebokeng police station seven times asking them to send patrols.

"I told the police we felt unsafe in the area. Now I have lost confidence in the police."

He was speaking amid bodies that were later counted to 42, victims of one of the most callous attacks on mourners by AK-47-wielding gunmen.

The police were there when the attackers arrived in the middle of the night, as mourners sang hymns and prepared to bury Nangalembe.

More voluminous attacks on the police were still to follow. They defended themselves by saying that when they arrived on the scene before the attack, ANC members had told them to go away.

Last Friday, in one of the now familiar judgements castigating police, a Supreme Court judge in the Vereeniging Circuit Court discharged seven alleged members of Inkatha who had been charged with the massacre.

Judge J Schutz said there was insufficient evidence to convict the men, and said police investigations had been sloppy.

He accused two policemen who had been State witnesses, a Sergeant Marais and Sergeant Gerhard Peens, of having "deliberately" set out "to deceive the court".

Schutz said the court took a "strongly adverse view" of the two policemen's evidence.

The judge said the public would obviously want to know why no one had been convicted in the massacre that shook the world.

He said the State had failed to prove beyond resonable doubt that any of the seven men were the attackers.

The police, he said, should have tried harder to find incriminating evidence.

The judge said the result of his judgment was that innocent people had been brutally murdered but the culprits had not been brought to justice.

As in the Trust Feed massacre trial in Natal, where Mr Justice Andrew Wilson found that police had not only covered up the killings, but had actually carried them out to create political space for Inkatha, the police were again found wanting.

The Sebokeng massacre trial outcome has again focused attention on police complicity in killings of anti-apartheid activists or people associated with the deaths and the lack of arrests in similar killings.

As in this trial, where people are arrested, they are either discharged or even released by the police themselves for lack of evidnce.

People inevitably compare the success rate of convictions on the basis of confessions, with those the same police force used to achieve in the pre-reform era and ask what has hap-

---

It can be one of them who falls prey tomorrow, as much as they think they are an island unto themselves.

The very fact that the SAP had done something unheard of in the past, to agree to engage in a discussion with members of the community on such an emotional issue where there has been much mudslinging, was something to be encouraged and not balked at.

In a small way, the police were beginning to trudge the road of accountability, which is seriously lacking in South Africa.

The action of Vista students is best described as seeing people busy rushing with buckets full of water to put out a fire and a small group starts dissuading them from their actions because they did not get permission from the owner to enter the yard.

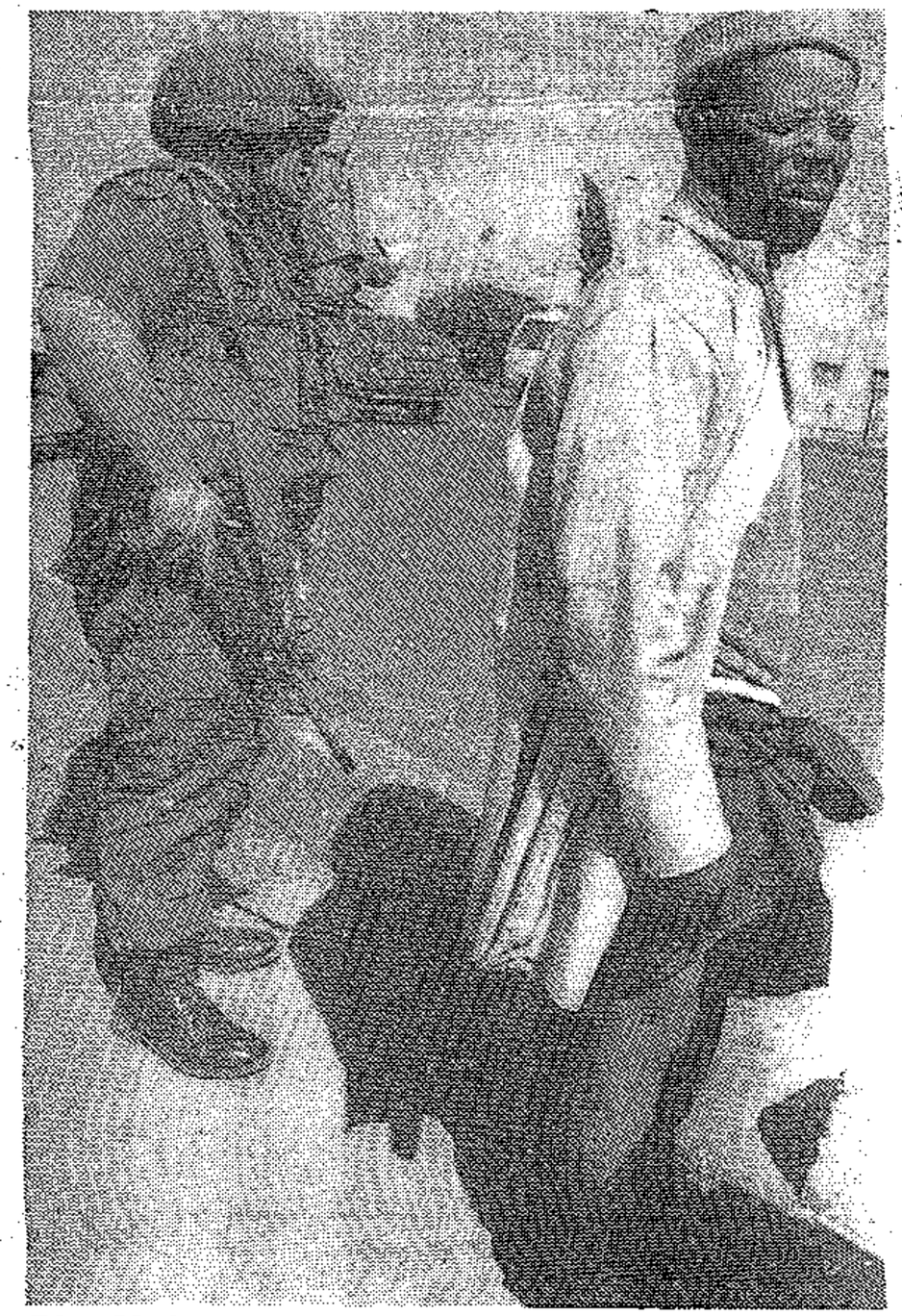
What is important is to put out the fire and not permission to enter the yard before saving the house.

RL GAGASHE
Zola II, KwaXuma
Soweto

'Devastating explosion'

Sowetan 26/6/92 (278)

A 28-year-old man, Sipho Dlamini was found fastened to goalposts on a soccer field in Evaton and burned after being accused of killing a woman in the township.



Piet Mokoena survived an attack by Sebokeng youths who stoned company vehicles.

From page 16

"Whether they are right or not, a time bomb is slowly ticking away, waiting to explode with devastating effect, that is how I felt when I shook hands with Mkhumane and Mthembu".

The time bomb exploded last Wednesday with devastating effect, leaving at least 48 people dead.

The hostel had been closed by Iscor and condemned as uninhabitable, but it was reopened by its present inhabitants after clashes at KwaMasiza Hostel in Sebokeng during which Inkatha members said they were targetted for murder.

The hostel has been linked not only to the Nangalembe massacre but numerous other cases as well as the abduction of women who are then kept as sex slaves.

One girl, abducted and raped inside KwaMadala, said later: "The experience was awful and I passed out after the 16th man."

Another girl, who was also abducted and kept in the hostel before escaping, has been found to be HIV-positive. Another is pregnant.

The hostel has been linked to at least the following incident:

April 15 1991: KwaMadala Hostel inmates sjambok students protesting against books;

May 11 1991: The Rev Jiholo Bhenene and Numsa shop steward Mr Wellington Makhalime abducted to KwaMadala while travelling in Boipatong. They are questioned about Numsa shop stewards and released;

June 6 1991: Ernest Sotsu, ANC leader in the area, is visited by two KwaMadala residents who leave a message for him to report at the hostel or face death. His family was wiped out in December while he was attending the ANC conference;

July 3: A dying six-year-old boy allegedly identified one of the people who attacked Sotsu's house as an inmate of KwaMadala;

July 7: Five men die and 10 are injured at Erika Tavern in Sebokeng. One of the alleged attackers was arrested and gave his addess as KwaMadala Hostel;

July 15: Police allegedly stood by and watched while about 300 men from KwaMadala attacked Boipatong. Police allegedly escorted the attackers back to KwaMadala after the attack;

August 8: KwaMadala Hostel inmates attack Boipatong residents following the funeral of an IFP member in the township.

By March this year, the residents of Boipatong had accused the hostel of being responsible for at least 50 killings, many of which have gone by with no arrests made.

The stock pronouncement by police after incidents in which killings of black people in the Vaal and other areas are announced, that no one has been arrested and police investigations are continuing, has become a familiar addendum that has come to mean little.

Juxtaposed to this has been the swift action of police and army units when non-hostel residents take to the streets, as in Sebokeng on March 23 1990, when 23 people were mowed down as they marched on the offices of the national party in Vereeniging.

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Police confiscate 39 guns in train blitz

(278)

CT 15/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A policeman was seriously injured when he was thrown from a train during a crime prevention operation on the Soweto line which saw 27 people arrested, 39 guns, 361 rounds of ammunition and more than 2 000 dangerous weapons confiscated yesterday.

(278)

Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe told a news conference at New Canada police station yesterday that the operation was part of police action to prevent violence.

He denied that the operation was intended as a warning to the ANC, which begins its mass action campaign tomorrow.

The weapons, which filled two train goods coaches, were found on four trains taking people to an Inkatha rally in Soweto.

General Van der Merwe said some of those arrested were wearing IFP T-shirts and an IFP flag had been left on one of the trains.

He said a lot of weapons were left behind when police searched all trains at Phumalong station. Lives might have been saved, as violent action appeared to have been planned.

The operation was carried out by the New Canada Crime Prevention Unit, which was formed on June 1.

Guns confiscated included several AK-47 rifles, numerous pistols and a home-made gun capable of firing shotgun rounds.

Other dangerous weapons taken included spears, axes and sharpened poles.

An off-duty police officer travelling on a suburban train from Johannesburg to Luipaardsvlei on the West Rand last night was robbed of his pistol and wristwatch.

The train was carrying about 500 Inkatha supporters on their way back from an Inkatha rally at Soweto's Jabulani stadium.

The policeman's pistol was recovered when police searched a large group, who left the train at Luipaardsvlei station.

Meanwhile, at least seven people died and 21 were injured in unrest-related incidents countrywide over the weekend.

Among them were a man who was shot dead and two people who were seriously wounded when gunmen fired on a home in KTC squatter camp outside Cape Town on Saturday. — Sapa

CRIME PREVENTION . . . Police seized over 2 000 weapons, including 39 guns, in a crime prevention operation on commuter trains on the Reef yesterday. Here a woman, in Inkatha colours, is hustled away at Mzimhlope station after allegedly wounding a policeman during a weapons search.

Picture: AP

Irate IFP supporters disarmed at stations

STAR 15/6/92.

By Carina le Grange and Guy Jepson (278)

A policemen was seriously injured and 27 suspects were arrested when heavily armed policemen yesterday confiscated thousands of weapons at three Soweto stations from men on their way to an Inkatha Youth League rally.

And in Dobsonville, Comrades used earthmoving equipment to demolish sections of the local hostel between 12.30 am and 1 pm, while the majority of Dobsonville hostel-dwellers were attending the IFP rally.

They commandeered an earthmover and a road leveller and crashed through the razor wire, smashing into the hostel.

Four rooms on the hostel's Jonas Stret side, including two family units, were torn open by the heavy machinery, but there were no injuries. Three of the damaged rooms were unoccupied.

Following the confiscation of the weapons at Phomolong, New Canada and Dube

Anger, cheers for police — Page 13

stations, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said at a press conference at New Canada station that yesterday's actions could serve as a sign that police would not tolerate any unlawful conduct at any time.

General van der Merwe said police were convinced they had prevented "serious consequences" through the action.

"All indications are that serious actions had been planned," he said. He said five people were killed and 14 injured — including a policeman — in clashes between the IFP and ANC on Saturday.

Apart from dangerous traditional weapons — which fully filled railway coaches — almost 30 handguns, at least 10 AK-47s and more than 300 rounds of ammunition were seized during the operation, when trains carrying Inkatha Freedom Party supporters to Jabulani Stadium were disarmed.

Other weapons included axes, spears, pangas, sjamboks, and wooden and sharp-

● From Page 1

Police disarm Inkatha supporters on trains

STAR 15/6/92 (278)

● From Page 1

ened metal sticks.

Police intercepted trains at the station without prior warning. The raid infuriated IFP supporters, but residents who had gathered near the station entrance cheered.

During the operation, an as yet unnamed policeman was flung from a train and seriously injured. He was in a stable condition last night, police said.

Police could not confirm that those arrested and raided were Inkatha members "unless membership was established". Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said, however, that most had travelled into Soweto, probably from George Goch hostel.

Among those arrested were eight women. All 27 people are expected to appear in court today.

A group of Inkatha supporters returning from the rally robbed a policeman of his firearm and held-up two women at a West Rand station.

Reports of police seizing weapons at stations provoked outrage at Jabulani Stadium, where IFP Youth Brigade national organiser Ntwe Mafole claimed party members had been killed or wounded by ANC supporters after being disarmed, reports AFP.

One IFP supporter dancing in the stands at the amphitheatre shot himself in the shoulder when his cocked gun went off.

Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi urged supporters not to get caught up in conflict with the ANC. They should make the mass action campaign fail by going to work.

● In its unrest report for the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Saturday, the SAP said four people were killed and 12 seriously injured in township violence countrywide.

SUNDAY

PROFILE

Thys is winning his fight to keep Soweto's train thugs at bay

S/Times 14/6/92.

278

FROM 4am to 8pm the best coffee in town is available at Soweto's New Canada police station, with large dollops of homespun wisdom and surrounded by a lethal assortment of hand-hewn weapons seized on the trains.

Captain Thys du Plessis, 36, head of the New Canada crime prevention unit, is a coffee addict. He is also responsible for the safety of more than a million Sowetans who whiz past his fern-filled office window each day.

During the morning or evening three-hour rush, 318 trains with 2 441 coaches hurtle through 16 stations under his command.

At least once during the rush hour he will fill the coffee machine with fresh water and grounds, switch it on and take his lanky frame on to one of the trains. He may choose the train at random, or it may be one, like 9025 from Vereeniging, that has a reputation for violence.

By the time he gets back the coffee will have dripped through and he'll pour a steaming cup.

Captain Du Plessis is the key link in a new train-violence task group that has seen the police increase force numbers sixfold on Reef trains, and pump in vast resources in efforts to curb violence. His own unit, as an example, previously had just over 60 policemen. That number has now swelled to 511.

In March the 60-odd members of his unit worked an average of 174 hours overtime each — or a combined 10 400 hours overtime. They don't get paid overtime, nor do they get the danger pay which members of the riot squads get for township duty. This year seven members of the unit were in hospital after falling victim to train attackers.

It is too early to tell if the new system will restore safety to the Soweto trains, in which 13 people were killed in the first four months of this year. Violence plummeted in May, but this week in scattered attacks more than 14 people have been injured and four killed.

As Tuesday's 16th anniversary of June 16 1976 looms, Captain Du Plessis and his men are bracing themselves for what is traditionally one of the year's most violent days.

Captain Du Plessis has policed trains since he was 17, and he knows it is unlikely that violence will be beaten this easily. "I think violence is down because people heard rumours of the new task force, but there will always be someone who will test the system," he says.

If there is ever a book written on township trains, Captain du Plessis would be an essential source.

He recalls how in the 70s, karate supremo Bruce Lee was the craze and karate the favoured assault on Soweto train commuters. Then gangs came to the fore. They would shoot at opposing gangs as trains pulled out of stations, though nowadays some commuters take barrow-loads of stones on to trains to hurl at passing opponents.

Women would be gang-raped and commuters thrown off trains after being robbed. There have always been coaches devoted to gamblers or churchgoers — some preachers work only in these tin churches — but after open-air meetings were banned in 1978, and it became increasingly perilous to hold political meetings, trains became a critical venue for political and union meetings.

These were the "mzabalazo" (struggle) carriages. They are so important that Cosatu has for a number of years had a special "train sector". Captain Du Plessis says that, before major political events, political speeches on trains intensify and people "become excitable and often attack each other".

One of the roots of the present train violence began about three years ago when activists from rival groups would tell an ideological opponent to lift his union or politically sloganned T-shirt above his head, and then stab him. Result: no one now wears a T-shirt with a political slogan. Captain Du Plessis says conventional crime has ceased completely on the trains. "Now it is just killings," he says.

Recently, he recounts, a thug thought he could buck the trend and stole a wallet when the train halted. "Everyone jumped off the train and chased him. They almost beat him to death when they caught him. And yet those same people say nothing when they witness an attack.

"There is something wrong with our society when material possessions become more important than life."

Captain Du Plessis is in favour of a weapons ban. In all his years as a policeman he has never once used his firearm. "I've never found it necessary. You can always talk confrontation out of the way instead of fighting.

"Sometimes we board a full coach and people will get aggressive towards us. The only thing is to find a leader in the group and get only him to talk. Eventually you reach a situation where he understands you, and you him, and everyone calms down."

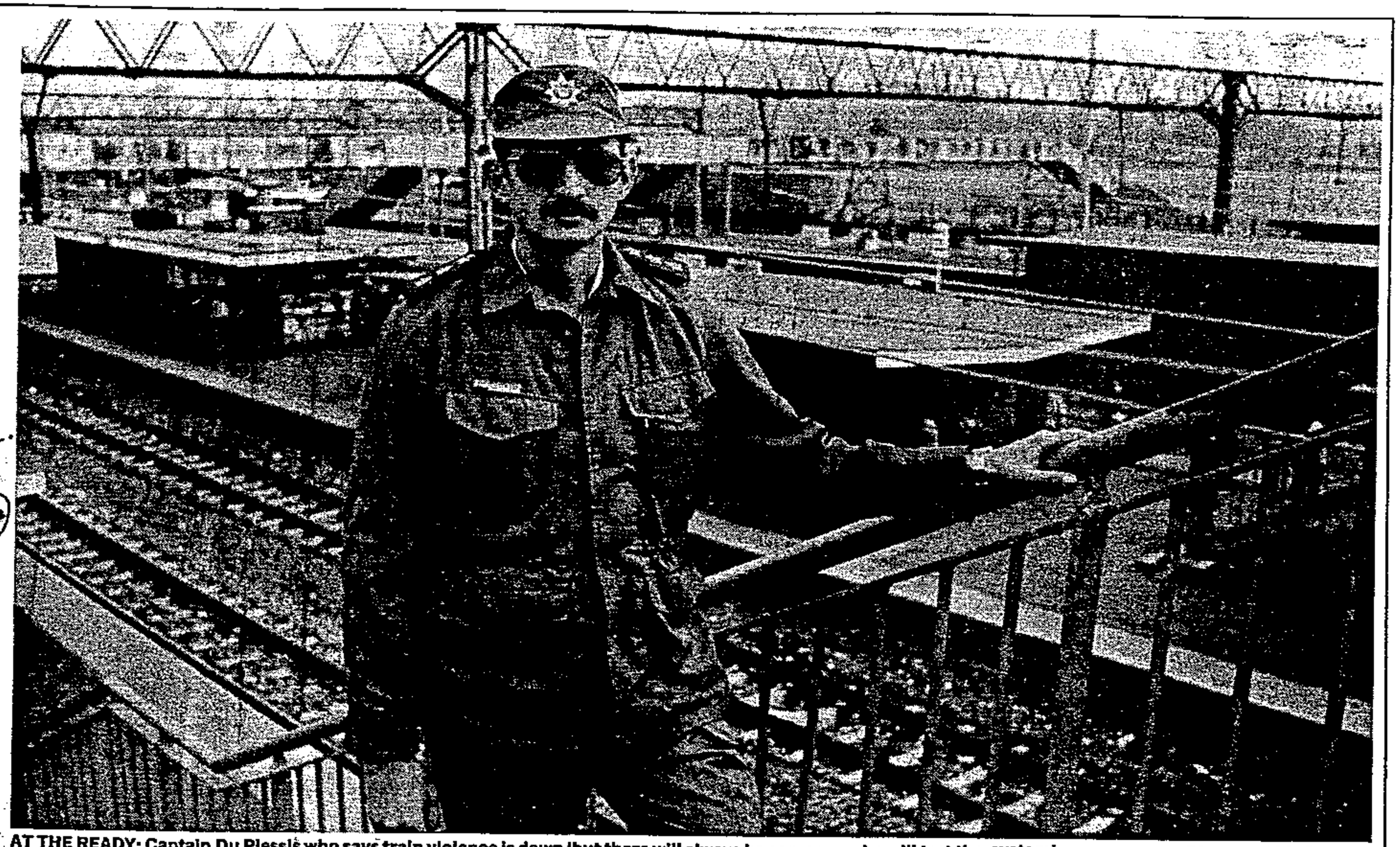
His father was a detective, and his eldest brother, Johannes, is assistant district police commissioner in Greytown, Natal; a younger brother is in the army. In his 18-year career Captain Du Plessis has policed trains from Krugersdorp to Merebank, Worcester to Ermelo, but Soweto is his most challenging assignment.

His staff say he is easy to work for, though many work the long hours — from 4am to 7pm — that he often puts in. He had no tertiary education, though for a while he lectured in criminal law and police administration at the police college.

Despite his long hours, he obviously makes time for an active social life. Captain Du Plessis has been married three times. He and his third wife, Hanlie, have seven children between them.

After hours he devotes himself to his large family and dabbles in oil painting, engravings and calligraphy. "That is why I don't suffer from stress; when I'm doing those things I don't think of work."

Charlene Smith



AT THE READY: Captain Du Plessis who says train violence is down 'but there will always be someone who will test the system'

Picture: JOE SEFALE

Sunken oil tanker 'a menace'

S/Times 14/6/92.

By RYAN CRESSWELL

SCIENTISTS believe the sunken tanker Katina P will be an oil pollution menace to South Africa for many months to come.

This is the finding of the Marine Geoscience Unit of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs which analysed the sinking, 160km from the Mozambican shore in mid-April.

It is in marked contrast to findings of the Environment Affairs and Transport departments, who claimed the oil would stay underwater.

They said water pressure would keep the oil in place and low temperatures 2,6km under the sea would freeze the oil. They assured the public the tanker had probably reached the bottom in one piece.

Professor Tom Mason, Dr Peter Ramsay and Dr Alan Smith of the Geoscience Unit say that no matter how low the temperature, oil will rise to the surface if it leaks from ruptured tanks, as its density is less then sea water.

They say the chance of the Katina P not breaking up underwater is "remote" as it would have been travelling about 48km/h when it hit the seabed — with a force 30 000 times that of a car hitting a brick wall at the same speed.

"The salvors estimated that Katina P's hull and deck were already severely damaged before she broke her back and sank.

"Considering the Katina P's hull condition, we believe that most of the oil tanks will be damaged, and that the ship will be an oil pollution source until her cargo disperses — the wreck still holds about 53 500 tonnes," said the marine geologists.

The Department of Environment Affairs has reported that about 500 tonnes of oil from the tanker has landed on SA beaches.

● Oil from the Katina P is already killing seabirds but crayfish are eating the sticky stuff. Oil-covered animals have been found along the South Coast at Pennington, Amanzimtoti and Bazley.

Killers had no mercy

Survivors tell of horror

(278)

CT 19/6/92

BOIPATONG. — After the killers had done their work, bodies frozen in their death throes bore testimony yesterday to one of South Africa's worst township massacres.

Wailing women surrounded the corpse of Benjamin Mosoetsa, one of 39 people killed in the Boipatong squatter camp on Wednesday night by raiders wielding knives, guns and axes.

Hands frozen

His pitifully thin body lay in a pool of congealed blood on the floor of a four-room "matchbox" house, his head twisted to the side, his face locked in a grimace.

Rigor mortis had frozen his hands in front of his chest, as if to ward off the bullets that killed him.

"A gang of men came to the window last night," one of his grieving relatives said, her body heaving with emotion.

"They broke the windows, kicked in the door, and shot Benjamin and his brother."

Non-aligned

In a house nearby survivors repeated the story.

Here the victim was Baleni Lerabane, 58, a member of the Zionist Christian Church whose members shun politics.

Being non-aligned in the township wars didn't save her.

"The men kicked in the door and said they wanted someone from the African National Congress," her daughter Bertha said. "My mother said there is no-one here from the ANC."

The men slit her throat anyway and stripped the body to her underwear.

Israel Makudu, 52, said he cowered in his corrugated iron shack when the killers struck on Wednesday evening.

"These people were killed like sheep," he said. "The only thing I heard was 'open up you bloody bastards' in Zulu. They took radios, blankets, everything, from our shacks back to the hostel."

Among the bodies were a pregnant woman with a bloodied face and an infant stabbed in the head. The woman's father said she had been on the verge of giving birth.

Fifteen-year-old Paul Sibolani crawled under a bed in his Boipatong home on Wednesday night and emerged to find rampaging attackers had killed his brother and mother.

The shaken teenager said the attackers had kicked down the the door to the Sibolani family's house. They attacked and killed Paul's brother before going on to stab his mother.

She was speared to death, said the distraught boy.

"I am too hurt," Paul told Sapa. He didn't know where his next meal was coming from. "My mother was the only one in our house with a job."

Next door, across a simple wire fence, the bloodied body of Benjamin Moloetsa lay sprawled in a bedroom. He had been shot.

A mortuary truck escorted by armoured police vehicles followed the trail of death through appalling scenes of carnage. The floor of the van ran with blood.

In one dusty street of the poverty-stricken slum, a mother still grasped her nine-month-old infant to her breast. Both had been stabbed to death.

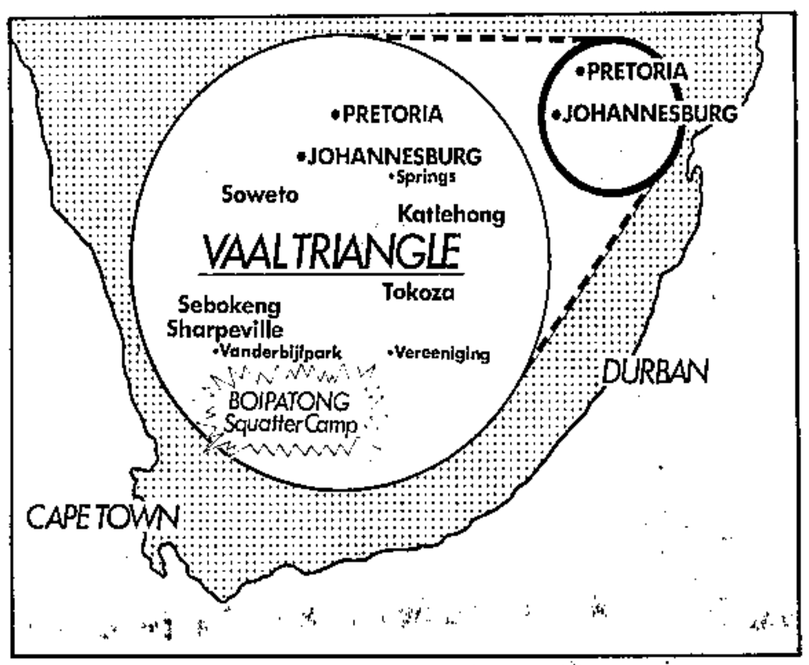
A full-term pregnant woman sprawled nearby, and a one-year-old child lay dead on the next block.

Angry residents of the camp burned down the house of a black policeman in retaliation for the attack, which they blamed on members of the Inkatha Freedom Party acting in collusion with security forces. The policeman's new Toyota Cressida was also destroyed. Inkatha denied any connection.

When the policeman later drove past the ruin of his house, he pulled out his gun and pointed it at his head.

MOURNING . . . A woman weeps next to the body of a baby killed in Wednesday night's attack on Boipatong squatter camp near Vanderbijl Park. Picture: AP

CT 19/6/92



ANC blames govt for massacre

(278)

CT 19/6/92

ANC MP for Simon's Town Mr Jannie Momberg told Parliament last night that the deaths of 39 people in the Boipatong squatter camp was the direct result of the secret government funding of Inkatha.

He said the gruesome events were due to police and SADF support for Inkatha — sometimes with the help of secret funds.

"The blood of these innocent people rests fully on the shoulders of the state and its agencies."

FW 'shocked' by Boipatong — promises action

(278)

ARG 19/6/92

'Funds for Inkatha to blame' — Momberg

THE deaths in the Boipatong squatter camp were the direct result of secret government funding of Inkatha, says Mr Jannie Momberg (Independent, Simon's Town).

Speaking in debate on the Secret Services Account Amendment Bill, he said the gruesome events were also the result of police and defence force support for Inkatha.

Thirty-nine women and children were murdered, allegedly by Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers.

"The blood of these innocent people rests fully on the shoulders of the state and its agencies," said Mr Momberg.

He claimed secret funds had been used by the state against the ANC.

He wanted to know how many millions of rands had been wasted in efforts to destroy the ANC. — Sapa.

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk says the government will not rest until the perpetrators of the "shocking" Boipatong massacre have been brought to justice.

And the Democratic Party has warned that the investigation into the massacre is a critical test for the police and if they do not "immediately arrest all suspects, a slide towards anarchy is possible".

In a strongly worded statement last night, Mr De Klerk said he had learned with "shock and revulsion of the mindless killing" of 39 people in the township.

"Together with the violent deaths of at least 35 people on Monday and Tuesday nights, this act adds to tension created by the intolerable level of violence in our country."

He appealed to all South Africans to reject violence and called on all leaders to ensure discipline and restraint among their followers.

Mr De Klerk also expressed his "deepest condolences with the families and loved ones of the victims".

Democratic Party spokesman on law and order Mr Peter Gastrow said the police response to the massacre "will give South Africa an indication as to whether or not the police force is capable of maintaining law and order".

Extending sympathy to the bereaved and injured, Mr Gastrow said the DP condemned the massacre "because innocent lives have been lost, the negotiating process is affected and the Peace Accord is placed under pressure".

DP MP Mr Rupert Lorimer, acting chairman of the executive committee of the Witwatersrand, Vaal Regional dispute resolution committee said Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel had promised "an urgent police investigation", which would include following up "various allegations of collusion against the police".

He said the Goldstone Commission would be asked to ensure the matter was investigated.

ANC MP for Simon's Town Mr Jannie Momberg said in parliament that the deaths of 39 people were the direct result of secret government funding of Inkatha.

Good day for a carnival — but the mission's far from frivolous

W/Mail 19/6-25/6/92. (278)

There was an air of gaiety on Soweto Day — but it did not detract from the significance of commemorations, or the seriousness of the mass action campaign.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**

A CARNIVAL atmosphere reigned among the crowds wearing colourful African National Congress T-shirts, ribbons and headbands as they jigged and danced in unison at various points around Soweto on Tuesday, marking the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the launch of the ANC's mass action campaign.

But for ANC leaders looking to a "Leipzig option" — a reference to the sustained popular upheavals which toppled East Germany's communist regime — the campaign's launch must have been a disappointment. Thousands of people joined marches and flocked to Orlando Stadium for a rally, but the turnout — about 45 000 people — was not on the scale of the heady Defiance Campaign marches that preceded President FW de Klerk's watershed February 1990 speech.

As on most national holidays, those seeking leisure outnumbered the politically active. Many residents stood outside their homes or gathered at street corners, watching the proceedings with detached interest.

But even those on the periphery responded to the mythical appeal of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Men, women and children grabbed each other in excitement and climbed on to fences and roofs, straining to catch a glimpse of Mandela as he and other ANC and South African Communist Party heavyweights led a march from Ikwezi Station near Dobsonville to the stadium.

Nelson Mandela

Many employers granted workers the day off with full pay; other employees took it off anyway. More than 90 percent of workers on the Reef stayed away; in Durban, Cape Town and other cities, the stay-aways ranged from 50 to 90 percent. Bus and train services in most city centres ground to a virtual halt.

Repeated appeals for "discipline and order" were made throughout the day. At the Orlando Stadium, Mandela devoted a large part of his speech to issues of discipline, stressing that people should resist the attempts of agents provocateurs to draw them into violence.

"The people should observe absolute discipline and should also resist pressure for the armed struggle to be reinstated," he said. He cautioned against the desire of some supporters to take the struggle into white areas.

ANC marshals were obsessive in their attempts to restrain the marching crowds, but they needn't have bothered. Everyone was in the mood for peace — except for a few youths who hurled stones at an armoured police vehicle near the crowded site in Orlando West where a memorial stone for Hector Petersen, the first victim of the 1976 uprising, was unveiled by Mandela.

The rally, addressed by Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, was a festive event, with music, dancing and the smell of cooking food — giving the day an air of celebration rather than mourning. Outside the grounds, hawkers sold an array of wares, included "June 16" souvenirs: mugs bearing the famous picture of Petersen carried in the arms a grieving youth, a weeping young woman running alongside.

The tuneless singing of a nervous women who led the crowds through the verses of *Nkosi Sikilel' iAfrika* caused ripples of mirth among ANC leaders on the podium, especially executive member Thabo Mbeki.

The highlight of the musical performances interspersing the speeches was provided by funky pop artist *Sipho "Hotstix"* Mabuse and his band, who inspired all the leaders, including Mandela, to join in the dancing. As people streamed out of the stadium, the stirring sounds of Abdullah Ibrahim's *Mannenburg* filled the air, a reminder of the sad memories of June 1976.

A jarring note was struck by large groups of more traditional-looking ANC supporters, many of them blanketed Xhosa-speaking shack-dwellers brandishing "cultural" weapons — a lethal array of axes, pangas, knives and spears. Were it not for their ANC headbands, they could have been mistaken for Inkatha supporters. After the rally, about 100 Pan Africanist Congress-supporting youths, some carrying wooden AK47s, spontaneously marched outside the stadium, chanting "one bullet, one bullet" and aggressively firing imaginary machine guns at white photographers.

Joy ... A child joins in the dancing at the ANC's rally in Orlando Stadium Photo: KEVIN CARTER

The Weekly Mail journalists were ordered to leave a low-key Inkatha meeting at Mzimhlope Hostel in Meadowlands, attended by a few hundred people. Speakers paid tribute to the victims of the Soweto uprising and slammed the ANC's mass action campaign.

The day was marred by an increased intensity of gun attacks and by isolated killings which left at least 30 people dead in the 24-hour period from Monday to Tuesday night. But most of the incidents, perpetrated by "unknown gunmen", could not be directly linked to the mass action campaign. These included:

- Nine people were killed in Soweto's Jabulani Flats, when about six men opened fire on pedestrians and commuters.
- Nine people were stabbed or shot in isolated incidents in Vaal and East Rand townships.
- Violence plagued commemorations in Vosloorus, where 10 people were killed at a gathering in a house fired on by men in a white minibus. Police had earlier dispersed marching Inkatha hostel-dwellers. Youths set a councillor's house alight and damaged several others.

The attacks were blots on an otherwise remarkably peaceful campaign launch, considering that thousands of people took to the streets nationwide.

None of the South African Defence Force troops on standby was deployed and Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe issued a statement thanking those who "made a contribution to the fact that it all occurred peacefully".

Defiance ... Children throw stones at a retreating police vehicle

Photo: BLAKE OWENS

Monsters, a midnight caller and a Messiah

W/Mail 19/6-25/6/92 (278)

Amid the rhetoric and militant chants of 'one settler, one bullet' the Pan Africanist Congress used June 16, usually a day of mourning, to slam Codesa, the 'regime' and the ANC's mass action campaign.

MONDLI MAKHANYA *reports*

AN outer-space visitor attending the Pan Africanist Congress' Soweto rally this week would have been forgiven for believing the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was the worst thing to happen to the country since the 1948 National Party election victory.

Lightening up an otherwise dull affair, the sloganeering and militant rhetoric delivered a virulently anti-Codesa message. Speaker after speaker castigated Codesa for seeking to perpetuate "the subjugation of the African masses under a racist, colonialist regime". Codesa was dubbed a "product of the fascist regime" by PWV official Ntsudeni Madzunya. It was labelled a "rot" and a "monster" by other speakers.

Even the posters condemning Codesa outnumbered those denigrating the "regime". "Codesa has no mandate from the Azanian people," declared one.

The correct approach — the message from the podium repeatedly proclaimed — lay in Carlson Zimbiri, the Azanian People's Liberation Army commander who often claims responsibility for attacks on black policemen in midnight calls to the press. His "sterling" achievements were routinely applauded by the gathering.

The PAC's assertion that it would only participate in the negotiating forum if it was held at neutral venue under a neutral chairman and the only issue under discussion was a non-racial one-man one vote for a constituent assembly was reiterated.

This hardline sentiment was summed up by PAC president Clarence Makwetu — "the commander of the most disciplined army in the world" — who said the mere fact of Codesa participants' "screaming their lungs out while pointing fingers at each other" vindicated the PAC's scepticism.

Secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions' Cunningham Ngcukana also registered the federation's rejection of Codesa. He announced that Nactu, the country's second biggest labour federation, had resolved not to support the mass action campaign as long as it was linked to progress at Codesa. Nactu would also oppose an unelected interim government.

"We will resist any interim government and create a situation of ungovernability in the country once it is installed," Ngcukana threatened.

This pits Nactu against the Congress of South African Trade Unions, with whom closer links are being forged in preparation for a single federation. Cosatu is demanding the call for an interim government to be in place by July and is also the engine behind the ANC's mass action campaign.

Also not feasible in the light of this clash of views is the prospect of reconvening the stillborn Patriotic Front — whose urgency PAC speakers stressed as the only way of achieving a constituent assembly.

Ngcukana elicited great applause from the crowd when he rejected the idea of a white veto on the grounds that "we have the right to mismanage our country if we want to".

But the star of the day was undoubtedly the PAC's West Rand deputy secretary Phillip Dlamini, who kept the 5 000-odd crowd on their feet with calls of "one settler, one bullet" and "settler settler, bullet bullet". He boasted that the slogan was the most "humane and religious" mankind had ever formulated.

"We believe every man is made in the image of God and we do not want to brutalise that body by pumping 1 000 bullets into it. We would also not like to denigrate it by burning it with a tyre," explained Dlamini.

The toyi-toyiing youths singing "Saddam, Saddam: Ke motho wa kgotso" (Sadaam is a man of peace) loved it all. After all, it is what they have grown accustomed to hearing.

But for the leadership, all doors leading to Codesa were shut. For there is no way a constituency nurtured on anti-Codesa rhetoric would ever allow a retreat from the present position.

For now Carlson Zimbiri remains the Messiah.

The MINISTER OF HOUSING AND AGRICULTURE:

(1) No, it is the responsibility of the Local Authority to provide such a community facility;

(a) Falls away;

(b) Falls away; and

(2) No.

Mr K CHETTY: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know why he, being the hon the Minister of Housing and Agriculture, cannot go ahead with that project in Phoenix. Those people need that facility. The hon the Minister says it is the responsibility of the local authority, but I remember very clearly that the former Chairman of the Ministers' Council was responsible for the Chatsworth Stadium. He personally allocated the funds to the Durban City Council when he was still the Minister of Housing.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I do not need to tell the hon member for Chatsworth Central that we are discussing this issue in 1992 and at a time when money for housing is in short supply. I can assure him that it we had the necessary funds today, we would start building a hall in Phoenix tomorrow. However, one has to take the current situation into account.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is he aware of the fact that as the Minister in charge of housing, he controls the utilization of community facility funding by any municipality? In view of this fact, will the hon the Minister direct that an investigation be carried out to ascertain how much money the community facility fund of Phoenix has at its disposal? Is the hon the Minister aware of the fact that there has been a policy decision that the profits from all unsold sites in Phoenix be used to provide facilities, and that this money could be used to start building the stadium in Phoenix?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am very mindful of the issue which the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition has raised. However, for the information of this House, I will certainly carry out the investigation which he has suggested.

Mr K PANDAY: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply and in view of the similar answers he and the Durban City Council have given in respect of the shortage of funds, I would like to know whether the hon the Minister would consider a joint venture in the development of the sports centre at Phoenix.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, for the information of the hon member for Reservoir Hills, I do not want to give a categorical answer at this stage. It is an issue which, for the benefit of our people, may be considered in future.

Mr T L GOUNDEN: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know if he would consider a sports stadium, a hospital or a clinic in Phoenix a priority.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I stand to be corrected, but I do not think the development of hospitals comes under the jurisdiction of the Housing Development Board. The Province controls the issue which the hon member has just raised. The sports stadium at Phoenix, of course, is a matter which falls under my department. Provided funds are available, we will certainly provide such facilities.

Mr D K PADIACHEY: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask him whether he is aware that when Dr Mandela visited Phoenix over the weekend, only 20% or less of the crowd were Indians, because of the poor facilities offered in Phoenix? [Interjections.]

*4. Leader of the Official Opposition—Education and Culture. [Withdrawn.]

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Opportunity given to Deputy Minister of Defence to reply to Question No 2 for Oral Reply on Question Paper under General Affairs, pursuant to Resolution adopted by this House today (see col 11471):

Alleged assault of 21 Battalion on squatters

*2. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Defence: (278)

(1) Whether the South African Defence Force has investigated an incident involving members of 21 Battalion who are alleged to have assaulted squatters in the Tamboville squatter area near Wattville, Benoni, on or about 24 May 1992; if not; why not; if so, what are the findings;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D194E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

Mr Chariman, thank you very much for this opportunity. I would like to convey my sincere apologies to the Chair and to all hon members for not being here on time. I was incorrectly informed by my office.

(1) Yes, a Board of Inquiry has been convened to investigate the incident, but it has as yet not been completed.

(2) No.

Mr M RAJAB: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, would he tell this House when it is anticipated that the board of inquiry will complete its task?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is difficult to say, but I would imagine that it will do so within the next few weeks. It should not take longer than that.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Ministerial Representatives: travelling/subsistence expenses

33. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

(1) Whether two Ministerial Representatives of the House of Delegates, who serve on Codesa and whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, have claimed any travelling and subsistence expenses in regard to their attendance of Codesa meetings; if so, (a)(i) for how many air tickets and (ii) what (aa) road transport and (bb) hotel expenses have been claimed by each and (b) in respect of what specified period are these figures furnished;

(2) what are the names of the Ministerial Representatives in question? D167E

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

(1) No.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(2) Falls away.

Ministers of State: travel/accommodation expenses

34. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

(1) Whether the (a)(i) air and (ii) road travelling and (b) accommodation expenses incurred by Ministers of State attending meetings of Codesa are paid for by his Department; if not, (aa) why not and (bb) by which Departments are they paid for; if so, why;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D168E

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) (i) No.

(ii) No.

(b) No.

(aa) The air and road travelling expenses of ministers are paid by their respective departments and ministers are accommodated in their official residences.

(bb) Falls away.

(2) No.

Own Affairs:

Number of court cases: House of Delegates

30. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services:

Whether his Department has information on the number of cases involving the Administration: House of Delegates that were handled on behalf of the Administration by the Office of the State Attorney in each of the latest specified three years for which information is

cont'd

Bloodbath shocks SA

(278)

JOHANNESBURG. — The death toll in the Boipatong massacre climbed to 39 last night as the ANC warned that the mass killings could wreck the peace process.

Residents were butchered in their homes late on Wednesday night as about 200 men armed with guns and axes rampaged through the usually quiet township.

Among the dead were a pregnant woman and several children, including a nine-month-old baby. Eleven people were wounded.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the killings were a "national tragedy".

"We no longer want slaughter in this country. This must be the last Boipatong," he said.

THE Goldstone Commission is to be asked to investigate the Boipatong massacre, Bryanston MP Mr Rupert Lorimer says.

Mr Lorimer is acting chairman of the executive committee of the Witwatersrand-Vaal regional dispute resolution committee.

A meeting of the committee has been called for Saturday.

Mr Lorimer said he had held talks with Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and "various allegations of collusion against the police and others" will be probed.

COUNTING THE COST . . . Armed policemen watch as a victim of one of the country's worst massacres is removed from Boipatong squatter camp. The death toll has risen to 39 and could mount further.

CT 4/6/92 (278)

Picture: AP

The brutal killing spree — the largest single township massacre in South Africa — has shocked the country.

As a strong contingent of police reinforcements moved into the area early yesterday, shocked survivors, stunned by the ferocity of the attack, milled about between blanket-covered bodies scattered in the streets and houses.

Residents, many of whom were sobbing uncontrollably, blamed Zulu-speaking men from a nearby hostel for migrant workers, a stronghold of Inkatha.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Themba Khoza denied involvement by his group and condemned the massacre.

ANC Boipatong chairman Mr Ernest Sotsu said the attackers came from the nearby KwaMadala hostel.

He said his organisation had received information that KwaMadala hostel-dwellers were bent on attacking Boipatong.

"That information was conveyed to the police who said they had already deployed extra policemen in the township," he said.

About 9pm on Wednesday, police entered the township and "removed" from the streets residents who were apparently patrolling the streets in anticipation of impending attacks, he claimed.

Mr Sotsu said that soon after that, police were seen unloading the hostel-dwellers in the township. Some residents canvassed yesterday claimed to have seen white men among the attackers.

Similar allegations were also made by ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said police were investigating the allegations.

Last night President F W de Klerk said the government would not rest

To page 5

From page 1

until the killers had been found and brought to justice.

Expressing "shock and revulsion" at the "mindless killing", Mr De Klerk said he wished to assure South Africans that everything possible would be done to bring to book those responsible for the carnage.

He said that together with the violent deaths of at least 35 people on Monday and Tuesday nights, "this act adds to tension created by the intolerable level of violence in our country".

Mr De Klerk appealed to all South Africans to reject violence and asked political leaders "to ensure discipline and restraint among their followers".

Speaking at a press conference in the decimated township, ANC secretary-general Mr Ramaphosa said: "This type of violence could lead to negotiations being derailed."

ANC PWV assistant general secretary Mr Bavumile Vilakazi said Boipatong residents were urging the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance to reconsider its participation in the National Peace Accord.

Residents were also asking the alliance to convene an urgent meeting with the government to discuss the massacre.

Mr Ramaphosa said he was particularly disturbed by allegations of security force complicity in the killings.

"We charge F W de Klerk and his government with complicity in this slaughter," he added. CT 19/6/92 (298)

Investigation

Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said last night that claims that the police had been slow in responding to the massacre would be fully investigated.

The head of the Special Investigation Unit, Major-General Hannes Gloy, was sent to the scene to head an intensive investigation.

"The purpose of the investigation will be to bring those responsible for the killing to justice as rapidly as possible.

"I wish to give the assurance that every effort possible will be made in this regard."

Democratic Party Law and Order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said the police response to the massacre "will give South Africa an indication as to whether the police force is capable of maintaining law and order in the country.

"If they fail the test by not immediately arresting all suspects, a slide towards anarchy is possible". — Sapa, Own Correspondent and Political Staff

Police accused of aiding attackers

Scores slain in township killing spree

B/Day 19/6/92 (278)

WILSON ZWANE

AT LEAST 39 residents of Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle were killed yesterday by a panga and spear-wielding gang in the worst outbreak of violence since September 1990.

Among the dead were a pregnant woman and several children, including a nine-month-old baby. A local ANC leader put the toll at 50.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told journalists yesterday that the seriousness of the incident could derail the negotiations process.

Boipatong residents urged the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance to reconsider its participation in the national peace accord.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the Goldstone Commission would be asked to investigate the massacre.

President F W de Klerk last night reacted with "shock and revulsion" to the "mindless killings" and promised that government would not rest until those responsible were brought to justice.

ANC Boipatong chairman Ernest Sotsu said the incident occurred on Wednesday night when hundreds of men from the nearby KwaMadala Hostel went on a rampage.

Sotsu said his organisation had received information that KwaMadala hostel dwellers were bent on attacking Boipatong. "That information was conveyed to the police who said they had already deployed extra policemen in the township," he said.

At about 9pm on Wednesday, police "removed" residents who were apparently patrolling the streets in anticipation of impending attacks. Live ammunition and teargas was used in the process, Sotsu said.

He claimed shortly after residents had been removed from the streets, police were seen unloading the hostel dwellers at various points in the township. The hostel dwellers then launched their attacks.

In some cases, police assisted attackers by breaking down walls and doors, Sotsu claimed. "Various weapons, including firearms, were used in the attacks. More than 50 people were killed and scores injured," he said. Properties were also looted.

Some of the residents canvassed yesterday claimed to have seen white men among the attackers.

Police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen said 39 people were killed and 11 injured.

On the allegations that police were involved in the attacks, Barkhuizen said police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe had appointed Special Investigations Unit chief Maj-Gen Hannes Gloy to investigate them.

Ramaphosa who, together with ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope and SACP chairman Joe Slovo, yesterday visited the township, said his organisation charged government with complicity in the massacre.

He reiterated the ANC's demand for the involvement of the international community in monitoring violence.

Slovo urged Boipatong residents not to allow the incident, "horrific though it is", to diminish their resolve to continue with

☐ To Page 2

Killing spree

B/Day 19/6/92 (278)

☐ From Page 1

the mass action programme.

ANC PWV assistant general secretary Bavumile Vilakazi said Boipatong residents were urging the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance to reconsider its participation in the national peace accord. Residents were also asking the alliance to convene an urgent meeting with government to discuss the massacre.

Other demands included the immediate withdrawal of the police from the township; the closure of KwaMadala Hostel; the immediate arrest of perpetrators of violence and the return of looted goods.

Inkatha Youth Brigade Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said his organisation viewed allegations of KwaMadala hostel dwellers' involvement in the attacks "as irresponsible, especially in the light of the increasingly volatile climate sparked by the ANC's mass action campaign".

He said until police investigations had been concluded, blame for the Boipatong massacre should not be apportioned.

The township was tense yesterday and all streets were barricaded.

An ANC PWV official said the attack vindicated the organisation's belief that township residents should form self-defence units to repel attacks.

Yesterday "comrades" in Sebokeng manned a makeshift roadblock and searched vehicles for firearms.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the massacre showed that the ANC's mass action campaign had "pushed political temperatures unacceptably high" and created a climate in which violence could easily happen.

Killers will pay - cops

(278)

Sowetan 19/6/92

THE Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has issued instructions for an immediate, intensive investigation into the killings in Boipatong township yesterday.

He said in a statement he was most concerned at the "tragic and senseless murder of a large number of people at Boipatong township in the Vaal triangle".

Reinforcements have been sent to the area to restore law and order and Major-General Hannes Gloy, commander of the Special Investigation Unit will take personal charge.

Van der Merwe said the investigation would bring those responsible for the killings to justice as rapidly as possible.

He also appealed for calm in the area and "to all concerned not to take any actions which could further inflame what is already an extremely volatile situation".- *Sapa.*

A NEIGHBOUR mourns next to the body of nine-month-old Aaron Mathopa who was one of the first victims of the attack in Boipatong township yesterday. Aaron's mother was also killed in the attack. Pic: AP.

THE latest murder spree means there is going to be more weeping, more night vigils and many more funerals.

There will be more fatherless children, more motherless kids, more orphans, more widows and widowers.

This weekend more families will be gathered in a state of shock as the chill of this senseless act of madness sinks in. Sowetan 19/6/92.

These killings are no longer just tragic and outrageous. These acts of abomination fill us with horror and indignation.

Our impotence at these abominable acts of violence is exceeded only by our anger.

Black political leaders must by now be convinced that some "force" is abusing them by manipulating their plans and their members.

And while such political leadership should make one united stand of condemnation, we appeal to the ordinary man's sense of pride and decency to help us stamp out this scourge.

- By The Editor

Suffer little kids

Sowetan 19/6/92. (278)

More reports and pictures on pages 2, 3, 4 and 6

TWO babies were among at least 38 people killed when hostel inmates went on the rampage at Boipatong in the Vaal late on Wednesday night.

This is the latest attack on township residents and raises the death toll since Monday night to more than 80.

On Monday five people were killed in Daveyton on the East Rand and nine in Soweto on Tuesday night.

The Boipatong attack came after a group of about 200 men armed with knives, pangas and guns, stabbed men, women and children at a squatter camp, Slovo Park. At least 11 people were injured, some seriously.

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said members of the police's Internal Stability Unit were patrolling the area, and that the situation was relatively quiet.

Residents said inmates of the KwaMadala hostel were responsible for the attack.

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New plan to combat crime

Sowetan 18/6/92.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A black human resources consultant says he has a "revolutionary idea" to combat crime and ease the housing shortage in Soweto.

Mr Martin Sebesho said his solution was to "dragoon Soweto's millions of drop-outs and jobless into the SADF, teach them trade skills, and then put them to work on special community development and upliftment projects".

Sebesho, a prominent member of the South African Board for Personnel Practice, said the plan was "no hairbrained scheme" and said "perhaps 80 percent of Soweto's lost generation could be reclaimed in this way".

Sebesho, who is human resources consultant for a number of major companies, estimated there were about 3 million young blacks who could qualify for a compulsory call-up.

"They are aged between 18 and 30 - the older ones are veterans of the township troubles of 1976," he said. "These would be among the first to be recruited.

"Of course all of them could not be called up at once.

"But it would produce an entirely new class citizen.

"It would also be one of the most striking examples of affirmative action I can think of."

He said the idea could shock "diehard military traditionalists".

But Sebesho believes "a little bit of military discipline" would help black youths living in squalor, crime and hopelessness.

His scenario envisaged a year-long stint in the army. Initially, that would involve typical military induction training: discipline and fitness regimes.

"But these young men would be trained not to kill but to build," Sebesho said. "They would be trained in a variety of basic trade skills - as electricians, plumbers, bricklayers and carpenters - which could be developed by formal technikon or technical college training when they leave the service.

"With a disciplined battalion of such men moving in, Soweto could be clean tomorrow.

"The whole of the township could be electrified, everyone would have running water and the squatter problem could be sorted out because there would be a pool of cheap manpower to help build the houses."

Political violence — 296 die

THE scourge of political violence ravaging Reef and Natal townships claimed 296 lives and left 274 people maimed during May, according to the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

"Shocking as the figure is, it represents a drop for the second consecutive month from 437 in March and 356 in April and an average daily decline of 9,5 percent," says the HRC monthly report.

The overall death toll of 1 433 so far this year was an increase of 22 percent on last year, while statistics on injuries rose by 38 percent.

In a grisly breakdown, the HRC said the PWV region accounted for the worst violence with 208 deaths, representing 70 percent of the country's total.

The Vaal triangle townships again emerged as an unrest flashpoint in registering 74 deaths against Soweto's 56, the East Rand's 46, and Alexandra's 23.

Natal maintained a constant level of deaths with 79 for May, or 27 percent of the country's total. The South Coast figure escalated with 41 deaths while Durban's nine and North Coast's five deaths represented a substantial decrease on previous tallies. The Midlands area reported 22 deaths.

"Despite what appears to be a lull in commuter train, taxi and bus violence, these modes of transport remain one of the priority targets for wanton killers," claiming 36 lives and 41 injuries in 31 attacks, said the HRC.

Commuters

This year 168 people have lost their lives and 312 people have been injured in 175 attacks on commuters.

Women and children continue to be among the casualties: 25 women died and 19 children were injured.

The HRC continued: "Vigilante attacks remain the highest source of violence accounting for 288 deaths, representing 77 percent and 70 percent of all injuries."

The security forces were responsible for 20 deaths, the highest figure in over a year, and for 40 injuries. But they also suffered an increasing level of casualties: 15 deaths and 26 injuries from 36 attacks.

Hit squads claimed three victims in May, bringing the total for the year to 36.

The HRC said township residents and African National Congress supporters were the major targets, representing 90 percent of the dead and 86 percent of the injured.

Inkatha Freedom Party members and hostel dwellers accounted for 10 percent of the dead and 14 percent of the injured.

● Three death sentences were handed down in May, bringing the current Death Row population to 297. Eight are classified as political prisoners. - *SA Press Association.*

Where is my mum?

Sowetan 18/6/92 (278)

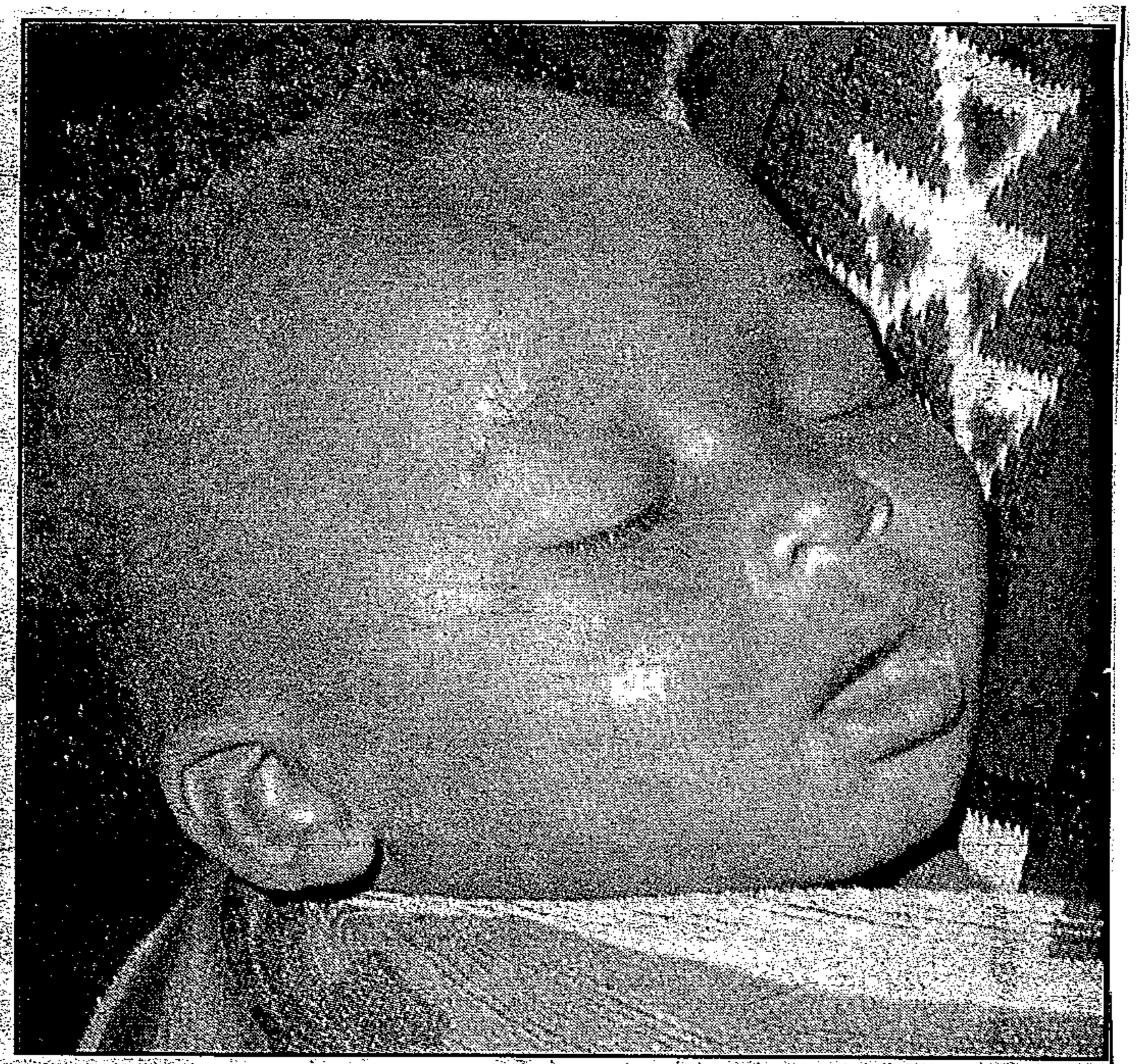
SEVEN-month-old Karabo Mphafudi has been orphaned after her mother and eight other people were mowed down in cold blood by unknown gunmen in Moletsane, Soweto, on Tuesday afternoon - the 16th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

Seventeen-year-old Maria Mphafudi, was gunned down and died in a pool of blood next to her food stall.

On page 2 today, we give you a blow-by-blow account of what happened from the moment the gunmen alighted from a minibus in Koma Road and started their trail of death.

Now, the Soweto regional commissioner of police, Major General Kobus Malan, has appointed a team of senior detectives to investigate the shooting.

Malan said that in his view, the people responsible for the massacre had been disappointed at the peaceful way the June 16 commemoration services went.



Little Karabo Mphafudi whose mother, a 17-year-old Soweto vendor, Miss Maria Mphafudi, was gunned down by unknown assailants on Tuesday.

Distraught policeman wanted to shoot himself

(278) ARG 19/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Horrified policemen and media stood by in shock as they saw a grief-stricken policeman try to shoot himself in the head in Boipatong.

The hysterical policeman, whose house and car had been set alight and burnt to ashes yesterday, went berserk and was running around, crying and screaming with despair.

"I can't take this anymore. I just can't take it," he said as he took out his service pistol and put it to his head.

As he tightened his finger on the trigger, a colleague leapt forward and wrenched the gun away.

While his colleague unloaded the gun, the distraught man collapsed on the ground, sobbing with grief.

According to a photographer, Mr Ken Oosterbroek, the man dashed over to the scene when he saw flames leaping from his house and car.

"When he pulled out the gun, I thought he was going to open up on the bystanders and I prepared to take cover — but when he put it to his head I ran towards him," a shaken Mr Oosterbroek said.

The policeman's shocked family, who were in the house when it was set ablaze, were comforted by police.

2 necklaced on Reef

(278) ARG 19/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nine more people died in the Vaal Triangle, including two children who burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack in Sebokeng.

Two people were "necklaced" in Sharpeville and Meadowlands. At Dube, also in Soweto, police found the bodies of two men who had been shot.

● From Durban it is reported that Sergeant K Singh of Isipingo was shot dead when a police patrol was ambushed at Kwamakutha near Amanzimtoti. Shots were fired at the patrol vehicle last night and it overturned. Two other policemen were injured.

ANC offers help: Peace request 'must come from all parties in SA'

Argus 19/6/92

Reports by Garner Thomson in London, Hugh Roberton in Washington, The Argus Political Staff and Correspondents

BRITAIN has offered to help South Africa end its violence — as long as a request for assistance comes from all parties.

This message — delivered in the wake of the massacre at the Boipatong squatter camp near Vereeniging — came from the country's Overseas Development Minister, Baroness Chalker, at the London conference on "A Changing South Africa", which started yesterday.

And the ANC called for an international team to monitor the security forces after the massacre in which at least 39 people died.

In a newspaper advertisement, the ANC also proposed the introduction of civilian, non-partisan administrators into the police at all levels and that all policing, in both independent and self-governing homelands, to be brought under a unified command.

It urged that all armies, including the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe, be brought under a single command to form a new army.

Baroness Chalker suggested that Britain could offer help to South Africa in police and military integration.

She said: "Community policing in a multiracial environment (in Britain) is by no means perfect. But we are learning, and I am sure our training methods have a lot to offer."

She also pledged that Britain would continue to

● See Page 3

aid South Africa in other ways.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the movement would consider the offer of help with police and military integration, but the organisation would have to be approached officially.

In Washington, the Bush administration reacted with shock and dismay to news of the massacre at Boipatong, but a State Department spokesman said the administration did not believe the killings were linked to the ANC campaign of mass action.

The spokesman said: "The campaign, which began on June 16 and has included demonstrations and a workers' stayaway, has so far been peaceful."

While Boipatong reeled after Wednesday night's slaughter, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the police vehemently denied complicity in the massacre, which residents claimed was committed by Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers.

A police unit under the command of Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, regional commissioner of the Witwatersrand, raided hostels near Boipatong yesterday. Police said several dangerous home-made weapons were seized and would be sent for forensic tests. No arrests were made.

Police denied they had received warnings of an attack on Boipatong, claiming they had been thrown off track and sent to neighbouring Sebokeng.

The ANC and a peace monitoring group, Peace Action, remained adamant that the massacre could have been prevented if police had responded to their warnings.

But a Peace Action report detailing calls received from the area on Wednesday night and early yesterday indicates that the first call did originate from Sebokeng.

IFP Transvaal executive member Themba Khoza denied any IFP link with the attack.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, issued instructions for an immediate, intensive investigation into the "tragic and senseless murder".

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Kriel slams mass action campaign

(278)

B/Day 18/6/92

POLICE were investigating a link between the ANC alliance's mass action campaign and the "mindless" murder of at least 34 people in townships on the Reef since Monday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in Cape Town yesterday.

Sapa reports that he said at government's weekly Codesa briefing it was indisputable that mass action created a climate for such crimes.

The ANC said no stayaway action had been planned for yesterday or for the rest of the week.

The campaign was set to begin in earnest on July 1, according to an internal Cosatu document.

The document said the campaign was to be characterised by occupation of government buildings, Parliament and the courts, factory shutdowns, marches, "strategic" occupations of city centres and unspecified actions in the homelands. It said all local grievances such as rents, the effects of the drought and retrenchments must be linked to the campaign, which included a general strike.

Kriel termed the campaign a "futile exercise in blackmail" and said it had cost the SAP and SADF hundreds of thousands of rands to police the action on Tuesday, Soweto Day.

WILSON ZWANE reports that a team of senior policemen has been appointed to probe this week's killing of nine people in the Soweto surburb of Jabulani.

Five people died on Tuesday night when unidentified gunmen emerged from the Jabulani flats and randomly shot at pedestrians and motorists. Four other bodies were later found in the flats.

Soweto police spokesman Capt Joseph Ngobeni said the team — to be led by Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit chief Col Neville Toms — was appointed by regional commissioner Maj-Gen Kobus Malan.

In the latest incident of violence, a traffic policeman was killed and his service pistol stolen outside Johannesburg's Denver Hostel yesterday morning.

Police yesterday reported that a man and a woman were shot dead and five men were injured when three gunmen opened fire near a hostel in Wadeville on the East Rand on Monday night.

☐ Police said in their daily unrest report three people — including a policeman — were killed in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng on Tuesday. In Alexandra north of Johannesburg a man was hacked to death while another died in a hail of bullets in Vosloorus, on the East Rand.

In Soweto, two bodies with hack and burn wounds were found at Dube Hostel while another with stab wounds was found at Orlando.

☐ The Human Rights Commission said at least 63 people had died in the PWV area in the last seven days.

DET official fined for theft and fraud

B/Day 18/6/92

PRETORIA — Theft and fraud committed over a number of years by a senior Department of Education and Training official will cost him more than R80 000.

Chris Schutte, 55, still employed by the DET as a chief education officer, was fined R42 660 (or six years and three months in jail) by a Pretoria magistrate after pleading guilty and being convicted on two counts of fraud and 10 of theft.

He was also sentenced to a further four years' imprisonment, suspended for 15 years on condition he was not found guilty of a crime where dishonesty was an element, and that he pay back a further R42 660.

Magistrate W A J van Zyl said Schutte's sentence should serve as a warning to officials in similar positions of trust who stole money from the public.

Schutte had "contaminated" not only his own standing in the community but also that of DET, Van Zyl said. — Sapa.

Kriel slams mass action campaign

(278)

B/Day 18/6/92

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Cops face ANC wrath on IFP arms

(278)

Sowetan 18/6/92

By Sowetan Correspondent

THE ANC is seeking legal advice with a view to bringing charges against the police for distributing dangerous weapons.

This follows confirmation by the SAP this week that weapons seized from Inkatha supporters on Sunday were handed back to the organisation the next day.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said traditional weapons - which he described as "shields and sticks" - were handed back to the IFP on the instructions of Soweto regional commissioner Major-General Kobus Malan.

In a statement issued yesterday, ANC's Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said this was a violation of the National Peace Accord.

The seizure of the weapons including AK-47 assault rifles, from Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on Sunday, was sharply criticised by IFP central committee member Mr Themba Khoza.

He said the displaying of the confiscated weapons to ANC supporters was "provocative" and exacerbated the already volatile situation in the township.

Traffic officer shot dead

278

CT 18/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A traffic officer was shot dead by three men outside the Denver Hostel here yesterday.

Seconds before he died, Mr Jacob Ramashala called the Traffic Control Centre and screamed: "I'm being shot at."

● A team of senior policemen has been appointed to investigate the killing of nine people in Jabulani, Soweto, on Tuesday night.

● One person was killed and another wounded when gunmen raked a minibus with gunfire in Vosloorus on the East Rand.

● A man and a woman were shot dead and five men were injured when three gunmen opened fire near the Scaw Metals Hostel in Wadeville on Monday night.

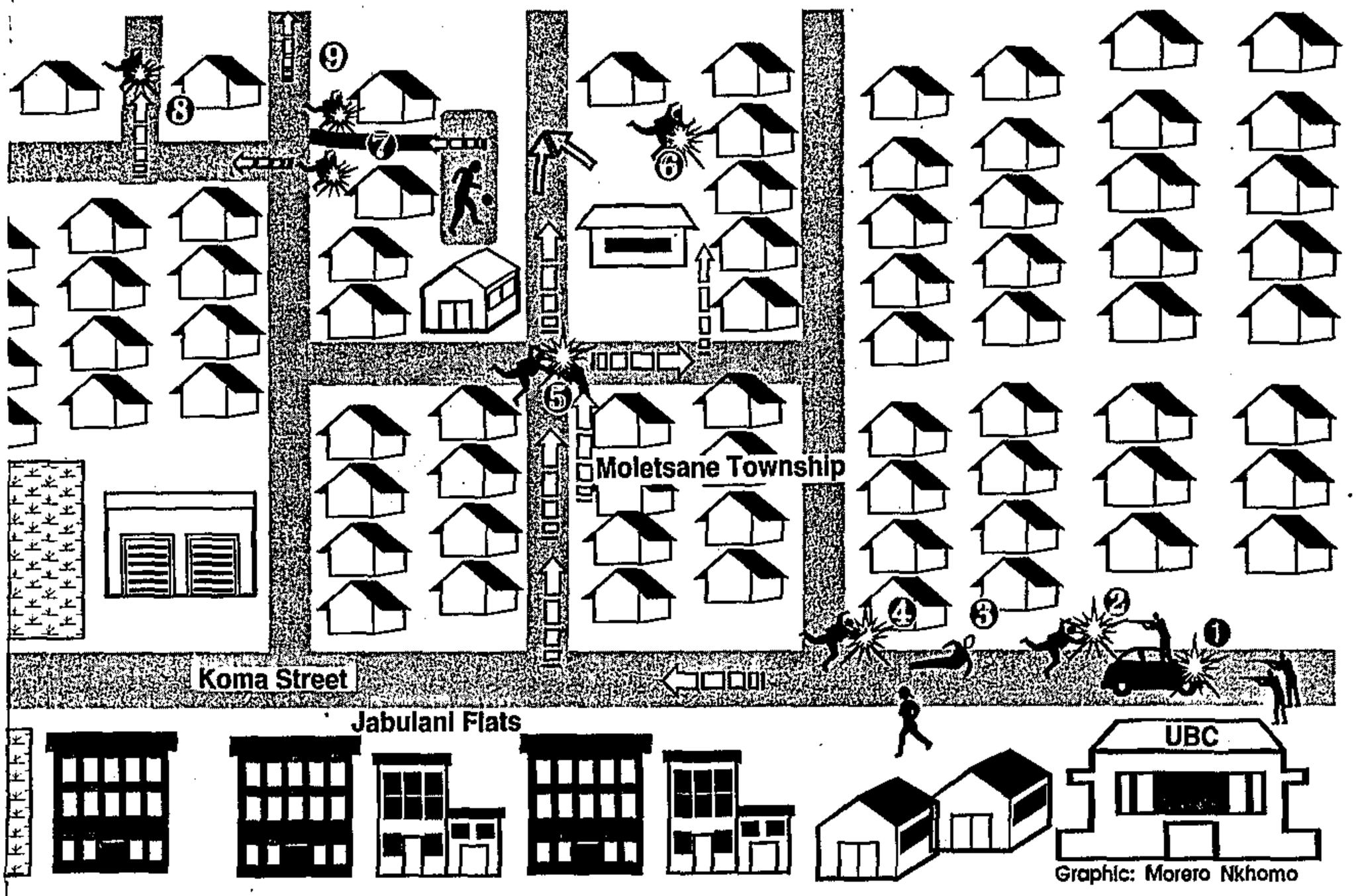
Petrol bombs

● In Cape Town, two petrol bombs were thrown at a Francis Street, Woodstock, house, causing about R10 000 damage but no injuries, police said yesterday.

Also in the city, a Golden Arrow bus and two trains were damaged by stone-throwers.

● In New Orleans, Paarl, police fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd that gathered during a search of a Springbok Street house. No one was injured.

How the six unknown gunmen went on a shooting spree



Graphic: Morero Nkhomo

1. Six armed men alight from a white E20 minibus. They open fire at a motor car. Two people die and a third is injured.

2. A youth who had been embracing his girlfriend nearby is shot dead as he attempts to flee.

3. Mrs Alinah Sehotsa (42) is shot and injured next to her house.

4. Vegetable vendor Maria Mphafudi is shot dead next to her vegetable stall.

5. Mr Marumo Mokhine (39) is shot dead next to Sedibeng Shopping complex. The group splits into two.

6. Another man is shot dead.

7. The men regroup next to a field and proceed through a passage. Two men, Mr Gabriel Mphahlele Teme (44) and Mr Joel Mogaadile are shot dead.

8. Two of the men proceed to Ntsane Street where they shoot another man.

9. The minibus appears again and they drive off.

The trail of death

Sowetan 18/6/92 (278)

Relatives keep vigil next to the body of a man who was shot and killed by unknown gunmen on Tuesday.

Nine innocent people were mowed down in an unprovoked attack by unknown gun-wielding assailants in Moletsane, Soweto, on Tuesday night, the 16th anniversary of the June 16 1976 Soweto riots. Sowetan reporter KENOSI MODISANE retraces their path of death. This graphic account was gleaned from eyewitnesses.

THE six men alighted from a white Datsun E20 minibus at Koma Road at about 6pm and shot at an oncoming vehicle.

Two people in the car were killed and a third injured.

A young couple embracing each other disengaged on hearing the shots.

The young man was shot dead as he fled. His girlfriend managed to get away.

The men ran down the road and shot Mrs Alinah Sehotsa (42), who was three houses away from her home. She survived.

The men, who were still running down the street, shot and killed 17-year-old Maria Mphafudi. She was standing at her vegetable stall at the corner of Koma and Legwale roads. She is survived by her seven-month-old daughter Karabo.

The men then turned into Rangwana Street.

Shop assistant Mr Marumo Mokhine (35) was shot in the head and chest near Sedibeng shopping complex at Mokoena Street. He died.

They then broke into two groups.

Two went up Mokoena Street around Mochochonono School. They shot another man dead. They proceeded down towards Rangwana Street.

By then the other four had run across a field where they met the two at a passage leading into Madiya Street.

Mr Gabriel Mphahele Teme (44) was in their path and they shot him. He ran into a nearby house, but was shot again as he tried to knock on the door. He died.

His friend, Mr Joel Mogaadile (54), was shot in the stomach in the next house as he also tried to flee. He also died.

The white Datsun E20 minibus appeared. Four of the men boarded it while others went towards Ntsane Street. They shot and killed another man in Ntsane Street.

These men then ran back to Madiya Street where the Datsun minibus waited. They boarded it.

It drove off.

'She was standing at her vegetable stall at the corner of Koma and Legwale roads.'

Moi 'deserved' snub

Sowetan 18/6/92

SOWETAN Building the Nation
RADIO METRO TALKBACK

MOST of the callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night supported ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's decision to snub Kenyan President Mr Daniel arap Moi during his recent visit to South Africa.

Bruce of Cape Town said Mandela was right to snub Moi because Kenya had, like South Africa, a complete disregard for human rights.

Bheki Mkhatshwa of Katlehong said it was premature for African leaders to visit South Africa because they were giving the Government the respect it did not deserve.

"For development purposes, there should be contact between African countries but it should not be at leadership level," he said.

Solly of Germiston said the time was not ripe for African leaders to visit South Africa. He said they should wait until an interim government was in place.

"Mandela had no alternative but to snub him (Moi)," he said.

John of Soweto said it was not the right time for international leaders to visit South Africa.

African leaders, faced with internal problems, were forging links with the Government in the hope that the international community would accept them.

He also spoke against local leaders visiting foreign countries.

David of Umlazi said South Africa was the only hope for poverty-stricken African states.

Prince of Daveyton said the visit by foreign leaders, particularly African, was a ploy to give an impression that there was positive changes in the country. He said they should continue to isolate the Government.

Thabo of Cape Town rejected foreign visitors, saying they boosted the Government's image.

Today's talkback topic

A Bill to regulate the media during transitional elections is to be drawn up by the representatives of major parties in the Convention for a

ing and after the transitional period.

You can share your opinion live

Anger over massacre

Sowetan 19/6/92 (278)

LEADERS of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP yesterday visited victims of Wednesday night's massacre in Boipatong township.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC Women's League's president Mrs Gertrude Shope, Joe Slovo of the SACP and PAC general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, toured the area to comfort the survivors.

The PAC delegation visited victims of the carnage at Sebokeng Hospital.

By late yesterday, the ANC delegation was expected to hold talks with the police and to present residents' demands.

A statement from the Azanian Peoples Organisation last night appealed to the people of Boipatong to remain vigilant and to realise that their security lay in their "own devices as the regime can only fan these flames for its own gains".

RAMAPHOSA

KHOZA

SLOVO

ALEXANDER

DE KLERK

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday denied any link with the Boipatong massacre and challenged the ANC to provide "concrete evidence" of hostel resident involvement in the carnage.

IFP Transvaal executive member Mr Themba Khoza said his party viewed the "unfounded allegations as irresponsible in the extreme, especially in the light of the increasingly volatile climate sparked by the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation.

"We are horrified that the attackers have been identified as KwaMadala Hostel inmates on the mere assumption that they were allegedly Zulu speaking. We reject this crude link with the contempt it deserves," Khoza said.

Police yesterday said they raided hostels in the Boipatong area and seized several home-made weapons but made no arrests.

A police statement said the weapons would be sent for forensic tests. It added that a special investigation unit had been formed to investigate the massacre.

Activists in the Vaal area told the ANC delegation that there was police collusion in the attack "because the attack on residents continued well into the morning with police shooting at residents."

Police denied this allegations and that they faied to react to information sent to them two and half hours before the attack.

"I cannot see the SAP would convey attackers to Boipatong, and we reject the rumours as ludicrous," police spokesman Major Ray Harrald said.

Residents mandated the delegation to press for the closure of the Kwa-Madala Hostel, the return of stolen goods and the release of activists arrested on Wednesday night on their way to help Boipatong residents.

It was also revealed that the attack took place in spite of information given to the police via the peace committee that an attack was imminent in Boipatong.

●Three bodies, one of them burnt, were found by Soweto police last night.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said one of the bodies was found on a railway bridge in Dube Village.

Another was found at a taxi rank 15 minutes later.

The third was found burnt in Zone 1 Meadowlands at about 5.30pm yesterday.

Hostel at the heart of the trouble

Aftermath: Relatives weep as the bodies of two men are removed from a house
Photo: GUY ADAMS

W/Mail 19/6 - 25/6/92

(278)

THE savage armed invasion of Vaal township Boipatong — which left more than 40 people dead — has focused renewed attention on Iscor and its kwaMadala hostel, the alleged springboard of the attack.

The timing of the massacre, on Wednesday night, also hints at a deliberate attempt to stoke violence and derail the African National Congress's mass action campaign, which got off to a remarkably peaceful start on Soweto Day this week.

Despite Boipatong residents' insistence that kwaMadala inmates were responsible, Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze linked the massacre to the ANC campaign, stating that it had "created a climate in which violence could easily happen".

kwaMadala, a disused Iscor hostel occupied in 1990 by Inkatha-supporting workers, is widely seen as an Inkatha military base at the centre of the Vaal's ongoing political violence. Iscor, which admits many of its inmates are no longer employees, has resisted repeated calls for it to be shut down.

"We are not going back to work until this is sorted out," a Boipatong worker told us. "We expect our companies to tell Iscor to remove these people from kwaMadala. These people being housed there are the problem for the community. This kind of thing has happened before."

In a statement yesterday, the South African Council of Churches said its Vaal affiliate

• Continued on PAGE 2

Among the blood-stained clothes were two white rubber gloves ... worn by the marauding men

Massacre launched from Iscor's hostel

W/M mail - 19/6-25/6/92. (278)

●From PAGE 1

had submitted evidence to the Goldstone Commission to the effect that most of the violence in the Vaal emanated from kwaMadala hostel.

The Vaal Civic Association has called for a stayaway today and plans are afoot to launch a consumer boycott to protest against the killings.

There have been numerous claims of security force backing for kwaMadala. Last year the SADF sparked a furore byrecruiting some of its inmates as commandos. A police warrant officer, Thys Nolte, is also alleged to have taken part in the planning of anti-ANC attacks at the hostel (See Page 7).

Residents interviewed by *The Weekly Mail* say police failed to respond to pleas for help when the attack started. Others claim police Casspirs appeared mainly concerned with dispersing "comrades" mobilising against the attackers.

As far as could be determined, all of the dead, most of them women and children, were township residents.

By midday yesterday the death toll was 43 — including a nine-month pregnant woman and a nine-month-old baby, both of whom had been speared to death — but police were still removing corpses.

ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo were scheduled to address a mass meeting later in the day, after a briefing with Vaal activists.

Residents say the massacre was a revenge attack sparked by the killing of an Inkatha supporter and Boipatong resident, David Mbele, last weekend.

A mob of about 200 men wearing white headbands, tackies and gloves and bearing weapons rampaged through the township and the adjoining Slovo Park squatter camp from about 9pm on Wednesday night, indiscriminately hacking people, breaking windows, and looting. In one street, as many as 12 houses had been vandalised and looted.

Yesterday, angry comrades who had set up barricades at every street corner thronged the streets, itching for revenge, amidst a heavy presence of police and soldiers from 21 Battalion. By midday rampaging comrades had set alight the houses of a policeman and Inkatha member.

Late yesterday police were still removing bodies from houses and shacks around the township. Women wailed as they saw corpses being taken off to the government mortuary.

One resident of a house where two men were slain said a white man, wearing a black balaclava, was among a group of "five Zulus" who came to attack the dwelling.

Stunned residents were still washing the blood off their floors and boarding up broken windows. Ouside one house lay a blood-soaked mat on which three people had been killed.

One woman, huddled with others around the body of her mother, Belina Lerobane, 58, told how a mob of men broke windows and stormed the house at about 10pm. "My mother woke up, I followed her. We were afraid. After that I hid under the bed. I heard the men say they want ANC members." The grieving woman said her mother had been undressed by the men and stabbed to death. The TV set and hi-fi had been smashed and the telephone destroyed.

In one house, where three adult siblings were hacked to death, a stunned Jake Letsoko told how his two brothers had been killed in their beds. His sister Anna had jumped out of the window to avoid the attackers but was followed and butchered outside.

Letsoko pointed to a gruesome heap of blood-stained clothes, among which lay two white rubber gloves, which relatives said had been worn by one of the marauding men.

Shackdweller Elizabeth Kolatswewu told how her sister-in-law Elisa Mbatha had knocked on the door. "I could hear her children crying from the shack next door. I opened the door and she fell on the floor. She was stabbed and chopped on her neck. She died there on the floor."

Kolatswewu said Mbatha fell with her baby still strapped to her back — the child had been hacked on the arm, but survived.

Many residents said police had arrived hours after being phoned for help.

"I told the police what was happening and they asked where the comrades were, because they were supposed to be patrolling the township," said Charles Neluheni, whose grandmother was stabbed to death.

The fence surrounding Neluheni's house had been mowed down by a police Casspir, he claimed. *Weekly Mail* reporters witnessed deep track marks on the grass.

Sebokeng hospital superintendent Dr Coenie Momberg told *Weekly Mail* 17 people, mostly with stab and hack wounds, had so far been admitted. Seven of them are children ranging from four to 10 years and two children aged about five are in intensive care.

Police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said he was "most concerned at the tragic and senseless murder of a number of people in Boipatong township". Van der Merwe said intensive steps had been taken to investigate the killings and that Major-General Hannes Gloy, commander of the Special Investigation Unit set up by the National Peace Accord, would head the investigation.

Police deny accusations at Mlangeni's inquest

SUSAN RUSSELL

A POLICE officer investigating the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, killed last year by a booby-trapped cassette player, denied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that there had been an attempt to source the origin of the device as far away from SA as possible. B/Day 16/6/92.

Capt André Kritzinger made the denial during cross-examination at an inquest on Mlangeni.

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when he activated the device at his home.

The cassette player and a tape marked "Evidence of hit squads" had originally been posted to policeman Dirk Coetzee in Lusaka, where he had taken refuge with the ANC after making public his claims about the existence of police hit squads.

Coetzee left the package at the post office in Zambia because he did not have the money to claim it and it was redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender.

Coetzee has claimed the booby-trapped cassette player was sent to him by former colleagues at the police farm Vlakplaas from where, he alleges, the hit squads operated.

The inquest court heard yesterday that the yellow sticker on the package was one used internationally to facilitate a uniform postal process but was not used in SA, which had been excluded because of sanctions and other isolationist policies against the country.

Counsel acting for Mlangeni's family, G Rautenbach, suggested to Kritzinger that a statement obtained by the police from a post office employee stating that the sticker was not used in SA was an attempt by the police investigators to distance the origin of the device as far away from SA as possible.

Kritizinger denied this.

Hostel residents warn of revenge

B/Day 16/6/92

WILSON ZWANE

DEMOLITION of a hostel in Dobsonville, Soweto, by township residents had set the stage for a "bloody confrontation", West Rand Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joseph Kubheka warned yesterday.

On Sunday, Dobsonville residents used earthmoving equipment to demolish sections of the local hostel, while the majority of the Inkatha-supporting inmates were attending an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Residents commandeered an earthmover and a road leveller and crashed through the razor wire, smashing into the hostel and tearing open four rooms.

Kubheka said since police had displayed a disregard for the safety of hostel residents, the time had come for hostel residents to take the law into their own hands and defend themselves against attacks from township residents.

"We will use whatever means at our disposal to repel attacks directed at us," Kubheka said.

He added that the development would lead to a "bloody confrontation" between township residents, bent on demolishing hostels, and hostel dwellers.

Soweto police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said police would do everything they could to protect lives and property.

□ In its monthly report on repression, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday 296 people had died and 274 had been injured in violence countrywide last month.

Most of the deaths (228) and injuries (192) were reported in the PWV region.

Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) is distributing pamphlets on the Reef offering R10 000 rewards to people with information leading to the conviction of those responsible for politically-motivated attacks.

A spokesman for the LHR said the pamphlet campaign would be extended to Natal and the western Cape.

In another development, the national peace committee has requested an explanation from the Student Representatives Council (SRC) of Soweto's Vista University of the disruption of a peace symposium by its members last week.

"At the time when the urgency of normalised police/community relations is being stressed by the national peace secretariat, the national peace committee strongly condemns last week's disruption of a peace symposium in Soweto by members of the Student Representatives Council of Vista University," committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday.

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz

Winnie's clique faces a hearing

B/Day 16/6/92

ANC Women's League members who demonstrated in support of former regional chairman Winnie Mandela last month will face a disciplinary committee soon, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

The league's entire regional executive was suspended after a memorandum was presented at ANC headquarters complaining that Mandela was being victimised by "faceless" congress leaders who had made "unauthorised" allegations about her private life to the media.

Asked if Mandela would face the committee, Niehaus said he could not comment. — Sapa.

Students blasted for halting peace indaba

STAR 16/6/92

Staff Reporter (278)

The National Peace Committee yesterday demanded to know why students disrupted a peace symposium late last week at Vista University in Soweto, opened by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

It was a flagrant contravention of the National Peace Accord, said the committee.

The symposium was arranged by the SAP, and 20 protesting students objected to the large contingent of policemen, whom they said were responsible for violence in the community. They said the lack of consultation with students by the administration before the conference belonged to "the old South Africa".

The conference adjourned after about 30 minutes of negotiations between participants and the students, and later reconvened at the Protea police headquarters in Soweto.

Responding to the peace committee's statement, Students Representative Council president Dumisani Bhengu said he believed the disruption of the meeting was "in accordance with the spirit of the National Peace Accord". He failed to understand how a peace conference could be called when a number of parties to the violence were not represented. He listed the SA Communist Party, the ANC, PAC, the Azanian People's Organisation, the civic associations and Cosatu as not being present.

Mr Bhengu said 70 percent of conference delegates were policemen and the remaining 30 percent were Inkatha supporters.

While a large proportion of delegates were from the SAP, others included Mr Justice Goldstone, who heads the Standing Commission on Violence and Intimidation; Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, chairman of the National Peace Secretariat; priests; architects; researchers; a number of leading academics; as well as a four-man Inkatha delegation.

Vista director Professor David Koekemoer said he was very sorry the disruptions had taken place. "You never know the students' reaction when they see police," he said.

Mr Bhengu said this was "propaganda" and that the SRC had never been consulted.

"The students did not accept that the conference was trying to address many of the issues the students were objecting to, such as the manner in which police should behave," Professor Koekemoer said.

ARG 16/6/92

23 dead, 22 hurt in violence on Reef

(278)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Twenty-three people died and at least 22 were injured in a surge of violence on the Witwatersrand and near Vereeniging on the eve of the June 16 commemorations.

Nine people were shot dead in two apparently random attacks in Evaton, near Vereeniging, last night.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said three men, whom the ANC claimed to be members on a patrol, were shot dead. Earlier, six people — including a woman and a teenage boy — were shot dead when a group opened fire on a minibus in Adams Road, Evaton, about 9.30 pm.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said the bodies of two unidentified men were found outside a house in Zone 11, Sebokeng, early today. Both had been shot.

At least four men were found seriously wounded by police on patrol in Zone 11 and 12 in Sebokeng late last night. They were admitted to Sebokeng Hospital.

Three men, apparently with automatic rifles, killed five people and wounded 18 when they opened fire on commuters at Daveyton station on the East Rand yesterday evening, police reported.

A Benoni ambulance spokesman said a victim of the attack died on the way to the Far East Rand Hospital in Springs and another at the Hydromed Clinic in Kempton Park.

In Soweto, police today found the body of a man near the Merafe Hostel. Police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said the man, shot three times in the head, was found at 6.30 am.

Police found another four dead men. Captain Ngobeni said a man with a stab wound was found in Meadowlands and another three in Dube Hostel.

Policeman kills squatter

PRETORIA. — Police shot and killed a resident of the Phola Park squatter camp in clashes on Sunday night, taking the weekend death toll in political unrest to at least 10.

(278)

Over the weekend three people were killed in Soweto, a man was hacked to death at Katlehong township, east of Johannesburg, and a woman was shot dead at Magabeni, Umkomaas, in Natal.

At Phola Park, a policeman shot and killed a man who attempted to stab him, police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

Also at the troubled camp, an assailant lunged at a police officer and stabbed him in the back with a sharpened object. The man was shot twice and seriously wounded, Captain Opperman said.

CT 16/6/92

In the unrest report yesterday, police said they found the body of a man with stab and burn wounds at Meadowlands and another with bullet wounds at Moletsane in Soweto.

They said a man was killed near Dube Hostel in Soweto when gunmen in the hostel opened fire.

● Political violence on the Reef and in Natal claimed 296 lives and left 274 people maimed.

Rallies to focus on uprising

STAR 16/6/92

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

278

Soweto will be the focus of political activity today as all major liberation movements hold rallies in the township that spawned the pupil uprising 16 years ago.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa yesterday said the main focus of the ANC rally at Orlando Stadium would be "mass action for the transfer of power to the majority".

The main speaker will be Nelson Mandela, who will unveil a statue to honour those who died in 1976.

Azapo projects director Lybon Mabaso said Azapo's message at Regina Mundi Church would be for people to recommit themselves "not for the vote, not for negotiations but for for the land and seizure of power". The main speaker will be Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

PAC West Rand official Bonga Majola said the PAC's service at the Jabulani Amphitheatre would be addressed by its president, Clarence Makwetu.

Soweto pupils will lay down their pens today to commemorate the 1976 uprisings. They will return to classrooms tomorrow.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Themba Khoza said the IFP had decided to call mass meetings in city centres to show that "the majority of workers reject the ANC's mass action programmes".

IFP Transvaal leader Humphrey Ndlovu said meetings would be based mainly in Meadowlands, Katlehong and Sebokeng. The theme would be an appeal for peace.

18 killed in attacks on PWV

(278)

STAR 16/6/92

Eighteen people died and at least 18 were injured in a surge of violence on the Witwatersrand and near Vereeniging yesterday.

Nine people were shot dead in two apparently random attacks in Evaton, near Vereeniging, last night.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said three men, whom the ANC claimed to be members on a patrol, were shot dead. Earlier, six people were shot dead when a group attacked a minibus in the same area.

Captain Opperman said reports indicated that an armed group was moving through the area, picking targets at random.

Five commuters were killed and at least 18 injured when gunmen, apparently with automatic rifles, opened fire at Daveyton station, on the East Rand. Police conducted an intensive search but made no arrests.

In Soweto, police found the bodies of four unidentified men. — Sapa.

Govt gives in on monitoring Bill

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has bowed to pressure on its controversial phone-tapping Bill and will amend the legislation to say only a judge can authorise the monitoring.

The Interception and Monitoring Amendment Bill raised a storm when it was tabled last week with a clause giving the attorney-general power to authorise phone tapping, bugging of rooms and interception of post.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee will now appoint a retired judge for each division of the Supreme Court to perform this function.

Parliamentary joint committee on justice chairman Gert Myburgh said the judge-president would control clandestine monitoring applications.

It is understood, however, that DP MPs on the committee led the onslaught against the original clause.

It is believed important changes to two other bills — the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Bill and Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill — are also being debated following DP proposals. The DP is arguing for greater safeguards for people detained without trial. B/Day 17/6/92

Under the current law, only a state officer may have access to a detainee or information he provides.

● Comment: Page 6

Confiscation of weapons unnecessary Inkatha

B/Day 17/6/92 (278)

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE confiscation by the police of harmless "traditional weapons" such as shields and sticks from Inkatha supporters was unnecessary and had resulted in mistrust of the SAP, Inkatha regional organiser Themba Khoza said yesterday.

About 1 200 shields and 200 sticks, seized on Sunday when police intercepted trains at three Soweto stations before an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Jabulani Stadium, were returned to the organisation this week and shown to the media yesterday.

However, Khoza criticised the SAP for not returning all the seized weapons — estimated to number about 2 000 items.

Referring to the Zulu cowhide shields and sticks, Khoza said it was blatantly apparent that many of the items taken by the police were not dangerous and as such should not have been confiscated.

He pointed out that no weapons such as axes, spears, pangas and sharpened wooden and metal sticks were returned.

At the time, police also took possession of about 30 handguns, AK47 rifles and more than 300 rounds of ammunition.

A formal complaint about the police action on the weekend — including the destruction of Inkatha flags — had been made.

Khoza said the organisation regretted that some of its members had carried illegal lethal weapons.

They acted against Inkatha policy, he said.

"But when people are frightened, they resort to any means of protection," he said.

He accused the police of having failed adequately to protect hostels and members of Inkatha in residential areas and called on them to protect the rights of those wanting to go to work during the ANC's mass action call.

Prior to the news conference, Khoza showed a recording of SABC news footage of the police swoop at one of the stations.

Khoza claimed the footage refuted allegations the SAP supported Inkatha. The footage showed policemen "jubilantly" holding up confiscated weapons to show to a group of cheering "ANC supporters" who had gathered on a pedestrian bridge at the station, Khoza said.

Auditor-general on future role

B/Day 17/6/92

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — SA's new constitution should provide for an independent auditor-general who could do his duty without fear or favour, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley said in his first annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

And Deputy Auditor-General J Loots said Wronsley had made proposals to this effect to SA Law Commission vice-chairman Judge Pierre Olivier.

Loots said the office's statutory responsibilities, supported by the image of objectivity, autonomy and integrity, had earned it a place in the new SA.

Experience of countries undergoing radical transition gave some credence to fears that sound financial administration and consistent public accountability might not be enforced in the future.

Loots also reported increased productivity with the office succeeding in maintaining functional audit time, the cost of which was recovered from auditees, at 77% for the 1991 year. This was higher than the norm set at 72%. He indicated that this was partly due to the better staff complement, which showed a turnover of 16,6%, which compared well with the average for non-profit organisations of 15%.

The auditor-general's office was responsible for conducting regularity audits of 32 departments, 18 votes of own affairs administrations, four provincial administrators, 780 local authorities, 22 agricultural control boards, 37 regional services councils, the six self-governing homelands and 140 other statutory bodies, accounts, funds and museums, Loots said.

Apart from this, "several performance audits, special investigations and computer audits were also conducted during the financial years under review".

A separate performance auditing directorate had been set up to report on measures introduced by accounting officers to promote efficient utilisation of resources.

Judge drops Dutton's bail by R100 000

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER Interboard chairman Ed Dutton, on trial on forex and finrand fraud charges involving more than R150m, had his R500 000 bail reduced to R400 000 in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Dutton, 35, applied for a reduction of bail last Friday on the grounds that he had run out of money to finance his defence and had no further assets of his own.

He had asked the court to reduce his bail to R50 000.

Dutton's appliction was opposed by State counsel James de Villiers who said that to grant a reduction of bail in a case of such seri-

39 killed as rallies mark Soweto Day

CT 17/6/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 39 people were killed and 36 wounded in an upsurge of violence in South African townships on Monday and yesterday.

Police confirmed 38 of the 39 violent deaths reported in the 24-hour period ending about 8.30pm. None of the violence has been directly linked to the ANC's mass action campaign.

Yesterday, which saw mass marches and rallies in cities countrywide to commemorate the June 16, 1976 black student uprising known as "Soweto Day", 19 people were killed, 13 wounded and 10 arrested.

Twenty people died and 23 were wounded in political unrest on Monday.

Nine people were shot dead and three wounded by unidentified attackers at a block of flats in Moletsane, Soweto, last night, said Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni.

The attackers emerged from the direction of the Jabulani flats about 6.20pm, spraying passersby in Koma Street with automatic-rifle fire, killing five pedestrians and wounding two people in a passing car. Police later found another four bodies and a wounded man inside the flats building.

In Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, police last night found the bodies of two men with bullet wounds and the body of a woman who had been "necklaced".

Two people were stabbed and burnt to death in separate incidents in Dube, Soweto. Also in Soweto, police found the body of a man stoned to death.

Police yesterday reported that a man was injured at Johannesburg's Croesus station when he was thrown from a moving train.

At Nyanga in the Western Cape two people were injured when stones were flung at trains. — Sapa

(278) CT 17/6/92

Bus shot at — PAC man hit in eye

JOHANNESBURG. — A Mabopane branch Pan-Africanist Congress deputy secretary was hit in the eye when a bus full of PAC supporters was shot at yesterday while travelling past the Nancefield hostel in Soweto.

The PAC supporters were returning home from a June 16 rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre addressed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu.

PAC West Rand regional political secretary Mr Mudini Maivha said it was uncertain whether the "seriously injured" Mr Peter Makgathulela was hit by a bullet or shrapnel.

Nobody else was injured in the incident.

Mr Maivha said there were people in the hostel courtyard and on the roof when the bus drove past, about 4.15pm, attracting gunfire.

"The driver got confused and tried to stop. A passenger took over the driving and stopped the bus at the robot between Orlando East and Orlando West where two police vans were parked."

He said police manning the vehicles were told about the shooting but did not react.

Approached for comment, Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said that if the incident were reported to any police station and a charge laid, the SAP would investigate.

Mr Maivha said the incident was not reported to a police station because, as far as he was concerned, the matter had been reported to two uniformed policemen at the intersection. — Sapa

Survivors tell of station massacre

(278)

Sowetan 17/6/92

SURVIVORS of Monday night's massacre at Daveyton Station in which six people were killed, yesterday told how unknown assailants sprayed bullets on unsuspecting commuters alighting from a train.

By JOE MDHLELA

Witnesses said the area around the station resembled a battlefied as gunfire from AK-47 rifles echoed in the air, forcing commuters to run in all directions.

They said the three assailants sped off in a car after the incident.

"Minutes later, it was all over as the gunmen drove off at high speed," one witness said.

Mr Roderick Tony Setlogelo (33) of Daveyton, was one of the six killed.

One of the injured, Mr David Selepe (21), said from his hospital bed: "I was scared to death when I heard the gunshots. As I was running towards the nearby houses for shelter I was felled by a gunshot in the leg. It was terrible. I was very scared."

A witness said there was luckily no stampede on the platform.

"There was mayhem around the station as men, women and children ran in all directions after the gunmen opened fire," the witness said.

A spokesman for the East Rand police confirmed the shooting.

"Five victims died on the scene of the incident and one person died on arrival at the Far East Rand Hospital," Van Zweel said.

Setlogelo's sister, Lorraine, said the senseless killing of her brother vindicated the Pan African Congress's belief that Codesa would do nothing to bring peace to this land.

"I am convinced that Codesa is just a waste of time. We are losing lives everyday," she said.

It's a peaceful start

● From Page 1

porters that violence should be carried into white areas.

"This would be an error of the first magnitude. One cannot stop violence by killing innocent people," he warned.

Earlier, Mr Mandela unveiled a memorial to Hector Peterson, the first victim of the 1976 uprising. Thousands of Soweto residents converged at the memori-al near Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West, after marching from various points with ANC leaders at their head.

In Daveyton, where unknown gunmen had opened fire on train commuters the night before, killing at least five and injuring 18, a singing and slogan-chanting crowd of about 1 000 ANC supporters gathered in the Sinaba Stadium.

Speakers condemned the killings and said the gunmen could have been arrested if police had reacted immediately.

● In the Pretoria area, rallies were held in Soshanguve and Atteridgeville.

● Central Durban was alive with freedom songs at midday as an estimated 10 000 ANC supporters marched peacefully through the city, their procession strung out for five city blocks. Protesters sang, ululated and whistled wildly when two ANC flags were hoisted on flagpoles outside the City Hall.

The march began after a mass rally at Curries Fountain and ended at C R Swart Square, where police operations commander Lieutenant-Colonel Johan van Wyk accepted a memorandum. He said there had been no violence and was happy with proceedings.

The memorandum told the Government: "We are voting with our feet for your immediate dismissal."

● In East London, thousands marched 10 km to Fort Glamorgan prison to demand the release of political prisoners.

● In Port Elizabeth, more than 15 000 people packed the Dan Qeqe Stadium to capacity.

Congress of South African Trade Unions representative Sipho Kobeta urged workers to demand that their employers cease deducting PAYE.

● In Paarl, in the Boland, 1 000 township residents took to the streets bearing placards proclaiming "FW stop the violence" and "To vote is a right. Why do we have to fight?"

Cops under fire over arms

Sowetan 17/6/92

POLICE have created a "life-threatening situation" by returning weapons confiscated from Inkatha supporters to the organisation, the ANC said yesterday.

The perception engendered by the return of the weapons to the IFP offices on Monday was that their initial, highly publicised, confiscation on Sunday was simply a "massive propaganda exercise", the ANC's Gill Marcus said.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that no dangerous weapons were returned to Inkatha and that "only shields and certain sticks which are not classified as dangerous weapons" were returned.

Kotze said: "Quite frankly, if we say we've given only shields and certain sticks back, then we have. The police have no reason to lie."

He said it was illegal for the SAP to confiscate things which they were not empowered to by the law.

But Marcus said ordinary people in the street did not look at the finer points of the law and simply saw loads of traditional weapons being returned to Inkatha.

Eyewitnesses confirmed that more than just shields and sticks were delivered to the IFP offices.

One witness, who refused to be identified, said: "There were about seven or eight uniformed police. They offloaded traditional weapons — shields, spears, knobkerries."

The secretary-general of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Don Nkadimeng, said: "It is a very strange thing for police to return confiscated weapons.

"They should have destroyed them. But we know they did that to placate Buthelezi because they believe in times ahead their only friend will be Inkatha."

An IFP executive, Mr Themba Khoza, said only Zulu cowhide shields and knobkerries were returned.

Gunmen kill nine after day of peaceful protest

STAR 17/6/92 (278)

Staff Reporters

Unknown gunmen killed nine people in Moletsane, Soweto, last night, after a day of peaceful protests in commemoration of the June 1976 uprising.

The massacre — carried out by a group of unknown killers with automatic weapons — followed similar attacks in Evaton and Daveyton on Monday which left a total of 16 people dead.

Describing the attack, Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said at about 6.20 pm a small group of people emerged from the direction of the Jabulani flats in Koma Road and opened fire.

Their first victims — two men travelling in a Toyota — were shot and injured. The gunmen then shot dead five pedestrians. Four more people were shot dead inside the flats and one was injured.

The wounded were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital. Captain Ngobeni said the motive for the attack and the political affiliations of the gunmen were not known.

In another apparently random shooting attack last night, one person was killed and another wounded when unknown gunmen raked a minibus with gunfire at Vosloorus on the East Rand.

The death brought Monday's and yesterday's toll on the Reef and the Vaal Triangle to 41 dead and 37 wounded, according to police.

Meanwhile, the wave of mass action-related violence predicted by the Government did not occur in heavily policed Reef townships yesterday, where a host of rallies, commemoration services and marches were held.

By 6 pm yesterday four bodies had been found in Soweto and at least two people were reportedly seriously injured — but police believe three of the killings took place on Monday night.

While East Rand townships remained quiet, a woman was necklaced in Sebokeng Zone 13 on the Vaal Triangle.

Police say sporadic incidents of unrest were reported in townships on the Vaal throughout the day, and police frequently fired birdshot and and rubber bullets to disperse youths stoning their vehicles.

Police reported no violence in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

At 5.20 pm in Orlando East, Soweto, police found the body of a man who had been stabbed.

A man and a woman were found stabbed and burnt to death between Dube Hostel and the railway line at 11 am. At 7 am, outside the Merafe Hostel, police found the body of a man who had been shot in the head.

"That too could have taken place on Monday night and was not related to the mass action," said Captain Ngobeni.

Peter Makgatholela, a PAC official, was injured in the right eye when the bus he was travelling in from the PAC's June 16 rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre was fired on as it moved past the Nancefield hostel.

In other violence — unconfirmed by police — a young girl was shot in the back and seriously injured near the Maponya supermarket, across the way from the Dube hostel, as ANC supporters returned from the Orlando Stadium late yesterday afternoon.

Horrific massacre

30 dead — mainly women and children

(278) ARG 18/6/92

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 30 people — most of them women and children — were killed when a group of about 200 men went on the rampage at a squatter camp in Boipatong near Vanderbijlpark last night.

The mob attacked houses at random, hacking and stabbing people in their path. Eight people are reported to have been injured.

Vaal Triangle police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said township residents claimed Inkatha residents from a nearby hostel were responsible for the attacks.

He said men with knives, pangas and guns entered the township at 11.30pm and attacked occupants of houses. Most of the victims were women and children.

Meanwhile the Human Rights Commission's weekly report says that at least 63 people died in South Africa in the past week, with the main flashpoints continuing to be the Soweto and Vaal areas.

Main target

While the death toll had risen from last week's figure of 54, the HRC claimed that few of the deaths could be attributed to the African National Congress mass action campaign.

"In fact, despite accusations by National government members that the ANC's campaign would lead to an increase in violence, monitoring of incidents recorded (especially where the affiliation of victims were known) clearly showed ANC supporters as being the main target of attacks rather than the perpetrators," the report said.

Ten of the 22 people killed on June 16 — the day the ANC launched its campaign — were identified as ANC supporters and four as township residents. The affiliation of the remaining eight was not known.

The toll in Soweto increased to 21 deaths and 31 injuries from 13 deaths and 16 injuries last week.

Hit squads

The Vaal area continued to account for the second highest death toll. Fifteen deaths were recorded in Boiphatong, Evaton and Sebokeng.

Ten deaths and 24 injuries were recorded on the East Rand. Natal casualties dropped significantly from 10 deaths and 10 injuries last week to one death and three injuries this week.

Security force actions accounted for three deaths, 10 injuries and 290 arrests. Alleged hit squad actions accounted for two deaths, one in Natal and the other in Transkei.

The HRC said it was difficult to categorise the remaining deaths and injuries.

Boipatong looks back in anger

Sowetan 19/6/92 (278)

By MATHATHA TSEDU and KENOSI MODISANE

Mrs Florinah Dlamini was stabbed three times and lost a daughter in the Boipatong attack. The fear of strangers is clearly mirrored on her son's face. INSET: Daniel Dlamini wails in vain for his mother's breast. It is a luxury he will never get as his mother was killed by the rampaging mob.

WHEN we left Boipatong about 2pm yesterday, the police van-cum-hearse was still picking up bodies.

The body count stood at 39 and was still rising.

It was more than 14 hours after one of the most ferocious attacks on unsuspecting and, in many instances, sleeping residents of this 4sq km township outside Vanderbijlpark.

We arrived on the scene just after 10am.

The air was thick with anger and tense as the stunned residents conducted a body hunt that was to last until late in the day.

The dead and injured had been hacked and stabbed, houses looted.

The residents stood in groups shaking their heads, whispering.

Now and then a wail could be heard as relatives let go of pent-up anger.

The day before had been an ordinary Wednesday, they all said, with nothing remarkable happening to warrant what later happened.

Police arrived at various community patrol points in the township around 9pm and dispersed the daily security system.

Forty minutes later attackers moving from the KwaMadala Hostel systematically cut through the township, smashing windows, stabbing people, hacking some, killing and killing.

They looted food from fridges, clothes from wardrobes and beds and mattresses from bedrooms.

And wherever they went, they asked for "comrades or members of the ANC".

Some were asked if they were members of Inkatha and failure to answer in the affirmative meant they became victims too.

Like 14-year-old Mathilda Hlubi of 722 Bafokeng Road, whose sister Miss Elizabeth Mama Hlubi (21) was also stabbed and a brother, Popo (18), hacked, and is now battling for his life in the intensive care unit.

Victims such as nine-months-old Aaron Mathopa, who died with his mother, leaving a confused and heartbroken father, Mr Klaas Mathopa, battling to make head or tail of why his family was slaughtered.

Victims such as Maria Dlamini (21) died at 10.15pm on Wednesday night but her body was only removed at 1.30pm yesterday.

Maria, stabbed through the heart, left behind a wailing two-month-old baby Daniel, who cried uncontrollably when he was fed with the bottle.

He was used to his mother's milk which he will never get again.

Daniel survived the spears and pangas that hacked his mother to death. She lay on top of him to shield him.

They said the dispersal of their own security system minutes before the attack, and the absence of the police throughout the one hour ten minutes that the attack took, meant the police were involved.

They did not mince words as to who it was that attacked them: Occupants of the Iscor-owned KwaMadala hostel just a stone's throw away from the main road that separates the two areas.

It is this hostel that has seen other attacks by alleged Inkatha members on residents in other neighbouring townships of the Vaal triangle.

The attackers had used an assortment of weapons, including the ones police this week declared as "non-lethal" when they returned sticks and other weapons to Inkatha members.

39 die in gory Vaal slaughter

Sowetan 19/6/92 (278)

HUNDREDS of armed men slaughtered at least 39 people and left scores injured in a night raid in the tiny Vaal township of Boipatong on Wednesday night.

The mindless slaughter began about 10pm on the eastern side of the township .

The armed mob, some wearing white headbands, began their attack minutes after police had dispersed the residents' nightly street patrol with tearsmoke, the residents said.

"There were so many of them they filled the whole street. There was no way we could fight back," a resident, an interpreter at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court whose house was looted, said.

"A police patrol sprayed teargas at the patrols, who ran into houses for shelter. It was all quiet for some minutes but later hell broke loose just after the police had left," said another witness.

Other witnesses said they heard gunshots but thought it was the patrols guarding the community.

The shooting stopped for a while.

And it was all quiet. . .

About 30 minutes later the shooting started again - this time accompanied by the shattering of windows and screams, a resident said.

"I saw a green police Casspir parked next to the camp as I fled from my house," a witness said.

The mob had, at that time, pounced on the squatter camp

By KENOSI MODISANE

and houses bordering the settlement.

Some tried to flee from their houses and shacks. But they were met with bullets, axes and pangas from the menacing mob.

Nine-month-old Aaron Mathopa and his mother, Mrs Rebecca Mathopa (43), were among the first victims when the rampaging mob struck at Slovo squatter camp about 10pm.

The squatter camp was under siege for about 15 minutes before the mob turned westwards through the streets of the township - leaving at least 17 people dead.

Doors were broken down, windows smashed. Adults and children alike were shot, hacked and stabbed.

Some died in their beds. Others were caught while trying to flee.

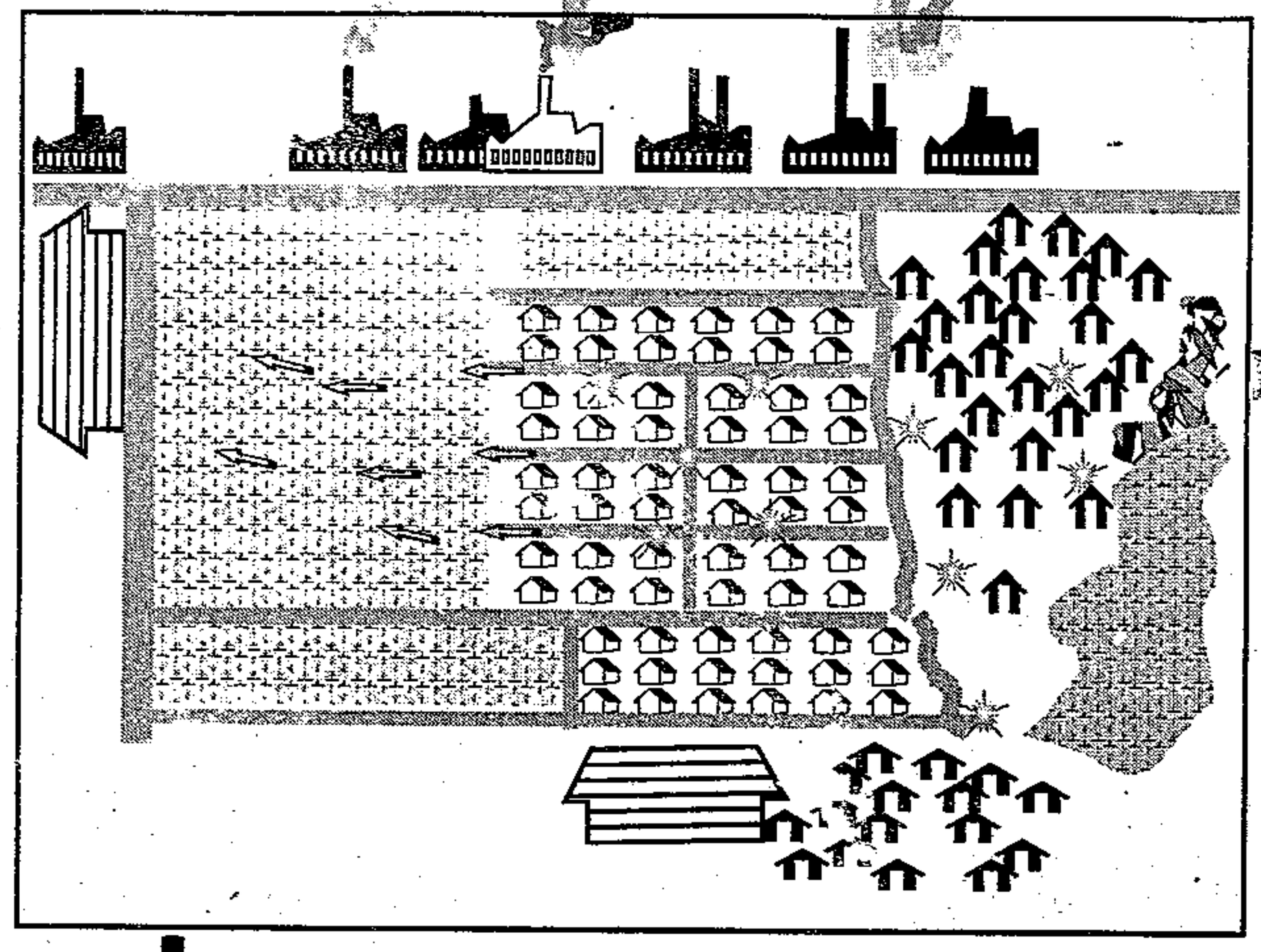
The raid was more severe at the squatter camp and at houses nearby.

The trend seemed to change as the mob moved towards the entrance of the township.

This time, the mob was looting furniture, clothes and food while others continued with the savagery.

"A police Casspir followed the mob as they left the township in the direction of KwaMadala hostel," a witness said.

About 15 people had been killed when the mob left the township.



Factories along the main road leading to Boipatong township.

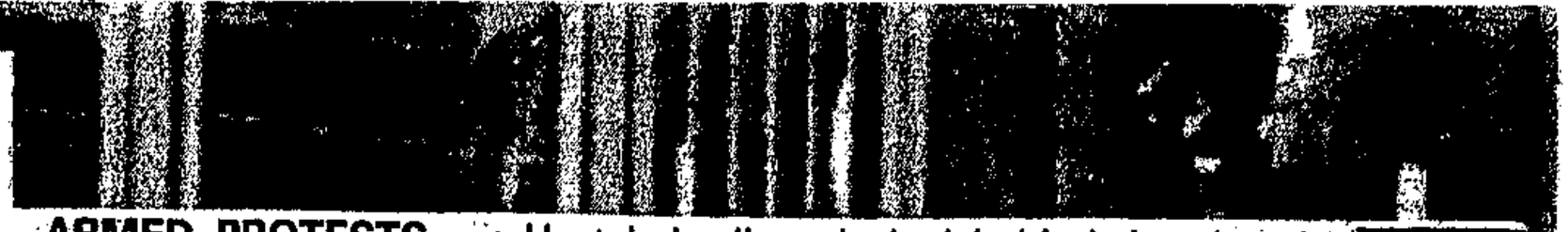
The mob flees to Kwa-Madala Hostel after the attack.

Houses in Boipatong township.

Kwa-Madala Hostel.

The trail of death left by the attackers.

The Slovo and Winnie squatter camps.



ARMED PROTESTS ... Hostel dwellers, locked behind the closed gates of the KwaMadala hostel near Boipatong, brandish weapons after the police refused to allow them to leave yesterday.

Kriel calls for report on police's actions

(278)

CT 20/6/92

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday he had asked the Commissioner of Police to provide within six days a full report on the allegations and actions of the police before and during the Boipatong massacre.

The minister was responding to claims by some Boipatong residents that police had been warned about an impending attack, but had failed to respond in time.

Others also alleged the 200-odd attackers were transported to the Slovo squatter settlement in Boipatong on Wednesday night in police vehicles.

Expressing condolences with the families of the dead and maimed, Mr Kriel gave the assurance the government would ensure justice was done.

Mr Kriel's deputy, Mr Johan Scheepers, yesterday promised the National Peace Committee that the role of the police at Boipatong would

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Police reply

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be thoroughly investigated. He would report back to the NPC executive.

The NPC referred the incident to the Goldstone Commission for urgent and full investigation. The commission has already responded and a preparatory inquiry into the acts of violence will be held on July 2 and 3.

ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday led a March on Witwatersrand police headquarters. He said the country demanded to know why police had failed to prevent the carnage, adding the march was the first step to make police and public officials accountable to the people.

He said a Methodist minister, the Rev Paul Verryn, had telephoned Colonel A Z B Gouws on Wednesday night to warn him of an attack on the Boipatong squatters, but that police had not taken action.

Later Colonel Gouws emerged from the police offices and said the information the SAP had received was that an attack was imminent at Sebokeng's Zone 11. Policemen were promptly sent there, but found all was quiet. Sebokeng is near Boipatong.

Before the march, at a news conference, Mr Ramaphosa quoted alleged eyewitnesses as saying the killers were transported to Boipatong in police vehicles.

"The ANC places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Mr F W de Klerk, who declared in Tokyo recently that his government had a plan to counter mass action," he said.

Mr Kriel countered that scores of people had died "as a direct consequence" of the ANC's programme of mass action and described the ANC attack on the government as "a scandal".

Police said there were difficulties with residents who did not wish to make sworn statements.

Yesterday the ANC said it was prepared to give the names of witnesses of the Boipatong massacre to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry if the witnesses agreed.

However, they would not reveal the names of the witnesses to the police. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

SA Air Force in Angola?

Cops move in as FW decides to visit massacre scene

CT 20/6/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will visit the site of the Boipatong massacre today — a day after police stepped up their search for the killers.

Mr De Klerk has pledged intensive government action to find the killers but after a massive raid on the Kwamadala hostel, suspected of being the source of the attack, no arrests have been made.

Police confiscated weapons which were sent for forensic tests.

Yesterday scores of detectives, riot squad policemen and troops in armoured vehicles sealed off the hostel for 36 hours.

As police surrounded the hostel Zulu war cries rang out.

Chants of "Usuthu" reverberated from behind the thick concrete walls as policemen and troops polled up in 15 armoured cars to hunt for the killers.

IFP denial

Police and troops wearing bullet-proof vests and carrying automatic rifles milled around the entrance to the hostel.

Township residents around the hostel and the ANC accuse inmates loyal to the Inkatha Freedom Party of butchering at least 39 people in Boipatong on Wednesday night. The IFP denies any connection with the attack.

A representative of the KwaZulu homeland's Inkatha government, Mr Vitus Mvelase, arrived at the hostel yesterday to facilitate police access to the hostel.

He went inside with a list of people the police

GOING IN ... dala hostel

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FW visit

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wanted to question over the massacre, but left empty-handed, saying the inmates refused to allow a search or arrests.

CT 20/6/92

Mr Mvelase returned half an hour later with an Inkatha lawyer, an unidentified white woman.

He told reporters the inmates were prepared only to be questioned by police inside the hostel, in the presence of their legal representative.

He went inside with the lawyer and a bodyguard.

Confined

Inkatha Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza, at the hostel to address supporters, many of whom brandished shields, knobkerries and sticks, said police were not permitting inmates out of the complex — which houses some 600 people.

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe confirmed the hostel residents were being confined to the complex under the emergency regulations.

ANC official Mr Ernest Sotsu yesterday was trying to arrange a meeting with the management of the area's huge steelworks to press demands that its workers' hostel be closed.

Crisis body

Church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, visited the township yesterday comforting and praying with the residents and hearing accounts of the incident.

An Interim Crisis Committee (ICC), including representatives of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, has been established to monitor reports of violence in the Vaal Triangle.

According to a statement, the ICC was formed at urgent meetings in Vereeniging and Sebokeng yesterdau by the Vaal Local Dispute Resolution Committee, established under the National Peace Accord and including representatives of the ANC, the IFP, the National Party and the Democratic Party.

The ICC said it would be on stand-by throughout the weekend. — Sapa, Political Correspondent

Churchmen tour camp, blame Govt

STAR 20/6/92

BRIAN SOKUTU (278)

CHURCH leaders yesterday called on the international community not to relax pressure on South Africa in the wake of Wednesday night's massacre of residents at Boipatong and the nearby squatter camp of Slovo Park.

Addressing a press conference after taking a tour of Boipatong and Slovo Park with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, SA Council of Churches general-secretary Dr Frank Chikane said the Government had to take full responsibility for the atrocities in the area.

He said the Government could have stopped the massacre if South Africa were "a normal country".

"It is indeed devastating to come to the area again after so many people have been killed. For how long should we come to bury our people here?" asked Chikane at the Dutch Reformed Church amid chants of "Viva" from residents.

He said that if it had been a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe who was involved in the killing of people, "the army and the police would have acted in a dramatic way to arrest him".

"They would not have taken 24 hours before acting," charged Chikane.

He described the Law and Order Minister as "a

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prophet of doom" for blaming the massacre on the ANC's mass action campaign.

"A responsible Minister of Law and Order blames this on mass action as if he wished his prophecy to be fulfilled."

Devastated by the massacre that left, according to official figures, 39 dead and scores injured, Slovo Park squatters asked Tutu to pray that the killers not return to the area. The ANC has put the death toll at 50.

At one stage during their tour of the camp, a frightened middle-aged woman ran away when she saw the church delegation entering her neighbour's shack, thinking the "killers" were back.

Realising it was a church delegation led by Tutu, the woman returned to her shack to be comforted by the churchmen.

STAR 20/6/92

Violent '32' may retire after ruling

STAR 20/6/92.

(278)

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister Gene Louw is reconsidering the deployment of controversial Portugese-speaking 32 Battalion after the Goldstone Commission had ruled that it should never again be used for peace-keeping duties in South Africa.

The commission said in a report issued yesterday that 32 Battalion — composed mainly of Angolans — had been guilty of unjustified violence against residents of the Phola Park squatter camp on the night of April 8 this year.

Louw said he could not react to the findings before all investigations, including those by the SA Police and Defence Force, had been completed.

The allegations concerned certain individuals of one of the 40 platoons "of a proud unit of the Defence Force which has performed excellent work since 1974". The platoon was withdrawn from Phola Park soon after April 8.

But Louw added: "Taking the findings of Mr Justice Goldstone into consideration, the continued deployment of 32 Battallion will be considered against the background of the specific requirements of the South African Defence Force."

The commission found that more than 200 rounds had been fired by 32 Battalion in a skirmish with the Phola Park self-defence unit.

Several bullets had penetrated shacks and at least two residents were killed. A 32 Battalion platoon then did a sweep through the camp, supposedly to look for casualties and arms.

ON THE SPOT: Defence Minister Gene Louw.

But the commission found the soldiers had acted in a manner "completely inconsistent with the function of a peace-keeping force and, in fact, became perpetrators of violence".

There was evidence that soldiers had not collected the injured and had in once case entered a shack and left an injured person who died the next day.

The battalion's own legal representatives had acknowledged that soldiers had committed acts of violence against residents.

Because it had acted unlawfully and contrary to its purpose and because the use of Portugese-speaking soldiers had become controversial, the commission recommended that it should be withdrawn from Phola Park.

Swapo

Commission chairman Goldstone noted that there had also been serious complaints against soldiers of 32 Battalion when it was deployed in Imbali, Natal.

The battalion was involved for a long time in fighting against Swapo in Namibia and was perceived as being biased against the ANC, an ally of Swapo's. The perception was heightened by the inability of the battalion to speak a language understood by township residents.

Goldstone concluded therefore that 32 Battalion should not again be used for peace-keeping duties anywhere in South Africa.

He also recommended that the Defence Force take urgent steps to impress upon senior officers the difference between war-making and peace-keeping.

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Soldiers

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This recommendation followed an expression of concern by the commission about the evidence of the captain in command of 32 Battalion on April 8.

He had justified the use of what would normally be considered excessive force by soldiers on the grounds that they were involved in what amounted to a war.

The commission said that despite the gun battle in Phola Park that night, it should not have affected the battalion's responsibility as a peace-keeping force for the maintenance of law and order in relation to the civilian population.

The commission expressed concern that this attitude might prevail elsewhere in the Defence Force.

Democratic Party defence spokesman Bob Rogers said the DP fully supported the recommendation that 32 Battalion should never again be used for peace-keeping duties.

It was natural to react aggressively when being fired upon. This stressed the importance of special training, strict discipline and strong leadership in units engaged in peace-keeping.

STAR 20/6/92

SAP barre 'massacre' from hostel

STAR 20/6/92 (278)

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

DESPITE a massive police presence outside the KwaMadala hostel near Boipatong, police late last night appeared unable to enter the premises to search for evidence of who was responsible for the massacre of 39 people in the adjoining squatter camp.

As night fell, police were reportedly questioning small groups of hostel dwellers after they had agreed to "co-operate" with police following protracted negotiations between senior police officers and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Themba Khoza.

● More reports, picture on Page 3. Editorial on Page 12.

Police said it would be impossible to search the hostel for evidence while it was dark. Nevertheless the hostel would remain sealed off until searches had been carried out.

Hostel inmates are widely suspected of being behind Wednesday's midnight slaughter, which has horrified South Africa. Late yesterday the entire magisterial district of Vanderbiljpark, including Boipatong, Sebokeng and two other Vaal townships, was declared a special unrest area in terms of a special Government Gazette published by the Minister of Law and Order, Hernus Kriel.

In an accompanying statement, he said he had requested Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe to furnish him with a full report within six days.

In the report, the minister emphasised he expected to establish the truth regarding, among other things, "the actions of the South African Police prior to, and during, the incident".

The order also announced that 200 "experienced investigators" under the leadership of Major-General Hannes Gloy would make up a team to ensure a thorough investigation of the Boipatong massacre.

The KwaMadala hostel dwellers have been restricted to the hostel under the unrest area regulations as of today.

No unauthorised vehicles would be permitted to enter the hostel and the police would be "doing everything in their power to bring the murderers to book as soon as possible", said a police statement.

Reacting to the order, Khoza said, as a throng of supporters sang and waved knobkerries: "People are being denied their civil rights."

Crowd

Women supporters sang and children wailed as the crowd surged out to the entrance gate of the massive complex, apparently to dramatise their demand they be allowed in and out of the complex.

From inside the beseiged hostel, Zulu war cries rang out and chants of "Usuthu" — the name of a Zulu royal regiment — reverberated from behind the thick concrete walls of KwaMadala ("place of the old men").

Outside, several hundred policemen and troops, supported by 15 armoured vehicles, stood by to begin the search for the killers if they remained inside the hostel walls.

"Clear the area. This could get violent," a police officer told reporters. Police and troops wearing bullet-proof vests and carrying automatic rifles milled ner-

● TO PAGE 2.

Hostel

(278)

● FROM PAGE 1.

vously around the entrance to the grim-looking hostel, and journalists fell back across the road.

A representative of the KwaZulu government, Vitus Mvelase, arrived at the hostel to facilitate police access to the hostel and went inside with a list of people the police wanted to question over the massacre. He left empty-handed, saying the inmates had refused to allow a search or arrests.

It was impossible to see inside the compound, but deep-throated war chants and battle hymns and the air-trembling sound of hundreds of spears beating against hide shields soared from behind the high walls.

Mvelase returned half an hour later with an Inkatha lawyer, an unidentified white woman. He told reporters that the inmates were prepared only to be questioned by police inside the hostel, in the presence of their legal representative.

He went inside with the lawyer and a bodyguard. The police and troops waited outside for developments.

STAR 20/6/92

The night that Boipatong bled

STAR 19/6/92.

By William Maclean (278)

After the killers had done their work, bodies frozen in their death throes bore testimony yesterday to one of South Africa's worst township massacres.

Grieving women surrounded the corpse of Benjamin Mosoetsa, one of 39 people killed in Boipatong squatter camp south of Johannesburg on Wednesday night by raiders wielding knives, guns and axes.

His pitifully thin body lay in a pool of congealed blood on the floor of a four-room "matchbox" house, his head twisted to the side, his face locked in a grimace.

Rigor mortis had frozen his hands in front of his chest, as if to ward off the bullets that killed him.

"A gang of men came to the window last night," one of his grieving relatives said, her body heaving with emotion.

"They broke the windows, kicked in the door, and shot Benjamin and his brother."

In a house nearby survivors repeated the story.

This time the victim was Baleni Lerabane (58), a member of the Zionist Christian Church, whose members shun politics. Being non-aligned in the township wars did not save her.

"The men kicked in the door and said they wanted someone from the ANC," her daughter Bertha said. "My mother said there is no one here from the ANC."

The men slit her throat anyway and stripped the body to her underwear.

A mortuary truck escorted by armoured police vehicles followed the trail of death through appalling scenes of carnage. The floor of the van ran with blood.

In one dusty street of the poverty-stricken slum, a mother still grasped her nine-month-old infant to her breast. Both had been stabbed dead.

A full-term pregnant woman sprawled nearby, and a one-year-old child lay dead on the next block. — Sapa-Reuter.

Policeman

Cop in suicide attempt after house torched

Sowetan 19/6/92 (278)

HORRIFIED policemen and media stood by in shock as a grief-stricken policeman tried to shoot himself in the head in Boipatong yesterday afternoon.

The hysterical policeman, whose house and car had been burnt to ashes, went beserk and started running around, crying and screaming with despair.

"I can't take this anymore, I just can't take it," he said as he took out his service pistol and put it to his head.

As he tightened his finger on the trigger, a colleague leapt forward and wrenched his hand and gun away.

The policeman's shocked family, who were in the house when the house was torched, were subsequently taken to a nearby Casspir and looked after by police.

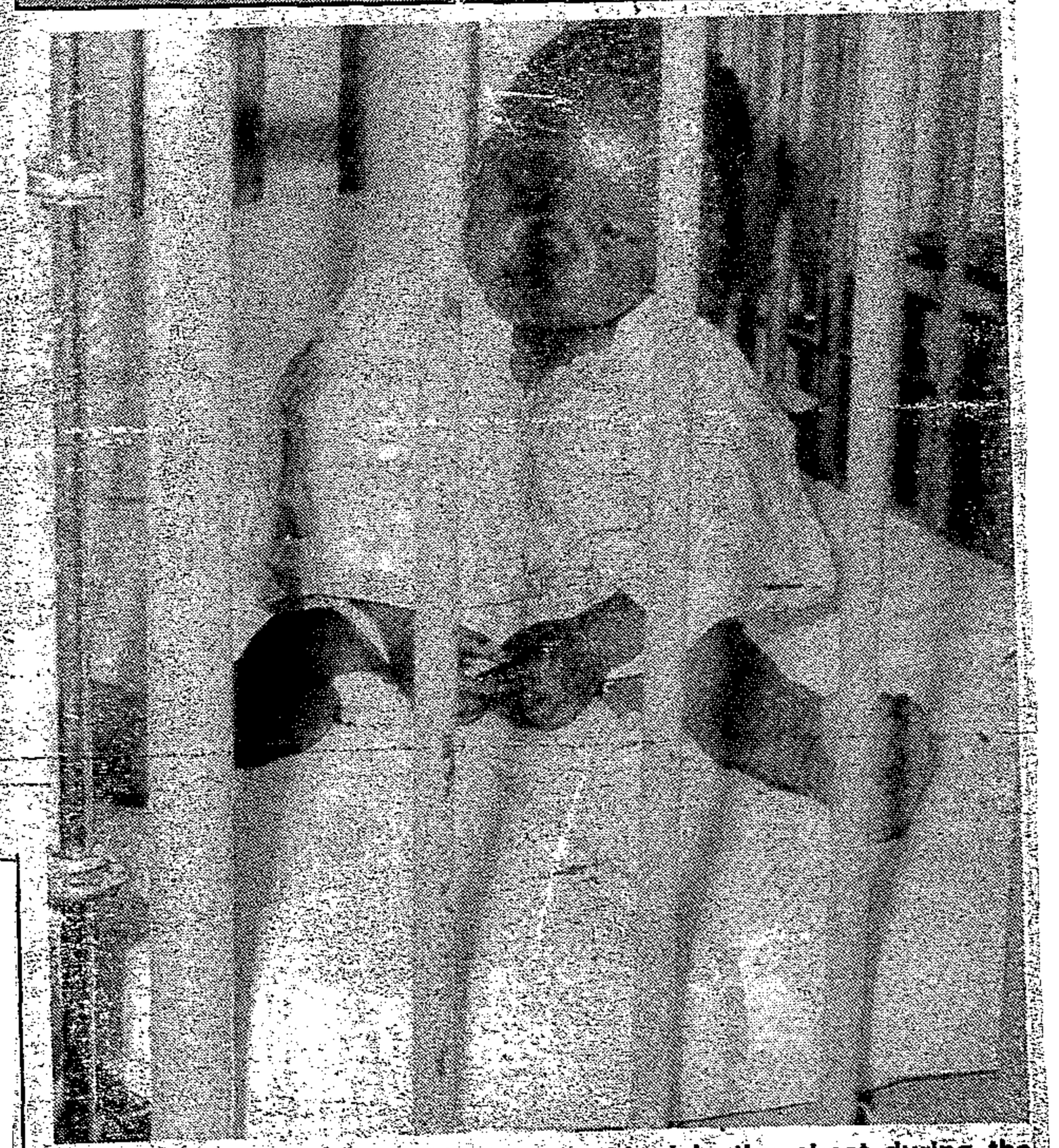
The State President, Mr FW de Klerk, last night expressed his shock and revulsion at the killing of 39 people in Boipatong on Wednesday night.

Shocking act

He said in a statement he wished to assure South Africa's people that "we will not rest until we have found the perpertrators of this shocking act and have brought them to justice", he said.

"Together with the violent deaths of at least 35 people on Monday and Tuesday nights, this act adds to tension created by the intolerable level of violence in our country," he added.

Alone, all alone



Little Victoria Mbongo (3) who was stabbed in the chest during the Boipatong attack, seems bewildered in a ward at the Sebokeng Hospital.

STAR 19/6/92

Staff Reporters (278)

While Boipatong mourns the slaughter which left at least 39 people brutally murdered, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the police have strongly denied complicity in the massacre, which residents claimed was committed by Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers.

Monitoring group Peace Action charged that the police were warned of an impending attack at 7.30 pm on Wednesday and could have prevented the bloodshed that followed a few hours later.

But it has emerged that the call came from neighbouring Sebokeng and police believe they may have been "directed" to Sebokeng while the attack was, in fact, at Boipatong.

● More reports — Pages 2 and 13. Opinion — Page 12

However the ANC and Peace Action maintain the massacre could have been prevented if police had responded to early warnings.

Peace Action monitor Venetia Govender told The Star: "They did not try to prevent it. If they did, there is no evidence of it."

A graphic Peace Action report detailing calls received from the area on Wednesday night and early yesterday indicate the first call did in fact originate from Sebokeng.

Police received their first report of bloodshed from Boipatong at 4 am yesterday. At 7 am they reported having difficulty in entering the township.

Liaison officer for the SAP at headquarters in Pretoria, Major Ray Harrald, speaking from Boipatong yesterday said: "If we had been informed that the attack would be here (Boipatong), we would have been here."

President de Klerk expressed shock and revulsion at the mindless killing. He issued a statement in some of the harshest condemnatory terms yet. He also expressed his deepest condolences with the families and loved ones of the victims.

"I wish to assure the people of South Africa that we will not rest until we have found the perpetrators of this shocking act and have brought them to justice," he said. "Together with the violent deaths of at least 39 people on Monday and Tuesday nights, this act adds to tension created by the already intolerable level of violence in our country."

Among the victims of the carnage wreaked by a rampaging impi was a nine-months pregnant woman who was shot and stabbed to death. Horrified doctors treating the wounded from the tiny Vaal Triangle settlement said they could not imagine what weapons had caused the huge, gaping wounds in victims as young as three and as old as 70.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said that if the police failed to arrest all suspects immediately, "a slide towards anarchy is possible. The police response to the massacre will give South Africa an indication as to whether or not the police force is capable of maintaining law and order."

Although the police denied they did not act fast enough to prevent the attack, an intensive investigation was launched immediately. A toll-free number, 0800-11-1213, was set up for witnesses to supply the SAP with information.

Rupert Lorimer, acting chairman of the executive committee of the Witwatersrand-Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee of the National Peace Accord, said the committee was urgently attending to the massacre.

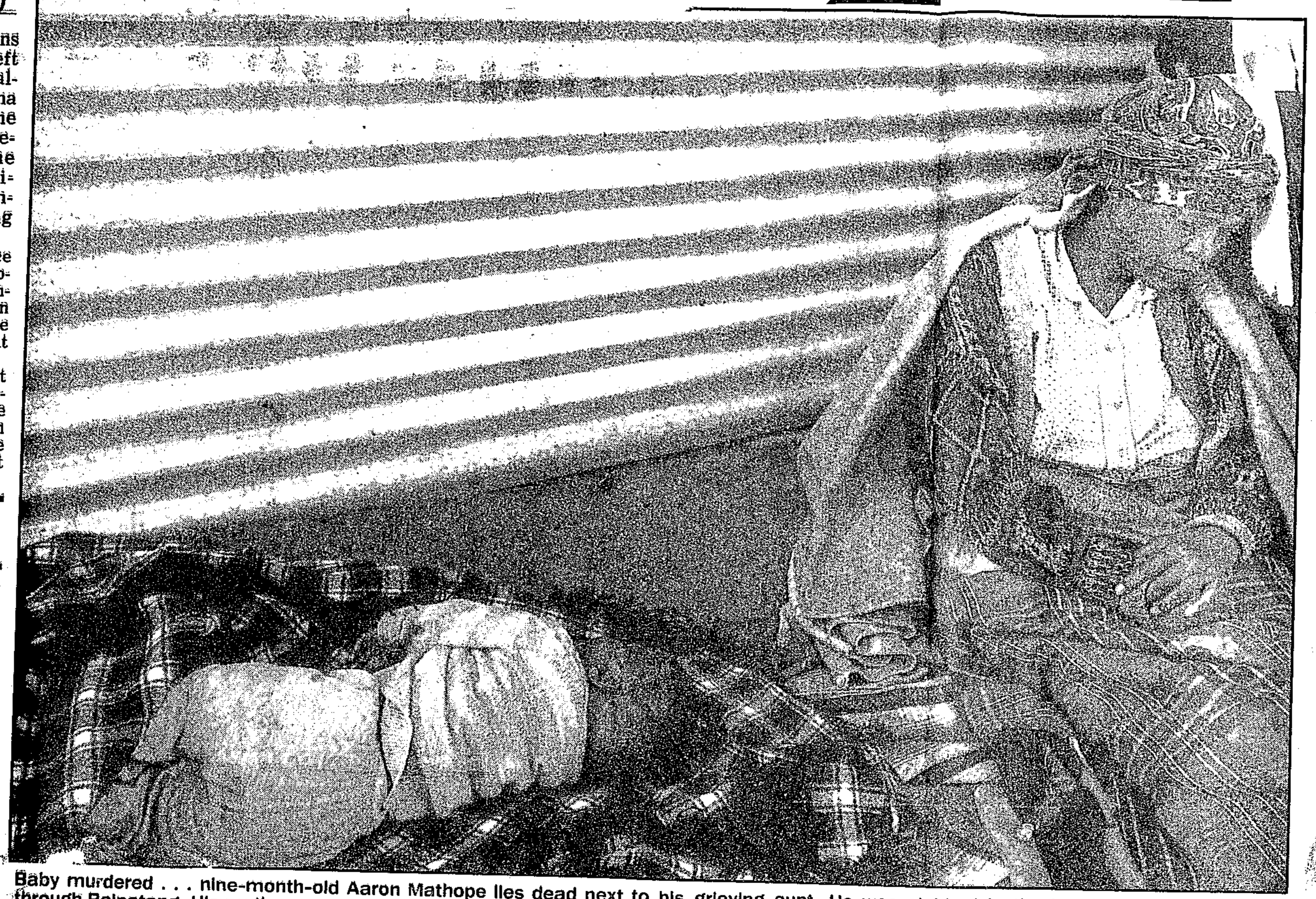
The executive committee would meet tomorrow and ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate the killings. He had spoken to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel who had promised that allegations of police collusion would be followed up in the SAP investigation.

The massacre, the worst in South Africa's violence-racked townships since March 1990 when 80 people died in Natal townships, has prompted a furious barrage of accusations and counter-accusations.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who visited the scene of devastation with SACP chairman Joe Slovo yesterday morning, described the massacre as a national tragedy.

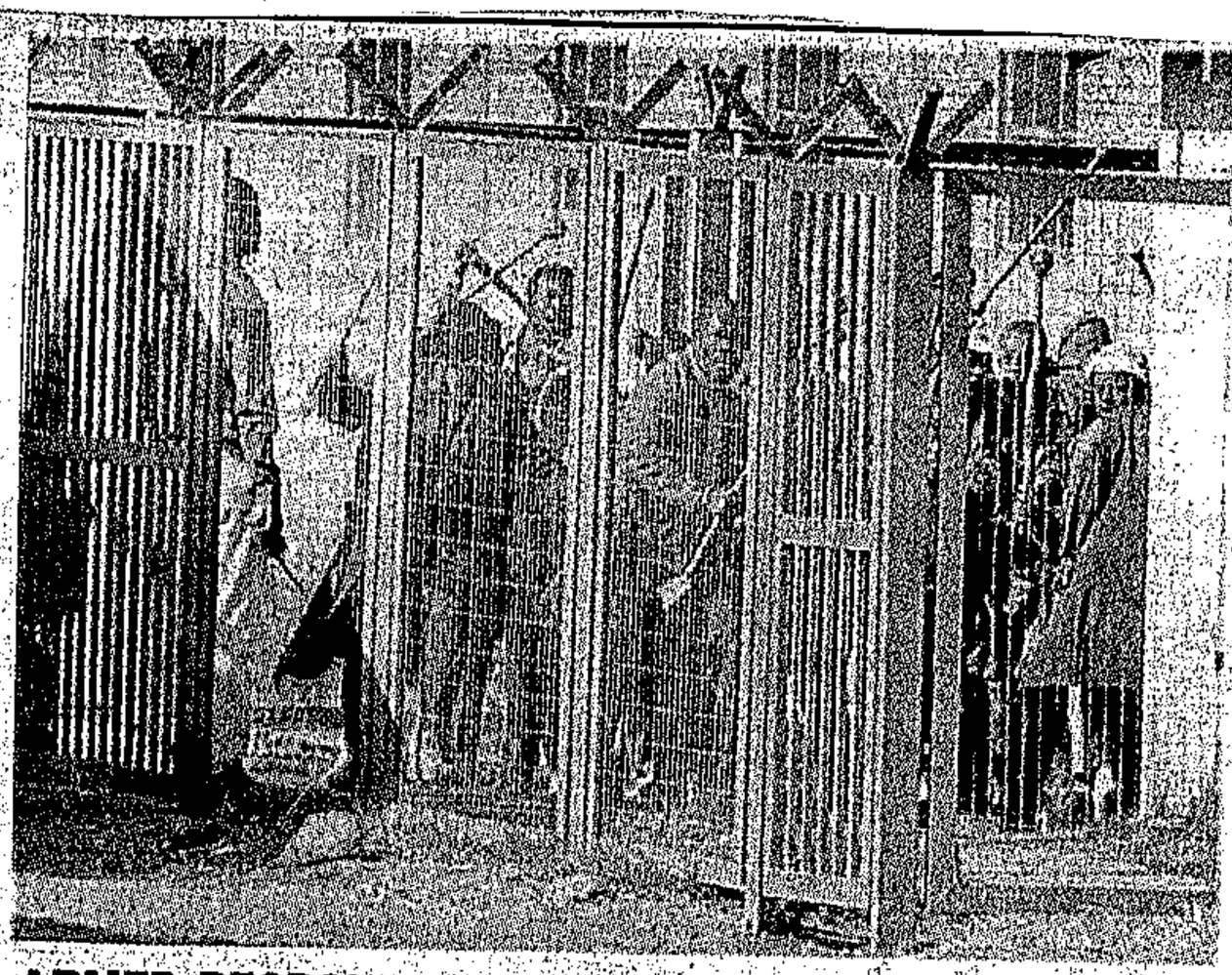
"We charge F W de Klerk and his Government with

● To Page 2



Baby murdered . . . nine-month-old Aaron Mathope lies dead next to his grieving aunt. He was stabbed in the head during the rampage through Boipatong. His mother was also murdered.

Picture: AP



ARMED RESPONSE: Behind closed gates, Zulus brandish weapons at the Kwamadala hostel at Boipatong as police prevent them from leaving. Residents of Boipatong claim the Zulus massacred 39 people in the squatter camp there.

ARG 20/6/92

Police still not inside hostel in massacre probe

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■ Massive police probe gets underway as F W de Klerk prepares to visit the scene of this week's squatter camp massacre

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Despite a massive police presence outside the Kwamadala hostel near Boipatong, late last night police had apparently been unable to enter the premises to search for evidence on who may have been responsible for the massacre of 39 people in the adjoining squatter camp.

The massacre has caused a seething rage among blacks on the Reef and relations between the African National Congress and the government have slumped.

In a bid to cool passions, yesterday evening the government declared the magisterial district of Vanderbijlpark, which includes Boipatong, Boipalong, Bophelong, Evaton and Sebokeng, an unrest area.

As night fell police were reportedly questioning small groups of hostel-dwellers after they had agreed to "cooperate" with police following protracted negotiations between senior police officers and Inkatha leader Mr Themba Khoza.

However, police said it would be impossible to search the hostel for evidence during the dark. Nevertheless, the hostel would remain sealed off until searches had been carried out. Hostel inmates are widely suspected of being behind Wednesday's midnight slaughter.

In a statement accompanying the announcement of the emergency

To Page 3

SAP still outside suspected hostel

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ARG 20/6/92

From Page 1

measures, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said he had requested General Van der Merwe to furnish him with a full report within six days.

The order also announced that 200 "experienced investigators" under the leadership of Major-General Hannes Gloy would make up a team to ensure a thorough investigation of the massacre.

Police had confined the hostel-dwellers inside the hostel. But the confinement ended late yesterday. "They are free to come and go," an officer said outside the barracks-style Kwamadala hostel at the end of a 36-hour quarantine enforced by up to 200 men in 50 vehicles.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Nelson Mandela's main black rival, said he was "unutterably appalled" at the killing.

A government spokesman said President De Klerk would visit the Boipatong squatter camp, a settlement of wood and tin shanties among dirt lanes south of Johannesburg, today.

From inside the besieged hostel Zulu war-cries rang out and chants of "Usuthu", the name of a Zulu royal regiment, reverberated from behind the thick concrete walls.

Outside several hundred policemen and troops, supported by 15 armoured vehicles, stood by to begin the search for the killers.

In an extraordinary statement, the ANC contended that Mr De Klerk's administration had, in three years, caused more deaths of black people than 40 years of apartheid.

"Negotiations are in jeopardy," warned ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The agony

STAR 19/6/92.

A teenager does not know where his next meal will come from now that his mother has been killed, and a woman tells how she will never forget the screams of her brother . . . This was the Boipatong massacre.

Report by BRONWYN WILKINSON, MELODY McDOUGALL and Sapa.

(278)

FIFTEEN-YEAR-OLD Paul Sibolani crawled under a bed in his Boipatong home on Wednesday night and emerged to find that rampaging attackers had killed his brother and domestic servant mother.

The shaken teenager yesterday said the attackers had kicked down the door to the Sibolani family's house. They attacked and killed Paul's brother before going on to stab his mother.

She was speared to death, according to the distraught son.

Paul did not know where his next meal was coming from. "My mother was the only one in our house with a job."

As Paul told his story, the body of his mother was placed on a stretcher and carried away.

Next door, the bloodied body of Benjamin Moloetsa lay sprawled in a bedroom. He had been shot.

An elderly Boipatong resident, who witnessed the massacre, told The Star that Inkatha hostel dwellers at the nearby KwaMadala hostel were responsible for the attack. He also alleged that white uniformed men in armoured vehicles assisted Inkatha in the massacre.

The 66-year-old man, who asked that his name be withheld as he was afraid of retaliation, said he saw large groups of at least 500 men quietly sneak into the township on foot from the direction of the KwaMadala hostel on Wednesday night.

Shortly afterwards, pandemonium broke loose when he heard gunfire, windows being smashed and terrified people screaming.

When The Star arrived at Boipatong at about 10 am yesterday, armed police and soldiers were guarding the road leading to the squatter camp. A shopkeeper said no one had left or entered the camp all day.

"Everybody is too scared to even go there to find out what is going on," he said.

One woman said she had heard her brother being hacked to death inside their shack.

"I was hiding in a cupboard, covered in clothes and blankets so that they could not find me, but I heard the cutting and I will never forget his screams," she sobbed.

While she was talking inside a takeaway shop near the squatter camp, a group of policemen entered.

"If you do not get out of here now, you will die," one policeman said. "This is going to be a battlefield."

The look of grief on the woman's face turned to one of abject terror when she looked out the door of the shop. Across the road about 300 men, all wearing red headbands, had gathered on the pavement.

They were all armed with spears, shields, pangas and axes. Some of the men in the war party held guns above their heads.

Outside, in the forecourt of the garage next to the shop, a woman stood rooted to the spot, staring in horror at the silent crowd of impis across the road.

Weeping and crying "God help us! God help us!" she looked down at her feet to see she was standing in a pool of her own urine.

Hundreds of policemen and troops lined up next to the road leading to the squatter camp, rifles at the ready. The roads to the camp were sealed off.

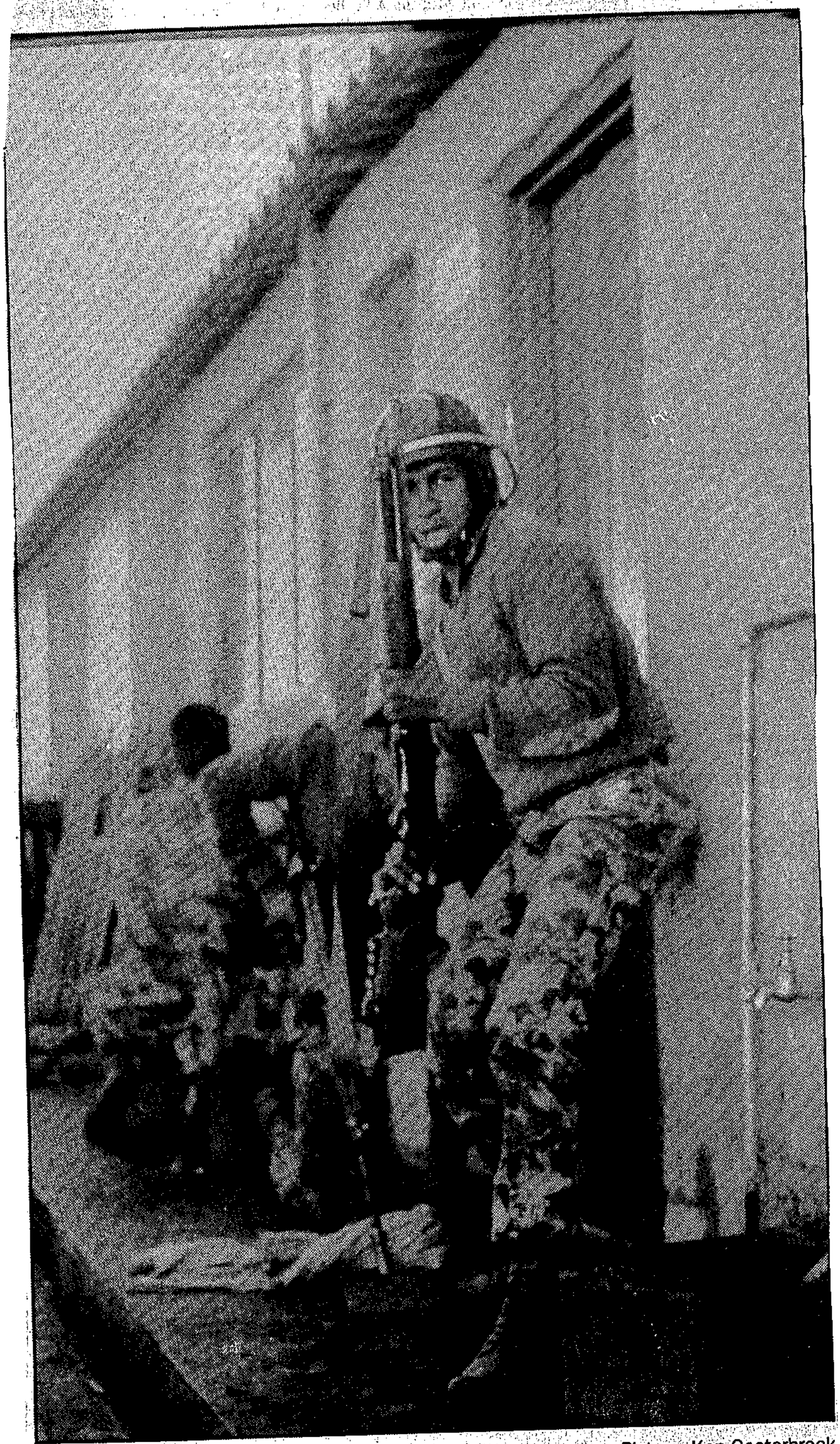
While the security forces faced the impis across the road, terrified residents scuttled to get behind the lines of troops, desperate to find shelter.

Within three minutes, the street was deserted, except for the two groups of armed men facing each other about 50 m apart.

The impis crept up and down the pavement, walking about 10 paces before sitting down as one man. Then they would get up again and move another 10 paces before sitting down once more in complete silence.

An hour later, when journalists returned, the impis had left. □

# of Boipatong



Anxiety . . . on the face of a policeman patrolling Boipatong. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

Police raid blamed for shop looting

(278)

STAR 19/6/92

By Monica Oosterbroek

A Soweto shopkeeper was forced to close down his shop yesterday and lost goods worth about R15 000 when police walked into the shop to arrest two staff members who were allegedly illegal immigrants.

David Mokoena of Skyline Supermarket said a large police contingent arrived in a yellow van to question staff.

"While seven policemen were in my office questioning me, I heard staff members screaming," he said. "There was absolute chaos. I ran downstairs and saw police beating my employees. Customers took advantage of the pandemonium and starting looting."

When Mr Mokoena confronted the policemen and demanded an explanation, he alleged that the policemen began pushing and hitting him.

Mr Mokoena locked the doors and refused to let police or customers leave. He telephoned two police stations, but said nobody was interested in his problem.

"I had no idea what to do, so I let everybody go," he said.

After assessing the damage, he went to Morake station to lay a charge against the police. However, he alleged police said they were too busy to take a statement. It was only after persistent demands that a junior constable was told to listen to Mr Mokoena's complaints.

Soweto liaison officer Captain Joseph Ngobeni last night requested Mr Mokoena to submit a statement to the police which included all allegations. "We will investigate everything."

Buthelezi denies IFP planned massacre

278

CT 20/6/92

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that the Boipatong attack could scuttle the negotiation process.

"I am unutterably appalled at the inhuman action of those who gathered to raid Boipatong squatter camp ... it leaves civilized mankind stunned at the viciousness of man," he said.

In a statement he denied IFP leadership involvement in the attack on Wednesday night in which at least 39 people died.

"I say very clearly that no leadership structure in the IFP had any knowledge whatsoever that this attack was going to take place, and I make this statement not even knowing that it was indeed IFP members who were the attackers," Chief Buthelezi said.

He repeated an invitation to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to join forces with him to lead their respective organisations on peace missions.

"We must be seen to be standing together to oppose the hideous violence that I am talking about. Whoever is to blame, only the IFP and the ANC working concertedly together can produce any kind of winning formula against violence," Chief Buthelezi said.

"If there was ever a time for the IFP and the ANC to forget every possible past difference and to come together for the sake of the lives of the innocent in this country, it is now." — Sapa

City service for victims of massacre

CT 25/6/92

(278)

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 1 000 people watched silently in soft rain while several wreaths were laid at the gates to Tuynhuys in memory of the victims of the June 17 massacre of 49 Boipatong residents.

Among those who laid wreaths were the Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Rev Colin Jones, Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairman, and embassy and community representatives.

They had marched there after the lunchtime inter-faith service at St Georges Cathedral.

Outside Tuynhuys, Cape Town Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde said the citizens of Cape Town were saying to South Africa "that we no longer accept that violence is the solution to any problems. We are saying to South Africa, 'We will lead you to peace'."

Suspend cop, say residents after ANC member's death

SOUTH 20/6 – 24/6/92

By Johannes Ngcobo (278)

ALEXANDRA policeman Alex Tlabela, whom residents of the township want removed from the police force, is still on duty despite being convicted of culpable homicide.

The Randburg Regional Court recently convicted Tlabela of culpable homicide after he shot dead ANC member Mr Kenneth Kunene in June 1990. Tlabela will be sentenced on June 25 this year.

Kunene was a marshall at a rally in Alexandra on the day of the shooting.

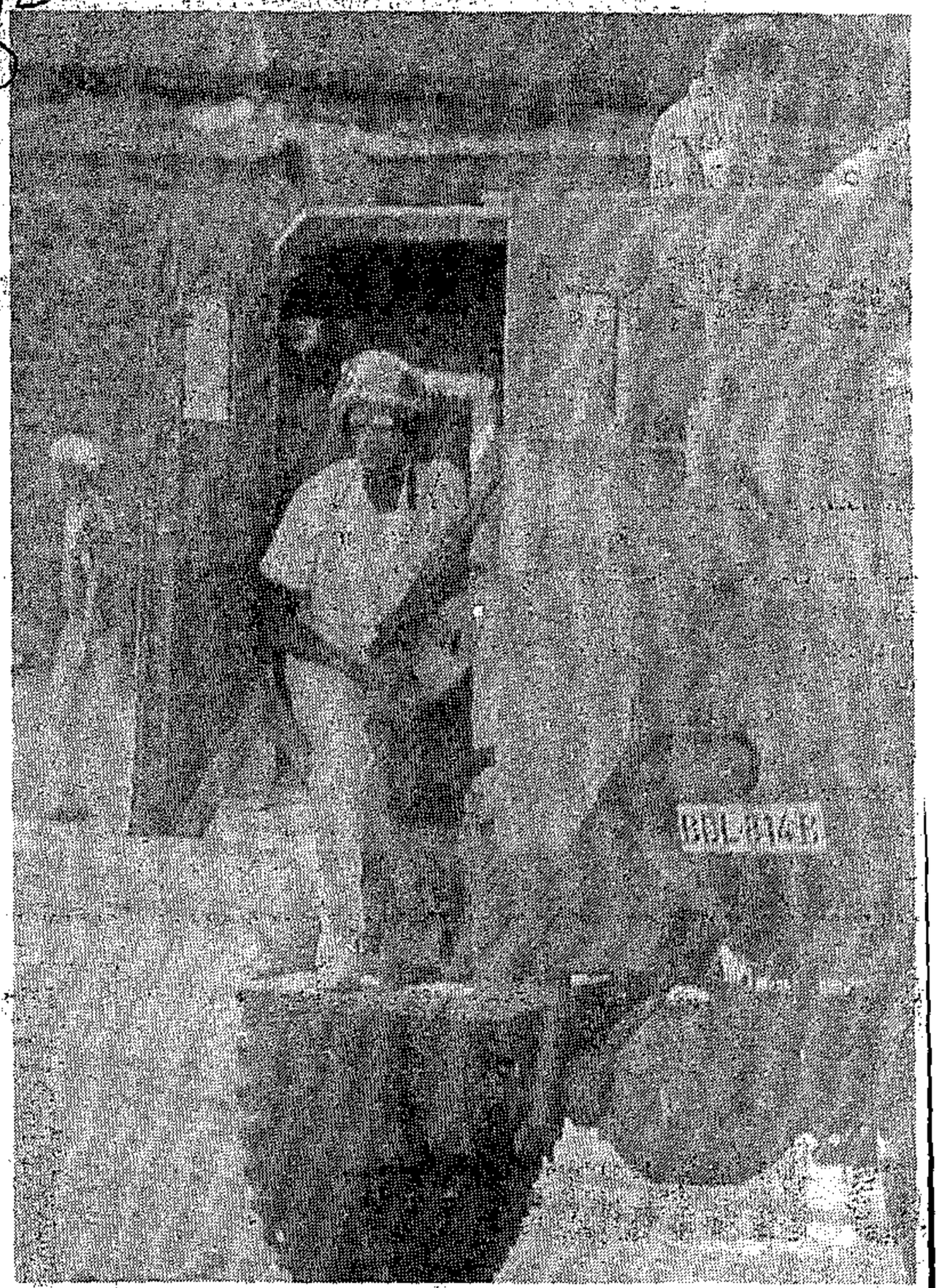
Witnesses alleged that police had been chasing a person suspected of possessing dagga in the stadium when people scattered in panic.

In the confusion, they claimed, Tlabela emerged from a police car and without warning shot Kunene in the head. He was certified dead on arrival at the Alexandra clinic.

Residents said that during 1984 and 1985 Tlabela had been a feared policeman in Alexandra.

A resident, who refused to be named, said that prior to Kunene's death, Tlabela had detained him on several occasions. Kunene was assaulted and drugged by the police, the resident claimed.

Kunene was also a member of the Alexander Civic Organisation and the local student movement.



UNWANTED COP: Alexandra policeman Alex Tlabela whom residents want suspended Photo: Dynamic Images

ANC national executive committee member Mr Alfred Nzo called for Tlabela's immediate suspension.

"His action shows the security forces' involvement in the ongoing violence that has engulfed our country. The guilty verdict is once more a serious implication of the state," Nzo said.

"We are concerned that he is still working despite being found guilty by a court of law and that he is still wearing a gun at his waist."

Police spokesperson Warrant-Officer A Peter said: "A policeman is not automatically suspended if he is found guilty of a crime. In this instance, the Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police must decide on the fate of the policeman concerned."

Vanderbijl Park is now an 'unrest area'

(278)

CT 20/6/92

...ESBURG.

The government last night declared the magisterial district of Vanderbijlpark — which includes Boipatong, Boipalong, Bophelong, Evaton and Sebokeng — an unrest area.

The declaration was made in a special Government Gazette by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel.

Reaction to the massacre streamed in yesterday.

In Johannesburg veteran communist leader Mr Joe Slovo pledged that once the ANC was in power it would hold Nuremberg-type trials to punish those responsible for massacres like that at Boipatong.

"There can be no indemnity for mass murder. Those responsible for these massacres are going to meet justice in a people's South Africa," he said.

COMFORT . . . Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu comforts a woman yesterday in Boipatong. She lost two relatives in the massacre there earlier this week, which claimed 39 lives.

Picture: AP

Protest call

"The people who must pay the penalty ... are the people who are behind the killings," Mr Slovo told about 200 ANC supporters who marched on the Braamfontein headquarters of the security police.

The Azanian People's Organisation called on black South Africans and political organisations to stop any political dealings with the government in protest against the massacre.

The Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal called on all civic bodies to withdraw from the National Peace Committee's regional and local dispute resolution committees.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers called on the government to close down single-sex hostels immediately or convert them into family units. It urged that security cordons be placed around all these institutions in the PWV area and all weapons in hostels be banned.

The association's publicity secretary, Mr Krish Govender, said: "The South African government and its security forces have shown a glaring lack of initiative in anticipating and preventing this Renamo-type of death and destruction.

"How many more attacks will be launched from these notorious hostels before active and permanent action is taken by the government?"

The National Council of Trade Unions said it was "ready to embark on a national industrial action to register our anger at the regime's unwillingness to protect the lives of our people and at security force complicity in these attacks."

In Cape Town the president of the New Unity Movement, Mr Richard Dudley, said the ultimate blame for the massacre rested squarely with the ruling class.

"Human life has ceased to be sacred among the brutalised killers and the ruling class alike," he said.

The Human Rights Commission, a Johannesburg-based monitoring group, said the massacre confirmed there were elements within the Inkatha movement and the security forces that were interested in fuelling the violence and "fulfilling their own prophecy that the ANC's programme of mass action will raise the political temperature".

The five ANC-supporting Members of Parliament called on the State President to deal urgently with "the way in which the Minister of Law and Order is dragging the police into the political arena".

Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Rob Haswell said all serious observers of violence recognised that there was a total breakdown of law and order which bordered on anarchy and endangered the negotiation process.

26/6/92 CT 278

Vaal area focus of week's killing spree

STAR 22/6/92 (278)

The unrest death toll in the past week jumped above 100 yesterday, when the latest police report pushed the toll up to about 112.

Up to 17 people died in unrest incidents, mostly in the Vaal Triangle, on Saturday and early yesterday morning, police reported.

In one unrest incident, five people — two of them women — were killed during a raid by armed men on the Dobsonville hostel in Soweto early yesterday morning.

The secretary of the Inkatha Freedom Party on the Reef, Humphrey Ndlovu, said the five were IFP members who had been attacked by armed members of the ANC.

The attack had lasted from 10 pm on Saturday through to 5 am yesterday.

He said one of the men had told hostel dwellers that the ANC members would continue their attack on the hostel.

The official police unrest report mentions only one death on Saturday at Boipatong, scene of the massacre which claimed at least 39 lives in the Vaal Triangle township on Wednesday.

According to media reports yesterday, three people died and about 20 were injured in Boipatong on Saturday when President F W de Klerk was chased out of the township by angry supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress and ANC.

The full police report on Boipatong states: "A group of about 15 black youths threw stones at members of the SAP.

"The police were also attacked with pangas. One black man over 18 years was wounded and arrested.

"A black man attacked another with a panga. The SAP member shouted a warning, whereupon the man attacked the SAP member and was shot dead.

"Also at Boipatong, unknown persons fired a number of shots at the police. No one was injured. Later, unknown persons again fired at the SAP. One member was wounded.

"The SAP returned fire and a number (unknown) of persons were injured."

Police gave reports of the following unrest incidents in Bophelong, Sebokeng and Sharpeville townships:

- At Bophelong they found the body of a man who had died from head injuries.
- In Sebokeng the police reported several incidents of stone-throwing and petrol-bomb attacks. Youths also barricaded roads in the township.
- At Sharpeville there was also stone-throwing and petrol-bomb attacks, and the police discovered a burnt-out vehicle.

On the East Rand, at Katlehong near Germiston, the police reported five deaths on Saturday and a fifth the day before. They found the bodies of three men who had died from gunshot wounds.

"In another incident at Katlehong three black men shot and killed another black man over 18 years using AK-47 rifles."

On the railway line between Katlehong and Southside, another body was found. The man had died of head injuries.

On Friday, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

They also found five men who were suffering from gunshot wounds.

The only explanation for the deaths was a police report that, in another incident in the township, unknown people set fire to a private dwelling, causing extensive damage.

In Soweto, between Orlando and Hlambamkhuzi railway stations, the police found the body of a man who had died from head and body injuries.

At Ratanda, near Heidelberg, the police found the body of a man with gunshot wounds.

At Bruntville near Mooi River, the police reported that an unidentified group killed two men and that two men were arrested. — Sapa.

Reporters duck bullets as policeman shot

STAR 22/6/92 (278)

By Guy Jepson

The middle-aged man walked out of the Dobsonville hostel at 3.30 pm yesterday, clutching his bloodied chest.

A hostel dweller shouted at the driver of a passing Internal Stability Unit Casspir, telling him to stop as someone had been shot. The Casspir pulled over but the policemen aboard had not heard the shots which, two minutes before, had sent the hostel dwellers and The Star news team diving for cover.

Then the wounded man showed the police his SAP identity card. "Take me to a clinic, I'm shot in my heart," he said.

Several camouflaged policemen took up positions facing Jonas Street, from where the shots had come, while others helped him into the Casspir.

Visibly angry, a policeman came over to us, saying we had been warned to avoid the area.

But the sniper who opened fire from one of houses across from the hostel had caught us all by surprise.

While photographer Jacoob Rykliff was taking pictures inside the hostel courtyard, driver Prince Vilakazi and I were speaking to the hostel dwellers who had come under heavy attack before dawn yesterday.

An elderly man scratching among the ruins of two burnt-out cars said he had come back to the hostel to salvage his tools and other belongings.

Then a woman, speaking in Zulu, pointed towards one of the houses across the road and shouted something about an "AK". Someone else said "pump action", and then the firing began and we found ourselves diving for cover along with the hostel dwellers.

An ambulanceman who later treated the wounded policeman said he would "make it".

Soweto police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said last night that the wounded man was an off-duty municipal policeman. He was in satisfactory condition in Baragwanath Hospital. The SAP had not yet established what firearm the sniper had used.

Riding the mzabalazo train

Sowetan 22/6/92

(278)

Last Monday night's attack at Daveyton Station, in which five people died, may have been aimed at train 8879 from Johannesburg. The "mzabalazo train" has a coach in which passengers chant revolutionary songs and slogans while activists harangue them with revolutionary sermons. JOE MDHLELA took a ride on it last Wednesday afternoon.

ONE needs nerves of steel to be on this train.

The 63-year-old John Nkosi (not his real name) said in a whisper: "My son, I have no doubt that this train was attacked because it is known that young ANC supporters control some of the coaches.

"These young people make us sing their songs and anybody who is from a different organisation is harassed. Perhaps they harassed the wrong person."

The train is called the "mzabalazo train" because one of the coaches carries toyi-toying youths known to all as belonging to the ANC.

In this coach you must join in the song and in the toyi-toyi. You may not read a newspaper or strike a conversation with a friend or anyone else on this coach once the revolutionary speeches are delivered, the old man told me.

Clearing his throat, a young man who had come forward, stumbled over his initial words as he started his delivery.

Introducing himself as member of the ANC Youth League, the young man warmed up to his tirade.

"The so-called organisation that purports to be cultural cannot boast of being peaceful."

He then paused, giving his audience a long look as if to judge whether they understood the organisation he was referring to. Then he went on:

"They kill our people in the trains ... they maim children and women ... what is so cultural about these killers?"

Salutations of "amandla" followed and the song and foot-stomping began more furiously than ever. I tried to be one of them, fumbled a tune and step here and there, but I was happy that I was becoming one of them.

The only incongruity would probably be the suit I wore. Not one of the comrades wore a suit. They were all casually dressed.

But I guessed "intellectuals" are also needed in the struggle. The body scent was rather intolerable. I looked at the comrade who was taking notes on a scrap of paper.

A thought struck that he could be verifying if the roll tallied with numbers expected in the coach. In that case I was doomed. I would probably be questioned why I was in the coach in the first place, I thought to myself.

As the journey approached its tail-end, the comrades seemed unsettled. One of them appeared to be keeping a close watch on a burly middle-aged man.

As the train stopped at Daveyton Station and we alighted, a youth whispered to his comrade: "This man is a member of Inkatha", pointing towards the direction of this middle-aged man.

They then sidled up to the man, grabbed him and motioned him to the side of the platform for more details.

The man, momentarily overwhelmed by the event, made a few gestures to protest and express his innocence.

Then the man and the accusers disappeared into the dark night. Outside the station the people were unusually brisk, a clear sign that the previous night's shooting was still fresh in their minds.

Vaal residents start stayaway

Sowetan 22/6/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

(278)

RESIDENTS of the six Vaal Triangle black townships will stay away from work today to mourn the deaths of 42 victims of the Boipatong carnage.

The affected townships are: Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Evaton, Zamdela and Bophelong.

Residents demand that Inkatha members based at KwaMadala hostel be removed from the area and that police presently based in the Vaal area be withdrawn immediately.

And a mass meeting will be held at the Boipatong Stadium at 10am today to decide, among other things, whether to continue with an indefinite work stayaway.

Funeral arrangements of the dead will also be discussed.

The attack on Wednesday night is alleged to have been carried by members of Inkatha who are based at Iscor's KwaMadala Hostel in Vanderbijl Park industrial centre.

Three more people were killed and more than 22 injured during State President FW de Klerk's visit to the area on Saturday when police opened fired on residents who allegedly chased him away.

Police were nowhere to be seen yesterday. Only a police helicopter monitored the proceedings at regular intervals.

Meanwhile the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) on Friday said it was ready to embark on a national industrial action to "register our anger at the regime's unwillingness to protect the lives of our people and security force complicity in these attacks".

Nactu also called for an urgent meeting between itself, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, unaffiliated trade unions, churches, the ANC, Azapo, Inkatha, PAC, SACP, New Unity Movement and Wosa to address the all-consuming violence.

IFP alarm at sight of protesters

CT 23/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A metalworkers' protest march here yesterday caused panic among regional Inkatha Freedom Party ranks.

As thousands of chanting demonstrators gathered outside the offices of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), IFP executive Mr Themba Khoza made a panic call to Sapa, claiming his nearby offices had been occupied by "more than a thousand" ANC supporters.

He complained that police were not taking action against the "clearly provocative action of the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance".

About 50 Inkatha members hovered nervously and grim-faced on the IFP premises. IFP regional leader Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said the demonstration was a provocation to the IFP.

"Let one of them come in here ... he will not leave alive. Let them just come in here ... we are prepared," he said, pointing to about 100 cow-hide shields on the floor in front him.

The ANC said later that "at no stage were IFP offices threatened with occupation". — Sapa

(278) CT

US urges action over Boipatong

ARG 23/6/92

HUGH ROBERTON
in Washington

(278)

THE Bush administration has told the South African government there is an urgent need to bring the perpetrators of the Boipatong massacre to justice, reflecting concern that public opinion in the United States is being widely influenced by the ANC's allegations of government complicity in the murders.

Although the administration itself has repeatedly said it does not believe the government was in any way implicated in the massacre, the ANC's allegations to the contrary have been prominently reported in newspapers and have been given top billing in talks shows and commentaries on television.

And they have been given impetus by a telephone call from ANC president Nelson Mandela to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Boutros Ghali, requesting a meeting of the Security Council to debate the Boipatong massacre.

UN sources said Mr Ghali had promised to consult council members and the South African government, and to discuss the matter again when he met Mr Mandela at the Organisation of Africa Unity summit in Dakar on June 29. But senior diplomats do not believe there will be a meeting of the council before progress has been made with official investigations into the massacre.

At the weekend the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, expressed the concern of the administration at the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre by warning that "massive bloodshed" could engulf South Africa if change did not come through negotiation.

He urged the ANC and the government to resume direct talks as soon as possible.

The administration's dismay at events in South Africa underlines the general nervousness at the White House as Mr Bush faces an increasingly critical electorate in the run-up to the November presidential election.

His bold decision to lift sanctions and his subsequent initiatives to help South Africa's economic recovery have not been universally popular, and there is understandable concern about the link being made between Mr De Klerk's government and the Boipateng massacre in the US media.

Meanwhile, the State Department announced it was granting $250 000 (R700 000) to the International Red Cross to help the victims of violence in South Africa. The bulk of the money is expected to go to the families of victims of the Boipatong massacre, and other countries will be urged to make similar grants.

Massacre probe: 5 arrests

(278) CAPE T. 23/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday detained five KwaMadala hostel residents in connection with last Wednesday's massacre at Boipatong.

A police spokesman said the suspects were being detained in terms of the emergency regulations. Another two men who had been taken into custody were released after "intensive investigations". The spokesman stressed the men had not yet been formally charged.

The men were detained yesterday after police, including a team of about 200 detectives, confined the residents to the KwaMadala hostel at the weekend and began searching the premises and questioning people from early Saturday morning.

Police Captain Piet van Deventer estimated that between 400 and 500 people lived in the hostel, but said he was unable to give a more precise figure.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman General Leon Mellet said last night: "The police are more than determined to get to the bottom of this. We want to find the killers no matter how long it takes — and we will."

However, he said it was difficult to make arrests "in a war-torn situation where people protect each other".

KwaMadala hostel residents are still being confined to the hostel as hundreds of detectives questioned them yesterday.

Meanwhile, Iscor — for whom the KwaMadala residents work — has pledged its full co-operation with the police investigation.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku said yesterday that South Africa risked a return to isolation if it failed to take action against township killers.

And in further reaction to the massacre last week, community organisations and trade unions in the Vaal Triangle are planning a stayaway and consumer boycott to protest against the massacre.

Meanwhile seven KwaMadala hostel residents, who were charged with murdering 38 people at an ANC funeral vigil in Sebokeng in January 1991, were yesterday acquitted by a Vereeniging Circuit Court. Mr Justice Schutz said the state had failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that any of them had been involved in the attack.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the matter was of such magnitude that Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel should make a public statement on it. — Johannesburg Bureau, Own Correspondent.

used birdshot to ward off ... tions.

Anatomy of a massacre

STAR 20/6/92. (278)

WEDNESDAY 19.30: Peace Action receives a call from one of its monitors in Sebokeng, Zone 11, expressing concern about an impending attack after another resident has been told: "Don't use your car, there's going to be trouble." The caller reports he has difficulty getting any positive response from the police in his area and calls Peace Action.

Later Peace Action receives a second call from the Vaal area. The caller says she has been tipped off by somebody who has been told by "white counterparts of Inkatha" that "the ambulances must be on standby. They are going to be used".

19.44: Peace Action contacts Colonel Gouws, Witwatersrand Division. Given the first caller's name and telephone number, he says he will take over.

20.00: According to Peace Action, Boipatong residents, having received information of an impending attack, begin patrolling the barricaded streets.

21.00: A police contingent arrives in the township and, according to Peace Action monitors and residents, patrolling youths are ordered back into their homes and off the streets. Those who resist the order are teargassed.

22.00: Workers from the 2-10 pm shift at nearby factories (Iscor, Metal Box and Cape Gate) later report two groups of police, one on the west and another on the east of the township, dropping off men from Casspirs at points next to the Slovo squatter camp. Soon afterwards attacks begin.

22.10: According to members of the Moshupe family and their neighbour Zulu Ngwenya, armed impis arrive at the intersection of Hlubi and Lekoa streets. A police vehicle described as a hippo backs into the fence at 761 Lekoa Street. Moments later armed "Zulus" surround the house, break down the door and stab and shoot dead Flora Moshupe (65).

22.30: At another house on Hlubi Street more attackers break into the house of Zulu Ngwenya's uncle and kill him, his wife and nine-year-old child.

23.00: Johannes Mokonya says he saw a Casspir, marked "No 11" and driven by a "white man", offload a large number of armed men near Batswana Street.

23.00 — 01.00 Thursday: There is widespread pandemonium in the township — people screaming, windows being smashed, gunshots and people running.

Tuis Matope and his wife hide under the bed of their shack as they hear a white man saying in Afrikaans: *"Moenie praat nie, skiet net ..."* ("Don't talk, just shoot") More screams ring out and people's houses are broken into.

Men with pangas and AK-47 rifles attack the Mathobi family in Shack 109, killing Aron Mothobi (nine months) and his mother, Rebecca (43). Husband Klaas Mathobi survives, escaping with son Elias (9).

Martha Hlehle (64) survives an attack by gunmen with AK-47s, among them "a white man disguised in a balaclava". Her two grandsons, Benjamin Mosoetsa (50) and Samuel (27) are killed during the attack at her Moshweshwe Street home.

One woman says she heard her brother being hacked to death inside their shack. "I was hiding in a cupboard, covered in clothes and blankets so they could not find me, but I heard the cutting and I will never forget his screams."

Another woman, huddled with others around the body of her mother, Belina Lerobane (58), tells how a mob of men broke windows and stormed their house about 10 pm ... I hid under the bed. I heard them say they want ANC members." She says her mother was undressed by the men and stabbed to death.

Elizabeth Kolatswewu says her sister-in-law Elisa Mbatha knocked on the door. "I could hear her children crying next door. I opened the door and she fell on the floor. She was stabbed and chopped on the neck. She died there on the floor."

In one house three adult siblings are hacked to death: a stunned Jack Letsoko tells how his two brothers were killed in their beds. His sister Anna jumps out of the window to avoid the attackers but is followed and butchered outside.

Martha Mashinini (32) says four people dressed in coats surrounded her shack. She hears a knock on the door and a woman screaming for help. Afterwards she hears one of the men saying they have finished the job.

"When I came out I found my grandmother's body outside the front door." Nomthandazo Mbatha was stabbed several times.

04.00: Police vehicles arrive and police start taking away bodies of the dead.

Police fear more violence, refuse to give details

STAR 20/6/92 (278)

CAROLINE HURRY

POLICE have declined to give a step-by-step account of the events that culminated in the Boipatong violence this week.

Police spokesman Major Ray Harald said an account of the events would only precipitate more violence.

"Such information, if published, would also jeopardise our case in a court of law."

Asked about police involvement, Harald said: "If the police had been involved, do you think they would attack their own men?

"It's easy to make allegations but we need witnesses to come forward and speak to us. Most of these allegations are unfounded. The ANC is out to discredit the police and sow distrust.

"People also have to understand that police get killed and injured all the time in the course of their duties. We are in a very difficult position," he said.

Saturday Star put the following questions to the SAP:

● Why was the Boipatong self-defence unit, known as "The Boys in Boipatong", allegedly teargassed and dispersed by police?

Harald: "The SAP patrol was attacked on three occasions with petrol bombs. The police used birdshot to ward off the attack.

"At no stage was teargas used."

● At one stage the impis and the security forces faced one another on opposite sides of the street. Why did the police not arrest the group or confiscate their weapons?

Harald: "The police approached the group and asked them to return to their homes. They complied and, to avoid further bloodshed, we did not deem it necessary to take further action."

● Police were warned that an attack from KwaMadala hostel was imminent. Why did they not seal off the hostel and search for weapons?

Harald: "The hostel has already been cordoned off and an intensive search is under way."

● Why did the police not go to Boipatong immediately when they were first warned of the impending violence?

Harald: "As soon as the police were informed of the incidents, they wenr there immediately.

"The SAP considers the matter in a very serious light and a large contingent of detectives has been deployed to assist with the investigations."

Kil

THE Boipatong massacre jeopardised negotiation impetus to the ANC's ca mass action, writes Poli KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

WEDNESDAY'S massacre in Boipatong may have jeopardised already fragile constitutional negotiations and given impetus to the ANC-led tripartite alliance's mass action campaign.

The massacre, which has led to KwaMadala hostel residents being confined to the complex near Vanderbijlpark, has been condemned by a wide range of organisations, including the National Peace Committee and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Slaughter

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned that the Boipatong slaughter had put the whole negotiation process in jeopardy.

Ramaphosa, who addressed the conference with South African Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo and Congress of South African Trade Unions deputy general secretary Sam

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Killings threaten talks

STAR 20/8/92

THE Boipatong massacre may have jeopardised negotiations and given impetus to the ANC's campaign of mass action, writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA. (278)

WEDNESDAY'S massacre in Boipatong may have jeopardised already fragile constitutional negotiations and given impetus to the ANC-led tripartite alliance's mass action campaign.

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Slaughter

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned that the Boipatong slaughter had put the whole negotiation process in jeopardy.

Ramaphosa, who addressed the conference with South African Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo and Congress of South African Trade Unions deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa, laid the blame for the killings at the door of President F W de Klerk "in person".

He accused the Government of having adopted a strategy to destabilise the ANC and stall negotiations, and said the violence was being orchestrated "at fairly high levels in the Government".

He said the ANC's National Working Committee would meet next week to discuss how the massacre affected negotiations.

"We believe the whole Codesa is in danger and the Government is responsible for it," Ramaphosa said.

Both he and SACP secretary-general Chris Hani criticised Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze for his "callous and cynical remarks" on the Boipatong massacre.

Commenting on the killings, Captain Kotze had allegedly said: "This is what happens when the ANC launches mass action." Kotze, said Ramaphosa, acted as both a policeman and a politician.

He added that more blacks had died since De Klerk became president less than three years ago than in 40 years of National Party rule.

Reacting, Piet Coetzer, head of the National Party information service, said: "What Ramaphosa fails to say is that violence flared up only in the last two years of the State President's term after the ANC had been unbanned."

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel described as a "disgrace" what he claimed was ANC attempts to make political gain out of the Boipatong tragedy.

"Ramaphosa criticises us because we have a plan to control mass action. What does he want us to do? Does he want us to do nothing while people are dying in hospitals, people are intimidated not to go to work and to take part in demonstrations?"

The allegation that the President was resonsible for the killings was "scandalous and entirely without substantiation", he said. It was more likely that ANC mass action was responsible.

Hani said Wednesday's massacre had occurred a day after De Klerk's visit to the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi. "By choosing to appear publicly at Ulundi on June 16, on the day that the ANC-led alliance launched a peaceful campaign of mass action, De Klerk sent a message to every warlord, to every death squad, to every assassin and impi in our country," he said.

Strongly condemning "the brutal and senseless action of those responsible", the NPC said it had referred the incident to the Goldstone Commission. Mr Justice R J Goldstone yesterday announced that his commission would hold a preparatory inquiry into the Boipatong violence on July 2 and 3.

STAND-OFF: Armed KwaMadala hostel dwellers protest yesterday at police efforts to search the hostel. ● Photograph: AFP

Ramaphosa and Slovo yesterday led a march of about 1 000 people to the headquarters of the security police in Braamfontein, where they were addressed by Colonel Zirka Gouws. Gouws promised everything would be done to bring to book those responsible for the killings.

He said that policemen had been dispatched to Sebokeng where the Reverend Paul Verryn, who had phoned his office, had allegedly said an attack was expected.

The protesters, who chanted "De Klerk must go!" and "The killings must stop!" as they marched without permission, later dispersed peacefully.

Clergymen

Other developments included:

- Five independent MPs, all members of the ANC, called on De Klerk to deal with the way Kriel was "dragging the police into the political arena".
- Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers promised the NPC that the role of the police at Boipatong would be investigated.
- Iscor, which owns KwaMadala Hostel, said it had no evidence to confirm allegations that hostel dwellers had carried out the killings and could not comment until police investigations were completed.

Sebokeng killings: 7 [redacted] suspects acquitted

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STAR 22/6/92

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

VEREENIGING — Seven men have been acquitted in the Vereeniging Circuit Court on 38 counts of murder and eight of attempted murder arising from the ANC funeral vigil massacre in Sebokeng's Zone 7 on January 11 last year.

The group — all allegedly members or supporters of Inkatha — were on Friday also found not guilty of charges relating to the possession of firearms and ammunition.

Mr Justice W Schutz said the public would ask why nobody could be convicted, but added that the State had failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that any of the seven accused were the attackers.

The judge said the police should have tried harder to find incriminating evidence.

What remained though, he said, was that there were many ordinary people who were brutally murdered and senselessly slain, and that the culprits had not been brought to justice.

Referring to the trial-within-a-trial regarding statements and confessions made by some of the accused after their arrest, Mr Justice Schutz said the court had ruled that they were inadmissible as there was evidence these accused had been intimidated by police into making the statements.

The two main witnesses for the State in this regard were two detectives, a Sergeant Marais and Sergeant Gerhard Peens, whose testimony the judge criticised.

He stated that the court "took a strongly adverse view" of the evidence led by the pair, and that it was very probable they had set out to deliberately deceive the court.

The sven acquitted are Zebuse Khuzwayo (32), Aubrey Myeni (23), Aaron Mtshali (21), Daniel Mabote (22), Silwane Kubheka (37), Thomas Lokhozi (28) and Hunter Ndlovu (18).

National strike call by Nehawu

Sowetan 22/6/92

By ISAAC MOLEDI

THE National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union has called on its members to go on a national strike from today to force the Minister of Administration and Tourism to meet them to settle the raging wage strike.

In a statement at the weekend, the union's assistant general secretary Mr Neal Thobejane said the alleged reluctance of the Minister of Administration, Dr Org Marais, to meet with the union had led to the calling of the national strike.

"We have called on all State workers in hospitals, road and works, home affairs, agriculture, education, Government garages and all other State departments to go on a national strike.

"This is the only alternative available to workers, whether members of Nehawu or not; strike action is the only way to force Marais into a meeting," Thobejane said.

The strike is in support of Nehawu's demands of R724 minimum wage and a 15 percent across-the-board increase. The Government is offering a minimum of R708 from August 1 with an average 14 percent annual increase for workers not yet at the top of their salary scales.

However Baragwanath Hospital medical and allied workers will not join today's strike action called by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union.

This is the outcome of a ballot among 300 professional workers at the hospital on Friday.

A statement by Baragwanath's Dr David Jacobs, on behalf of the professionals, said although they would not strike they sympathised with the striking workers' complaints.

"We recognise that wages, salaries and working conditions in the provincial health services are poor, not only for general workers, but also for all health professionals."

Jacobs said the professional workers felt Nehawu and the Government's negotiating body, the Commission for Administration, should go to compulsory arbitration immediately to end the industrial action.

The TPA however responded by issuing a stern warning that all strikers would be dismissed by the end of this week if the strike had not been resolved.

Only Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto and Natalspruit Hospital strikers were given the ultimatum of work dismissal last week.

Dr Rina Venter, Minister of National Health and Population Development, said the strike was part of mass action campaign initiated by the ANC and had little to do with the workers' interest.

'ANC' raiders kill five in Dobsonville hostel

Sowetan 22/6/92

By MZIMASI NGUDLE and Sapa

FIVE people - two of them women - were killed during a raid by armed men on the Dobsonville Hostel in Soweto early yesterday morning.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said two men and a woman were shot dead and a man and a woman were stabbed to death with sharp objects in a raid at about 2.45am.

Mariemuthoo said police were investigating.

An eerie silence was disturbed only by the din of a Casspir which drove around the hostel when the *Sowetan* visited the area yesterday.

Small clusters of hostel inmates brandishing traditional weapons could be seen from a distance.

Nearby houses, some with shattered windows and broken doors, were virtually deserted. A block away, residents leaning against gate posts and yard fences stared at us with suspicion as we drove out of the township.

Inkatha Freedom Party official Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said the five dead were Inkatha members who had been attacked by armed members of the African National Congress.

He said one of the men had told hostel dwellers that the ANC would continue their attack on the hostel.

"You won't hear calls for township houses to be searched as a result of this attack," Ndlovu added.

"You won't see churchmen visit this hostel to offer comfort to the inmates. We have a Church in South Africa that takes sides and it's usually with the ANC," Ndlovu charged. No one prays for us . . . for the IFP and for hostel residents . . . these people are nothing to our Church in South Africa".

THANKS FOR THE WARM WELCOME: ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, gives the "Amandla" salute to tens of thousands of residents clamouring for war in Evaton in the Vaal Triangle after the massacre of 42 people in Bolpatong last week. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

6 die in East Rand

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Sowetan 22/6/92

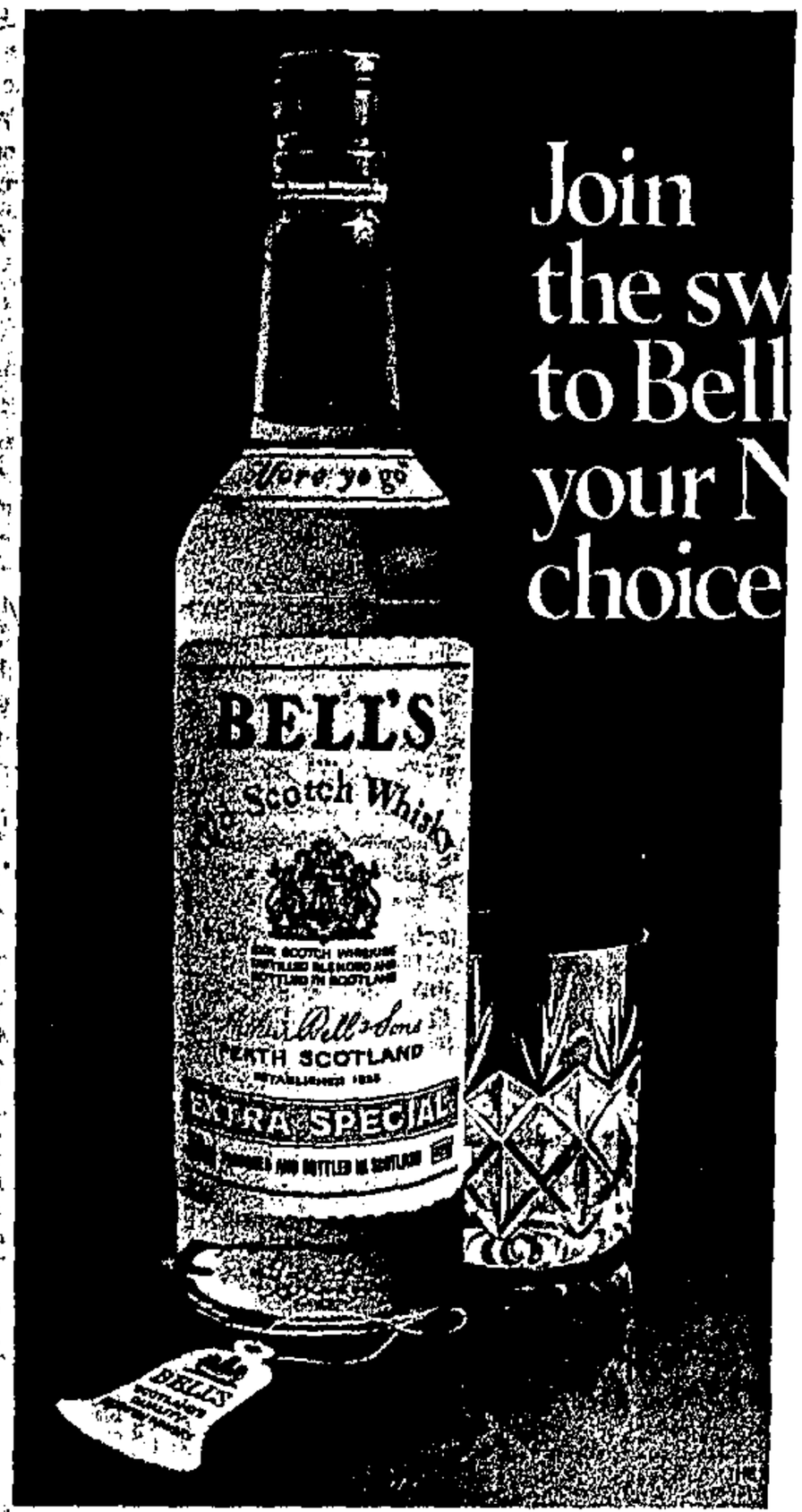
AT LEAST six people, and probably as many as 13, were shot dead in an attack on a tavern in Vosloosrus township, East Rand, last night.

Police spokesman, Colonel David Bruce, confirmed the attack, but said at the time of going to press, he had not received figures of the dead or injured.

A man, who phoned *Sowetan* five minutes after the incident happened at 7,40pm, said 13 people had died after two men dressed in long overcoats had invaded house No 1449 at Zulu Section and sprayed revellers with AK-47 rifle fire. A nurse at the Natalspruit hospital said a number of people had died and many were being treated at the hospital, but declined to give actual figures.

Sowetan was told that there had been a stokvel in the house, which is also a shebeen.

Bruce said he "believed" six people had been killed, but investigations were still being conducted and he could not confirm the number of dead or injured.



From page 1

(278) Talks

country to fall into a state of anarchy" and this could entail looking "beyond the present measures of law and order to protect all men and women in South Africa", he said.

He added: "We are looking at all measures and it would be a very sorry day to go back to a state of emergency."

CT 22/6/92

Sharpeville

In his speech the ANC president said he wished to tell Mr De Klerk that "the introduction of anti-democtatic measures today will result in a defiance campaign with me leading the defiance campaign".

"One thing is clear — we are back in the Sharpeville days.

"The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable.

"Mr De Klerk owes his loyalty not the the people of South Africa but the National Party. He wants to keep it in power by brute force."

Mr Mandela said the ANC would continue its campaign of peaceful mass action and expected the funeral of 39 massacere victims to be declared a day of national mourning.

Clarity

The mass action campaign is expected to move into top gear on Friday — Freedom Charter Day. The funeral is expected to take place the following day.

Speaking on the SATV programme "Agenda" last night, ANC information director Dr Pallo Jordan said that tomorrow the ANC executive meeting would "review the whole attitude towards Codesa".

He said he "thought" that only bilateral talks between the ANC and the government had been suspended for the moment — but that greater clarity on the broader negotiations picture should emerge after tomorrow's meeting.

During the same programme Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said he had "no doubt" that the Boipatong massacre had arisen out of the ANC's mass action campaign.

No international force could stop the present violence, Mr Kriel said. Only the country's political leaders could do that.

Talks in 'tatters'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA today teeters on the brink of a new era of street conflict and resistance politics following the ANC's shock decision to suspend constitutional negotiations with the government.

As the worried government considers whether to meet the impending crisis by declaring a state of emergency, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday warned that he would personally lead a defiance campaign against any such crackdown.

In the wake of the Boipatong massacre Mr Mandela told a rally of 20 000 at Evaton township that the negotiation process was "completely in tatters".

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people."

The massacre, which on Wednesday last week claimed the lives of 39 people, including women and children, has caused worldwide shock.

US Secretary of State Mr James Baker warned in a statement last night that the ANC's suspension of democracy negotiations with the South African government could lead to "tremendous bloodshed".

Mr Baker, who spoke in an interview on NBC-TV, said the talks were essential to effect peaceful change in South Africa.

"If change doesn't come peacefully, and I think change is going to come, it's going to come with tremendous bloodshed," he said.

An enraged Mr Mandela, after accusing the "regime" of President F W de Klerk of murder, also announced that an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee tomorrow would consider its future options and review participation in multi-party talks at Codesa.

He warned that the recent spate of violence "may completely put an end to negotiations with the regime".

Mr Mandela's bombshell statement came hours after President De Klerk left on a four-day visit to Spain, leaving his senior government ministers to wrestle with one of the gravest threats to the negotiation process to date.

Acting state president Mr Pik Botha said last night that the ANC had failed to respond to a government initiative to set up an "urgent meeting" yesterday to examine the whole Boipatong issue.

And the government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, told the Cape Times after meetings with senior ministers: "It's a major setback and I think they (the ANC) planned it that way.

"If they want to put pressure on the negotiations they will have to calculate the consequences — but what they are doing now is totally unnecessary."

Mr Meyer said the government was taking the ANC's latest stand seriously "in the sense that they apparently would like to reconsider the whole negotiation situation".

The Minister of State and key government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen described the ANC's move as "a shock" that was "difficult to reconcile with the spirit of negotiation".

The next meeting of the Codesa management committee had been scheduled for next Monday but the ANC and the government have been largely relying on bilateral talks as a deadlock-breaking mechanism for problems still facing Codesa.

In stark contrast to Mr De Klerk, who had to abandon his visit to Boipatong on Saturday in the face of angry crowds, Mr Mandela was cheered by thousands.

Mr De Klerk later told a press conference that he was "shocked" by the hostile reception he received.

The government "will not allow this

To page 2

WELCOME ... ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela gets a warm reception when he addressed about 20 000 people in Boipatong yesterday after residents chased away President FW de Klerk.

ANGRY CONFRONTATION ... An angry Boipatong resident confronts a po before police opened fire — killing three people and wounding 20 others — President, Mr FW de Kerk, was forced to abort a visit to the strife-torn township. M hoped to visit the township sympathise with the residents after 40 people were their homes early on Thursday morning.

Cold war grows chillier

(278) Sowetan 22/6/92.

The shocking killings of innocent people in Boipatong and other Vaal areas last week has placed a lot of strain on the relationship between the ANC and the De Klerk Government, with growing calls for the ending of negotiations and a return to militant struggle. THEMBA MOLEFE of our political staff assesses the situation.

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State President FW de Klerk's personal standing among blacks suffered a further setback when police bullets killed three people during his abortive "mercy" mission to Boipatong on Saturday.

This incident - in which the State President was chased away by about 3 000 residents - was the climax to events in the Vaal township, and indeed the whole country, since Wednesday when 39 people were killed in the worst single carnage in recent times.

Pointedly, the ANC's political game plan has been put to the test as the Government's main negotiating partner in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

A pertinent question raised by ANC's supporters and adversaries alike, even by the ANC's leadership core itself, is: Why pretend things are on course?

But are things really on course?

Mr Saki Macozoma, the ANC's spokesman, might have touched a raw nerve in a radio interview on Friday. "I personally think we are witnessing a genocide and I know the dictionary meaning of the word," he said.

Earlier this month Mr Nelson Mandela was criticised for telling an overseas audience that blacks were being killed because they were black and for equating the spiralling mass black killings with the Holocaust - the massacre of Jews in Nazi Germany.

Also, was it simply emotional oratory by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, when he said on Friday: "The ANC places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Mr FW de Klerk, who declared in Tokyo recently that his Government had a plan to counter (the ANC's programme of) mass action."

And in a hard-hitting speech at Boipatong, South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, questioned the Government's sincerity and said action would have been prompt if whites had been killed in a similar bloodbath.

The coming few days are indeed going to be crucial in determining whether the ANC and its allies remain in Codesa as calls for it to pull out by other liberation groups, Azapo and the PAC, grow louder.

Already one of the ANC's allies, Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa, has called on all organisations involved in talks with the Government to withdraw immediately because of the alleged insincerity of the De Klerk administration.

In its initial reaction to the Boipatong massacre Azapo was forthright and called for black political organisations to stop any dealings with the Government.

While it is unlikely that the ANC will pull out of Codesa, one of its most viable options would be to intensify its mass action.

The organisation's executive committee member, Mr Mac Maharaj, remarked on Friday that "negotiation is a slim thread that holds the political process together".

It is with this notion in mind that the ANC's national working committee meets this week to discuss how the slayings impacted on negotiations.

What is certain, though, is that the cold war between the ANC and the Government has never been chillier.

Harsh words have been said all round as a result of the massacre and more are to be expected this week.

On the one hand the ANC, as a liberation movement, is responsible to its grassroots membership.

If the hundreds who forced De Klerk to flee on Saturday are supporters of the ANC, then the message is clear: the shaky marriage should end.

On the other hand, the Government has to back its words and ensure that police produce results.

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> *'The ANC places blame squarely on the shoulders of FW de Klerk.'*

Police come under fire as massacre accused go free

(278)

ARG 22/6/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Seven men accused of murdering 38 people in Sebokeng in January have been acquitted — a verdict which has been criticised by the ANC.

The men, who had pleaded not guilty and were alleged to be members or supporters of Inkatha, were acquitted in Vereeniging Circuit Court on Friday.

They are Zebuse Khuzwayo, 32, Aubrey Myeni, 23, Aaron Mtshali, 21, Daniel Mabote, 22, Silwane Kubheka, 37, Thomas Lokhozi, 28, and Hunter Ndlovu, 18.

Mr Justice W Shutz said the State failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that any of the seven were the attackers.

He said police should have tried harder to find incriminating evidence. But he added that police claimed they were prevented by the ANC from speaking to certain witnesses.

He said it was very probable that the two main State witnesses — Sergeant Gerhard Peens and a Sergeant Marais — had set out to deliberately deceive the court.

Mr Anton Steenkamp, lawyer for the family at whose house the massacre took place pointed out that the accuseds' addresses had been given as Kwamadala hostel.

It was from this hostel that the attack on Boipatong last week, in which at least 39 people died, was allegedly launched.

Mr Steenkamp said the telling part of the judgment was that the judge had said the police should have tried harder in their investigation.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the outcome of the case was once again an example of neglect on the part of the State. It was also a failure of the witness protection programme provided for in the Peace Accord.

"This disgraces the police. They are unable and unwilling to bring to book criminals and are not worthy of the name of a police force."

"It is clear that the State did not bring a convincing case to the court because they were not willing to do so, and we take note of the comment by the judge that the police may have deliberately gone out of their way to mislead the court."

Human Rights Commission commissioner Mr Max Coleman said the outcome was a travesty of justice.

Raiders kill five in hostel

(278) CT 22/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Five people — two of them women — were killed during a raid by armed men on the Dobsonville Hostel in Soweto early yesterday morning, liaison officer for the Soweto Police Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo reported.

He said two men and a woman were shot dead and a man and a woman were stabbed to death in the 2.45am raid.

Capt Mariemuthoo said police were investigating.

Reef secretary of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said the raiders were ANC members.

"You won't see churchmen come to visit this hostel to offer comfort to the inmates there. We have a church in South Africa that takes sides and it usually takes sides with the ANC," Mr Ndlovu charged. — Sapa

Violence 'bar to rights bill'

(278) CT 22/6/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE culture of violence in South Africa was one of the most important factors inhibiting the operation of a bill of rights, Dr Bertus de Villiers of the Human Sciences Research Council said yesterday.

He also warned that a bill of rights could only work successfully if there was a common culture of respect for human rights in the government, among political parties and the general population.

"If radical steps are not taken to develop a culture of tolerance, a bill of rights would have scant chance of success," said Dr De Villiers, head of the HSRC's Centre for Constitution Analysis.

His statement was issued to mark the launch of a 413-page book, "Human Rights: Documents that Paved the Way", by Dr De Villiers, Dr Daan van Vuuren also of the HSRC and Professor Marinus Wiechers of the University of South Africa.

They said that a legally enforceable bill of human rights would put an end to the dominant position of the South African Parliament, and the country's courts would be able to test all legislation and administration actions of the authorities against the bill of rights.

Should this legislation or government action clash with the provisions of the bill, for the first time in South Africa's constitutional history the courts would be able to declare them invalid.

Dr De Villiers said an enforceable bill of rights that protected the fundamental rights of all individuals was the pivot around which a new constitution should be constructed.

"Such a bill of rights should not only protect the traditional rights to freedom but should also recognise certain social, cultural and economic rights."

He said consensus still had to be achieved on socio-economic rights, such as the right to work, housing, adequate nutrition and a healthy environment, as well as on affirmative action.

The new book is said to contain the most important human rights documents of the world. These include documents on the international protection of human rights and the elimination of racial discrimination that have been published by the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the Organisation of American States, the Organisation of African Unity and the Regional Council on Human Rights in Asia.

ympathise with the victims of Wednesday's massacre was aborted. Picture: AP

(278) CT 22/6/92

Unrest toll tops 100

PRETORIA. — South Africa's unrest death toll in the past week jumped to above 100 yesterday when the latest police report pushed the total to at least 114.

Police reported that 19 people died in unrest incidents, mostly in the Vaal Triangle, over the weekend.

At Bophalong, police said they found the body of a man who had died from head injuries.

On the East Rand, at Katlehong near Germiston, police reported five deaths on Saturday and a sixth the day before.

In Sowetopolice found the body of a man who had died from head and body wounds.

19 deaths at weekend

In Natal, at Bruntville near Mooi River, a group killed two men, apparently hostel leaders. Two men were arrested.

In Sebokeng a man was killed and a policeman's home was set alight yesterday afternoon.

In Ratanda in the Eastern Transvaal, police found the body of man shot dead, allegedly by two people with AK-47s.

Near Empangeni at the Nayabake Reserve, a man was shot dead and another wounded.

The Sharpeville police station was attacked by a group armed with AK-47 assault rifles, but nobody was injured in the attacks.

At Daveyton near Benoni one man was killed and two wounded when a crowd fired at a group.

The Eaton Side station near Vanderbijlpark was set alight and extensively damaged.

Delivery vehicles and private cars were set alight in Galeshewe near Kimberley, while administration offices at Elsie's River were set alight. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

25 die in weekend orgy of violence

(278)

ARG 22/6/92

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 25 people were killed in violence in Transvaal townships at the weekend.

A lone gunman in Vosloorus opened fire last night on 50 people attending a "stokvel" in Mabuyi Park, killing three people outright and wounding seven. Two more died in hospital.

The house where the "stokvel" was held was riddled with bullets. The party's host, Mr Sandy Xinti, told police that "people of all language groups" had been attending.

In the worst fighting — before dawn yesterday — six people were killed at Soweto's Dobsonville hostel during a raid by unidentified attackers.

Police said four people were shot dead and two stabbed to death.

A spokesman for the Inkatha Freedom Party said five of the victims were Inkatha members. He said the sixth was one of the ANC attackers.

In other violence:

- An off-duty municipal policeman was shot and wounded in the hostel by a sniper.
- A man was killed and a policeman's home set alight at Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle.
- Police injured an unknown number of people in Boipatong — the scene of a massacre last week — when they returned gunfire by members of a crowd. Police used only rubber bullets and birdshot.

A PAC spokesman claimed three people were killed and at least 18 — all involved in a PAC march during President De Klerk's visit — were injured by police.

According to a weekend newspaper report, police shot and killed two people and injured 29 when they were confronted by angry, but unarmed residents.

- Police reported more unrest in Bophelong, Sebokeng and Sharpeville townships.

At Bophelong they found the body of a man. In Sebokeng and Sharpeville there were "several incidents of stone-throwing and petrol-bomb attacks".

- On the East Rand, at Katlehong near Germiston, the police reported five deaths on Saturday.

De Klerk threatens emergency

Sowetan 22/6/92 (278)

STATE President FW de Klerk on Saturday threatened to reimpose the state of emergency after he was chased from Boipatong township in the Vaal by angry residents.

Addressing a Press conference from the sanctuary of a military base as police who remained in Boipatong shot dead three more people, De Klerk said: "We may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order to uphold the safety of all South Africans.

"It will be a very sorry day if we are forced to go back to a state of emergency," he said.

The President was critical of accusations by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of his alleged complicity in the Boipatong massacre, in which about 40 people were killed on Wednesday.

Earlier, about 3 000 residents, who were part of a march by ANC and PAC members accompanied by PAC leaders, shouting and waving placards with "FW de Klerk go home" and "We don't want you here De Klerk", had streamed from all corners as the presidential cavalcade entered the dusty township on Saturday morning.

Secrecy had surrounded plans for the visit, but residents were clearly ready for De Klerk, as most turned up with placards condemning the visit. Surrounded by at least six armoured vehicles, the State President looked tense but not visibly frightened. The party appeared in no immediate danger but, faced with the threatening crowd, it retreated.

De Klerk had been scheduled to visit the massacre victims' families and to hold a Press conference in Boipatong, but he was never allowed out of his car.

● See page 6

Killings inquiry

278

THE Goldstone Commission will hold a preparatory inquiry into the massacre at Boipatong township and the Slovo squatter camp.

The commission's chairman, Mr Justice R Goldstone, said the commission would sit in public at 10am on July 2 and 3 to ascertain from witnesses the issues and disputes concerning the events of June 17 and 18.

The commission would in the meantime conduct its own full investigation, he said.

The commission appealed to all interested parties to come forward immediately and furnish any relevant information to the secretary of the Commission at Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001, or fax number (012) 320-3812. - *Sapa*

22/6/92

Sowetan

SOWETAN Monday June 22 1992

Pik calls for urgent talks with ANC

278

ACTING State President Pik Botha has called for urgent talks with the African National Congress to consider the facts and issues surrounding last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

He issued a statement reaffirming the Government's commitment to negotiations after ANC president Nelson Mandela suspended bilateral talks at a Vaal Traingle rally on Sunday. Sowetan 22/6/92

Meeting

Botha, acting State President while Mr FW de Klerk is on a private visit to Spain, said a Government representative suggested to a senior ANC member yesterday that there should be a meeting to discuss Boipatong.

He suggested the meeting take place the same day, but the ANC had not reacted to the proposal.

"I repeat our proposal," Botha said.

"Urgent talks are necessarry to discuss all the factors and the facts concerning the Boipatong tragedy."

Threats were not going to produce solutions.

"The Government remains committed to finding solutions through discussion," Botha said.

Mandela says talks are off

278

Sowetan 22/6/92

By SONTI MASEKO

TALKS between the ANC and the Government were temporarily suspended by Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, when he accused State President FW de Klerk of complicity in the massacre of 42 people in Boipatong last week.

Mandela, addressing tens of thousands of supporters in Evaton Stadium, declared that South Africa "will never be the same again" after the massacre, which he described as the work of beasts and not human beings.

Mandela said his coming to the Vaal had "nothing whatsoever to do" with De Klerk's disastrous visit to Boipatong on Saturday.

Earlier he told Boipatong residents that "in the course of our future political work, we will not forget what De Klerk, the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty," he said.

He told the seething crowd, waving posters and chanting: "We want arms" that he had called off a planned meeting tomorrow between the ANC and the Government.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he said.

"On Tuesday the ANC and the regime were supposed to have a meeting. After the murder of our people I instructed Comrade (Cyril) Ramaphosa that he and his delegation will not hold any further discussions with the regime."

He announced that the ANC would also be holding an emergency meeting tomorrow to discuss the future of negotiations and to explore other options.

Mandela also announced that the ANC would call for a national stayaway, "a day of mourning throughout the country" on the day of the burial of the victims of Boipatong, as soon as the date was announced.

On the international front, Mandela announced that he would request the United Nations to call a special session of its Security Council which he would address.

Cold war grows chillier

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State President FW de Klerk's personal standing among blacks suffered a further setback when police bullets killed three people during his abortive "mercy" mission to Boipatong on Saturday.

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And in a hard-hitting speech at Boipatong, South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, questioned the Government's sincerity and said action would have been prompt if whites had been killed in a similar bloodbath.

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Barricades up and not a policeman in sight

S/Times 21/6/92. (278)

By CHARIS PERKINS

In the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre, the husband of one of the victims gave Sunday Times reporters two different accounts of how his wife — who was eight months pregnant — was killed

AS NIGHT fell over Boipatong on Friday, frightened residents took refuge behind locked doors and broken windows barricaded with sheets of metal.

Two days after the early morning massacre of at least 40 people in their beds there was not a single policeman on patrol in the Vaal Triangle township.

Left to their own defences, the people of Boipatong went to bed fully clothed lest they had to flee their beds in the night once more.

Their only protection lay in gangs of unarmed youths keeping watch at the entrances to the township.

Accused

A kilometre away, some 15 policemen clad in bulletproof vests stood guard at the Kwamadala hostel, which residents say was the springboard of Thursday morning's savage attack.

Two armoured vehicles flanked the main gates outside the hostel, occupied by about 500 Inkatha supporters, nearly 300 of whom work for Iscor.

The hostel dwellers have been accused of being responsible for the massacre, but despite a massive police presence throughout Friday, no arrests were made and no weapons confiscated.

On Friday afternoon, a group of church leaders, led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and South African Council of Churches general secretary Dr Frank Chikane, visited the township to talk to victims.

"It is devastating to come to this area after so many people have been killed again," said Mr Chikane. "How many times will we come here? How long will this continue?"

Archbishop Tutu told the people God would answer for them. "God is not deaf," he said.

On Friday evening, however, they left Boipatong, their words of comfort dying in the settling dusk. Local and foreign media went home to file their copy. The massive force of police left the hostel — and the people were on their own.

"I am frightened," said one old lady who has lived in Boipatong for 15 years. "I leave my shoes next to the bed and peep out the window every time there is a noise. I cannot sleep."

On Wednesday night, an estimated 200 warriors armed with guns, spears and pangas rampaged through the township killing fleeing men, women and children. Their youngest victim was a nine-month-old baby, Aaron Mathope.

Mrs Maria Letsoko, 65, was asleep in her family's four-roomed home on the edge of Slovo squatter camp on Wednesday night when she was woken by stones breaking the windows. A group of men wearing white bandanas surrounded the house.

They battered the door down and burst in.

Mrs Letsoko hid under the bed and watched as two men killed her 30-year-old son, Andries, and Jim, a friend staying at the house.

"They thrust assegais into their hearts. Then they just chopped them," she said.

Vigil

Her 28-year-old daughter, Anna, was killed with pangas as she tried to escape through the back window.

On Friday, she kept a funeral vigil huddled under blankets in the room where her son was killed. "My heart is dead," she said. "I have not even cried. What can I say? I don't know why it happened. I feel numb."

Evelyn Rameletsi, 22, was doing the laundry in plastic buckets outside her family's squatter shack on Friday. Her face was a wooden mask.

On Wednesday night, she had cowered in the bitter cold in a corrugated iron lean-to with her nine-year-old brother, Geelboy, while six or seven men hacked her mother and elder brother to pieces before her eyes.

"I will never forget," she said.

ON THURSDAY afternoon, taxi driver Mr Simon Moloi, 35, told CHARLES LEONARD that he and his wife, Maria, were getting ready for bed the previous night when someone banged on their door.

"When we refused to answer, five or six men kicked the door down.

"There were police carrying R1 rifles and black men in white headbands carrying traditional weapons and speaking Zulu. We managed to escape and ran in different directions.

"When I got outside, I clearly saw a police Hippo standing at the edge of the township. The policemen fired about four shots at me, but missed. I ran like the wind and hid in the veld.

"Later, I went back to my house. Maria wasn't there. I thought she was hiding somewhere, but later thought she must be dead.

"At about 6am I found her. She was dead. They had shot her twice as well as stabbing her."

TWO STORIES: Simon Moloi, whose wife was killed

ON FRIDAY morning, Mr Simon Moloi told CHARIS PERKINS:

"I was getting ready to go to bed on Wednesday night when I heard a commotion outside my shack.

"I went outside and saw two men attacking a woman and two young children with those frightening pangas.

"I woke Maria and told her there was a family fight outside.

"Then I realised the men were wearing white headbands. They were saying in Zulu: 'Let's kill these dogs.'

"Two white men were standing behind them with R1 rifles aimed at me.

"My wife and I jumped the fence and fled into the veld in different directions.

"As we ran, the men with rifles fired a shot at another man.

"I hid in the veld until 6am.

"When I came back, I realised my wife was dead."

Mrs Moloi, 28, was shot twice, in the chest and arm, and her body was hacked with pangas.

Residents set up curfew to defend Reef areas

By SOPHIE TEMA (278)

ATTACKS and mass killings of residents this week prompted a self-imposed curfew in the Vaal Triangle in a bid to try and protect the community.

Chairman of the ANC Boipatong branch Ernest Sotsu and residents of the township blamed "a group of white men" for dispersing youths manning barricades moments before the brutal massacre of 39 people.

Sotsu said the roadblocks were the communities' way of defending themselves when no one else could. C/Press

"The roadblocks and the patrols by the youths helped to identify our enemies and those who attack people and their families at night," he said. 21/6/92

Sotsu said the decision to start the curfew was taken by the Vaal Defence Units made up of all organisations following attacks on defenceless residents, including the eight members of the Lefhiedi family in Sharpeville two months ago.

Soon after, the decision was given the thumbs-up by the ANC and Cosatu.

Roadblocks were set up in every township in the Vaal Triangle, manned by youths who also went out patrolling.

The curfew, which starts at six every night – will not allow people to move around aimlessly.

Motorists are stopped at the roadblocks – which are simply stony barricades set up across almost every street – and have their vehicles searched.

Dangerous weapons are often confiscated and kept by those in command of the curfew.

Sharpeville resident Sam Ntepe said: "Since the self-imposed curfew was introduced the crime rate has dropped."

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said the measures were illegal.

IFP Transvaal executive member Themba Khoza slammed the measures, saying they were creating no-go areas and contributing to chaos.

Police did not react to Boipatong attack warning

By SOPHIE TEMA (278) C/P Nes 21/6/92

ON JUNE 16 the first alarm went off about an imminent attack at Boipatong – and this was apparently unheeded.

The next day, Wednesday, there was another scare. Police moved in at about 8 pm in response to the SOS, but came in only to instruct the youths manning the roadblocks to get off the streets.

Later that evening 39 people were massacred by a faceless hit squad.

Warnings

According to Boipatong ANC branch chairman Ernest Sotsu, information regarding possible attacks on the Vaal townships were received as from June 16 – the day of the Moletsane massacre in Soweto in which about 20 people died.

Sotsu said reports had been made to several police – the last person the ANC had spoken to was a Capt Roos who told them that he had already received such information and that he had deployed his men in the areas concerned.

Sotsu said on Wednesday after fresh evidence of an attack was received the ANC once again informed Capt Roos.

Sotsu said residents reported that police arrived at 8 pm and forced the youths who were manning the roadblocks to get off the streets.

Sotsu said the residents reported that shortly after that white men were seen escorting groups of armed people from KwaMadala Hostel and dropping them off at different points in Boipatong including the Joe Slovo squatter camp where about 14 people and a nine-month-old baby were killed.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Eugene Opperman confirmed that police had received reports about an impending attack, but that the callers had mentioned Sebokeng and not Boipatong.

The Peace Action Group said messages of warning came through on its 24-hour monitoring service on Wednesday. The monitor informed a Col Gouws of the police that an attack was imminent but that the actual locality was not clear.

The Peace Action Group's report said: "Later another report came through from two sources which indicated that some 'white counterparts of Inkatha' had told them to have ambulances ready as they would be needed that night."

The Peace Action contacted Col Gouws of the Witwatersrand police who promised to investigate.

At about 4 am the telephone monitor received a message that killings had occurred and Col Gouws was once again informed. He replied that it was difficult for the police to enter, other than using armoured vehicles, as their vehicles were being stoned by residents.

Butchers of Boipatong

By SOPHIE TEMA

Merciless murderers slayed the innocent like sheep

IT IS WAR! And we are all going to die! These were the only words 70-year-old Elizabeth Quntu could utter after the body of a nine-month-old baby who was stabbed in the head with a spear was removed to the morgue. C/Press 4/6/92.

A few metres from the shack in which the baby's body was found lay the body of a nine-month pregnant woman with a bloodied face whose stomach was slashed open. Both mother and child died.

A distraught relative said the woman was on the verge of giving birth when she was attacked.

Tears were running down the face of a young man, Steve Mbatha: "It is the Zulus who did this, why did they have to kill my mother, an innocent, defenceless woman?"

At the Joe Slovo squatter settlement bodies were strewn on the dusty streets, some in grotesque poses.

Aaron Makhubu grimaced after seeing one of the bodies in a nearby shack: "These people were slaughtered like sheep. The murderers showed no mercy, not even for women or children."

While the spectre of death hung over the township, with at least 39 people having been reported dead, one more person – believed to be a member of the IFP – was necklaced in Sharpeville adjacent to Boipatong.

By late Friday afternoon the injury toll was said to be 30.

Children, mothers, husbands and relatives were weeping for their loved ones as they related how they were stabbed, hacked and shot to death by their ruthless killers.

Many hours after the attack thousands of residents had gathered in the streets as government mortuary personnel were picking up bodies of the massacre victims.

More than 50 houses were damaged when the attackers broke down doors and shattered windows.

Most of the victims of Wednesday night's attack were women and children – many from the Joe Slovo squatter camp.

On Friday troops stood guard at KwaMadala Hostel, the base of the IFP and the place where the attackers were believed to have originated.

Angry residents reiterated accusations that the police had escorted the attackers to the scene and took them away afterwards.

Anna Dlamini wept uncontrollably when the body of her daughter was removed from their bedroom to a mortuary van.

"Oh Lord, why did this have to happen to me? Who will now look after me? I thought my daughter would live to bury me, but it has happened the other way round."

The homes of several policemen, including Inkatha members, also came under attack when they were petrol-bombed.

Residents claimed that a troop of about 200 armed men arrived in the township at about 8 pm, ferried by police in casspirs.

They said at about 11 pm the armed men set about attacking residents in several streets in the township, including the squatter settlement. The attack lasted until the early hours of the morning leaving scores of people dead.

Vaal police liaison officer Piet van Deventer said: "Residents have claimed that IFP members from the nearby KwaMadala Hostel were responsible for the attacks.

"The massacre occurred shortly before 11 pm on Wednesday when about 200 men armed with knives, pangas and firearms entered the township and started attacking residents."

The attack is believed to be the worst since 1990 when 80 people were slaughtered, allegedly by Inkatha supporters, in Edendale and Imbali.

Colleague thwarts cop's suicide bid

By SOPHIE TEMA

C Press 21/6/92

278

SEEING his newly built luxury home and car go up in flames was too much for Sgt S Rantsieng.

Rantsieng cried hysterically and attempted to take his own life.

Between sobs, the policeman kept asking: "Ke entseng? Wat het ek gedoen? What have I done?"

The Boipatong house of the cop, who was popular with many residents, was torched by a group of youths who managed to escape.

Police used a hose against the high flames.

Some of his possessions were salvaged and later carted off in a casspir.

Colleagues watched aghast as Rantsieng, standing watching his house and vehicle go up in smoke, wept hysterically. Then he placed his service revolver to his head and curled his finger around the trigger.

It was already tightening when a colleague leapt forward and wrenched his hand and gun away, saving his life.

As the colleague unloaded the firearm, Rantsieng collapsed on the ground sobbing with grief.

One of his daughters also wept bitterly and had to be comforted by police who ordered her to remain seated in one of the casspirs.

Residents alleged Rantsieng's house was burnt in retaliation for the massacre of 39 people in the township on Thursday night.

Several expressed dismay at the torching of Rantsieng's house and said: "He was a good man and was always willing to help those in distress. The people who did this to him certainly do not know him.

"They destroyed his house just because he is a policeman."

IFP shot at PAC bus – claim

(278)

A BUS carrying PAC supporters and festooned with the organisation's flags was shot at by Nancefield hostel inmates after leaving a June 16 rally in Jabulani Amphitheatre. C/Press 21/6/92

PAC member Peter Makgatulela of Mabopane was seriously injured in the attack.

In Sebokeng, reminiscent and kids

WINDOW DRESSING
Boipatong.

DOGS of WAR

C/Press 21/6/92

By MOSES MAMAILA (278)

THE dogs of war have been let loose on PWV townships.

Again.

Within three days so-called faceless killers have preyed on more than 80 black people.

The most brutal attack was launched on the tiny Vaal township of Boipatong, claiming 39 lives.

The brutal massacre – with no apparent motive – was carried out by more than 200 raiders from the nearby Kwamadala hostel, sources disclosed.

The AK-47-wielding mob attacked residents indiscriminately, killing mainly women and babies.

In the Soweto township of Moletsane, nine people were killed on Tuesday when unknown gunmen opened fired on residents.

The six men alighted from their white minibus and started shooting at random. People died and others fell mortally wounded.

Police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni appeared baffled and knew nothing about the political affiliations of the killers.

After killing people on Koma and Legwale roads, the gunmen boarded their getaway minibus and vanished.

Two bodies shot to ribbons were found near Dube hostel. The two were reportedly killed while returning from a June 16 rally.

Two babies were killed in the Boipatong massacre, and a seven-month-old baby lost its mother in the Moletsane attack.

On Monday 16 people were killed in similar attacks in Evaton and Daveyton.

At Daveyton station unknown attackers randomly shot at commuters alighting from a train.

"The only safe people in the PWV are those who died. We are attacked each day and everywhere, in the taxis, in trains at our homes ..." said one hysterical Sowetan.

The police are not doing well at all: 83 people murdered in the streets and not a single arrest.

Their failure to perform has fueled the widely-held belief that the attackers are well-trained operatives waging a Renamo-type war on township residents.

The usual war of words followed the bloodbath.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said of Boipatong: "We charge FW de Klerk and his government with complicity in this slaughter.

"This type of violence could lead to negotiations being derailed. The negotiations process is going through a stage where it is being jeopardised by the government."

Police have strongly denied allegations by residents that they escorted the attackers into Boipatong in armoured vihicles and withdrew them after the attack.

Denying IFP involvement in the massacre, executive member Themba Khoza said his organisation had support in the area and it was possible some of the victims were IFP members.

Azapo secretary general Dot Nkadimeng said: "The regime's forces were unable to defend the lives of innocent blacks.

"The security forces have been accused of complicity in the massacres and occasionally there is proof of such complicity notwithstanding attempts to suppress evidence."

Meanwhile, scores of Moletsane residents are vacating their homes

Death toll in townships soars

ANC halts talks with government

B/Day 22/6/92 (278)

DUMA GQUBULE

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday suspended his organisation's participation in constitutional negotiations.

Mandela told 20 000 people at a rally in Evaton township near Vanderbiljpark he had called an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee to "examine our options in the light of what has happened".

However, ANC delegates to Codesa would attend today's scheduled meetings but an emergency ANC NEC meeting tomorrow will review the ANC's position on Codesa, Mandela said.

His speech came after angry Boipatong residents chased President F W de Klerk out of the township on Saturday, and as weekend violence pushed the unrest death toll in the past week to 112.

Mandela said: "I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people. The negotiations process is completely in tatters."

Mandela said he had cancelled a meeting between the ANC and government scheduled for tomorrow as a result of last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

He warned De Klerk: "Let me warn him the introduction of anti-democratic measures today will result in a defiance campaign with me leading it."

The ANC leader's remarks followed a statement from De Klerk on Saturday after his visit to Boipatong that the authorities would have to "look beyond present measures to maintain law and order".

Some observers interpreted this to mean that a return to a state of emergency could be on the cards. However, government sources said an immediate imposition of the emergency seemed unlikely yesterday as De Klerk left for a scheduled visit to Spain where he will meet Spanish king Juan Carlos.

Mandela said: "One thing is clear; we are back in the Sharpeville days. The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable. Mr De Klerk owes his loyalty not to the people of South Africa but to the NP. He wants to keep it in power by brute force."

Mandela added the ANC would continue its campaign of peaceful mass action.

The ANC expected the funeral of the 39 massacre victims, still to be announced, to be declared a day of national mourning.

In fresh outbreaks of unrest, five people — two of them women — were killed during a raid by armed men on the Dobsonville Hostel in Soweto early yesterday.

Inkatha Reef secretary Humphrey Ndlovu said the five were Inkatha members who had been attacked by armed ANC members.

Police reported one death at Boipatong on Saturday. However, media reports yesterday said three people died and about 20 were injured in Boipatong on Saturday when President F W de Klerk was chased out of the township by angry supporters of the ANC and PAC.

The full police report on Boipatong states: "A group of about 15 black youths threw stones at members of the SAP. The police were also attacked with pangas. One

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ANC

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black man over 18 years was wounded and arrested.

"A black man attacked another with a panga. The SAP member shouted a warning whereupon the man attacked the SAP member and was shot dead.

"Also at Boipatong, unknown persons fired a number of shots at the police. No-one was injured. Later, unknown persons again fired at the SAP. One member was wounded. The SAP returned fire and a number (unknown) of persons were injured."

☐ New Zealand's opposition leader Jim Anderton yesterday urged his country's rugby officials to reconsider the upcoming All Black tour of SA because of the violence, Sapa-AP reports.

Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon and New Zealand Rugby Football Union chairman Eddie Tonks said there were no plans to reconsider the tour at this stage.

Meanwhile, PATRICK BULGER reports leaders of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance said at the weekend mass action was not directly linked to the Codesa deadlock.

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils, Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shilowa, and ANC national executive members Mac Maharaj and Pallo Jordan told a briefing that with the suspension of the armed struggle, negotiations had become a site of struggle.

They outlined a four-phase campaign to link local civic and labour disputes to the central demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Phase one entailed mobilisation around local issues. Phase two would include mass marches in city centres, demonstrations against the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and factory sit-ins.

Discussions in the alliance at the beginning of August would determine whether to proceed to a general strike.

In the fourth phase, "Exitgate", "the government must go". Even if there was an agreement on time frames for elections, mobilisation would ensure government did not renege.

● Picture: Page 3

Three die as visit to massacre township en

FW FLEES ANGRY M

By CHARLES LEONARD and HEATHER ROBERTSON

THREE MEN were shot dead by police and 20 wounded shortly after an angry mob of ANC and PAC supporters chased President FW de Klerk out of troubled Boipatong township in the Vaal Triangle yesterday. S/Times 21/6/92 (278)

An ashen-faced president was forced to cut short his visit to the township, scene of Wednesday's massacre, after about 3 000 residents surged around his vehicle.

Mr De Klerk, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Minister of State Affairs Dr Gerrit Viljoen drove into the area shortly after 11.30am. Clutching the seat in front of him, Mr De Klerk watched from the rear windows as heavily armed police moved to keep the mob at bay.

Chanting at the police to "shoot! shoot!" the crowd pressed forward as panic-stricken plainclothes policemen formed a human barricade around the president's car.

"Go away, De Klerk! You are a dog! Go to your brothers in Kwamadala!" they shouted as they banged on the doors and roof.

As the crowd's anger mounted and became almost palpable, the president abandoned his plans to comfort relatives of the more than 40 victims of Wednesday night's massacre by unidentified gunmen.

Pursued

The motorcade — sandwiched between 15 Casspirs and Hippos — was brought to a standstill briefly before the vehicles sped away, zig-zagging through barricades across the dusty streets and pursued by the chanting, placard-bearing mob.

The only member of the party who ventured out of the vehicles was Dr Viljoen, who looked confused and was swiftly bundled back into his car by an anxious policeman.

The president was in the township for less than 15 minutes.

Within minutes of his departure, police opened fire on the mob, using teargas, rubber bullets and live ammunition.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said the first man killed by police had been attacking another man with a panga near the Boipatong civic centre.

As the first shots rang out, the chanting mob started moving towards the sound, demanding the arrest of the policeman who had opened fire.

Scuffle

A scuffle broke out between police and protesters, during which Capt Van Deventer said one policeman was shot in the arm.

When police barred the mob from entering the area of the shooting, a fresh scuffle broke out and police fired teargas, rubber bullets and live ammunition into the crowd, killing two more people and wounding 20.

In the chaos that followed, protesters fled in all directions, but a group of them remained in place while the wounded were removed from the area in private vehicles.

Placards brandished by the mob screamed "What if it was Marike who died being pregnant", "De Klerk, you murderer!", "FW go home!", "De Klerk, you are not welcome in Boipatong"

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FW flees massacre township

S/Times 21/6/92

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and "FW is the son of a raped bitch".

An hour after fleeing the township, an angry Mr De Klerk — visibly shocked by the experience — held a press conference at the Vereeniging Riot Unit's headquarters.

He blamed the disruption of his visit on elements in Boipatong who had executed a well-planned operation designed to wreck the goodwill visit.

"Until 20 minutes before we arrived, the police advised us that circumstances were such that we would not get negative results, so it was very efficiently planned.

"After news of my visit was leaked to the media, certain elements utilised my presence to create an incident," said Mr De Klerk.

Responding to accusations that the police had been in collusion with Wednesday night's marauding mob, Mr De Klerk said there was no evidence to indicate that this was true.

Denounced

Hinting that he might introduce another state of emergency, Mr De Klerk said: "We may have to look beyond the present measures of law and order to protect all men and women in South Africa.

"We are looking at all measures and it would be a very sorry day to go back to a state of emergency."

He said he had not been in touch with ANC leader Nelson Mandela or other ANC members since Wednesday's massacre, but denounced the ANC's reaction to the killings.

"Their latest public statements put a question mark behind their commitment to negotiations. I reject with utter contempt Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's claim that the government was party to the killing," said Mr De Klerk.

In the aftermath of yesterday's shootings, Mr Ernest Sotsu, acting head of the ANC in Boipatong, said residents believed police had declared war on the township, and were demanding that they be withdrawn from the area.

The Kwamadala hostel, which township residents believe was the springboard for Wednesday night's attack, remained under siege yesterday.

Police entered the hostel and questioned residents at 7am, after negotiations between the SAP and Inkatha Transvaal leader Themba Khoza.

Sticks

Later in the morning, Mr Khoza told hostel dwellers, armed with sticks and shields that they were being imprisoned by police "who are treating us like the ANC does in the townships".

No hostel dwellers were allowed to leave the premises yesterday and police prevented a van loaded with alcohol from entering the grounds.

ds in panic

OB

Feared killer cop stays on the beat

By JOHANNES NGCOBO (278)

ALEXANDRA killer cop Alex Tlabela is still working as a policeman with a gun strapped around his waist despite being found guilty of culpable homicide.

The Randburg Regional Court recently convicted Tlabela of culpable homicide after he shot dead Kenneth Kunene on June 30 1990. Tlabela will be sentenced on June 25. C/Press 21/6/92

On the day of the shooting, Kunene was a marshal at the reception of the former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo at the local stadium. Panic erupted when police chased a person around the stadium, allegedly for possessing dagga.

In the confusion, residents claimed that Tlabela emerged from a police car and without a warning shot Kunene in the forehead. He was certified dead on arrival at the Alexandra Clinic.

An Alexandra resident, who refused to be named, said prior to Kunene's death Tlabela had on several occasions detained and assaulted him.

Nzo has called for the immediate suspension of Tlabela. "This case shows the security state involvement in the ongoing violence that has engulfed our country. The guilty verdict is one more serious implication on the part of the state."

Police spokesman W/O A Peter confirmed that Tlabela was stationed at Kew police station prior to the case. He said he was not sure whether Tlabela had been transferred to another police station at present.

"However, a policeman is not automatically suspended if he is found guilty of a crime," Peter said.

FW flees scene of bloody massacre

C/Press 21/6/92 (278)

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never seen a crowd show such hatred," he said.

Journalists invited on the tour were not told their destination until the last minute, but someone leaked the information to the media the night before.

From early yesterday morning members of the ANC and the PAC were in the township mustering the youths to oppose De Klerk's visit.

PAC leaders Dikgang Moseneke, Barney Desai and Benny Alexander were also in the township yesterday morning, but this was only to show support for the community, said Desai.

The ANC also issued a press statement yesterday morning objecting to the visit by the State President. Under the heading "We demand action not De Klerk's crocodile tears", the statement said that the ANC was shocked and dismayed at the planned visit of De Klerk to the scene of the Boipatong massacre.

It accused De Klerk of creating a climate for the massacre by his statements about a plan to counter mass action and his mobilisation of the security forces. After De Klerk was chased from Boipatong he gave a press conference at a nearby military base.

De Klerk said elements in Boipatong had apparently been mobilised to wreck his visit to the township. He said he was shocked by his experience.

But he warned that South Africa would not be allowed to fall into a "state of anarchy" and reiterated his call to all political leaders to refrain from reaction which could contribute to violence.

Hinting at the reintroduction of a state of emergency, he said, "We may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order."

■ Sapa reports a man was shot dead by police in the troubled township yesterday afternoon.

By MOSS MAMAILA and SAPA

C/Press 21/6/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday fled Boipatong – where 39 people were massacred this week – when thousands of youths mustered by the ANC and the PAC descended on his entourage.

De Klerk, seated in the back of a car, looked terrified as hundreds of enraged youths swarmed around yelling: "Go away murderer!"

"Shoot, shoot!" the 3 000 strong crowd yelled as panic-stricken policemen waved automatic rifles in a fruitless attempt to prevent the youths from hammering on the doors and roof of the president's car.

The car, a grey BMW, did not stop during the brief visit as protesters vowed to stone him to death.

The high-powered government delegation which forced its way into the township was chased by thousands of residents who ignored the heavily armed police.

Fifteen armoured vehicles moved in to cut off an incensed crowd.

Despite shouts of insults directed to him, De Kerk waved at residents from his car.

De Klerk said later he had been shocked by his experience and hinted that the state of emergency might be reintroduced.

While some residents called on Umkhonto we Sizwe to defend them, others called on the PAC military wing, APLA, to come to their rescue.

The residents have refused to give statements to the police, saying the police were guilty of complicity.

"Why should we expect any help from the police while they are our very killers? Whether we give them information or not, nobody will be arrested. If any arrests are made there will be no conviction as we saw with the acquittal of the Sebokeng massacre trialists," a furious resident said.

The tour was expected to be a show of compassion for families of the 39 men, women and children shot, speared and hacked to death in the early hours of Thursday morning in the worst massacre this year.

The visit lasted only 10 minutes and De Klerk's spokesman Caspar Venter shook his head before disappearing into the crowd. Frantic officials screamed "We've lost him! We've lost him!"

One member of the ANC, James Mphamela, said: "We are all very angry about his presence here. He should never have come."

Placards said, "FW is a killer!" and "FW go home!"

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Constitutional and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen and former Conservative Party, now Independent MP, Koos van der Merwe were also in the party.

Earlier, Viljoen and Van der Merwe briefly stepped out of their vehicle, but quickly changed their plans when they realised the ugly mood of the crowd.

Van der Merwe was slightly injured on the head when someone threw a stone at him.

A burly policeman, the veteran of many riots, said he had never seen a crowd so angry. "I have

■ To Page 2

UPROAR ... State President FW de Klerk's entourage is hounded out of Boipatong township yesterday by angry ANC and PAC youths shouting "Go away murderer". ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

At the edge of the abyss, think of the other path

278

S/Times 21/6/92

MORE even than in the worst days of apartheid, South African life is lived at two levels: an elaborate day-to-day pretence of normality, a theatre of make-believe, overlaying a nightmare reality. This week, at Boipatong, the nightmare burst through the pretence.

For more than two years, since February 1990, we have been living in the euphoric illusion that the hatreds spawned by three centuries of war and oppression might be erased, like naughty words from a blackboard, by common sense and goodwill. Oh, vain hope!

Mass action was launched on Tuesday as street theatre, a mock version of what the ANC used to call "armed propaganda". It was a way to say "boo!", to frighten foreign investors, and to frighten local businessmen who fear nothing so much as frightened foreign investors. The aim was not ungovernability, which would exact a terrible, anarchic toll, but the illusion of ungovernability.

Like generals fighting the last war, the aged leaders of the ANC tried to employ against the subtle, clever President De Klerk the methods that succeeded against the crude regime of President Botha: strikes and boycotts, toyi-toying battalions for the cameras, fierce rhetoric, and taunting provocation intended to lure the police into violent responses.

That worked well enough under President Botha, when the ANC was challenging the rigid militarism of the total strategy; but under the conditions of helter-skelter change that have prevailed since President De Klerk began to dismantle the totalitarian apartheid state, the resort to threat and confrontation had the effect of crying "Fire!" in a crowded theatre.

The ANC leaders, still enraptured by the myths of socialist revolutionary theory, under-estimated the febrility of their opponents, white and Zulu, Indian and coloured, policemen and hostel-dwellers.

The days are past when threats might induce the whites — I will not speak for the Zulus or other communities — to mend their ways; today the level of insecurity in the suburbs is so high that additional threats simply pose the question: fight or flight? Emigrate if you can; arm if you must.

The horrors of Boipatong remain to be investigated and explained. The ritual accusations which seek to blame whites whenever black people kill other black people may, or may not, be true. The answers await Mr Justice Goldstone's commission.

What does matter immediately is to recognise that when a civilised order breaks down, it is anarchy that lets slip the dogs of war, and that even the spectre of anarchy through mass action may unleash armed gangs against innocents. Boipatong marks another twist in the national descent into barbarism, but it should not surprise anybody, at the end of a terrible century, that atrocity rides on the back of disorder.

Boipatong will, I fear, stimulate hatred and retribution, and more demands for mass action, and more fear. The economic recovery will be delayed, and more workless people will be added to the tens of thousands who have already lost their jobs. The suffering that awaits the black people of this long-suffering country is not to be under-estimated.

Among whites, the prevailing mood is "end-of-empire". The tidal wave of corruption that washes over the society, sweeping along doctors and lawyers, public servants and private businessmen, is but a symptom of moral collapse. In the 80s, the military officers prated about spiritual readiness — *geestelike weerbaarheid* — but their military philosophy of survival at any cost has undermined all other values.

THE spirit that rides in the suburbs now is to get rich quick, and get out. Anything goes: gambling in every guise, gouging and over-pricing, pornography by telephone, forgery and theft and fraud of every kind. Mad schemes proliferate, to dig great bunkers for the military brass, or to scatter toilets in the veld, or to accumulate paper fortunes in the government pension funds, or to take out paper insurance against a chaotic future.

There must be a better way, and there is, if only the ANC could be made to realise that the game is won. It is time to build the future, not to wreck the past. The dwindling white population, its schools running empty and its control of events slipping away, is much less a threat to be destroyed than an asset to be preserved for the future.

THE way ahead is clearly signposted by the experience of two dozen other countries: it is to avoid conflict at all costs, to negotiate patiently and endlessly at every level of society, to preserve stability, to honour contract, to uphold the law, and beneath the protection of the law to free the individual. The way of success is, at every point and in every way, the opposite of mass action, of confrontation, of threat and counter-threat.

Nearly three decades ago, Michael O'Dowd argued that economic growth was the greatest-force for liberation in South Africa. That has proved to be true. Economic growth unleashed the forces of urbanisation that destroyed the pass laws, unshackled the trade unions, raised the skills and the education of black people in the very teeth of government policy, and stretched the capacity of whites to control and direct every facet of society.

The process has been hampered all along by violent theories of revolution, by destructive tactics, by ideas and methods and weapons imported from Eastern Europe, where democracy is an unfulfilled dream. Now those theories have been discredited even in the countries of their origin, but they linger in the upper echelons of the ANC, and it has brought us to where we are today.

For many years guilt-ridden whites have tried to appease the ANC by going along with the tactics of confrontation. Now, as we stand at the brink of the abyss, it may be wiser to say peace is not built by conflict, nor wealth by destruction, nor security by threats, nor conciliation by war, nor democracy by coercion. It is time to follow the other path.

KEN OWEN

Battle chants ring out at KwaMadala

ZULU war cries rang out on Friday from a migrant workers' hostel whose inmates are accused of carrying out SA's worst township massacre in years.

Chants of "Usuthu" reverberated from behind the thick concrete walls of the KwaMadala (Place Of The Old Men) Hostel after 200 policemen and troops rolled up in 15 armoured cars to hunt for the killers.

"Clear the area. This could get violent," a police officer told reporters. (278)

Police and troops wearing bulletproof vests and carrying automatic rifles milled nervously around the entrance to the hostel. Journalists fell back across the road. C/Press 21/6/92

Inkatha's Vitus Mvelase arrived at the hostel on Friday to facilitate police access.

He went inside with a list of people the police wanted to question over the massacre. He left empty-handed, saying the inmates refused to allow a search or arrests.

Battle hymns

It was impossible to see inside the compound, but deep-throated war chants, battle hymns and the air-trembling sound of hundreds of spears beating against hide shields soared from behind the walls.

Mvelase returned half an hour later with an Inkatha lawyer, an unidentified white woman.

He told reporters the inmates were prepared only to be questioned by police inside the hostel, in the presence of their legal representative.

He went inside with the lawyer and a bodyguard. The police and troops waited outside for developments.

■ An Interim Crisis Committee (ICC), including representatives of the ANC and the IFP, has been established to monitor violence in the Vaal Triangle.

According to a statement, the ICC was formed at urgent meetings in Vereeniging and Sebokeng on Friday by the Vaal Local Dispute Resolution Committee, established under the National Peace Accord.

The ICC said it would be on stand by throughout the weekend.

It called on anyone with information on impending violence to contact the chairman of the LDRC, a Mr Silverthorne, at (016) 42-456 or the SA Police Joint Operations Centre at (016) 55-5120. – Sapa-Reuter

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ANC slams acquittal of hostel seven

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC has hit out at the acquittal of seven Kwa-Madala Hostel inmates by a Vereeniging Circuit Court saying it further diminished township residents' faith in the police and judicial system.

The seven, who were acquitted on Friday, had been charged with murdering 38 people at an ANC funeral vigil in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng in January last year. (278)

Judge Schutz was reported to have acquitted the seven because the State had failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that any of them had been involved in the attack.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the matter was of such magnitude that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel should make a public statement on it.

The judge's acquittal of people implicated in murders because of a lack of evidence further diminished township residents' faith in the police and the judicial system, Macozoma said.

A former official of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression Anton Steenkamp said failure by police to find incriminating evidence where the accused had Inkatha links "seems to be a recurring theme".

The board, in a special report earlier this month, said hostels were a key element in the violence which had gripped the Reef since July 1990 in which 1 207 people died.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said this week that had government "transformed" hostels into family units, as it had promised, people would not have been killed in Boipatong last week. B/Day 23/6/92

Police detain KwaMadala hostel dwellers

DIRK HARTFORD and PATRICK BULGER

278

POLICE yesterday detained five people at Vanderbijlpark's KwaMadala Hostel, from which the killers of 39 Boipatong residents allegedly launched their attack last week.

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrald said last night the men were being held in terms of security regulations and had not yet been charged. B/Day 23/6/92

A force of about 200 detectives yesterday questioned hostel residents in connection with the massacre.

Meanwhile, Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt said the company would consider closing the hostel only if it was found that residents were guilty of the killings, and if alternative accommodation was found for those not implicated.

The company would not accept responsibility for damage to Boipatong homes or for funerals of those killed.

Howatt was responding to demands by more than striking 4 000 Vanderbijlpark workers and Boipatong residents, who have vowed to stay on strike until the hostel is closed. They are canvassing wider support in the Vaal area.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), which represents many workers in the area, says it has been asking Iscor for more than a year to close the hostel.

Numsa says it has presented Iscor with information to show that KwaMadala is the epicentre of violent attacks in the area.

But Iscor told the union only 300-400 of its employees were housed there, and access was well controlled.

But when Iscor was given information of various non-Iscor employees charged with murder having given their address as KwaMadala, Iscor said its "hostel policy" made provision for wives and children and friends to stay there provided they were properly signed in.

Iscor closed the KwaMadala hostel in 1977, said Howatt. In 1990, after "ethnic conflict" at Iscor's KwaMasiza hostel, about 400 Zulu-speaking migrant Iscor workers illegally occupied KwaMadala.

The company then laid on electricity, lights and water at KwaMadala.

SOWETAN Tuesday June 23 1992

Worried FW cuts short Spanish trip

Sowetan 23/6/92 (278)

By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday decided to cut short his trip to Spain as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa teetered on the brink of collapse.

And, the ANC has dismissed a statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that it had rejected a call for urgent talks to discuss the Boipatong massacre.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had instead told Botha it would refer his invitation to its national executive committee which meets today.

She said: "We, however, feel there is nothing to say but investigate the massacre.

If the Government wants to act on Boipatong then it has to start with a proper, open, public and independent investigation into the police force."

In a statement to Sapa, Botha, who is acting State President, said De Klerk's decision follows the ANC's national executive committee's plan to convene today in the wake of last Wednesday's Boipatong carnage.

The ANC is to decide today on its future participation in Codesa as the negotiation process faces a severe crisis as a result of the killing of at least 43 Boipatong residents.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has called off today's bilateral talks with the Government, saying that "the negotiation process is in tatters".

It seemed to be this statement that inspired De Klerk's decision to cut short his trip. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told *Sowetan* that the Codesa talks "need not break down because much was at stake".

"The ANC will be insistent that urgent steps be taken to install an interim government which is more urgent now in view of the crisis surrounding last Wednesday's killings," Niehaus said.

Also expected to feature at the ANC's meeting is De Klerk's hint of re-introducing the state of emergency.

The Pan Africanist Congress said the ANC's suspension of talks with the Government was insufficient to protest against the massacre.

The ANC should commit itself to the Patriotic Front alliance of liberation movements, the PAC said.

ANC, Inkatha wrangle over unionists' gathering

STAR 23/6/92. (278)

By Michael Sparks

A heated argument erupted yesterday between the ANC and Inkatha after a "panic call" by IFP Transvaal leader Themba Khoza to a news agency claiming scores of ANC supporters had occupied the IFP's Johannesburg offices.

It subsequently emerged that scores of National Union of Metalworkers of SA members had gathered at the union's Kerk Street offices — close to those of the IFP — for a planned and highly publicised protest march.

Mr Khoza was quoted by Sapa as having called up the news agency with a panicky report that "more than a thousand" ANC supporters had occupied the IFP offices.

He later claimed he had been misquoted, and did not know how Sapa had come by its information.

At a press conference yesterday afternoon, Mr Khoza said the marchers had made it impossible to work and had obstructed people who wanted to enter the IFP offices.

The ANC accused Mr Khoza and the IFP of issuing "highly provocative statements calculated to incite violence".

When The Star visited the IFP offices shortly after the Sapa report was sent out, the people present all said they were IFP members.

IFP Reef secretary Humphrey Ndlovu seemed confused when asked about the reported occupation. "Do you see any ANC people in here?" he asked. "They would never occupy our offices, that would be a disaster, a catastrophe."

US gives aid to Boipatong victims

(278) STAR 23/6/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The US government has donated R700 000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross to assist victims of violence.

Part of the donation will be used for victims of last week's Boipatong massacre which left about 40 people dead, the US Embassy in Pretoria announced yesterday.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the US government donation should at least be matched by internal donations to the victims of the ongoing violence.

In a statement, the US Embassy condemned the massacre and called on all parties to double their efforts to bring the violence under control.

Meanwhile in London British Prime Minister John Major has expressed his distress at the escalating violence in South Africa and the loss of life involved.

The office said it had noted President de Klerk's "commitment to bring to justice those responsible for the Boipatong massacre and hoped this would happen as soon as possible".

The British government was concerned that violence should not derail negotiations at Codesa. "Despite the current deadlock at Codesa 2, a great deal of common ground had been established. This must be built on, as there is no alternative to negotiations for the emergence of a new democratic South Africa."

The statement said the British government understood that Nelson Mandela had suspended bilateral talks with the Government, but not its commitment to the Codesa negotiations.

Mr Mandela suspended the discussions because, he charged, the Government had supported last week's attack.

The British government believed it was vital that the line to the resumption of Codesa negotiations be kept open.

● Police generals yesterday briefed foreign envoys on the Boipatong massacre. Diplomatic vehicles lined the Union Buildings in Pretoria while the generals explained the police's role in the events.

Groups condemn massacre

Sowetan 23/6/92 (278)

By MOKGADI PELA

CONDEMNATION for last week's Boipatong massacre in which 42 people were killed continued yesterday.

The Commissioner of the South African Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said he was concerned at the tragic and senseless killings of people. He promised to bring the culprits to book.

The Azanian People's Organisation secretary-general, Mr Don Nkadimeng, called for the overthrow of the Government as a solution to "the planned genocide" of black people.

He said: "They have failed our people in the past and will continue to do so. The security forces have been accused of complicity notwithstanding attempts at suppressing the evidence."

The president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said: "Such brutality shocks the sensibility of even the most brutal people. I say that no leadership structure of the IFP had any knowledge whatsoever that this attack was going to take place."

The South African Communist Party said by choosing to visit KwaZulu on June 16, State President FW de Klerk sent a message to every warlord, death squad and to every assassin in the country.

The Human Rights Commission said: "This horrifying massacre confirms that there are elements within Inkatha and the security forces that have an interest in fuelling the violence and fulfilling their own prophecy that the ANC's mass action will raise the political temperature."

The Rhema Ministries of South Africa added its voice to the outrage and Pastor Ray McCauley said he had sent a message to De Klerk noting growing perception that allegations of police/Inkatha collusion in violence "are not wild political propaganda".

Nowhere to hide after Boipatong

STAR 23/6/92 (278)

South Africa's precarious progress towards democracy is again in the balance in the wake of the massacre at Boipatong on Wednesday and the shambles of President de Klerk's subsequent visit to the troubled area. Nelson Mandela on Sunday accused the Government of complicity in the massacre and said he was calling off the constitutional talks, writes political scientist R W JOHNSON in The Times of London.

NOBODY CAN be sure who was responsible for the massacre, but a climate has been created in which precise questions of evidence seem almost not to matter. The angry township mob that chased the president and his ministers ignominiously away seemed in no doubt as to who bears the blame.

Yet there is a degree of absurdity in accusing white authority every time blacks slaughter one another, for nobody had more to lose than President de Klerk.

With the earlier breakdown of constitutional negotiations, he had been well placed to resist the ANC's campaign of mass action.

This campaign, aimed at pressuring the Government into further concessions, and ultimately its complete overthrow, had not started well.

Launched last Tuesday, the campaign mustered sparse support: the ANC rally in Cape Town attracted only 5 000 people and the march in Johannesburg led by Nelson Mandela himself was only 2 000 strong.

Given the large demonstrations and successful work stayaways of years past, everything suggested that the campaign was about to flop.

Not only are workers not keen on political strikes in the midst of a deep recession, but every opinion poll monotonously shows huge majorities of all races preferring the Government's philosophy of power-sharing over the ANC's demand for simple majority rule.

By sticking firmly to his position, Mr de Klerk could not only claim to have a large popular majority on his side, but could enjoy watching the ANC's vaunted campaign collapse under the suffocating weight of popular apathy.

The campaign's only hope of success lay in the possibility that the Government might overreact and shoot down demonstrators or strikers, thus generating genuine mass support.

By the same token, the outbreak of such violence and the police response was the last thing Mr de Klerk could afford.

So, whoever was responsible for the massacre of upwards of 39 people at Boipatong (which means, with sad irony, "a place of hiding") can hardly have acted at Mr de Klerk's behest. There is, in any case, no reason to distrust the sincerity of his expression of sorrow.

What is hard to credit is the almost unbelievable stupidity of the Government's propaganda machine in announcing with such fanfare the president's impending visit, guaranteeing that the ANC would have time to cook up the furious reception Mr de Klerk got.

The massacre will now be investigated by a commission headed by the universally respected Mr Justice Goldstone.

Sensational revelations cannot be expected, however.

All we know is that there is a history of conflict between the hostel and the local squatters, that a leading Inkatha activist was assassinated there last week, and that massive retaliation was on the cards.

One can predict that the commission will hear that the attackers were Zulu-speakers and there will be allegations of police collusion, but conclusive evidence will be in short supply.

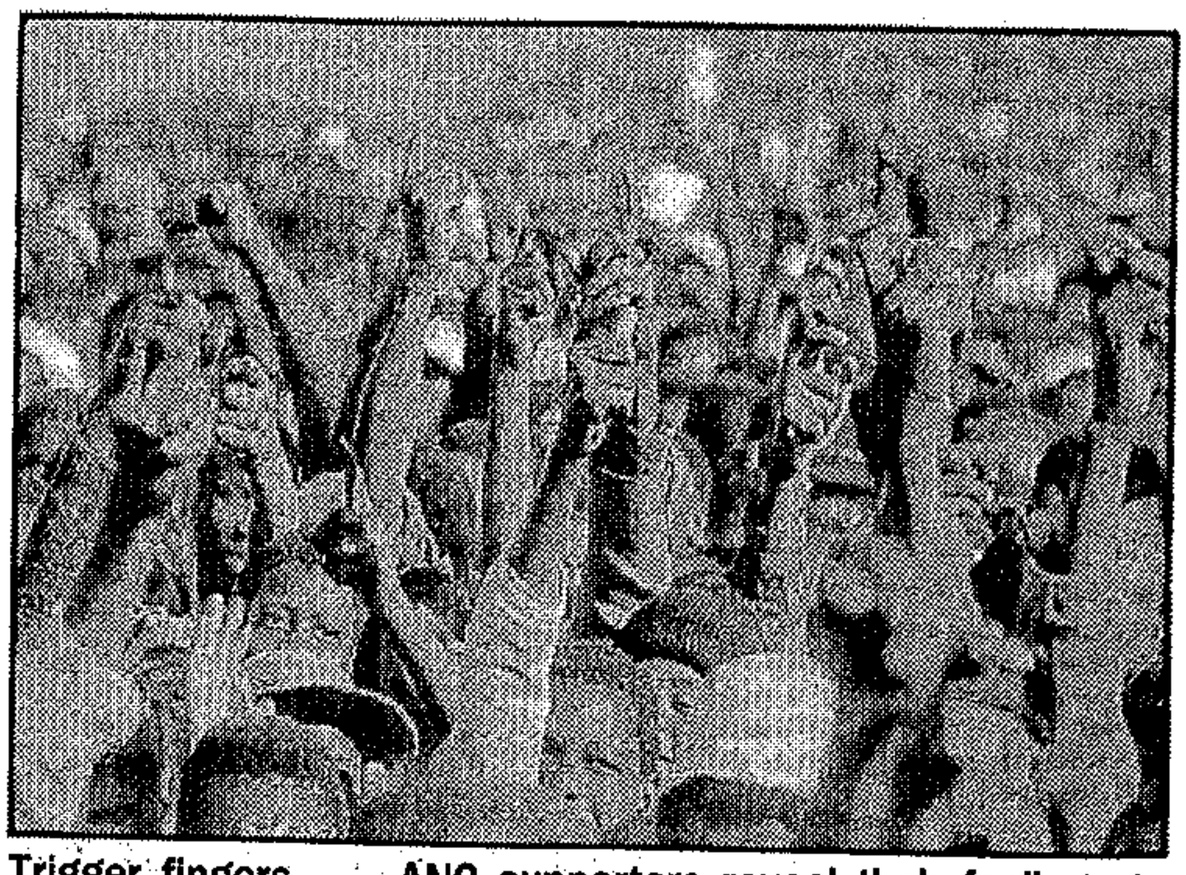
Given that both Mr Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, have already charged the Government with complicity in the killings, any township citizen who took it into his head to testify in a spirit contrary to the ANC line would have to be a brave, indeed foolhardy, soul.

Equally, any hostel dweller pointing a finger at Inkatha is unlikely to have a safe life.

Despite Mr Mandela's statement on Sunday, the complete collapse of constitutional negotiations is unlikely, for the ANC, like the Government, has nowhere else to go.

But there can be little doubt that the Boipatong tragedy will strengthen the hand of the hardliners within the ANC.

South Africa is now in for a trial of strength, with the two sides looking more evenly matched than they did only a week ago, and with the clear danger that the moderates (including many within the ANC) will find their positions weakened at just the point when, for the country's sake, they need to be reinforced. — The Times News Service. □



Trigger fingers . . . ANC supporters reveal their feelings to Nelson Mandela in Evaton on Sunday. Picture: AP

Call for stayaway in wake of Boipatong

B/Day 24/6/92

WILSON ZWANE and PATRICK BULGER (278)

THE ANC yesterday called for a "national day of mourning" including a political stayaway on Monday — the day on which a mass funeral for the Boipatong violence victims will be held.

The call, made earlier yesterday by the ANC's PWV region, was endorsed by the organisation's national executive committee last night. It came out in support of a nationwide stayaway for Monday when the Boipatong victims will be buried.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the day of mourning should be observed by staying away from work.

PAC secretary-general Bennie Alexander said his organisation was not necessarily calling on people to stay away from work on Monday. "Mourning will take different forms in different areas," he said.

A Vaal Council of Churches spokesman said yesterday various groupings in the area, including the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, would meet today to set up a working committee which would be entrusted with funeral arrangements.

The spokesman also disclosed that a Boipatong Relief Fund was set up yesterday. Proceeds from the fund would go towards assisting violence victims.

Meanwhile, Inkatha West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu, one of several Inkatha leaders who held talks with police commissioner Gen Johan van de Merwe at the hostel yesterday, said the harassment of hostel dwellers at KwaMadala had no precedent.

Police detained five hostel residents on Monday in terms of security regualations, which provide for a 30-day detention without trial.

According to Ndlovu, more than 100 inmates were held by police yesterday for questioning.

Yesterday, two advocates in the Trans-

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Boipatong

B/Day 24/6/92 (278)

☐ From Page 1

vaal attorney-general's office joined 200 police detectives in the investigation of the massacre, to assist with the examination of evidence and the management of the investigation, a police statement said.

The statement added that police were having serious difficulties obtaining the co-operation of those injured in the Boipatong attack, and of witnesses.

Ndlovu said KwaMadala Hostel had been under siege since Thursday — the day following the killings of Boipatong residents. "However, when addressing inmates (yesterday) Van der Merwe said people would now be free to come and go as they pleased," he said.

He said the police commissioner had also told inmates that those who had lost wages as a result of the "siege" would be compensated.

Police comment could not be obtained at the time of going to Press.

SAP spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer vowed yesterday police would leave no stone unturned in their investigations into the Boipatong massacre.

It could not be ascertained yesterday if further detentions were likely.

We attacked hostel, says shadowy group

STAR 24/6/92.

Crime Staff (278)

An organisation calling itself Youth for the Revolution has claimed responsibility for a gun attack on Sunday which left five Dobsonville hostel inmates dead.

Three men and two women were killed when gunmen sprayed several rooms with AK-47 gunfire in the early hours of the morning.

A statement, which was hand-delivered to Sapa yesterday, said Youth for the Revolution had carried out the attack in retaliation for the "harassment" of local residents by hostel dwellers.

The statement, signed by Tamurai Shamuyarira, said the organisation was independent of the ANC, and that the ANC was not involved in the attack. The statement warned that the organisation would continue to attack its enemies, which included the police, SADF and councillors.

This was the second attack the organisation has claimed responsibility for. In May, Youth for the Revolution claimed to have started a fire that seriously damaged Dobsonville council offices.

At the time, it told Sapa its members would also attack the Dobsonville hostel until all Inkatha Freedom Party supporters had left the area.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday he had never heard of Youth for the Revolution, but he confirmed that the ANC had nothing to do with Sunday's attack.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said he had also not heard of the organisation. No one had come forward to the police to claim responsibility for the attack, he added.

Colonel Halgryn asked anyone with information on the attack to contact the SAP at (011) 980-8320.

Whites demand protection

THE white Mineworkers' Union has deplored attacks on its members after last week's Boipatong massacre near Vanderbijlpark.

The union yesterday warned that white workers would have to take steps to protect themselves.

In an open letter to Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, MWU general secretary Mr W Ungerer said union members working for companies like Metalbox, Consolidated Wire Industries and Cape Gate near Boipatong had come under attack since June 15.

Ungerer said: "The final straw was when a Mineworkers' Union member employed by Cape Gate was assaulted on his way to work and his car burned."

Union leaders immediately met employers and officials of the local commando unit.

"The union decided that police protection must be provided 24 hours a day, that shifts be altered so that shiftworkers commute in daylight, and that union members be provided protected parking areas. - *Sapa.*

Sowetan 24/6/92

De Klerk in Malaga stop over

Sowetan 24/6/92

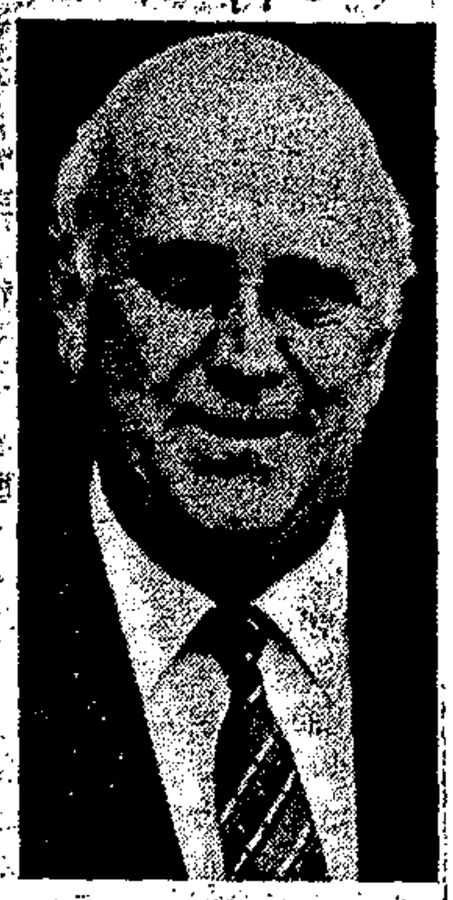
Sowetan Correspondent

MADRID - In spite of South Africa's grave problems, State President FW de Klerk's jet stopped off at Malaga while en route to Madrid for official meetings yesterday with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and King Juan Carlos.

De Klerk has cancelled a trip to the Expo world fair to return home to face the crisis.

On Monday night he was staying privately in the upmarket Miraflores suburb near Mias Costa, midway between Fuengirola and Marbella.

A spokesman for the Miraflores Club said the developers were South African and the director of the Club Playa at Miraflores was at one time Mr Henry Staub, a South African. At the height of the anti-apartheid protests, a substantial amount of South African money flooded into the Costa del Sol.



FW DE KLERK

The complex also contains a British timeshare resort, a golf course and other sports facilities. Civil guards had been called in to watch over the South African president.

Storms

If De Klerk had hoped for sunshine during his break, he would have been disappointed. After months of drought, Spain is currently swept by storms and rain that have caused severe flooding in many areas, especially in southern Spain near the Costa del Sol.

The Costa del Sol sprang to fame in the early '60s with the jet set resort of Marbella but more recently has been associated with runaway British criminals, arms dealers and drug traffickers.

Inmates now move freely

(278)

Sowetan 24/6/92

POLICE restrictions on residents of the KwaMadala Hostel in the Vaal Triangle was lifted at midnight last night, allowing hostel residents to move freely.

The inmates were confined to the building last week to assist the police into the Boipatong massacre.

The Inkatha-aligned hostel dwellers were blamed for the attack, which claimed at least 39 people.

Police spokesman Major Ray Harrald said the lifting of restrictions was possible because hostel leaders had been co-operative and that a large number of the residents had been questioned and cleared of suspicion.

Earlier yesterday about 150 hostel residents were rounded up but were released after questioning.

Harrald pointed out that there were still a number of residents to be questioned.

The investigation into the massacre would continue and the SAP again appealed to people with information to come forward, Harrald said.

● Six KwaMadala residents are still being held by police in terms of the unrest regulations. - *Sapa.*

We raided hostel, say new group

(278)

CT 24/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — An organisation calling itself Youth for the Revolution yesterday claimed responsibility for a gun attack on the Dobsonville hostel at the weekend which left five people dead.

A statement by the organisation yesterday said inmates of the hostel had repeatedly harassed local residents.

● Eight people were killed in unrest-related incidents in the 24 hours up to Monday midnight.

A 62-year-old woman was killed in an attack on a home at Umlazi.

The bodies of two people with gunshot wounds were found in Daveyton, Benoni. A man was "necklaced" at Evaton near Vereeniging.

A man was killed when a security guard dispersed a mob which stoned a train at Orlando railway station. Another body was found at Dube station.

At Sharpeville a man was shot dead. A corpse was found at Sebokeng, near Vanderbijl Park.

A policeman was shot dead at White City, Soweto. — Sapa

Top cop goes to Zulu hostel

CT 24/6/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — Police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe and a high-ranking SAP delegation yesterday went to Boipatong's controversial KwaMadala hostel for talks with the residents who are widely blamed for the attack which claimed at least 39 lives.

Police liaison officer Major Ray Harrald last night described the involvement of about 200 detectives in the investigation as one of largest in the country.

He said he could not remember any other investigation being conducted on such a scale.

Two advocates from the Transvaal attorney-general's office yesterday joined the investigation.

HOSTEL GUARD . . . Police keep watch yesterday at the KwaMadala hostel, home to Zulus implicated in last week's attack Picture: AP

At a press conference after the visit, General Van der Merwe said at least 150 residents of the hostel were removed yesterday from the premises for questioning but had now been released.

Six people were presently being detained in connection with the massacre.

General Van der Merwe said it was difficult to say how long the investigations would still take as the case was complicated.

This was because there were no eyewitnesses who could identify assailants and the attack happened at night in a relatively short period. Police also still had to analyse the weapons which had been confiscated.

The restriction that the hostel residents could not leave the compound was lifted last night by police.

Inkatha West Rand leader Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said the police commissioner told residents that those who had lost wages as a result of the "siege" would be compensated.

But police comment could not be obtained at the time of going to press.

● Iscor said yesterday that it would close down KwaMadala hostel.

Iscor managing director Mr Willem van Wyk said said that the involvement of the residents "individually or as a group, in deeds of atrocity has as yet not been confirmed.

"However, there are members of the community who oppose the existence of KwaMadala hostel.

"For this reason, and to promote a 'win-win' approach, Iscor has decided to close this hostel as soon as the residents can be moved in an acceptable and humane way to (nearby) KwaMasita (hostel)."

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa demanded yesterday that residents of the hostel suspected of involvement in the killings should not be moved into other hostels.

Only "those people who are Iscor employees and are not implicated in massacres should be housed elsewhere," said Numsa.

Massacre: Women in city protest

(278) CT 24/6/92

Staff Reporter

MEMBERS of the Western Cape Region of the ANC Women's League yesterday staged a protest outside St George's Cathedral in sympathy with those killed in the Boipatong massacre.

They called for the South African security forces to be immediately placed under the joint control of Codesa.

● In Johannesburg tens of thousands of workers took to the streets for the second day running as part of the mass action campaign. Marches were peaceful with heavily-armed police in attendance while traffic police redirected traffic.

Major pleads: Do not pull out of Codesa talks

B/Day 24/6/92

CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — British Prime Minister John Major has made a direct appeal to ANC president Nelson Mandela not to pull out of the Codesa talks and to "build on earlier progress".

Major said he was "very distressed" by events over the past few days, and urged Mandela to keep negotiations open. He rejected Labour calls on him in the House of Commons to raise the reimposition of economic and oil sanctions against SA at the European Parliament.

Major said the two main political players had made "enormous strides" towards a representative democracy in SA and it was now of "very great importance that talks do not break down".

EC leaders attending the Lisbon summit this weekend will be urged by the strong EC socialist lobby to introduce tough measures against SA.

Japanese foreign ministry spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa said his country was concerned about the escalating violence, Sapa-AFP reports. "We sincerely hope all parties concerned in the country will show restraint and make efforts to continue the peaceful negotiation process."

Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall told reporters she had written to President F W de Klerk and Mandela urging an end to the violence.

McDougall suggested it was time an international observer mission was sent to SA.

The Taiwanese embassy announced yesterday it was matching a US donation of R700 000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross for help to violence victims, including those at Boipatong. The embassy said in a statement it hoped the various parties would resolve their differences at Codesa.

France urged parties to keep to the talks process despite the Boipatong massacres. "We hope these events, in the light of their seriousness, are not of a nature to endanger the constitutional negotiations that were under way," said foreign ministry spokesman Daniel Bernard.

Sapa-Reuter reports from the first day of an OAU foreign ministers' meeting in Senegal yesterday that Theo-Ben Gurirab of Namibia said negotiations for majority rule were doomed unless President F W de Klerk's government shouldered blame for the Boipatong township massacre and police shootings.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel appealed to all sides to refrain from violence.

Peace committee to discuss massacre

B/Day 24/6/92

278 WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee meets in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss the Boipatong massacre and independent monitoring of investigations into it.

Committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday the "immediate harnessing" of lawyers from the SA Law Society to monitor investigations into the incident — which left at least 39 dead and scores injured — would be high on the agenda.

She said the meeting would also consider bringing forward the peace committee's July 31 meeting — to which political leaders had been invited to debate with the committee the Goldstone Commission's second interim report.

She said the meeting would be held regardless of the outcome of yesterday's ANC national executive committee meeting called to consider its response to the massacre.

"But the meeting will definitely discuss the ANC's NEC decisions," Pauquet said.

Union says no to hostel move

Sowetan 24/6/92

THE proposed closure of KwaMadala Hostel and the transfer of its inmates to KwaMasiza Hostel has been rejected by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

The announcement of the move yesterday by Iscor management follows last week's Boipatong massacre.

Numsa's national organising secretary, Dr Benny Fanaroff, said the move had to be negotiated.

"Those responsible for atrocities cannot be accepted among peaceful workers," he said.

Iscor said the decision was not to support or oppose any political groupings.

(278)

Boipatong death toll rises to 48

(278)

Sowetan 24/6/92

By KENOSI MODISANE

THE death toll in last week's Boipatong massacre has risen to 48 and could be higher.

Vaal ANC leader and member of the funeral committee Mr Ernest Sotsu said yesterday that two more people had died in hospital.

Three others died during State President FW de Klerk's visit on Saturday.

Police could yesterday not comment on the five deaths.

"We cannot release their identities as their next of kin have not yet been traced. We do, however, have a list of the others who died in the ambush last week," Sotsu said.

"We are still trying to search for those who were reported kidnapped by the attackers and those whose bodies were removed by the police on the night of the attack.

"We are aware that we may discover more bodies of the victims at the 11th hour. But we have not yet thought of changing the plans for the mass burial at this stage."

Fourty three names of victims of last Wednesday's attack were released to *Sowetan* yesterday.

Those who died in Tsirela township are Violet Msibi, Michael Msibi, Sibusiso Msibi and Ronica Msibi, all of 625 Bapedi Street, Julia Mgcina of 696 Bafokeng Street, Flora Nkala of 469 Tugela Street, Flora Moshope of 761 Hlubi Street, Mathilda Hlubi of 722 Bafokeng Street, Linah Manyeka and Andries Manyeka of 734 Bafokeng Street, Maria Mlangeni of 238 Thaba Bosiu Street.

Martha Nonjoli, Ntombi Nonjoli, and Elizabeth Moloi of 765 Hlubi Street, Anna Letsoku, Andrie Letsoko, Jim Richard of 194 Senou Street.

Benjamin Mosoetsa of 762 Zone 13 Sebokeng, Samule Mosoetsa of 660 Moshoeshoe Street, Nelly Kubu of 1183 Moshoeshoe Street, Annah Sebolai and Percival Sebolai of 666 Moshoeshoe Street.

Berlina Lerobane of 45 Majola Street, Aletta Moeti of 104 Majola Street, Maria Dlamini and Pauline Dlamini of 1110 Lekoa Street.

Jacob Mtambo of 189 Sekhukhune Street, Benjamin Genu of 1411 Ngwenyama Street, Bophelong, Meshack Mzizi of 417 Dube Street, Bophelong.

Those who died at Slovo Park are Rebecca Mathope and her nine-month-old son Aaron of 109, Maria Ramoeletsi and Simon Ramoeletsi of 97, Johannes Khoza of Caravan house, Michael Mnyila of Transkei.

Thomas Lekabe of 17, a Mr Sibisi of 21, Maria Mofokeng and Elizabeth Kgaile of 25, Elizabeth Ndamase of 135.

Jonas Mbatha and Lisa Mbatha of 135 and Agnes Malindi of 23.

Restore police credibility if there is to be any hop

STAR, 24/6/92 (278)

Allister Sparks

AFTER Boipatong, one thing is certain. There will be no negotiated settlement unless something is done to restore the credibility of the police as a peace-keeping force.

Pik Botha is right when he says there is no alternative to negotiation. But what there is, if negotiation fails, is the appalling prospect of a slide into anarchy and ruin, of South Africa becoming another Lebanon.

That prospect now looms before us if President de Klerk continues to turn a blind eye to the fact that the credibility of the police is in a state of collapse.

I spent time in Boipatong last week talking to survivors of the massacre, and I was in the midst of the mini-Sharpeville that followed Mr de Klerk's visit to the township when the police opened fire at point-blank range, without orders and without warning, into a packed crowd of about 3 000 people, and I can only say that I despaired for our country.

I despaired because every person I spoke to in Boipatong told me quite categorically that they believed the police had escorted the attackers into their township and out again after the slaughter.

I despaired because I saw with my own eyes how inept the police are at handling the kind of volatile situation that arose after Mr de Klerk's ill-considered visit. Why in God's name did they have to turn their Casspirs around and re-enter the township after the President had left and the angry crowd was starting to disperse?

Why did they have to follow the crowd, so aggressively and provocatively that a newly arrived foreign correspondent beside me blurted out in astonishment: "What the hell do they think they're doing? Are they looking for trouble?"

Why, in those explosive circumstances, did someone riding in police vehicle BHL 186 B have to shoot a man dead, creating a situation so explosive a greater tragedy became inevitable?

And what kind of training are these men given that they carry no batons or riot shields and that they can open fire, not with teargas or rubber bullets, but with heavy-gauge shotguns into an unarmed crowd that was angry but never really threatening?

And keep up that fire for nearly half a minute as the people fled in terror, falling as they were shot in the back until there were two dead and 29 groaning on the ground — and only when the shooting stopped did the officer in charge leap up and scream at his men: "Who told you to shoot? I told you not to shoot without orders!"?

And why, when it was all over, did the police not come to help the injured? It was left to the few press people there, and the black survivors, to do that.

I watched a young woman photographer cradle a man's shattered head as he gurgled and died. My wife, who accompanied me on the assignment and had to run for her life with the stampeding mob, turned back to drag a man who had been hit in the spine to safety behind a parked car. But the police stayed next to their parked Casspirs.

President de Klerk's decision to visit the scene of that atrocity is a measure of how out of touch he is with the mood of black South Africa in these dark days of frustration and fury.

Boipatong and its neighbouring townships were boiling with rage. Absolutely everyone there believes the police were involved in the Inkatha attack.

Nor is it only journalists who knew this. Pastor Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church, by no means a radical man, was also in Boipatong on Friday and he was shocked enough to send a message to Mr de Klerk saying he did not believe the allegations of police collusion in the attack were wild propaganda.

"I visited Boipatong and spoke to many of the residents," Pastor McCauley wrote. "Having heard their first-hand accounts of what happened I am deeply disturbed because it appears the police failed in their primary duty of protecting innocent citizens.

"There is a growing perception among moderate whites and blacks that allegations of police/Inkatha collusion are not wild political propaganda, but are in fact true and the Government is, in fact, party to promoting violence."

Whatever the President and his Ministers may say, however much they may delude themselves and however many exculpatory statements the police public relations office may issue, the people on the receiving end of the pangas and pipe guns know who attacked them. You may bluff the whites in their remote suburbs, but you can't bluff the blacks who are there on the spot — and the more you try the more

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Allister Sparks

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That is what has happened to our police force. It has discredited itself by its deeds and its cynically disingenuous explanations until it is seen not as a peace-keeper but as a feared and deadly enemy. President de Klerk does not want to believe that. He gets angry when it is put to him. But it is true.

How can credibility be restored? Only by drastic measures. There must be a complete change in the command structure of the security forces, and they must be brought under the multi-party control of Codesa with some tough but broadly acceptable person such as Prof van Zyl Slabbert as Minister of Law and Order. On top of that, an international monitoring force to police the police.

Do that and we may, with luck, restore faith in impartial policing and get the peace process back on track.

Anything less and the abyss yawns. □

We shot IFP supporters - shady group

(278)

Sowetan 29/6/92

AN organisation calling itself Youth for the Revolution has claimed responsibility for a gun attack on Sunday which left five Dobsonville Hostel inmates dead.

Three men and two women were killed when gunmen sprayed several rooms with AK-47 gunfire.

A statement, which was hand-delivered to Sapa yesterday, said Youth for the Revolution had carried out the attack in retaliation for the "harassment" of residents by hostel-dwellers.

The statement, signed by Tamurai Shamuyarira, said the organisation was independent of the ANC.

The ANC was not involved in the attack, it said.

The organisation warned it would continue to attack its enemies, which included policemen, SADF members and councillors.

In May, the organisation claimed to have started a fire that seriously damaged Dobsonville Council offices.

At the time, it told Sapa its members would also attack the Dobsonville Hostel until all Inkatha Freedom Party supporters had left the area.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said he had never heard of the organisation, but confirmed the ANC had nothing to do with Sunday's attack.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said he had also not heard of it.

"Since we started the investigation into the attack, we asked people with information to come forward, but we have heard nothing from this organisation," he said.

Top officials to probe massacre

(278)

TWO officials from the Transvaal Attorney-General's office would join a team of 200 detectives investigating the Boipatong massacre, SABC radio news reported yesterday. Sowetan 24/6/92

Police said in a statement they were having serious difficulties in securing the co-operation of witnesses.

Police also said the KwaMadala Hostel inmates, who had been confined to their complex following the killings, were now being allowed to move in and out of the residence. - *Sapa.*

Differing versions of violence

STAR 24/6/92

UNITED NATIONS — South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi telephoned the United Nations yesterday to give their respective versions of the violence in South Africa.

UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said the two had placed separate phone calls to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and "both gave him their versions of the tragic events in South Africa last week".

The calls followed one on Monday from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council to find means of easing the crisis.

More than 120 blacks have died since Wednesday last week when 39 people were slaughtered in Boipatong.

Residents and the ANC accuse supporters of Mr Buthelezi's Zulu-based IFP of carrying out the slaughter in collusion with white-led security forces.

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Mr Boutros-Ghali has said he would not recommend any action until he conferred with Mr Mandela at an Organisation of African Unity summit which begins next Monday in Dakar, Senegal.

The violence prompted Mr Mandela's ANC to consider withdrawal from negotiations aimed at creating a non-racial democracy. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pik Botha . . . gave his version of what happened.

Day of mourning – ANC

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The ANC last night also called on the "entire people" of South Africa, including the business community, to observe next Monday as a national day of mourning and solidarity with the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The victims — now numbering 43 — will be buried on that day. STAR 24/6/92

The call, made earlier yesterday by the PWV ANC region and which included a stayaway from work, was endorsed last night by the national executive committee.

The organisation also called on the international community to act in solidarity, and appealed in particular to workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods on June 29.

● Sapa reports that workers of at least eight Vaal Triangle companies yesterday continued to stay away from work in protest against the massacre at Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, last week.

13 cars set alight on highway

STAR 24/6/92

Staff Reporters (278)

At least 13 private vehicles were attacked and set alight on the Golden Highway yesterday afternoon near troubled Vaal Triangle townships, which are still seething in the wake of last week's Boipatong massacre.

SAP liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman warned motorists to avoid the Golden Highway, which passes Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Evaton.

He said patrols on the road had been stepped up.

The occupants of all the vehicles, which had been stoned by mobs, stopped and set alight, had escaped unhurt.

Police used teargas, birdshot and rubber bullets to disperse the crowds.

As sporadic unrest continued in Vaal townships, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe and high-ranking SAP delegates yesterday visited Boipatong's KwaMadala hostel for discussions with inmates, who are blamed widely for the attack, which claimed at least 39 lives.

● To Page 3

Cars set alight on Golden Highway

(278)

STAR 24/6/92

● From Page 1

At a press conference after the visit, he said at least 150 hostel inmates had been "removed" from the premises for questioning.

"The only ones we will allow to go are those who can furnish an alibi. We will make sure that before we allow them to leave (the hostel), there is no evidence to couple them with the incident at Boipatong," said General van der Merwe.

He said hundreds of inmates had already been questioned and ruled out as suspects during the sifting process.

Media representatives were barred from entering the complex.

Police yesterday announced that restrictions on residents of the KwaMadala hostel would be lifted at midnight last night, allowing hostel residents to move freely.

Police spokesman Major Ray Harrald said the lifting of restrictions was possible because hostel leaders had been co-operative and that a large number of the residents had been questioned and cleared of suspicion.

Iscor announced yesterday that it planned to close the notorious hostel and move residents to nearby KwaMasiza hostel.

The whites-only Mineworkers' Union yesterday demanded 24-hour police protection for its members as several white workers had allegedly been attacked near Boipatong.

Most factories in the Vaal Triangle have been affected by mass strikes since the attack and, according to the National Union of Metalworkers, workers would not return to work until KwaMadala was closed.

Patrick Laurence contrasts and compares the Boipatong and Crossroads massacres

(278)

The anatomy of two atrocities

STAR 24/6/92.

(278)

THE cry of outrage in South Africa and abroad at the massacre of civilians at Boipatong contrasts with the muted protest at the slaughter of men, women and children at the Crossroads squatter camp on the East Rand.

Similarities between these two grim episodes on South Africa's killing fields makes the contrast even more startling. They are both products of the undeclared war for supremacy in black townships between the ANC and IFP.

Just over two months separates them chronologically: the Boipatong atrocity occurred on the night of June 17; the Crossroads outrage took place on the night of April 3.

At least 39 people, including a grandmother and a nine-month old child, were stabbed, hacked and shot to death by unidentified attackers in a squatter settlement on the edge of Boipatong; at least 23 people, including women and children, were brutally murdered when the Crossroads squatter camp was attacked by unknown men.

The attackers are alleged to have been, or to have included, inmates of nearby migrant worker hostels in both cases, KwaMadala in the Boipatong bloodbath and the Kutalo hostel in the Crossroads carnage. In both cases the shocked survivors accused the police of being slow to respond, charging that their delay had given the marauders an opportunity to murder, pillage and escape.

Another common theme links the episodes: accusations that attackers were aided by, or were part of, a "third force" which allegedly instigates intra-black violence in the interests of white supremacy.

But there is one fundamental difference. Boipatong is a township in which the ANC is the dominant political organisation; the IFP is paramount in Crossroads.

Further divergences flow from that difference. Most of the victims at Boipatong were — to put it no higher — not hostile to the ANC; most of the victims at Crossroads were IFP members or sympathisers.

The marauders at Boipatong are said to have been Zulu-speaking; the assassins at Crossroads are said to have been Xhosa-speaking.

The difference in public response to these tragedies is astounding. Boipatong, labelled by the ANC as a national tragedy, has become a national crisis. Crossroads, reported almost perfunctorily in the press, quickly disappeared from public consciousness.

The victims of a murderous attack on Zonke'zizwe, a squatter camp near Crossroads where the IFP is a strong force, can legitimately be added to the Crossroads total.

Zonke'zizwe was attacked three days after the assault on Crossroads. The attackers were again said to be "Xhosa-speaking men". A total of nearly 30 people — three quarters of the death toll at Boipatong — lost their lives at Crossroads and Zonke'zizwe early in April.

The cries of anguish, however, were more or less confined to bereaved families and friends of the victims and to the IFP. There was no national, let alone international, solidarity.

Mr Mandela described the attackers at Boipatong as "animals". No similar epithet was applied to the killers at Crossroads, some of whose victims were burnt alive.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu visited Boipatong to express solidarity with the victims. Crossroads apparently did not merit a similar visit. The South African Council of Churches was moved by the plight of Boipatong but its concern was less audible over the killings at Crossroads.

On the face of it, the reason for the different responses — angry outrage versus near indifference — is that the IFP has been cast as the villain of South Africa's bloody political drama.

One reason for the different responses may be the superiority of the ANC propaganda machine to that of the IFP. When the ANC's publicists move into action they are able to command the attention of the media more effectively than their IFP counterparts.

Themba Khoza, of the IFP, puts it slightly differently but the point is essentially the same. The level of protest was lower after Crossroads because "those who can scream the loudest were not interested", he declares. After Boipatong the reverse applied, he adds.

No one has been arrested yet for the Crossroads massacre, according to the IFP. There have, however, been no publicly voiced suspicions of collusion between the police and the attackers, despite an IFP complaint at the time that police had "searched and disarmed" Crossroads residents the day before the attack.

Soon after the Crossroads attack the finger of suspicion was pointed at the ANC by the IFP, which declared that the attackers were "Xhosa-speaking" inmates of Kutalo Hostel in Germiston and that they had been reinforced by men from the Phola Park and Mandela Park squatter settlements.

"Xhosa-speaking" is code language for ANC. Phola Park and Mandela Park are known to be ANC strongholds. The ANC took the allegations sufficiently seriously to investigate them.

"None of our structures were responsible ... as far as we could determine," ANC information chief Pallo Jordan says.

He attributes the relative public indifference to the Crossroads killings to a "deadening of senses" induced by the endemic violence.

The outburst of protest which came after the Boipatong massacre was due to the high-profile publicity surrounding the ANC's mass action campaign which preceded it, Dr Jordan reasons.

He cites the disarming of IFP men at Soweto railway stations on June 14, the return to them of their weapons on June 15, and the "doom-laden" predictions by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel that mass action would lead to violence on June 16. □

Baffling trend in massacre hunt

Sowetan 24/6/92

The attack on Boipatong, allegedly by KwaMadala Hostel dwellers, has led to only five men being arrested. The alleged Sebokeng night vigil killers were acquitted on Friday because of police ineptitude. These and other incidents have focused attention on the way police handle investigations into attacks, especially those by hostel dwellers. **MATHATHA TSEDU,** *Sowetan*'s investigations editor, today starts a series that focuses on the history of police responses to similar attacks.

ON March 24 last year, the Inkatha Freedom Party held a rally near Daveyton which made residents of that township apprehensive that they may be attacked.

The residents grouped themselves as "Amabutho" to repel any attack that might happen. The attack never came but police ordered the assembled group to disperse and then fired shots that led to the death of 12 people.

In the ensuing fight between residents and police, a white policeman was killed. Police descended on the township with speed and arrested 31 people for the murder of the policeman.

To date, no one has been arrested for the killings of the 12 people.

The lack of purpose with which the police have handled the massacre last Wednesday night of 39 Boipatong residents and children has called into question the commitment of the police in arresting the culprits involved.

But recent history, actually contemporary history, is full of similar behaviour by the police.

For instance in Swannieville township on the West Rand where about 1 000 IFP supporters from Kagiso hostel attacked residents, murdering 27 and burning 82 shacks.

What had been a peaceful night was shattered by the arrival early on May 12 last year of the impi which, according to residents, was accompanied by police.

Six people who survived the attack testified to investigators of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression that police hippos were seen in the area just before the shooting started.

The attackers, who wore red headbands that have become the trademark of the IFP, were accompanied by police, residents said.

Some people said white men were also involved in the attack.

Survivors said when they tried to escape from the attackers, they were forced to return to the camp by members of the security forces.

Yet others said police had told them they could not assist as they were not part of the riot squad.

The attack happened a day after Kagiso and Bekkersdal were declared unrest areas, implying that police activity in the areas would be at its peak.

As IBIIR says in its June report last year: "How did the 1 000-strong group of attackers assemble without being seen?

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"If the SAP are to be believed, the men assembled in dribs and drabs under the cover of darkness. However when one considers that the hostel is approximately 10km away from the squatter camp it seems highly unlikely that such a large body of heavily armed men could have gone undetected.

"A vast stretch of open veld surrounds Swannieville and for the attackers to have crossed this unannounced is hard to comprehend," IBIIR said.

The police explanation is that the attack took place during a shift change when no policeman was around.

They said they had only escorted the attackers out of the township to avoid them attacking residents on the way.

And therein lies the problem with the behaviour of the police. If their explanation is accepted, they met a group of 1 000 people who had just killed 27 people, injured scores of others and razed more than 80 shacks, and they escorted them, spears dripping with blood, into their hostel and left them there.

IBIIR said: "Why were there no mass arrests? Considering the fact that the police have in the past used the common purpose doctrine to arrest and prosecute large numbers of political activists, the failure to use the same legal provisions against Inkatha members clearly shows deliberate lack of an even-handed approach by the police."

It was to be 24 hours before police went into the hostel to search for weapons.

Anyone found with his weapon still on him would need his head read, observers have said.

Just six out of 1 000 or more attackers were arrested.

Three of them were later released because "they could not be linked to the case", police said.

Five more people were later arrested after a public outcry and the charge changed to murder and public violence.

> ***'Some people said white men were also involved in the attack.'***

Police: No one told us what they saw

(278)

CT 25/6/92

Johannesburg Bureau

POLICE yesterday said they were investigating allegations of security force involvement in last Wednesday's massacre at Boipatong, despite the fact they had received no written statements.

"No witnesses have come forward," police liaison officer Major Ray Harrald said, adding that police would like to get hold of sworn statements from witnesses.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce yesterday said the estimated 200 detectives who are investigating the massacre were well aware that the international community was watching their progress.

Colonel Bruce yesterday corrected a previous figure that police had detained five hostel dwellers, saying the number was in fact six.

'Appalled'

Restrictions on the KwaMadala hostel were lifted at midnight on Tuesday.

● Sapa reports that the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) says it is appalled at the police decision to lift restrictions on the hostel.

"The people are again at the mercy of attackers," Numsa said yesterday.

At a meeting yesterday the owners of the KwaMadala hostel, Iscor, told Numsa representatives that they could take no responsibility for the alleged actions of their employees and would not contribute to burial costs.

The victims are to be buried on Monday.

Vehicles targeted in Vaal rampages

CT 25/6/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — Private vehicles were again targeted for attack by rampaging youths at Palm Springs on the Golden Highway between Johannesburg and Vereeniging yesterday morning.

Two refrigerated meat trucks were seriously damaged by mobs yesterday at Palm Springs.

And a police vehicle moving furniture from a constable's house in Sebokeng was attacked by a group of about 30 youths.

The policeman's house was later gutted.

On Tuesday mobs set fire to 13 vehicles travelling on the old Golden Highway south of Johannesburg, which passes through Sebokeng.

The road was closed to all public traffic until yesterday morning.

Police used birdshot, rubber bullets and teargas to disperse groups stoning vehicles.

No injuries were reported.

Police said the occupants of the firebombed vehicles had all managed to flee the scene.

All motorists travelling in the Sebokeng area were advised to exercise extreme caution.

● At least four people were killed in Folweni, south of Durban, and one person was murdered at Esikhawini, in Northern Natal, in incidents of unrest on Monday and Tuesday, KwaZulu Police reported.

Spokesman Col Moses Khanyile said three people were killed by unknown attackers in the home of an SAP member in Folweni on Monday.

Mr Mhlanganyelwa Stanley Kweyama, 32, was shot dead in Folweni on Tuesday evening while driving his taxi. His wife was injured.

In Esikhawini, near Empangeni, police on Tuesday found the body of a man who had been shot.

A police car was attacked and damaged in KwaMakhutha, south of Durban, on Tuesday.

● The ANC's Wembezi branch in Natal Midlands expressed fear of violence in the township during a planned Inkatha rally this weekend. — Sapa

Death toll for week: 106

JOHANNESBURG. — The Human Rights Commission recorded 106 deaths in the week which ended on Tuesday, including the massacre of 45 in Boipatong.

The death toll was the highest recorded in a seven-day period since the 113 deaths in the week leading up to the March referendum, the HRC said yesterday.

Strong reactions to the ANC's mass action by the government and Inkatha, claiming this would lead to an increase in violence, "created an atmosphere which made this almost inevitable". Contrary to the government's implications though, most victims of the violence were ANC members and innocent people, said the HRC. — Sapa

US embassy shuts for day of strike

CT 25/6/92 (278)

PRETORIA. — The US embassy here is to close for a day on Monday in memory of victims of the massacre in Boipatong township, the mission said yesterday.

The British, German and Dutch embassies all said they were holding consultations with their capitals on whether to close for the day.

The ANC, which broke off constitutional talks on Tuesday in protest at the killings and what it termed the government's culpability, has called for a national day of mourning on Monday when the victims are buried.

Cosatu yesterday added its support to calls for a national day of mourning.

Cosatu's executive committee also supported the ANC's decision to break off talks with the government until it commits itself to elections for a constituent assembly by the end of December.

In world reaction yesterday:

● The Commonwealth is considering sending an observer team to South Africa to help resolve the crisis, Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans said.

He suggested that a team of around 150 people could be sent to sensitive areas to give an objective assessment of incidents.

● Sweden said its intended removal of commercial sanctions might be delayed as a consequence of the ANC withdrawal from negotiations.

● Australian Prime Minister Mr Paul Keating said he was appalled by the Boipatong massacre and said his government was keeping in touch with other countries and with sporting bodies over calls for resumed sporting sanctions. But Mr Keating told parliament it was premature to make a decision on resuming the sanctions.

● Members of the Dutch parliament are pressing Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers to cancel or postpone a trip to South Africa scheduled for August.

He was to be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek and and Finance Minister Mr Wim Kok. Christian Democrat MP Mr Harry Aarts said such a high-level delegation "would have no sense in the present context".

● Two British MPs and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), yesterday marched on 10 Downing Street to protest against Britain's "remarkable complacence and indifference" to the Boipatong killings. The AAM attacked Prime Minister Mr John Major for urging Mr Nelson Mandela not to pull out of negotiations. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

Officials see 'real horror' of Boipatong

(278)

JOHANNESBURG. — Western diplomats toured Boipatong township yesterday and said last week's massacre must have been a horrifying experience for the township's residents.

At least 39 — and, unofficially, 48 — people were speared to death, hacked or shot dead in the attack.

"A real, real horror story," British consul Mr Michael Shipster told journalists after hearing an account by 22-year-old Ms Evelyn Ramoeletsi, whose mother and brother were stabbed and hacked to death during the rampage by some 200 attackers.

Ms Ramoeletsi said she saw three whites wearing balaclavas in the group of attackers. She said the white men had fired shots at her sister, but the shots missed and the woman feigned death to survive.

The ANC and residents have claimed the raiders were from the KwaMadala hostel, an Inkatha stronghold, and that they were transported by police into the township and adjacent Slovo squatter camp.

Police and the IFP have denied involvement.

"It's one of the most horrifying and cruel examples of the violence," Mr Shispter said as he walked down a street littered with rocks and past houses with shattered windows.

The diplomats, including officials from the US, Britain, Australia, Japan, Netherlands and Canada visited Boipatong at the invitation of the Peace Action organisation, which has said it informed the police in advance of the attack. CT 25/6/92

"A very gruesome incident. A very tragic thing for this community. One hopes they (government) will find the perpetrators and bring them to justice," said a Canadian diplomat.

Boipatong residents have embarked on an indefinite stayaway and milled around the streets yesterday. — Sapa CT 25/6/92

● Boipatong shows up need to change police — Page 6

Focus on nitty-gritty of peac

STAR 25/6/92

(278)

With little publicity, and lots of effort, grassroots peace committees are doing their best amid the violence, reports PETER WELLMAN.

UNDER THE wrecked framework of negotiations, overworked grassroots peace committees are bearing fruit.

Not often, and not always. It is a hard task, in communities traumatised by violence, to achieve even a truce when tensions are high, and the easiest temptations to yield to are revenge and blaming someone else for starting it all.

It is hard even getting a committee together. Amid the recriminations, the first thing to do is to create an atmosphere in which the various sides can talk to each other without rancour, and hopefully find they can work together.

Anyone who reads a newspaper even occasionally will know this is a lot more difficult than it sounds, and it takes time because mutual trust has to be built up.

Often (but not always) the best way to start is with an independent, outside facilitator — someone who everyone else knows is neutral — provided by the Independent Mediation Service of SA and paid for by the National Peace Secretariat under the National Peace Accord.

The secretariat has set up regional dispute resolution committees (RDRCs) in 11 areas across the country whose job includes setting up local committees (LDRCs).

Because input is vital from political organisations, businesses and churches, the security forces, and community groups, there may be 40 or more people

The 'snipers' calm down as trust is instilled

at the first, tentative meeting to set up a local committee.

The facilitator soaks up the inevitable initial anger and finger-pointing, latching on to each positive sentiment like pieces in a jigsaw. Hours later, enough of these sentiments are joined together to form a basis for progress, and the process of forming an LDRC has begun.

But there is still a long way to go, and many hours of patient work from all sides, before a chair or convener is chosen and the committee starts operating on its own.

It needs a lot of commitment to simply attend all the meetings. The police, whose relationship with communities is one of the most vexed issues, usually have the best attendance record in the region.

And extra commitment is needed to live with the knowledge that all successes are relative while the killing goes on.

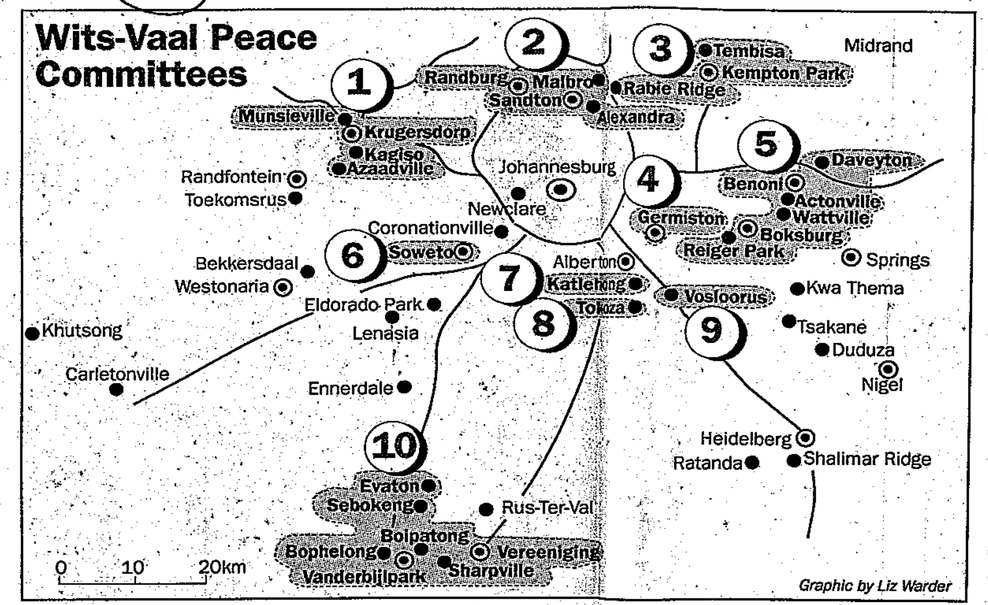
A major early problem for every LDRC is that defensively, sometimes even destructively, some sides or individuals go to meetings with their own agendas. And always in the background are the snipers, who see their main task as scoring points off the opposition.

These issues can be dealt with as trust and confidence in each other develops. But once again, not always. Some LDRCs are riddled with snipers, but they are mostly the newer ones.

Once that is out the way, once the agenda is a common one and not a series of hidden plans, the committee can start aiming at specific goals, including intervening in the community to prevent or contain violence.

Now, at last, the community can see tangible progress. And the committee can broaden its horizons to include socio-economic reconstruction.

It is probably true to say that all the work that has led to this stage depends on success here, for who can expect peace while the townships are in the shape they are today?



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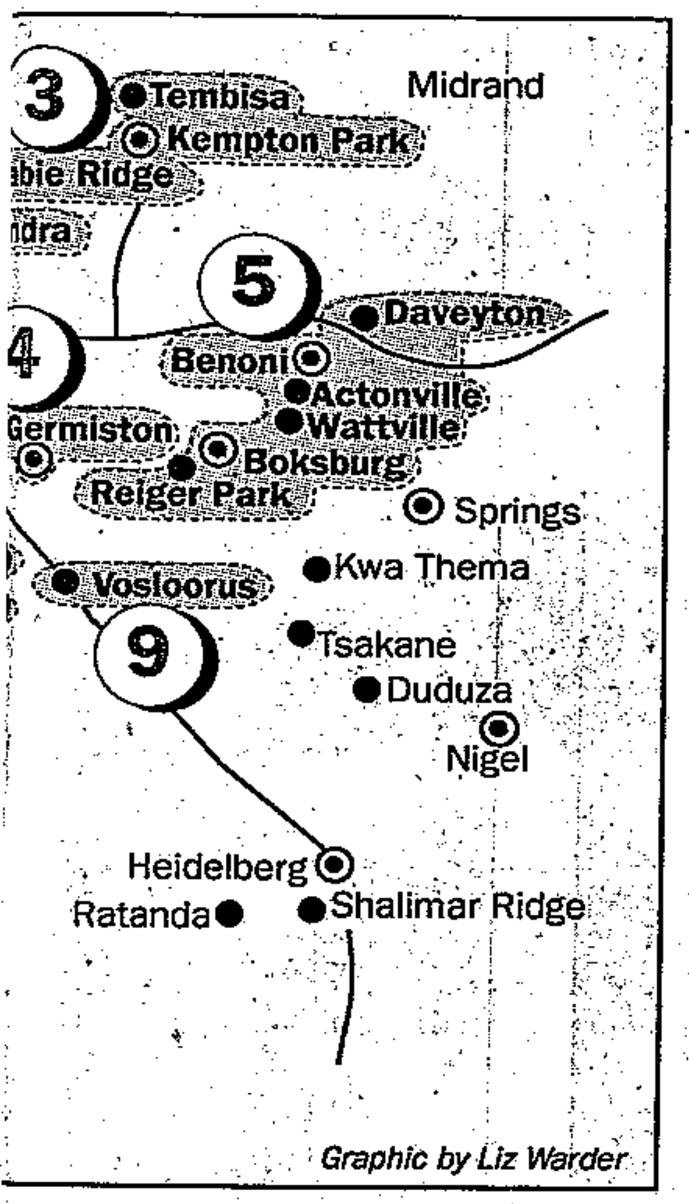

Graphic by Liz Warder

here, for who can expect peace while the townships are in the shape they are today?

That is mostly for later, although some LDRCs are already working on this problem.

For now, there have been singluar successes in some committees.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, an informal committee has made such progress, even before an LDRC has been formed, that it monitors security force actions and can claim a major part in damping down horrific clashes between hostel dwellers and township residents.

The Tokoza LDRC averted a taxi war, and persuaded a school committee to lower its fees.

The Meadowlands committee is beginning to function well in the midst of continuing violence.

Also, some committees have held mediation workshops paid for, once again, by the National Peace Secretariat.

These achievements do not prove the LDRCs work, or that all the effort that goes into them is worthwhile, but that is not the point. It is rather that if they do not, it is the fault of the players, not the pitch they have created. □

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Overseas diplomats visit scene of carnage

(278)

STAR 25/6/92

By Staff Reporters

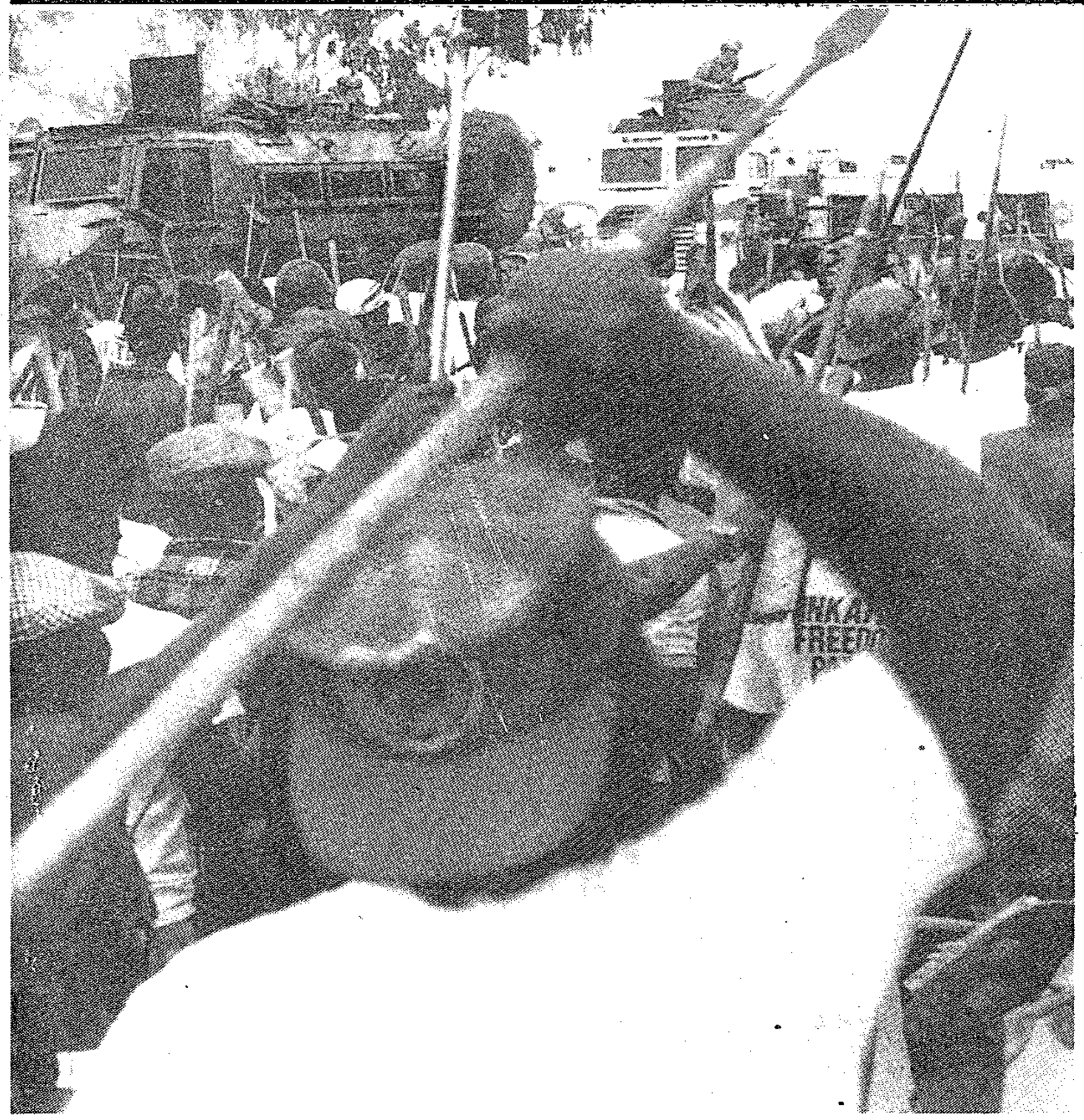
Diplomats from nine countries yesterday visited the scene of the Boipatong massacre — a move likely to increase international pressure on the Government to end the violence.

On a three-hour fact-finding tour of Boipatong and adjoining Slovo Park, organised by Peace Action, diplomats from the US, Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Australia, Japan, Denmark, Germany and Canada spoke to survivors of last Wednesday's slaughter.

While a spotter plane circled overhead, members of the touring party stood and watched an emotion-charged church service outside shack number 1239, near to where eight-months pregnant Maria Mlangeni, one of the first victims, was shot dead.

Said Han Peters, second secretary at the Netherlands embassy: "We are horrified. The only future for the country lies in negotiations, but there has to be a climate conducive to negotiations."

Swedish representative Lena Johansson said she had been "shattered."



Police sitting on Casspirs watch heavily armed Inkatha members in Alexandra last year without disarming them. It is this turning of a blind eye to Inkatha members that has led to accusations of police partiality in the ongoing killings.

Hostel an Inkatha barracks

278

Sowetan 25/6/92

By MATHATHA TSEDU
Investigations Editor

ALEXANDRA'S Madala hostel, converted into an Inkatha garrison in March last year, has been the source of attacks that have resulted in nearly 200 deaths.

And during this period which is spread over a one year period, less than 20 people have been arrested by the police with almost half of these later released for lack of evidence.

Running side by side with this seeming police inability to apprehend killers, is the constant refrain that police either assisted attackers, ignored the attacks as they took place in their presence, or failed to respond to calls or warnings beforehand.

And so, as in Boipatong last week, ordinary people have lost faith in the ability of the police to maintain law and order even handedly.

Painstaking research through volumes of newspaper cuttings and reports of monitoring and human rights groups leave only one conclusion: the police and hostel dwellers are friends.

For the Madala hostel, like its near namesake in the Vaal, KwaMadala, which was allegedly the springboard of last week's attacks in Boipatong, law and order and control of the complex fell to pieces last March when Inkatha bussed in outsiders to take over the hostel.

The history of Alexandra's now endemic violence is traced to Friday, March 8 when the outsiders arrived and kicked out non-Inkatha members who were legitimate residents of the hostel.

The hostel had been home to more than 600 employees of the Sandton municipality which to date still continues to pay rent while its workers stay in even worse squalor at the Vehicle Testing Station.

Effectively, the Sandton municipality is paying rent for Inkatha members who have been accused of taking over the hostel and turning it into a staging post for attacks on residents.

These new residents of Madala hostel have also terrorised residents in neighbouring houses and these too have fled, leaving shacks and well built houses for which banks still demand bond repayments.

Some of these people are staying in the Alexandra town council's offices, community halls and churches.

Sniper fire from Madala hostel has led to the area around First and Sixth av-

● To next page

● From page 26

enues being declared a no go area, with only those harbouring death wishes venturing there.

The hostel has also been the source of other forms of intimidation and harassment such as gang rapes.

As in this particularly graphic description by one woman: "On March 9, 1992 a crowd of people coming from Madala hostel came into my house. They asked 'you are alone'. I said yes... these people are 21 in number. Twenty raped me. The other one said 'you are here to kill these people, not to rape them'. That one took out a panga and slashed me on my head...and on the arms."

It is easy to imagine that this woman felt at that moment that those who only wanted to rape her were better than the brute who almost killed her.

Early in February this year another raiding party from Madala hostel stormed into a shebeen and killed one man and raped all the women present.

Residents have said some women are being held as sex slaves in the hostel. In these attacks, the inmates used spears, knobkerries, firearms and AK-47 rifles.

In four raids on the hostel since March 13 last year, police have found 10 AKs in Madala hostel, five revolvers and six pistols. This forms about one sixth of the total of AKs confiscated in all Reef townships.

Madala hostel is just the epitome of other hostels in the region.

And as undisputed sources of much of the violence, calls have been made for the police to raid the centres and evict all those found to be there illegally.

But this has not happened. Instead, allegations abound of township residents abducted by police and taken into hostels and left there for inmates to "deal with."

As in the case of Oupa Sehume (18) of Alexandra, a survivor of the March 27 vigil massacre last year, who said he was forced by members of the SAP into the Madala hostel.

Sehume said he was taken into the hostel at about 9.30 pm on April 21 last year by white policemen wearing camouflage uniforms.

"A panga was placed in his hands and he was warned that he would be kicked if he put it down. He said the police then started calling out 'here's a member of the ANC, come and get him'.

"Sehume said he was told to fight Inkatha members with the panga. He was taken back home after the hostel dwellers refused to attack him for fear of a trap," according to Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression booklet Fortresses of Fear which deals with hostels.

In another development, Orlando West Civic Association chairman Weston Shabangu related that in April this year he had saved a boy from certain death after police had taken the boy into the Nancefield hostel.

"We arrived just as the boy was being assaulted by hostel dwellers. I believe if we had not arrived at that time the boy would have been killed," he said.

Police have denied partiality to and favouritism of Inkatha and hostel inmates generally. In response to questions about actions against hostel dwellers, Colonel EJ Burger of the Internal Stability Unit in Pretoria said members of the SAP had come under fire from Madala hostel on several occasions and had been forced to retaliate with machine gun fire.

"We cannot afford to back off," he said.

But the question uppermost in people's minds, especially those presently huddled in overcrowded church halls while their houses are occupied by raiders from hostels, is why the full force of the SAP is not brought to bear to evict the killers from the hostels.

As in the KwaMadala hostel which ended up with the massacre that has plunged the country into its worst mid-reform political crisis, Madala hostel may still bring its own Waterloo for the government that seems to find pleasure in watching raiding impis kill innocent people.

A rare sight of police stopping Inkatha members in their tracks. This action, coupled with a genuine disarming programme where weapons are confiscated and not returned to their original owners, would help bring down the level of violence in the country.

Sowetan 25/6/92 278

BOIPATONG VIOLENCE

Cape Gate (Pty) Limited, a local company and neighbour of Boipatong, where a large number of our employees live, wish to extend our condolences and deepest sympathy to all the people who lost relatives, friends and property, through the senseless violence that took place during the night of 17/18 June 1992.

Although none of our employees died during this violence, the company grieves with the community in their great loss.

As a company we strongly condemn the senseless loss of life and damage to property and hope and pray that such action will never happen again.

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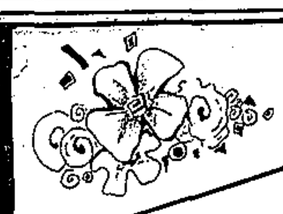
SECOND PRINCESS WILL WIN: R500.00 gift voucher - Highgate Shopping Centre. Modelling course - Andrea Stelzer Creazione cc. Photographic portfolio - Foto First, Highgate. R150.00 Permalcer Account - S.A. Perm, Highgate. 3 Month cinema ticket - Ster Kinekor Highgate. R20.00 gift voucher - Reggies, Highgate. Tinkerbell Glitter Bag - Tina Cosmetics. R50.00 voucher - Milky Lane, Highgate. R50.00 gift voucher - Woolworths, Highgate. Silver ring - Thoughts Gifts and Cards, Highgate. Hamper of



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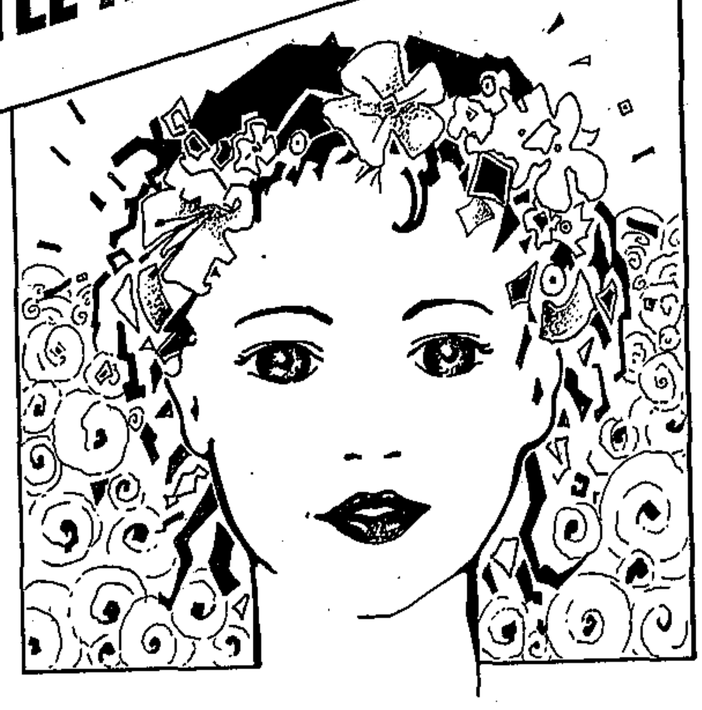

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Highgate

Development cuts conflict - planner

(278)

Sowetan 25/6/92

THE transformation of a culture of defence into a culture of development could reduce conflict in the Phola Park squatter camp near Tokoza, town planner Mr Julian Baskin said on Tuesday.

Appearing before a Goldstone Commission committee inquiry into violence and intimidation, Baskin, a chartered town and regional planner from the community development organisation Planact, based his suggestion on nearly two years of close association with the Phola Park community.

Baskin said his evidence was submitted in the belief that development was at least part of the solution to the problems of Phola Park, "but badly conceived development programmes can exacerbate a situation leading to further conflict".

During his dealings with Phola Park civic representatives he had held many meetings and workshops on the development of the East Rand squatter camp.

Baskin said he identified three groups among the residents of Phola Park.

There were families wishing to urbanise, single men who had their base in rural areas, and non-South Africans from countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi.

He said because the single men and non-South Africans might believe they would not qualify for accommodation in a developed Phola Park, they could be against it.

Baskin said reasons for the conflict were outside the community's control.

Among them were a discredited hostel system and no alternative State-rented accommodation; a wrecked rural economy and little chance of survival without urbanising; hostile State structures which aimed to undermine community structures rather than strengthen them; and a history of violence as conflict resolution.

Baskin recommended that local government structures recognise the importance of community institutions and provide support.

He disclosed that the International Development Trust would make R23 million available for development of the squatter camp and he showed plans which his organisation and the community had compiled and were to be implemented soon. - *Sapa*.

Locked within a balance of terror

Sowetan 25/6/92. (278)

The victims of Boipatong died because of a constitutional disagreement in South Africa, writes JOHN CARLIN

THE South African Government and the African National Congress are locked into a balance of terror.

The one is hinting that it will reimpose a state of emergency, the other is threatening to pull out of constitutional talks.

If one presses the button it is almost certain that the other will follow suit. Either way, instability and destruction, a return to the dark ages of the PW Botha era, are guaranteed.

What makes each pause, as Government and ANC officials acknowledge, is the response of the international community, the fear of isolation.

What, then, is the public to make of the conflicting rhetorical barrage? Where lies the truth? In the Government's contention that last week's killings are, as Mr Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Police, said on Monday, the direct result of the ANC's campaign of "mass action"?

Or in the ANC's claim that the Government has opted for brute force as the only means of retaining political power?

It is best to answer these questions by going back to May 16 when the Codesa talks broke down.

Why did they break down? The ANC proposed 70 percent as the required majority to approve a constitution in an elected constituent assembly, the Government proposed 75 percent, and neither side would budge.

The ANC wants the proposed constitution to entrench a system of majority government. The Government rejects majority rule. State President FW de Klerk says that the Western world's "50 per cent plus one" formula would be "simplistic" in the light of South Africa's diversity.

His solution is "powersharing", a system in which the "domination of the past" is replaced not with a new form of "majoritarian domination", but with a Government of "checks and balances" with "minority protections".

It sounds complicated but can be reduced to a demand for a veto over the decisions of the majority. De Klerk is responding to the whites' terror of being ruled by blacks.

The ANC responded with outrage to the Government's refusal to accept less than 75 percent, and declared the time had come for a test of political strength on the streets.

The first day of "mass action" was marked by marches around the country, all of which, according to the Commissioner of Police, went off peacefully.

Kriel, his political chief, disagreed, blaming the deaths of 34 people on Monday and Tuesday on the ANC campaign, and warning of more deaths.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, warned on Tuesday, when he shared a podium with De Klerk, that people would lose their lives.

The Government and Inkatha prophecies came true on Wednesday night when hordes of Inkatha warriors rampaged through Boipatong while police in armoured vehicles looked on, according to numerous witnesses.

Had the ANC accepted the Government's powersharing solution, mass action would not have been necessary and the security forces and their Inkatha allies would not have responded the way they all but promised they would. - *The Independent, London.*

Boipatong shows up urgent need to change police

(251) (278) CT 25/6/92

By ALLISTER SPARKS

AFTER Boipatong, one thing is certain. There will be no negotiated settlement in South Africa unless something is done to restore the credibility of the police as a peacekeeping force.

Mr Pik Botha is right when he says there is no alternative to negotiation. But what there is if negotiation fails is the appalling prospect of a slide into anarchy and ruin, of South Africa's becoming another Lebanon. That prospect now looms before us if the President, Mr F W de Klerk, continues to turn a blind eye to the fact that the credibility of the police is in a state of collapse.

I spent time in Boipatong last week talking to survivors of the massacre and I was in the midst of the mini-Sharpeville that followed Mr De Klerk's visit to the township when the police opened fire, without orders and without warning, into a packed crowd of about 3 000 people, and I can only say that I despaired for our country.

I despaired because every person I spoke to in Boipatong told me quite categorically that they believed the police had escorted the attackers into their township and out again after the slaughter.

I despaired because I saw with my own eyes how inept the police are at handling the kind of volatile situation that arose after Mr De Klerk's ill-considered visit. Why in God's name did they have to turn their Casspirs around and re-enter the township after the president *had left and the angry* crowd was starting to *disperse?*

FIRING LINE . . . Policemen open fire as Boipatong residents flee soon after President F W de Klerk's visit to the township was aborted on Saturday. Picture: AP

Inevitable

Why did they have to follow the crowd, so aggressively and provocatively that a newly-arrived foreign correspondent beside me blurted out in astonishment: "What the hell do they think they're doing? Are they looking for trouble?"

Why, in those explosive circumstances, did someone riding in police vehicle number BHL 186B have to shoot a man dead, creating a situation so explosive that a greater tragedy became inevitable?

What kind of training are these men given that they carry no batons or riot shields and that they can open fire, not with tear gas or rubber bullets, but with heavy-gauge shotguns into an unarmed crowd that was angry but never really threatening, and keep up that fire for nearly half a minute as the people fled in terror, falling as they were shot in the back until there were two dead and 29 groaning on the ground — and only when the shooting stopped did the officer in charge leap up and scream at his men: "Who told you to shoot? I told you not to shoot without orders"?

And why, when it was all over, did the police not come to help the injured? It was left to the few press people there, and the black survivors, to do that. I watched a young woman photographer cradle a man's *shattered head as he* gurgled and died. My *wife, who accompanied* me on the assignment *and had to run for her* life with the stampeding *mob, turned back to drag* a man who had been hit in the spine to safety behind a parked car. But *the police stayed next to* their parked Casspirs.

All this, let me remind you, was inflicted on a community that had already suffered one of the worst atrocities in this country's history four nights before when people, including women and babies, were shot, hacked and speared to death in their beds.

Mr De Klerk's decision to visit the scene of that atrocity is a measure of how out of touch he is with the mood of black South Africa in these dark days of frustration and fury.

To those of us who had been there after the massacre, it was obvious the moment we heard of De Klerk's intention that his gesture was misplaced and bound to cause trouble.

Boipatong and its neighbouring townships were boiling with rage. Absolutely everyone there believes the police were involved in the Inkatha attack.

Nor is it only journalists who knew this. Pastor Ray McCauley of the Rhema Church, by no means a radical man, was also in Boipatong on Friday and he was shocked enough to send a message to Mr De Klerk saying he did not believe the allegations of police collusion in the attack were wild propaganda.

Disturbed

"I visited Boipatong and spoke to many of the residents," Pastor McCauley wrote. "Having heard their first-hand accounts of what happened I am deeply disturbed because it appears the police failed in their primary duty of protecting innocent citizens.

"There is a growing perception among moderate whites and blacks that the allegation of police/Inkatha collusion are not wild political propaganda, but are in fact true and that the government is, in fact, party to promoting violence."

At his press conferece after being drummed out of the township, Mr De Klerk blamed the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa for the hostility. "What can you expect when he goes on television and accuses me of responsibility for the killing?" he said.

How facile! Leaving aside the question of how many people have TV sets in this poverty-stricken township and its adjoining squatter camp, does Mr De Klerk really believe that people who have undergone such a frightful experience need a television programme to arouse their anger?

Whatever Mr De Klerk and his Ministers may *say, however much they* may delude themselves *and however many* exculpatory statements the *police public relations* office may issue, these *people on the receiving* end of the pangas and *pipe guns know who* attacked them. You may *bluff the whites in their* remote suburbs, but you can't bluff the blacks who are there on the *spot — and the more you* try the more you discredit yourself.

That is what has happened to our police force. It has discredited itself by its deeds and its cynically disingenuous explanations until it is seen not as a peacekeeper but as a feared and deadly enemy. Mr De Klerk does not want to believe that. He gets angry when it is put to him. But it is true.

Change

How can credibility be restored? Only by drastic measures. There must be a complete change in the command structure of the security forces, and they must be brought under the multiparty control of Codesa with some tough but broadly acceptable person such as Professor Van Zyl Slabbert as Minister of Law and Order. On top of that, an international monitoring force to police the police.

Do that and we may, *with luck, restore faith* in impartial policing *and get the peace process* back on track.

Anything less and the abyss yawns.

No witnesses in massacre probe

WILSON ZWANE

NOT one Boipatong resident had come forward with information to assist police investigations in last week's massacre, a police spokesman said last night.

Lt-Col Dave Bruce Bruce said newspaper reports were being used to try to find witnesses.

"People quoted in the Press as having made certain allegations are potential witnesses ... and we would like these people to come forward and give us the information."

Meanwhile there were more incidents yesterday on the Golden Highway between Johannesburg and Vereeniging. Sapa reports that two meat trucks were set alight and looted. The road was closed on Tuesday after mobs set fire to 13 vehicles.

Police said a man was necklaced in Sebokeng yesterday afternoon.

At least four people were killed in Folweni, south of Durban, and one person murdered at Esikhawini, in northern Natal, on Monday and Tuesday, KwaZulu police said.

☐ The Human Rights Commission recorded 106 deaths and 86 injuries in the week to Tuesday — the highest toll since the week preceding the March 17 referendum.

Churches offer to help settle row over squatters

KATHRYN STRACHAN

AN ALLIANCE of churches representing a wide spectrum of denominations has offered its services as mediator in the conflict surrounding the relocation of the Zevenfontein squatters.

Church Alliance for Zevenfontein spokesman Ron Steele said in a statement that the organisation had canvassed the support of 14 churches in the Randburg/Sandton area — ranging from the Methodist Church to Rhema Ministries — "to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Zevenfontein community in the area". Other church groups are expected to join the alliance.

Steele said the alliance had been formed to counter the demonstrations by Diepsloot and Nietgedacht residents who were opposed to the resettlement of the Zevenfontein squatters in their areas.

In the event of the Zevenfontein community being relocated to Diepsloot and Nietgedacht, the alliance would "stand against all forms of aggression by anyone in the process of relocation".

The alliance also questioned "on biblical grounds" the fact that they were refused representation on the TPA task group. It also claimed the TPA had made its decision without sufficient consultation and that it had not considered all the alternatives.

Meanwhile, Lazonia Landowners' Association attorney Brian Moss said papers would be served on the TPA today seeking an urgent interdict against the relocation.

He said the association had appealed to the TPA not to proceed with the relocation before the application was heard next Tuesday.

If the TPA went ahead the association would make a new urgent application which would bring the case forward to this week, said Moss.

Association spokesman Urs Honegger said earlier the court action followed the TPA's failure to supply residents with adequate information to allay fears that the resettlement site would become a "slum city".

He said the TPA had been given until the close of business on Monday to supply details of the exact services it intended to provide in the area.

Honegger said the TPA had failed to do this.

Police lift KwaMadala restrictions

(278)

STAR 25/6/92

The KwaMadala hostel, widely believed to have been the base for last week's Boipatong massacre in which the death toll now stands at 45, is no longer restricted.

Police restrictions, which confined hostel inmates to the compound, were lifted at midnight.

SAP spokesman Major Ray Harrald said restrictions were lifted because hostel leaders had been co-operative with investigations, which were almost complete.

Many inmates had been cleared by Iscor records which showed they had been working during the attack. — Staff Reporters.

ANC calls for day of mourning

Staff Reporter STAR 25/6/92

The ANC has called on the "entire people" of South Africa, including the business community, to observe Monday as a national day of mourning and solidarity for the victims of the Boipatong massacre. (278)

The 43 victims will be buried on that day.

The call, made on Tuesday by the PWV ANC region, and which included a call for a stayaway from work, was later endorsed by the national executive committee.

The organisation also called on the international community to act in solidarity, and appealed to workers worldwide not to handle South African carrier and goods on June 29.

● KwaMadala hostel, widely believed to have been the base for last Wednesday's slaughter, is no longer being held under a police clamp.

Vosloo toll is 12 in a week

Sowetan 25/6/92

(278)

By JOE MDHLELA

AT least 12 people have been killed in Vosloorus in less than a week, making this East Rand township one of the most violent areas in the country.

Six people died on Sunday evening after they were sprayed with bullets from AK-47 rifles.

Six other people were shot dead in the township on Soweto Day, June 16.

The owner of the house where the latest shooting took place, Mrs Petunia Xinti, collapsed with shock and was later revived at the Natalspruit Hospital.

"The sight of the gunmen opening fire shocked me as never before in my life," she said yesterday.

The atmosphere at the house told its own story. The broken windows; the bullet marks on the walls; the bloodstains; the fear on the faces of small children . . .

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the ANC Youth League branch, Mr Isaac Matlaisane, blamed local councillors for the attacks.

"We view these attacks on our people as an attempt by councillors to force residents into recognising their discredited leadership," Matlaisane said.

The ANC Youth League would call for the boycott of the councillors' businesses, he added.

A councillor, Mr Aaron Ndambi, denied the ANC Youth League's allegation.

"We are the people who should be complaining about the ANC's behaviour. I have been left homeless after my house was burnt down by ANC Youth League members," Ndambi said.

A resident whose son, Happy Makhubela, was killed while attending a kitchen party at the house in Mabuya Street on Sunday evening, despaired that the killers would ever be found.

Mrs Agnes Makhubela said: "I wonder if his death will mean anything to the police or whether they will give the usual reason of police lacking information to help them track down the killers.

"This has been the excuse given by the police for being unable to arrest killers who have been harassing our people."

Happy (27) was one of the six people shot dead by killers armed with AK-47 rifles.

Five days earlier, on Soweto Day, June 16, six other people were killed, although police confirmed only one death.

Seven months ago on November 17 1991, seven people were killed when unknown gunmen fired on merry-making patrons at a party in a house in Mokgako Street.

'I wonder if his death will mean anything to the police or whether they will give the usual excuse of lacking information to help them track down the killers.'

AK-47 rifles were also used on that occasion.

Sixteen days earlier, on November 1, two young men, Mr Edwin Nkgothe and Mr Thomas Selepe, both aged 19, were shot dead by a group of unknown men at a Vosloorus shopping complex.

No arrests have been made in connection with any of these killings.

Makhubela continued: "Such killings have become regular in the township. I have not heard anybody saying the killers have been arrested. Why?

"Could the killings be the work of some mysterious hand that operates as and when it is programmed to do so? Does it mean that we need to prepare ourselves for more deaths of this nature?"

East Rand police spokesperson Captain Ida van Zweel said the problem police had in making progress during their investigation was lack of evidence.

"It is difficult to apprehend killers without the help of the public. We have always urged the public to come forward with whatever scrap of information they may have so that we can trace the killers.

"The problem is that people do not come forward with information so that we could have some clues to help us with our investigations," Van Zweel said.

Mr Norman Sishuba (37), one of the patrons who were lucky to escape unhurt, said he thanked God for saving his life.

"But I am grieved that this ugly attack has claimed the lives of my friends."

He said they were enjoying themselves when they heard gunshots outside.

"I hid under the table. And after what seemed an eternity, the gunfire stopped, I was shocked to see dead bodies in the house," he said.

The names of four of those who were killed are: Mr Paulos Mgidi (21), Mr Ephraim Moyeni Ngwenya (20), Mr Sipho Sibeko (26) and Mr Happy Makhubela (27).

Sowetan could not get the names of a woman victim and another man.

'The problem is that people do not come forward with information so that we could have some clues to help us with our investigations.'

HIT LIST

FACTFILE: November 11, 1990 - 54 people killed by unknown people at Sotho section, Vosloorus; November 1,1991 - two youths killed at a shopping complex in Vosloorus; November 17, 1991 - seven people killed at Mokgako Street, Vosloorus; June 16, 1992 - six people killed at Mabuya Park, Vosloorus; June 21, 1992 - six people killed at a house in Mabuya Street, Vosloorus.

Violence claims three more lives in Soweto

(278)

STAR 25/6/92

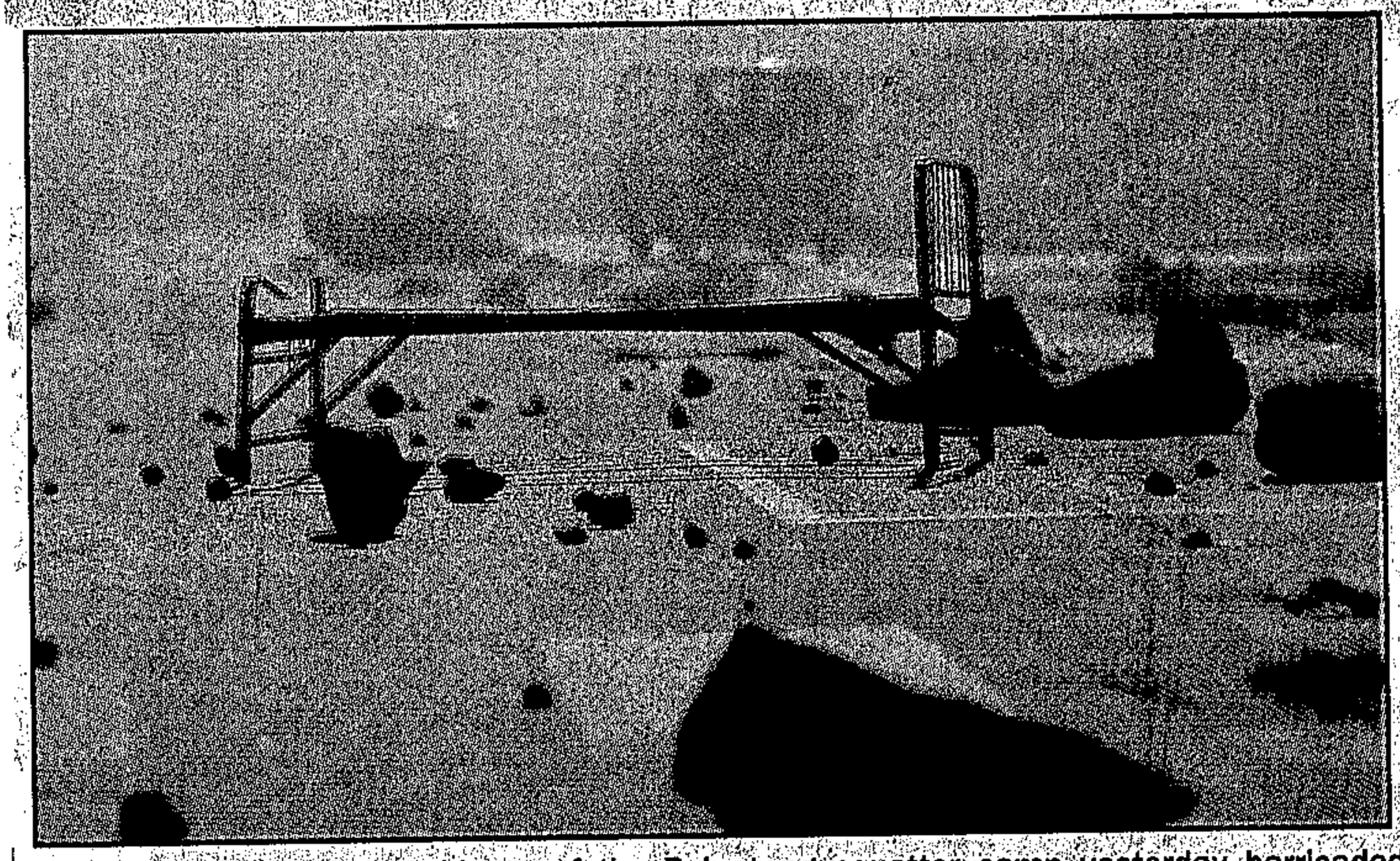
Violence continued in Soweto yesterday, with three men killed and three women injured in separate attacks.

A man was found shot dead at about 11 am at a taxi rank near Dube station.

At 12.45 pm police in Meadowlands came across two women who had been hacked. They were taken to hospital. Nearby, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

In Orlando West, a man was stabbed to death and set alight at about 3 pm, the SAP said.

A woman who was walking near Dobsonville hostel at about 3.45 pm was shot by two gunmen. — Crime Staff.



Safety measures . . . residents of the Boipatong squatter camp yesterday barricaded roads with anything available, including beds. Picture: Joao Silva

Boipatong mother fears killers will come back when night falls

STAR 25/6/92

By Zingisa Mkhuma (278)

Lettie Majola, a Boipatong mother of two, prays daily for the sun not to set — for when night falls, she fears that the killers will return.

"We no longer sleep in beds for fear of stray bullets that could come through the windows ... it's safer on the floor," Mrs Majola told The Star.

She is among scores of Boipatong women who are living in fear of their lives after Kwa-Madala hostel inmates allegedly went on the rampage and massacred at least 39 people, including a nine-month-old baby, on June 17.

Mrs Majola said that since the outbreak of violence in the area, she stayed up at night waiting for "dawn or death — whatever came first".

Mrs Majola and her family barricade themselves inside their home at night. Wardrobes have been moved to the windows as shields against bullets "which whiz past our windows at night".

The Boipatong women who spoke to The Star have demanded to be given guns to defend themselves against the men who kill and maim their husbands and children in their sleep.

Standard 10 pupil Lindi Ngqobe said: "We will never have peaceful sleep as long as that hostel is still in our midst. Give us guns and let us fight back once and for all."

Since the outbreak of violence in the Vaal Triangle, people in the area have become tense and nervous. Streets have been barricaded by rocks and overturned cars.

Occupants of passing cars are closely scrutinised by youths who stand guard on street corners.

Ms Ngqobe said the community had lost faith in the "system" because it has failed to protect them against the killers and they now relied on unarmed community structures for protection.

"At this rate I will be lucky to live to be 21.

"The hostel is a stone's throw from our house, and we go to sleep not knowing what will happen in the night.

"There is a lot of gunfire at night ... maybe when you write this article I will be dead too, who knows ..."

Slain named as death toll rises to 45

STAR 25/6/92

Own Correspondent (278)

A three-year-old victim of the Boipatong massacre died yesterday morning, bringing the death toll to 45.

Poppy Mbatha had been admitted to Sebokeng Hospital with head and stomach wounds. Two other victims died in hospital on Tuesday.

Vaal civic leader and funeral committee member Ernest Sotsu yesterday said the planned mass burial would go ahead on Monday.

The service will be held at the local stadium at 10 am.

The Vaal Council of Churches has released the names of 43 of the victims.

Those who died in Tsirela township are: Violet Msibi, Michael Msibi, Sibusiso Msibi, Ronica Msibi, Julia Mgcina, Flora Nkala, Flora Moshope, Matilda Hlubi, Andries and Linah Manyeka, Maria Mlangeni, Martha and Ntombi Nonjoli, Elizabeth Moloi, Anna and Andrie Letsoko, Jim Richard, Benjamin Mosoetsa, Sebokeng and Samule Mosoetsa, Nelly Kubu, Annah and Percival Sebolai, Berlinah Lerobane, Aletta Moeti, Maria and Pauline Dlamini, Jacob Mtambo, Benjamin Genu, and Bophelong and Meshack Mzizi.

Those who died at Slovo Park are: Rebecca Mathope and her nine-month-old son Aaron, Maria and Simon Ramoeletsi, Johannes Khoza, Michael Mnyila, Thomas Lekabe, a Mr Sibisi, Elizabeth Kgaile, Elizabeth Ndamase, Jonas and Lisa Mbatha, and Agnes Malini.

Day of mourning — but no stayaway

Political Staff (278) ARG 26/6/92

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions will not call for a worker stayaway in the Western Cape on Monday, the day which the ANC and PAC have declared a day of mourning for victims of the Boipatong massacre.

Instead, Cosatu is appealing to employers to allow workers to observe a five-minute break at their workplace as a mark of respect.

Cosatu also appealed to workers to wear black armbands on Monday.

Cosatu's decision not to call for a stayaway is in line with statements by the ANC and PAC that they are not asking workers to stay at home.

Cosatu (Western Cape) has also appealed to churches to ring their bells at noon on Monday, and at 8pm and 9pm to signify the start and end of candlelight vigils scheduled to be held on the same day.

An interfaith service is due to be held at lunchtime on Monday at St George's Cathedral.

(Continued from p22)

conflict. Beyond that one sees the opening skirmishes of a wider Xhosa-Zulu war.

For Mandela to accuse De Klerk of full responsibility for murder intimates such a breakdown of trust as to suggest to observers that Codesa was an exercise in frivolity. Yet the truth remains that only through Codesa — through the very talks which the movement Mandela leads has been urging for years — can some semblance of a normal society return.

The stalemate within Codesa arose out of government's demand for a 75% majority in an elected lower house to pass the constitution, and, for a senate, the power of veto. This of course translates into a minority (white) veto and remains unacceptable.

The overwhelming majority of whites in the referendum voted for a settlement in which there was no hint of a minority veto. And in this sense the Nationalists — possibly buoyed by their success on March 17 — have displayed bad faith and contributed to the climate which has ensured that mass action will intensify, not least on the industrial front (see *Current Affairs*).

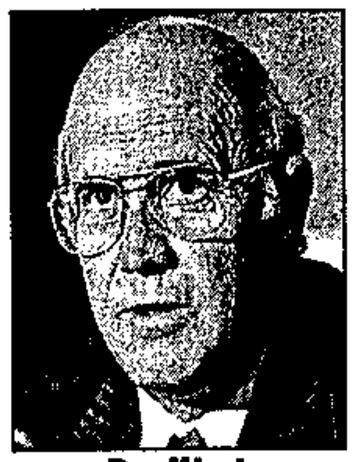
The deadlock, as the DP's Colin Eglin describes it, was brought about more because of tactical considerations by the main players than for reasons of substance. Government's last-minute proposal for a constitutional role for the senate came too late for proper debate.

Yet it seems clear that the charge that the Nationalists do not really want to share power has some validity. The gross corruptions to which they were a party are revealed by the week — and everything from the misappropriation of public funds to steroids in rugby players leaves an impression of terminal cynicism and decadence.

None of this dissuades us that De Klerk is an honest man. His evident stumbles in recent days — making a pointed visit to Ulundi on June 16, flying off to Spain even as the crisis mounted — do not have the malign quality Mandela implies. If they did, there would be no reason for hope; whites would exercise their sole veto and emigrate.

Rather, De Klerk remains far more consistent than Mandela: his trip to Boipatong

Mandela



De Klerk

arose from decency, though it exposed the limits of law and order in a situation similar to that in the Balkans, albeit on a more primitive scale.

Resolution of the situation requires compromise on both sides. Government must accept that it cannot reserve a minority veto for itself without indefinitely postponing a settlement — and, with it, a renewal of economic confidence and an end to the recession. The ANC must abandon mass action as a form of pressure, since, as the *FM* put it last week, "the calculations which the 'sides' to our current conflict must be making (and which they believe favour them) will very likely all prove wrong."

The government accusation that mass action led to Boipatong seems perverse — part of that general disclaiming of personal responsibility for murder which has poisoned our social life. Perhaps after the midweek meeting of the Cabinet — with De Klerk presiding — a firmer statement about the progress of justice in this case will be made. Meanwhile, the hostels must be closed or, at least, patrolled until the crisis abates.

Iscor issued a statement that the kwaMadala hostel — at which by midweek police did at last report arrests of suspects in the Boipatong killings — would be closed. But the iniquities of the system remain; in the ethnic concentration and tawdry standards of the hostels, who knows what evil forces are at work?

Other ANC demands seem less than helpful. While UN monitors might well serve a purpose in the run up to elections — which now seem unlikely this year — it is fatuous to call for foreign intervention to keep the peace.

Though government's authority evidently stops at the boundaries of certain townships, it remains sovereign and the process by which it shares that sovereignty has to be legal and logical. At heart, the NP knows this — it is already conducting what amounts to an election campaign in black areas.

UN peace-keeping forces have a habit of being sent in once conditions have regressed beyond the point of salvage. Appalling as Boipatong is — along with every other bloody outbreak — it is not remotely the kind of event Mandela asserts it is. A total breakdown of law and order would see massacres spread across the country and black suffering plummet to depths unheard of.

This is surely not what he wants. Yet a question mark remains over Mandela's grasp of the complex reality of SA. While ostensibly aimed at extracting greater flexibility from government round the negotiating table, a great deal of the ANC's attitude seems less to do with the deadlock at Codesa, or the violence, than with its perceived need to get back in touch with its constituency. This in itself is revealing.

The ANC would hardly be gearing up for elections — the political aim of mass mobilisation — if it did not ultimately expect a settlement at Codesa.

Clearly, the issue of violence and its effective policing must be addressed — by cool heads not primarily concerned with point-scoring. The idea suggested by Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, of a Codesa-type forum specifically aimed at dealing with the violence, needs to be explored.

It is possible that more can be done to make the Peace Accord effective. Township trust in the security forces is now non-existent. Boipatong follows the Trust Feed massacre in which policemen, in league with Inkatha members, were found guilty, and the massacre at Swanieville a year ago in circumstances eerily similar to Boipatong.

Even Rhema Church pastor Ray McCauley entered the debate this week — writing an open letter to De Klerk after visiting Boipatong. According to McCauley, there is

Van Zyl Slabbert

Spicer

a growing perception among moderate South Africans of a link between the police and Inkatha.

Finally, it is difficult to imagine the ANC calling off all negotiations — and plunging into open-ended mass action. Even the present protest campaign seems directionless.

Granted, all this savage theatre will spoil De Klerk's international reputation and bring back the pressure. There are already doubts over SA's participation in the Olympics and the All Black tour.

Diplomatic sanctions are being rallied. But such a development can only have the effect of drawing the NP and ANC back into negotiations. Even the ANC's Pallo Jordan admits it would be a long shot to believe mass action will lead to the collapse of government.

It has to be hoped that the crisis will be short — but that needs leadership with vision. And vision is precisely what is now faltering, more on Mandela's side than De Klerk's. But part of the lesson of the Boipatong tragedy, and its repercussions, is that blame and responsibility have to be accepted on all sides. We need a rededication to the already agreed principles of Codesa and the Peace Accord. ■

STATISTICAL ERROR

Some errors were inadvertently made in last week's leader on the Board on Tariffs & Trade's food industry report:

- ☐ David van den Heever is not the head of Central Statistical Service, but deputy director (socio-economic statistics);
- ☐ The rates of increase in the monthly food PPI for March (1,9%) and April (2,2%) were transposed; and
- ☐ Van den Heever warned against making deductions from annualising rates of change relating to a single month.

LEAVING CODESA 26/6/92

Looking into the abyss

The decision by the ANC to pull out of Codesa confirms the worst fears implicit in our cover story on this week's political crisis. The highly complex factors which have led to this hour of danger are set out in the following pages.

In essence, instead of leading, Nelson Mandela has capitulated to populist feelings which have at their root the inflamed wish to overthrow the State by force. His feverish abuse at Boipatong — from whence F W de Klerk had been expelled by the mob — did not show a man in control of either his emotions or his followers. They seemed to be controlling him.

Talk of a "pro-democracy forum" — which the ANC would lead — cannot shield the ANC from the charge that it has reverted to confrontation. If this forum does not include Inkatha — and how can it, since they are accused of committing murder with the government? — the terrible folly of an ANC-Zulu war will be fought out in innumerable Boipatongs.

The ANC also listed a number of demands which, otherwise expressed, would make eminent sense — but which are meaninglessly broad and provocative. They include instructions to:

- ☐ Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activities;
- ☐ Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up of foreign nationals;
- ☐ Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence; and
- ☐ Ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing states, and in the so-called independent states, is ended forthwith.

Stated like that, these demands have the bite of an ultimatum. There is no timetable. Government has in fact acted in all the areas of disquiet set out here, though doubtless it cannot, any more than the ANC, curb the deeds of evil men cloaked in secrecy.

If these demands, then, constitute an ultimatum, it cannot be met. The demands, then, also constitute an active incitement to further unrest, rumour and despondency. Where De Klerk — the head of State — moves to contain this unrest, he will be again accused of bad faith. Mandela has already called him a "Nazi."

The kind of disturbances which are likely to arise will be exacerbated by the libel that the murderers from the Kwa-Madala hostel were led by whites. Indeed, it is difficult to see where such unleashed rage can lead except to further massacres and explosions in the developed world's racial ghettos.

Mandela is quickly going to lose stature throughout all the nations which have honoured him. The implications of his decision will be carefully weighed — not least because it is going to prove impossible to carefully stage a programme of mass action that will lead to the installation of an ANC government. The ANC itself is riven with factions.

In the testing time that lies ahead, Western leaders in particular are going to be subjected to strident calls to reimpose sanctions on SA. The turmoil which must be expected will be blamed on the De Klerk government as a rationale for that. But it is unlikely to have the desired effect. What will happen is a forgoing of investment because of what will rapidly turn into a chaotic industrial and social morass.

At the end of this period — during which Mandela is likely to be superseded by men far more radical than him — the outcome is certain to be exactly what is being cast aside now: a negotiated settlement. The appalling spectre of a wasteland lies ahead if the confrontation endures for even a few months.

De Klerk was right to shorten his visit to Spain. He is needed at home. He will, we feel certain, continue to urge talks upon the now dangerously inflamed parties who look to the streets for salvation. SA is plunging into a racial and ethnic abyss which could make what has so far been seen in this unhappy land seem like a golden age.

De Klerk's appeals for peace and a restoration of negotiation deserve the full support of all men of reason.

The whole behaviour of the ANC leadership at Boipatong and subsequently does not indicate that these are men with a clear idea of what true leadership entails. Because the greatest hopes were placed on him, Mandela's failure is the most disillusioning. Even if he survives the interregnum, it will be as a broken man. He has thrown away his image of a man of peace.

And all this in the name of peace itself! Since the police are those most charged with maintaining law and order — but have been most directly accused of complicity with Inkatha — how willing will certain of its members now be to put themselves in danger when the next massacre looms?

The hope must be that De Klerk does not lose authority. In a Cabinet devastated by scandal and incompetence — with the Right always capable of appealing to the deepest reactionary instincts of Afrikaners — he has played a courageous and morally authentic role. Without his bold steps in February 1990, we would have descended into the abyss which now beckons in any case.

This invests him with immense responsibility. His actions in the days to come will determine how the world sees us, how it responds to our plight — and provide the objective criterion by which we have to make our way forward to decency and democracy.

Or so we have to hope. ■

Stayaway restricted to Transvaal

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — There would be no stayaways outside of the Transvaal on Monday's day of mourning to commemorate the Boipatong massacre, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

President F W de Klerk said in a statement last night that government would allow all public sector workers wanting to attend Monday's funeral of the Boipatong victims and other commemorative services to do so. He asked private sector employers to do likewise.

Naidoo confirmed that Cosatu had supported the ANC call for the national day of mourning but pointed out that the only region which would be affected by a stayaway was Boipatong where the dead would be buried.

The ANC, Cosatu and SACP head offices said in a joint statement yesterday there had been no call for a national stayaway.

The statement said lunch-time commemoration services, demonstrations and prayers would take place nationally.

DIRK HARTFORD reports that Saccola yesterday called on all parties to commemorate Monday in a dignified way that supported the need for peace and reconciliation — but it opposed stayaway action.

Its members would have "to consider how they and their employees can extend their sympathies to the relatives and friends of the victims".

Saccola would meet Cosatu soon to discuss the economic and political situation and Cosatu's programme of mass action. It hoped to find agreement for worker and

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B/Day 26/6/92 (278)

Stayaway

B/Day 26/6/92 (278)

From Page 1

employer organisations to intervene to get the political process moving.

The mood among employers was one of deep frustration at the disruptive effects of mass action on an economy in dire straits, said a source.

Employers felt the breakdown in negotiations and continuing violence was only exacerbating a critical situation.

The fact that employer organisations embraced the whole gamut of political opinion meant it was not possible for employers to side with one or other political organisation.

● Picture: Page 3
● See Page 4

Union war could force plant to close

(278) DIRK HARTFORD

LANGEBERG Food's plant in Benoni, which employs 900 people, could close because of a war between the minority Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) and Cosatu's Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu).

The conflict — which has led to the killing of 10 Langeberg Food workers in less than a year — claimed another two lives yesterday. B/Day 26/6/92

A Fawu member and a bus driver were shot dead and four others wounded in an attack on the bus taking workers to the factory. The attackers were in a minibus and fired AK-47s.

Two weeks ago a Fawu shop steward was shot dead at the factory gate. He had been due to give evidence in a court case relating to the murder of five Fawu members in August last year.

Later that day an Uwusa member was hacked to death in the factory, which has 750 Fawu members and 40 Uwusa members.

Langeberg MD Ray Brown declined to comment on the possible closure.

He said management had been trying to solve the problem by getting the parties to sign an accord along the lines of the national peace accord.

Although the company dealt only with majority unions, Uwusa had approached Langeberg for recognition.

Fawu assistant general secretary Mike Madlala said he had strong reservations about the peace accord as the "killings just carry on".

Meanwhile Anglovaal's Mooi River Textiles, which closed for three weeks after inter-union conflict involving Uwusa and Cosatu's SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, opened again this week with 90% attendance.

An Anglovaal spokesman said violence in and around the plant had increased dramatically after Uwusa began organising in early 1991. At that stage Sactwu was the majority union among the 1 100 weekly paid workers.

In a series of incidents, workers were

☐ To Page 2

Union war

B/Day 26/6/92. (278)

murdered inside and outside the plant. On one occasion gunmen in balaclavas walked into the company's canteen and sprayed it with AK-47 fire.

The spokesman said within a year the company, which had been profitable, was into a serious loss situation and anarchy reigned in the factory.

After the closure, representations were made by a range of organisations — including the unions — and individuals to reopen the factory as between 20 000 and 40 000 people in the area were directly dependent on wages earned there.

Things were going well, the spokesman said. Uwusa was now the majority union in the plant.

Pickets to resume at SA missions

(278)

STAR 26/6/92

Pickets and protests outside South African embassies around the world, discontinued after President de Klerk's reforms, are to be reimposed on Monday under ANC instructions issued in Johannesburg yesterday.

The ANC called on all its chief representatives overseas to organise vigils outside embassies on Monday to mark a national day of mourning for the 45 people massacred at Boipatong on June 17.

The ANC missions will also be asked to hold public meetings and press conferences, and to call for a boycott of South African products and services, including South African Airways, on that day.

Mission heads should also urge governments, political parties and churches to send messages to the South African Government deploring the massacre and demanding action against the culprits, the instructions said. — Sapa-AFP.

Stayaway only in Vaal – ANC

STAR 26/6/92 (278)

By Montshiwa Moroke

Monday's ANC-called day of mourning to commemorate the deaths of at least 45 people in Boipatong last week would not be a national stayaway, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu said in a joint statement yesterday.

They called for a stayaway in the Vaal Triangle and noted that people in other parts of the country could take part in the commemoration by attending local prayer meetings, lunchtime commemoration services and demonstrations.

"We call on business to respect the day of mourning, and discuss with workers any planned actions," the alliance's statement said.

Business and employer organisations, labour federations, and political and church organisations yesterday called on all South Africans to observe the day with respect and dignity.

And President de Klerk appealed to employers to give workers time off to attend services on Monday.

He said government workers would be free to attend services, and appealed to private-sector employers to follow suit.

Fourty-two people, including three who died on Saturday after President de Klerk's visit to Boipatong, will be buried in Boipatong on Monday. A further six victims will be buried in others parts of the country.

Employer organisations have not yet spelt out whether they will apply a "no work, no pay" rule to workers who stay away.

The SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) and the SA Chamber of Business met in Johannesburg yesterday to work out a joint approach with other employer bodies.

In a statement released after the meeting, Saccola said it was opposed to a call for stayaway action. Individual companies affiliated to Saccola would have to consider how they and their employees could extend their sympathies.

'SAP remiss over hostel'

STAR 26/6/92

The Boipatong massacre could have been pre-empted if the police, Iscor management and the Goldstone Commission had acted effectively in response to repeated warnings about the threat which the KwaMadala hostel posed to surrounding communities, attorneys for the Vaal Council of Churches (VCC) charge.

In a memorandum, attorneys Nicholls, Cambanis, Koopasammy and Pillay state: "The South African Police have been negligent in failing to conduct effective investigations after countless reports to them by the VCC of ongoing abductions, kidnappings, rape, assaults, intimidation and murders connected to the KwaMadala hostel."

(278)

According to the lawyers, the VCC repeatedly approached local police officers to investigate complaints about acts of violence committed by KwaMadala residents, and "the police's consistent response ... was that there was not sufficient evidence for them to respond".

Vaal Triangle police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said on Wednesday: "We must put it strongly that we appointed people to investigate the allegations but we told the church workers that we need statements. We needed witnesses and sometimes we just did not get them."

According to the lawyers' report, VCC representatives also made "numerous" pleas to Iscor management.

Iscor had responded in writing that "no evidence could be found to convince management that the KwaMadala hostel should be managed differently to that of Iscor's other hostel, KwaMasiza".

Boipatong tense as slain remembered

STAR 26/6/92

By Brian Sokutu (278)

The Vaal township of Boipatong — the scene of last week's massacre — was tense yesterday afternoon after police confronted scores of people who had gathered at a local hall for a memorial church service.

The moving service, addressed by, among other speakers, Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church, paid tribute to the 45 people who died in the massacre that ended constitutional negotiations in SA.

The township looked calm earlier in the day as scores of people marched towards Boipatong Hall at the local administration premises, where there is also a police station.

An early confrontation with residents took place when members of the Internal Stability Unit disembarked from a Casspir and closed a gate, preventing a group of residents from entering the hall.

But the confrontation was averted when resident Peter Moerane, an SA Council of Churches Vaal branch official, ordered policemen to leave.

Police later opened the gate and left the area amid chants of "Amandla! Ngawethu!" (Power to the people) by residents.

Inside the church the atmosphere was touching, with bereaved families sitting on the front row, weeping.

Addressing the emotion-charged memorial service, Bishop Storey said: "Something devilish happened in Boipatong. And that can only come from the devil. As your tears fall today, we weep with you."

The situation looked tense at about 4.42 pm as police in Casspirs maintained a heavy presence around the hall.

It appeared as if police were preparing to shoot as they cocked their rifles facing residents who chanted: "Shoot! Shoot!"

When the press left at about 5.27 pm, the area was calm.

- Police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said the crowd that gathered at the police station after the memorial service was "aggressive" and that policemen had locked the doors of the station.

Colonel Bruce said the crowd had dispersed without police action being taken.

- Police yesterday cordoned off and searched a converted hostel in Zone Four, Boipatong, in what they described as part of a continuing crime prevention operation in the Vaal Triangle.

Daily attacks on police 'preventable'

278

STAR 26/6/92

Police in the Vaal Triangle were coming under attack every day, Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday.

In a statement, Captain Opperman charged that Vaal community leaders could stop the violence "if they really wanted to and tried hard enough".

The intensity and number of attacks on police in the Vaal area had shown a definite increase and so did the incidence of unrest-related violence.

Five policemen had been seriously injured and one had died in attacks on security forces in the last few days, he said.

"In many cases, police are being lured into ambushes."

In one incident, a patrolling officer was stopped by a small boy in Sebokeng. As he got out of the car, men with ANC badges appeared.

The policeman was attacked and severely beaten and robbed of his money and firearm. His attackers argued about the best way to kill him but he escaped.

Yesterday morning on the Golden Highway near Sebokeng, shots were fired at policemen by a small group of men carrying an ANC flag. A young constable was critically wounded. — Sapa.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS: THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE HOSTELS IN VIOLENCE HAS BEEN APPARENT

Blame it on the hostels,

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92. (278)

Seven hostels can be linked to much of the Reef violence over the past year. Clashes involving hostel inmates have led to over 270 deaths in the past year. At right, we list the deadly seven
By BEATHUR BAKER

IT took a massacre and a national political crisis to persuade Iscor to close its kwaMadala Hostel in Vanderbijlpark. But this week's announcement came too late for at least 60 people killed in two years of violence linked to its inmates.

The Boipatong massacre has turned a spotlight on the Inkatha fortresses which many Reef hostels have become. Most of the violence on the Reef — now the country's storm centre — flows from a dozen hostels, either in the form of random terror directed against township residents or retaliatory attacks.

The Weekly Mail has focused on seven of the most notorious hostels, listing some of the attacks linked to them by monitoring organisations between January 1991 and May 1992. A total of 273 deaths resulted from these attacks — others may have died in unrecorded incidents.

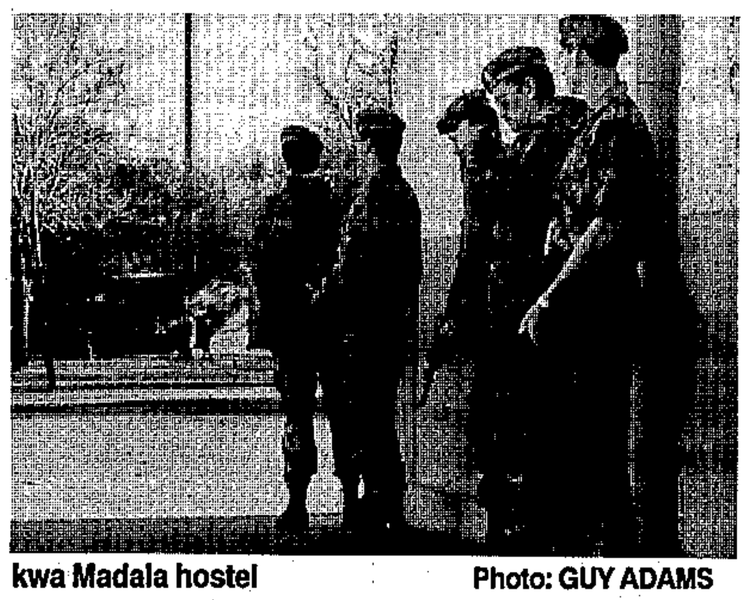
KWAMADALA

This hostel was disused until fugitives from the main Iscor hostel, kwaMasiza, occupied it in late 1990. Immediately after they had moved in, three workers were killed when the bus in which they were travelling en route to the main hostel was strafed by machine-gun fire.

Apart from the 39 who died last week, 20 others have been killed and 10 injured in nine incidents of violence linked to the hostel between January 1991 and May 1992.

●On July 15 1991, Thembalakhe Khawuleza from Boipatong was hacked to death when set upon by a mob of 300 men. They also threatened residents, who claim police arrived during the attack, and called on the scattering attackers in Zulu not to flee. After this, they allegedly followed the heavily armed group, who returned to kwaMadala, without making any arrests.

●Four men were killed and three injured when gunmen armed with AK47s opened fire on the crowd at a local shebeen on Febuary 21 1992 in Sharpeville. The attackers are believed to have been kwaMadala residents.



kwa Madala hostel Photo: GUY ADAMS

●On March 17 1992, four people were killed at the funeral of an Inkatha Freedom Party member, attended by hundreds of inmates from the kwaMadala Hostel, armed with traditional weapons and wearing red headbands. Before the funeral, the stabbed body of Joseph Ramonyaluoa (63) was found in the nearby veld after he was cornered by IFP mourners while on his way to work.

●On April 19 in Sharpeville, eight African National Congress members and a six-year-old child were killed and another person injured when five armed men invaded their home in the small hours. Before firing at the family indiscriminately, they raped one of the women. The only survivor, a 19-year-old girl, said the men claimed to be from kwaMadala.

NANCEFIELD, SOWETO

Eighty-seven people were killed and 225 injured in 51 incidents of violence linked to this hostel.

●Eleven people were killed and 73 people injured when violence erupted at the hostel on April 14 1991 between ANC and IFP supporters. Residents of nearby Power Park allege they saw police dropping off armed men minutes before the attack.

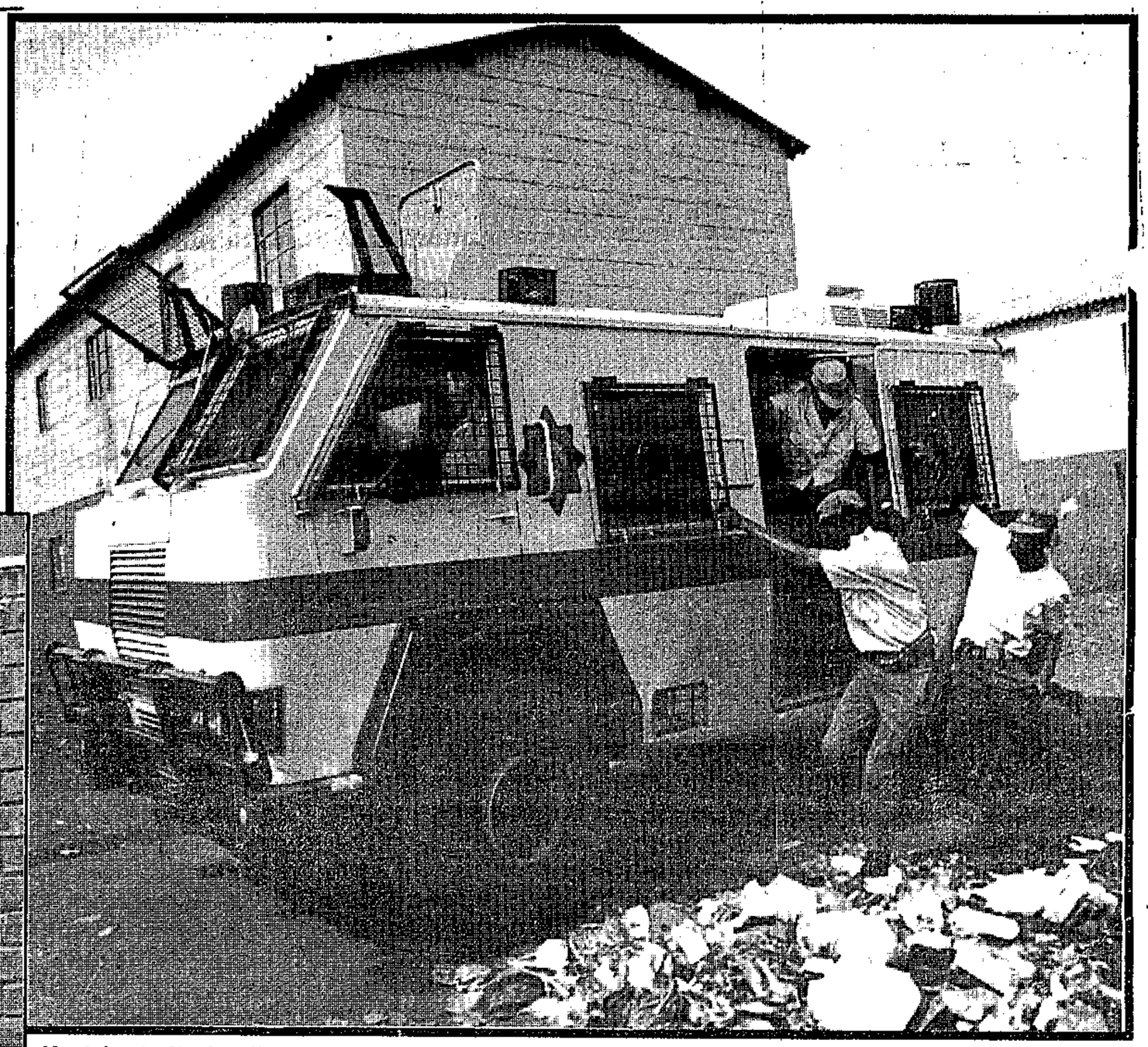
●On May 6 1991, police found the bodies of two people hacked to death and burnt inside the hostel. Another corpse was found nearby.

●On October 23 last year, nine people were killed and 38 injured when they were attacked while alighting from trains at the Nancefield and Orlando stations. The two

Closing the hostels is not the solution

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92 (278)

The easy solution would be to close the hostels. But that would ignore the root of the problem: the hostels are the only foothold many people have in the cities
By EDDIE KOCH



Hostel patrol ... A police presence at Dobsonville hostel in Soweto Photo: KEVIN CARTER

PUBLIC outrage at the Boipatong massacre has led to demands for the demolition of single-sex hostels. The mood on the streets was shown by young militants who recently hijacked a bulldozer to smash down parts of the Dobsonville hostel.

But demolishing the hostels may actually exacerbate the conflict, a view borne out by a statement issued by the Transvaal Hostel Residence Association on Wednesday.

"The association notes with concern that the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance is bent on destroying the only place called home for thousands of people," the statement said. "If hostels were demolished, what will happen to those thousands, with the housing crisis in our country?

"The only thing we can foresee is more chaos and conflict. The hostel inmates, should the hostels be destroyed, will simply walk into the townships and occupy all those houses. The ANC will be responsible for that."

The ANC's position includes short-term demands for security forces to fence off the hostels, search them regularly for weapons and mount permanent patrols around the premises that must be monitored by "multi-lateral peace structures". In the long run, the ANC wants the hostel system to be phased out.

Under close scrutiny... A Madala hostel dweller on the look out for attacks from the Alex community Photo:KEVIN CARTER

There is no doubt that the hostels are among the most burning issues of the day and the current crisis will not go away until something is done about them. But the ANC faces a conundrum: while township residents are demanding the destruction of the hostels, many people have no choice but to live in them.

Says Durban University sociologist Mike Morris: "It's a real dilemma. The hostels are the only foothold that many people have in the cities. The disintegration of apartheid also means a move away from institutions that make up the entire urban survival base for migrant workers. It is an ironic twist to South African history that the most exploited sector of black society should be the most threatened by the demise of apartheid."

Morris agrees with the ANC's view that there is an urgent need to overhaul the current methods of bringing law and order to these institutions. Though the South African Police has acknowledged that police patrols are often unable to deal with hostels that have been turned into armed fortresses, the Department of Law and Order has demonstrated scant concern for the problem.

SAP spokesman Craig Kotze told *The Weekly Mail* this week there had been no discussions at ministerial level about how to deal with violence emanating from the hostels. "This is dealt with by our forces on the ground ... it is not for the minister to decide whether to use five or 10 metres of barbed wire," he added.

In the face of such official indifference, political pressure for much stricter controls over the hostels is inevitable. "But the ANC should be careful to avoid creating a situation in which, by calling for more policing, they abandon a vital constituency and create even further distance between hostel dwellers and township residents," warns Morris.

One reason why the hostels have become bastions of rightwing terror has been the ability of Inkatha activists to exploit genuine fears among hostel inmates that there is a sinister plot to destroy the only homes they have in a hostile urban environment.

Two hostel residents who participated in recent township attacks have told *The Weekly Mail* how the militarisation of their residence began with visits by Inkatha officials. "They called meetings and explained that it was necessary to form defence units because people from the townships were intent on destroying our homes," said one

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(278)

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THE POLITICAL CRISIS: POLICE ROLE UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT

Was Boipatong an act of vengeance?

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92

A white policeman was killed shortly before the Boipatong massacre — but police dismiss any link between the two events as "absolute silliness".

By **PAUL STOBER**

POLICE in the Vaal are said to have been "infuriated" by the killing of a white policeman shortly before last week's Boipatong massacre.

Last Tuesday, Warrant Officer Daan Coetzee, commander of the Poortjie Police Station, was killed when his vehicle was forced off the road near Sebokeng and raked with automatic gunfire. His assailants are believed to have escaped into Sebokeng, within kilometres of Boipatong, but police have since arrested a suspect.

Sources close to the South African Police in the region described the deep anger among Vaal policeman about the killing of Coetzee the day before the massacre by saying: "They wanted war." But SAP spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert dismissed any possibility of a link between police anger and the slaughter as "absolute silliness".

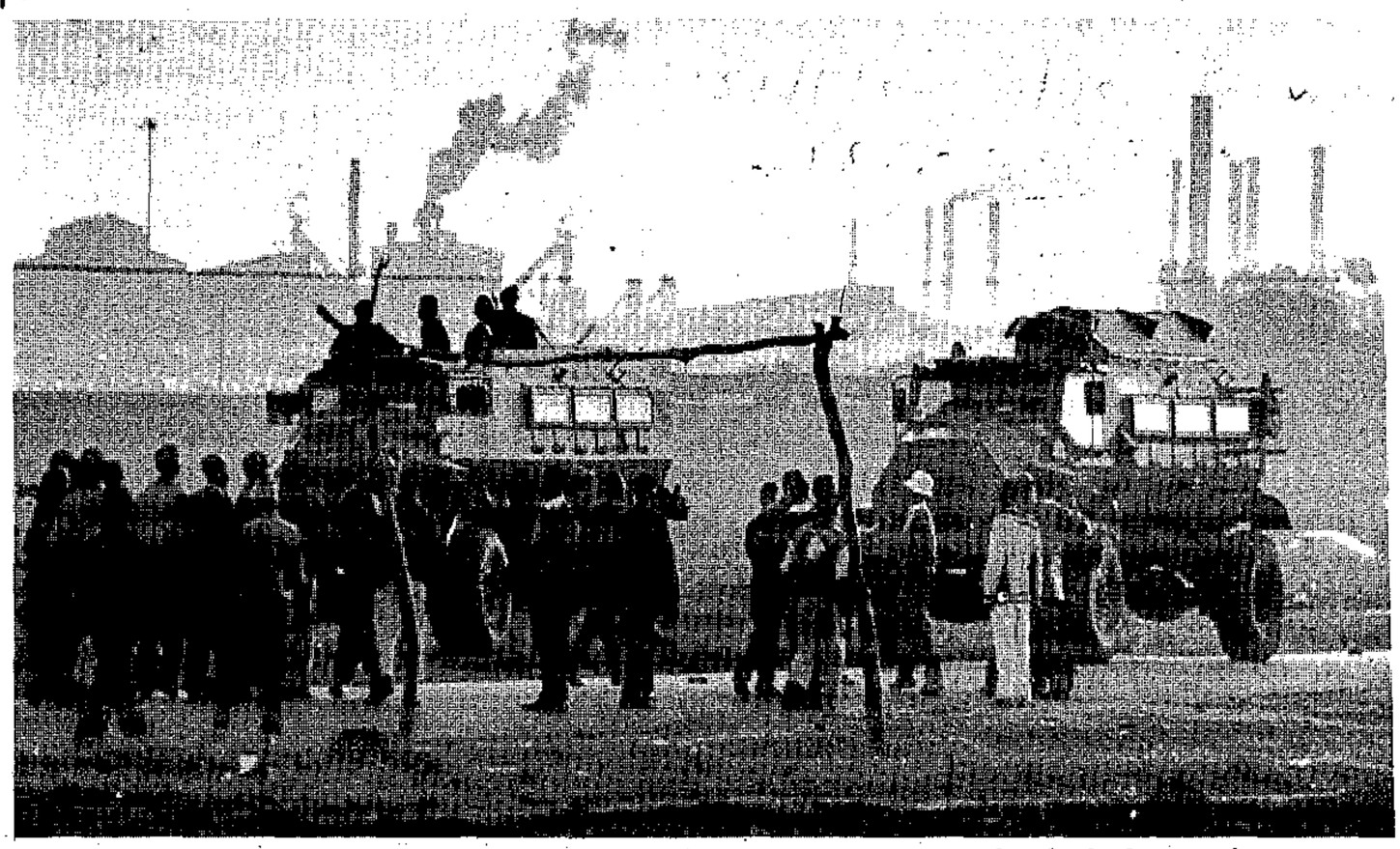
The morning after last Wednesday's massacre, which left 39 people dead, Boipatong residents said the attack was sparked by the killing of an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter and Boipatong resident David Mbhele. They are also convinced that police colluded with the attackers.

The failure of the SAP to respond to early warnings of the impending attack and the military precision with which residents were butchered has strengthened this conviction.

least two hours before the attack n, Peace Action, a violence monitoring group on the Witwatersrand, eived a call from a woman who rned she had been tipped off by white counterparts of Inkatha that ambulances must be on standby. They are going to be used".

This was the second time that evening Peace Action had been alerted of a possible attack on Vaal residents. Earlier, a call from Zone 11 in Sebokeng had warned "there's going to be trouble".

In an interview with Radio Vatican, Father Paddy Nolan reported witnessing one of his parishioners receiving a warning of an attack while he was in a house in Sebokeng. The caller said he was having difficulty contacting the police and urged the parishioner to contact Peace Action in Johannesburg. "Something detrimental, something serious is going to happen in the neighbourhood," the caller warned.



Twilight zone ... Silhouetted by Iscor's smokestacks, police Casspirs form a barrier in the ongoing standoff between Boipatong residents and kwaMadala hostel dwellers Photo: GUY ADAMS

At a media conference last Friday, SAP liaison officer Major Ray Harrald said a senior police officer in Johannesburg had received a warning from Peace Action on Wednesday evening about an impending attack in the Vaal. The officer passed the message on to the Vaal police, who investigated reports of groups of people moving around Sebokeng. The SAP discovered they were police foot patrols and concluded they had been "directed" to Sebokeng, Harrald said.

Peace Action has confirmed that its monitor did not specify an exact area of the possible attack.

Boipatong residents say they had been on guard since rumours of an impending attack began circulating on Tuesday, June 16.

On Wednesday, the day of the attack, a large contingent of police in plain clothes and camouflage uniforms began patrolling the township and removing barricades. A resident described this as being "unusual in Boipatong".

According to another resident, police left the area by about 7pm and defence units, still wary of attack, repaired the barricades. At about 9pm, the police returned to the township and forced the local defence units off the streets. The SAP has denied dispersing the defence units, saying SAP patrols in the township had used birdshot to ward off petrol-bomb attacks.

The Weekly Mail has inspected statements by witnesses in Boipatong alleging that at about 10pm groups of police in Casspirs began dropping armed men at various points around the township. Then the slaughter began.

According to violence monitors who have been taking statements in the aftermath of the attack, the killers operated in three squads in Slovo Park, which bore the brunt of the killings.

The first squad allegedly moved ahead, shouting, breaking windows and sowing confusion. They were followed by a second squad, armed mainly with pangas and assegais, which broke into houses and hacked and stabbed residents. While this was happening, the third squad, "consisting mainly of armed white men", surrounded the houses and gunned down anybody who tried to escape through windows or doors.

Twelve hours after the Witwatersrand police were first contacted and nine hours after the attack began, the SAP contacted Peace Action and reported they were having "difficulty" entering the township. However, initial reports indicated police vehicles had begun removing bodies from Boipatong as early as 4am.

Peace Action monitors believe discrepancies between statements are a result of the confusion and hysteria which gripped the township in the wake of the attack. However, they insisted: "There has been common pattern in all the statements and people have not changed their stories."

The unprecedented international and local outcry against the massacre has spurred the police into action. Last Friday Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel ordered a full investigation into the killings and said he would demand a full report from the commissioner of police within six days.

Kriel declared the Vanderbijlpark magisterial district an unrest area and the SAP sealed off kwaMadala Hostel, alleged to be the attackers' base.

Major General Hannes Gloy, head of the Special Investigations Unit established in terms of the National Peace Accord, is leading a team of 200 investigators. By yesterday, they had detained six hostel dwellers under the unrest regulations. Police spokesman were not able to say why the men were being held.

The Goldstone Commission is to hold an inquiry into the violence in Boipatong on July 2 and 3. In a concession to ANC demands for an international commission of inquiry into the massacre, President FW de Klerk has asked Judge Richard Goldstone to appoint "a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor".

De Klerk has also agreed to an SAP request that experts of "international standing" be invited to evalute police investigations into the killings.

Financial rand goes for a burton

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92

By REG RUMNEY

THE African National Congress' withdrawal from negotiations after the Boipatong massacre was reflected immediately in the key indicator of overseas political and economic confidence — the financial rand discount.

The discount is the gap between the amount of ordinary or "commercial rand" a dollar can buy, and the amount of cheaper financial rand it can buy.

Stripped of its complexities, the financial rand discount shows the desire of non-residents to disinvest from South Africa.

The commercial rand rate midweek was around $1 = R2,80. The financial rand rate midweek was $1 = R3,82. This is a discount of around 27 percent. The discount at

It had dwindled to an average 8,6 percent for November 1991 after hitting a high of 52 percent over the month of January 1987.

The JSE overall index was 3638,0 midweek, only 1,6 percent down on the figure recorded a week ago. The index of gold shares was 1121, just 2,7 pecent down. The index of industrial shares was 4 474, hardly changed from 4 545 a week ago.

Indicative of a lack of consumer confidence is the sudden quiet in the residential property market. Coming on top of the already depressed economy, the political uncertainty seems to have knocked the breath out of it.

Aida Holdings managing director Aida Geffen remarks that a surge of activity after the referendum meant May sales doubled

slump, says Geffen. "Our computer listing of buyers has halved," she notes, and only desperate sellers are putting their houses on the market.

Threats of sanctions will also have an effect on business and consumer confidence. So far, however, sanctions threats have been confined to a delay in lifting trade sanctions still in place, such as those imposed by Sweden and major US cities.

"I don't see the European Community and the US going back to sanctions," says South African Foreign Trade Organisation economist Bruce Donald. "These are the primary areas of concern."

Aside from dealing a further blow to business and consumer confidence, a political impasse will hurt growth prospects — if not this year,

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Back to the starting line?

W/Mail 26/6 – 2/7/92

Bringing the sports boycott back won't be easy for the African National Congress but if the situation in South Africa deteriorates, outside pressure could see sportsmen isolated again. By **GAVIN EVANS**

FOR some time now it has seemed that the only smooth thing about South Africa's transition has been the unification of the country's sporting bodies and the return to international acceptability.

Once the African National Congress declared that "people-to-people" sanctions were over it did not take long for the major obstacles to be swept away, even if some were swept under the carpet.

While the ANC and the government were eyeing each other with renewed suspicion and hatred, the ANC's Steve Tshwete was brokering an agreement between "establishment" and "alternative" rugby bodies, putting anti-tour demonstrators in their place and hugging Kepler Wessels, while the erstwhile Mr Boycott, Sam Ramsamy, was successfully badgering the International Olympic Committee for more places for our largely white Barcelona squad.

The Boipatong massacre changed all that. The government ominously promised mass action would lead to violence — and now the ANC believes the government delivered on that promise, and will have to pay the price.

If the cricket tour helped President FW de Klerk win the referendum, then the lack of a rugby tour will help lose him the war. That, anyway, seems to have been the thinking coming out of the ANC National Executive Committee meeting this week.

By Wednesday, Tshwete was reflecting a hardening of the ANC's attitude: "The country is in a state of mourning. We will ask sporting bodies to reimpose the moratorium until the political situation is normalised."

Assuming De Klerk does not come up with the goods in time — and that's certainly the way things are looking — the ANC will face a difficult task in persuading the country's sports bodies to withdraw or the world to close its sporting doors once again. If it fails to achieve these goals it may end up having alienated the sportsmen it had won over or pacified, without gaining anything in return. And if it does succeed the alientation is certain to be even more profound.

The National Party — realising that a renewed sports boycott will remove one of the bonuses of reform — is quickly seeking to ensure the blame settles on the ANC.

"In the past the NP paid a big price bringing politics into sport, and it seems obvious that the ANC is not prepared to learn any lessons from history," the NP said in a statement yesterday, adding that sportsmen should hold the ANC directly responsible if their participation in international sport is put in jeopardy.

ANC Simonstown MP Jannie Momberg took the opposite tack: "It is essential that our sportsmen and women call on the government to accede to the ANC's demands to normalise the situation in our country to enable them to take part in sports events with a clear conscience ... The only people who can ensure the participation of our sports people is the National Party government."

The call is aimed at bringing De Klerk to his senses by hurting his (white) constituency, which in essence means that it is the two rugby tours and the Olympics which are in their sights — though the Cameroon soccer tour is being caught in the crossfire.

But what the ANC may quickly discover is that boycotts are hard to reimpose once they're lifted.

For one thing, within the country, many of the activists who entered sport to pursue political goals have become sportspeople first, and politicos second. The National Olympic Committee of South Africa (Nocsa) is showing little inclination to have its year's work undone, though for the moment Ramsamy and his colleagues are playing it safe.

"First we will be meeting the ANC to discuss their propositions. Then we will hold a meeting which will include all those affected by the ANC's call. And remember the ANC says it won't prescribe to sports organisations, so there will be no final position for a couple of weeks," Nocsa spokesman Dan Moya said.

Even if the ANC members in Nocsa are forced to concede, they can be sure their white colleagues won't.

"South Africa's participation in the Olympic Games in Barcelona is not in jeopardy," Athletics South Africa president Judge Deon van Zyl said. "Too much preparation has taken place and too many commitments and promises have been made."

In the end, the ANC is unlikely to get a Nocsa agreement to withdraw, which will then place the decision in the hands of the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

Josep Miguel Abad, chief executive of Barcelona's '92 Committee said he had spoken to IOC president Juan Antonia Samaranch "and it seems the outlook is quite pessimistic". But he added that no decision affecting South African participation would be taken until July 11.

That's over two weeks away and a lot can happen in between. Depending on how De Klerk plays it, the pressures could either build up or die down, but right now the chances of South Africa participating in Barcelona are probably still better than even.

For one thing, the IOC is no longer in the habit of dancing to the ANC's tune. One of its most powerful and petulant members, International Amateur Athletics Federation boss Primo Nebiolo, made no secret of his preference for Louis Pienaar over Sam Ramsamy. Both he and his former rival Samaranch have invested a great deal in heading the first "full" Olympics in 32 years.

If, however, the African countries seriously threatened to repeat their 1976 blanket boycott over the issue, the IOC might have to think hard, though this is unlikely given that the two most powerful Organisation of African Unity countries, Nigeria and Kenya, are both well-disposed to De Klerk. They also happen to have two of Africa's strongest Olympic squads.

A similar situation exists with respect to the rugby tours. South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) joint president Dr Danie Craven said that when rugby achieved unity last year it was agreed there would be "no interference on political grounds from the ANC or any other political party". His co-president and former rival Ebrahim Patel said his organisation would inform the ANC of the practical problems about cancelling the tours.

The first indications from New Zealand were that the tour would go ahead. Prime Minister Jim Bolger was quoted as saying: "The rules that we required of South Africa were that a sport be integrated and then we would be prepared to engage in sporting contacts with them." Eddie Tonks, chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union, said they would wait for SARFU's advice. But the prospect of significant ANC protests could easily change their minds.

Meanwhile, South African Soccer Association general secretary Solomon Morewa said: "We are hoping that the ANC will grant us special dispensation for the tour because the arrangements are already far gone and big investments have been made."

But if the situation within the country deteriorates and local and international pressures build up beyond a critical point, there is little doubt the tours will be called off.

And if that happens, it will be back to the starting line for South African sport. Not only will the process of establishing international ties have to start again but, more importantly, the fragile unity may come unstuck in several sports and decades of distrust will be revived.

SA to allow deadly cargo past Cape

W/Mail 26/6 – 2/7/92.

By EDDIE KOCH

THE government has decided to allow a ship loaded with enough plutonium for 120 nuclear bombs to sail around the Cape from Europe to Japan despite warnings that an accident at sea could cause an ecological holocaust.

Top-level sources told *The Weekly Mail* this week that an official decision to support the controversial shipment was taken soon after President FW de Klerk returned from his recent trip to Japan, where he was notified of the plan to transport the deadly cargo.

Earthlife Africa, a local green activist group, and the international environment organisation, Greenpeace, are planning a huge protest campaign to stop the deadly ship sailing in South African waters.

Earlier this month Greenpeace issued an appeal to De Klerk while he was in Japan to request details from the Japanese government of the plan to transport the dangerous material.

The shipment will be the first of 50-tonnes of plutonium that Japan plans to ship from France and England over an 18-year period, ostensibly for its civilian nuclear energy programme.

The Japanese have refused to release any details of the route it will take and to provide a list of countries that have agreed to provide any emergency port of call for the shipment.

But Greenpeace believes the Cape is the obvious route for the toxic shipment — which the organisation says is big enough to kill every South African if an accident were to occur — as the alternatives are too risky for the Japanese.

The Weekly Mail's source, who had top-level dealings with government officials, said Pretoria has agreed that the shipment will be allowed to go around the Cape if the Japanese government chooses this route.

The decision to cooperate with the Japanese government was allegedly taken at a meeting convened by the Department of Environment Affairs and attended by a range of other government departments soon after De Klerk returned from his trip to Japan.

Asked to comment, Foreign Affairs representative Naude Steyn said his department did not want to issue any statement other than to say that it was aware of the planned shipment. "Nobody is yet aware what route the ship will take. We are studying the matter and cannot say anything else at this stage."

Earthlife representative Chris Albertyn said his organisation was working closely with Greenpeace on preparations for a unprecedented protest campaign to stop the shipment.

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The rot started in 1984

Sowetan 26/6/92 278

CAUGHT in a storm over Boipatong and shaken by the breakdown of constitutional talks, President FW de Klerk has warned he will not allow South Africa "to fall into a state of anarchy".

But many black South Africans, not least the relatives of the 45 who were butchered, many of them as they slept in Boipatong on the night of June 17, could be forgiven for thinking that anarchy had already arrived.

"In many, many areas of South Africa . . . there is already anarchy," said Paul Perreira, a researcher at the South African Institute for Race Relations.

Since 1984, clashes involving police, the power struggle centred on the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party have killed more than 14 000 black people.

De Klerk's "primary responsibility is to protect life and limb," Perreira said. "That he is not doing."

Pretoria's inability to stamp out the violence it suppressed so effectively before De Klerk, is no evidence of collusion, in Perreira's view.

De Klerk is gaining nothing by violence, Perreira believes, pointing to the drop in his approval rating among blacks from 22 percent in 1990 to its current eight percent.

Although he accepts that right-wingers, including security force officers, could be fanning violence to divide and rule blacks, Perreira refuses to heap all blame on a mysterious "third force".

Perreira highlights what he calls "strategies of ungovernability".

Soweto teachers at a post-mortem into disastrous exam results last year lamented that when children mounted protests in June 1976, parents had abrogated their responsibility to lead.

The consequences were encapsulated in the *Sowetan* in a report on what it is like to ride a notorious train to Daveyton.

Young ANC comrades use one coach as an indoctrination centre, haranguing passengers and forcing them to sing ANC songs, the report said.

Five people were shot dead at Daveyton station last week. The comrades had "harrassed the wrong person," passengers told the *Sowetan*.

Then, he said, perpetrators of violence were not being prosecuted. — *Sapa.-AFP.*

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61

THE POLITICAL CRISIS: POLICE ROLE UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT

Was Boipatong an act of vengeance?

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92 (278)

A white policeman was killed shortly before the Boipatong massacre — but police dismiss any link between the two events as "absolute silliness".

By **PAUL STOBER**

Twilight zone ... Silhouetted by Iscor's smokestacks, police Casspirs form a barrier in the ongoing standoff between Boipatong residents and kwaMadala hostel dwellers Photo: GUY ADAMS

POLICE in the Vaal are said to have been "infuriated" by the killing of a white policeman shortly before last week's Boipatong massacre.

Last Tuesday, Warrant Officer Daan Coetzee, commander of the Poortjie Police Station, was killed when his vehicle was forced off the road near Sebokeng and raked with automatic gunfire. His assailants are believed to have escaped into Sebokeng, within kilometres of Boipatong, but police have since arrested a suspect.

Sources close to the South African Police in the region described the deep anger among Vaal policeman about the killing of Coetzee the day before the massacre by saying: "They wanted war." But SAP spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert dismissed any possibility of a link between police anger and the slaughter as "absolute silliness".

The morning after last Wednesday's massacre, which left 39 people dead, Boipatong residents said the attack was sparked by the killing of an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter and Boipatong resident David Mbhele. They are also convinced that police colluded with the attackers.

The failure of the SAP to respond to early warnings of the impending attack and the military precision with which residents were butchered has strengthened this conviction.

At least two hours before the attack began, Peace Action, a violence monitoring group on the Witwatersrand, received a call from a woman who warned she had been tipped off by "white counterparts of Inkatha that ambulances must be on standby. They are going to be used".

This was the second time that evening Peace Action had been alerted of a possible attack on Vaal residents. Earlier, a call from Zone 11 in Sebokeng had warned "there's going to be trouble".

In an interview with Radio Vatican, Father Paddy Nolan reported witnessing one of his parishioners receiving a warning of an attack while he was in a house in Sebokeng. The caller said he was having difficulty contacting the police and urged the parishioner to contact Peace Action in Johannesburg. "Something detrimental, something serious is going to happen in the neighbourhood," the caller warned.

At a media conference last Friday, SAP liaison officer Major Ray Harrald said a senior police officer in Johannesburg had received a warning from Peace Action on Wednesday evening about an impending attack in the Vaal. The officer passed the message on to the Vaal police, who investigated reports of groups of people moving around Sebokeng. The SAP discovered they were police foot patrols and concluded they had been "directed" to Sebokeng, Harrald said.

Peace Action has confirmed that its monitor did not specify an exact area of the possible attack.

Boipatong residents say they had been on guard since rumours of an impending attack began circulating on Tuesday, June 16.

On Wednesday, the day of the attack, a large contingent of police in plain clothes and camouflage uniforms began patrolling the township and removing barricades. A resident described this as being "unusual in Boipatong".

According to another resident, police left the area by about 7pm and defence units, still wary of attack, repaired the barricades. At about 9pm, the police returned to the township and forced the local defence units off the streets. The SAP has denied dispersing the defence units, saying SAP patrols in the township had used birdshot to ward off petrol-bomb attacks.

The Weekly Mail has inspected statements by witnesses in Boipatong alleging that at about 10pm groups of police in Casspirs began dropping armed men at various points around the township. Then the slaughter began.

According to violence monitors who have been taking statements in the aftermath of the attack, the killers operated in three squads in Slovo Park, which bore the brunt of the killings.

The first squad allegedly moved ahead, shouting, breaking windows and sowing confusion. They were followed by a second squad, armed mainly with pangas and assegais, which broke into houses and hacked and stabbed residents. While this was happening, the third squad, "consisting mainly of armed white men", surrounded the houses and gunned down anybody who tried to escape through windows or doors.

Twelve hours after the Witwatersrand police were first contacted and nine hours after the attack began, the SAP contacted Peace Action and reported they were having "difficulty" entering the township. However, initial reports indicated police vehicles had begun removing bodies from Boipatong as early as 4am.

Peace Action monitors believe discrepancies between statements are a result of the confusion and hysteria which gripped the township in the wake of the attack. However, they insisted: "There has been common pattern in all the statements and people have not changed their stories."

The unprecedented international and local outcry against the massacre has spurred the police into action. Last Friday Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel ordered a full investigation into the killings and said he would demand a full report from the commissioner of police within six days.

Kriel declared the Vanderbijlpark magisterial district an unrest area and the SAP sealed off kwaMadala Hostel, alleged to be the attackers' base.

Major General Hannes Gloy, head of the Special Investigations Unit established in terms of the National Peace Accord, is leading a team of 200 investigators. By yesterday, they had detained six hostel dwellers under the unrest regulations. Police spokesman were not able to say why the men were being held.

The Goldstone Commission is to hold an inquiry into the violence in Boipatong on July 2 and 3. In a concession to ANC demands for an international commission of inquiry into the massacre, President FW de Klerk has asked Judge Richard Goldstone to appoint "a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor".

De Klerk has also agreed to an SAP request that experts of "international standing" be invited to evalute police investigations into the killings.

To tour Europe in a German car from R175 for a 4-day weekend, call a German airline.

Goldstone swoops on disused mine hostel

INSIDE
HOW DID IT ALL GO SO WRONG?

Stoffel van der Merwe tries to explain
PAGE 17

Secret Koevoet base linked to Boipatong

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92

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By EDDIE KOCH and PORTIA MAURICE

THE Goldstone Commission this week uncovered a covert Koevoet unit at a Gold Fields mine hostel in the eastern Transvaal after being tipped off that the squad had been ferried into the Vaal to take part in the Boipatong massacre.

The discovery — which may corroborate information that security forces were involved in the massacre — has highly damaging implications for President FW de Klerk's government. The presence of a "third force" on a British-owned mine will also have major international repercussions.

More than 40 members of the police counter-insurgency unit, including two white officers, were found in a hostel room at the Greenside colliery near Ogies when the commission swooped on the the mine premises on Wednesday afternoon.

At a special hearing of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday, police admitted the unit of ex-Koevoet men existed. But they denied the men were linked to violence, saying they were used to combat stock-theft in the area.

The African National Congress says it has witnesses who will testify before the commission of the unit's role in the Boipatong slaughter.

• Continued on PAGE 2

Uneasy truce ... a policeman stands guard at kwaMadala hostel, trigger finger at the ready

Photo: GUY ADAMS

P.T.O

Goldstone swoops on Koevoet base

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● From PAGE 1

Interviewed last year, renegade police captain Dirk Coetzee said he believed disbanded Koevoet members were behind much of the violence in the townships, and had a particular role in the "random massacres disrupting negotiations between the government and the ANC".

The lightning raid — carried out jointly by the ANC's intelligence department, a Goldstone commissioner and a special police task force — took place after the ANC obtained evidence that members of the secret unit had been involved in the massacre at Boipatong in an effort to undermine the ANC mass action campaign.

When the raiding party arrived on the mine it found a group of surprised Koevoet fighters — members of a police counter-insurgency unit that was supposed to have been disbanded two years ago — present in a section of the hostel.

The room was located in a section of the hostel set aside for Gold Fields' mine security personnel. The commission found at least two licensed handguns as well as nine R-1 rifles in a trunk at a house in the married quarters of the mine complex.

Most members of the 40-strong squad said they were Namibian nationals, although some spoke Portuguese, indicating they belong either to the army's controversial 32 Battalion or are elements of Renamo that may have been involved in "third-force" attacks.

Two white officers who appeared to have been in charge of the unit were found at the mine when the raid took place. One of these men, a Sergeant Taljaard, took the commission to a nearby house where the cache of R-1 rifles was discovered.

The rifles were found in a locked trunk and the raiding party was told that the keys were not available. Arrangements had to be made for the trunk to be broken open.

The head of the police special task force, Colonel Henk Esslinger, recused himself during the raid as he was a former Koevoet officer.

ANC official Sydney Mufamadi, who took part in the operation, told *The Weekly Mail* that the lack of police command had made it difficult to proceed with the raid. He added that the white Koevoet officers instructed black members of the unit not to answer any questions.

Members of the Koevoet squad were hauled before an emergency session of the Goldstone Commission yesterday in Pretoria. In their opening statement, police lawyers acknowledged the unit was made up of former Koevoet members now under the control of the South African Police and that "there was no secret about this".

But police counsel Phillip Hattingh then asked for the hearing to be in camera, a request refused by the presiding commissioner, Mr Justice Steyn. The police claimed they had rented the premises from Gold Fields and that the unit was based at the mine to control stock theft in the area.

Mufamadi told *The Weekly Mail* that none of the unit's members appeared to speak local black languages. During the raid one of the counter-insurgency men said he was from Rustenburg but was unable to speak seTswana. He conceded under questioning that he was from Oshakati.

ANC officials say they know of two witnesses who will testify that members of the Koevoet squad at Ogies travelled to Boipatong to take part in the massacre. One of these witnesses failed to appear at the hearing yesterday and the commission will sit today to hear his evidence.

Mufamadi said ANC sources on the mine had seen vehicles pick up the Koevoet members from the hostel in the evening and return them in the early hours of the morning.

PHILIPPA GARSON reports a member of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) who went to investigate the mine on Saturday last week, after the ANC had received evidence linking its occupants to the Boipatong, as saying that he saw about seven unit members standing outside the security barracks. "They were talking a strange language I didn't understand."

The official said he received information that about 30 dark-skinned men had arrived at the mine on May 25 and were staying in special quarters in the security barracks.

"I was told that during the day they sometimes wore overalls and were taken to the shaft and that at night they went elsewhere. They do not eat in the mine kitchen. They eat special food which is cooked for them, which is sent to their room."

The NUM official said he personally witnessed two police vans collect a group of the men, who were carrying two large canvas bags, at about 9.30 on the night he visited the hostel.

In his opening statement to the commission yesterday, ANC counsel Gys Rautenbach said: "We do not allege at the outset that these people were responsible for the Boipatong massacre, but evidence needs to be led and people questioned to get to the bottom of this."

Police lawyers said in their statement: "We deny that this unit was involved in the planning or execution of any acts of violence in Boipatong or elsewhere. This is not the only premises the police rents to house its units. "We are not going to make the news public and say that there are ex-Koevoet people around but we are also not going to hide it."

NUM president James Motlatsi said the union had called for an urgent meeting with the Chamber of Mines today on the matter. He said he had no doubt that Gold Fields' management was aware of covert practices at its mine.

Gold Fields' public affairs department has refused to comment on the issue, but confirmed that the Goldstone Commission had visited its Greenside Colliery on Wednesday.

"Management does not wish to comment on the purpose of the visit as it concerns one of the tenants who is leasing property from the mine which is currently in excess of the mine's requirements. This is a normal commercial transaction," the company said, availing itself to provide further information the commission may require.

'Daily attacks on policemen'

CT 26/6/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — Police in the Vaal Triangle are coming under attack every day, Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday. Earlier in the day a young policeman was shot in the head and critically wounded on the Golden Highway, near Sebokeng.

In a statement Captain Opperman charged that Vaal community leaders could stop the violence "if they really wanted to and tried hard enough".

The intensity and number of attacks on police in the Vaal area "show a definite increase and so does the incidence of unrest-related violence".

Five policemen had been seriously injured and one had died in attacks on security forces in the past few days.

Describing one incident, Captain Opperman said a patrolling officer, stopped by a child in Sebokeng on Wednesday, was attacked by several men with ANC badges and severely beaten up. The constable managed to get away. He was fired on with his own pistol but was not hit.

"This morning on the Golden highway near Sebokeng, shots were fired at police by a small group of men carrying an ANC flag. A young constable was critically wounded in the head. He was taken to the local hospital. The men fled. No other people were injured." — Sapa

Cosatu: Mourning, then threat of action

(278)

CT 26/6/92

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape branch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday called on workers to wear "black armbands" when they go to work on Monday.

This is in response to the ANC's call to observe Monday as a national day of mourning for the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

Cosatu in the Western Cape also wants factories to observe five to 10 minutes of silence during the day and individuals to hold candle-light vigils for an hour on Monday evening.

The only area in which Cosatu affiliates have decided on stayaway action is in Boipatong, where the massacre victims will be buried.

Mass action

This was confirmed yesterday by Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, who went on to say that his organisation would continue mobilising for action, including national industrial action, if the government failed to meet its demands by the stipulated deadline.

"Our programme of mass action will start unfolding from the middle of July," he said. "What we are seeing now is a build-up to that mass action.

"If employers continue to act in a way that results in the loss of jobs, which also leads to spiralling of food prices and starvation wages, industrial action will start in the middle of July."

He said employers would have to decide whether they were part of the movement to democracy or wanted to cling to Nationalist Party attempts to protect "dying minority rule".

De Klerk Forced To Flee Boipatong

Guardian/W [in W/mail] 26/6-2/7/92. (278)

By David B. Ottaway

BOIPATONG, South Africa — Hundreds of furious residents forced President de Klerk out of this tense black township Saturday, chasing his car through the dusty streets and shouting, "Go away" and "Shoot, shoot."

Shortly after his hasty departure, police opened fire without warning and at close range on a crowd that had gathered in a field inside the township. At least three people were killed and 20 seriously wounded, according to a journalist who witnessed the incident. Armed residents living in nearby homes then responded with sniper fire, leading to a shootout that lasted well over 15 minutes, the witness said.

Foreign diplomats and officials of the African National Congress, the main black group involved in negotiations with de Klerk's government to end South Africa's apartheid system of white rule, said they feared that the recent spate of killings here could help trigger a new black uprising similar to those in 1976 and 1985.

A visibly angry de Klerk told reporters outside Boipatong later that he had been shocked by what he had seen and charged that the protest was a "very efficiently planned" attempt to wreck his visit. He said he would not allow South Africa to slip into a state of anarchy and left open the possibility of reimposing a state of emergency.

"If necessary, and we have tried to avoid it at all costs, we will have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order," he said. Asked whether he meant he was considering a new state of emergency, he replied, "It will be a very sad day if we are forced to go back to that." His government would be examining "various possibilities" but he did not elaborate.

Saturday's incident erupted as de Klerk's motorcade was passing through Boipatong and was besieged by angry residents on Bakoena Street, where dozens of residents died Wednesday night in this country's worst township massacre in years.

The crowd, which included youths brandishing stones, pressed to within a few feet of the motorcade while scores of plainclothes security men armed with pistols and automatic rifles sought to protect de Klerk. The president sat rigidly in the back seat of his car.

The motorcade then sped off down the dusty township streets to the main road outside, with shouting youths chasing it all the way.

De Klerk had come here to express his condolences to the families ofthe more than 40 victims who were hacked, speared, and shot to death in Wednesday night's massacre. It was the first time he or any other white South African leader had made such a gesture.

The ANC had issued a statement before his arrival denouncing his visit as "a cynical public relations exercise" and saying he was not welcome. "We demand action, not de Klerk's crocodile tears."

Furious residents who blamed his security forces for the massacre were clearly determined to let de Klerk know he was not welcome in the township.

"We don't want to see de Klerk. It's his government killing most black people," said 35-year-old resident Meshak Dekelidi. "We blame him, de Klerk," said Eva Moleofane, 81, who was wearing an ANC cap and T-shirt.

Anger and frustration among ANC supporters has been mounting steadily over the past month, with township residents growing more vocal in their conviction that de Klerk has been using the security forces to aid the ANC's chief rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Most of the townships here in the so-called Vaal Triangle, a heavy industrial center 50 miles south of Johannesburg, already resemble miniature war zones, with rocks and crude stone-and-tree barricades set up along the streets to deter police. Clashes have been increasing between ANC supporters and the security forces or Inkatha members.

Tensions between Inkatha and ANC sympathizers reached their height Wednesday when nearly 200 Zulu residents at a nearby hostel controlled by Inkatha allegedly rampaged through the township, killing at least 40 residents. The ANC says the toll now exceeds 50 dead.

Numerous residents alleged that local police aided the attackers, by bringing them to the township in armored police carriers and then by escorting them back to the hostel. In addition, they said whites were seen accompanying the killers as they rampaged through the township and the adjacent Joe Slovo squatter camp.

Last Saturday's confrontation between police and township residents after de Klerk's departure was triggered by the apparent police killing of a man whose body lay in a field surrounded by scores of riot policemen. Residents were seeking to get through the police lines to take the body away when several policemen opened fire, apparently without orders from their commander.

South African journalist Allister Sparks, a former Washington Post special correspondent who witnessed the shooting, said he heard an officer repeatedly shouting in Afrikaans, the language of white Afrikaners, "I told you not to shoot without orders."

Sparks said the crowd had been taunting the policemen when several officers began firing with shotguns, and then others followed. In one case, he said, a policeman was only a yard away from the nearest demonstrators when he opened fire.

Sparks said he was pinned down on the ground for at least 15 minutes before he was able to get away. He said he counted "at least three dead" and 20 seriously wounded lying on the ground before he left.

Terror In The Townships

(278)

By Allister Sparks

Guardian W (in W Mail) 26/6-2/7/92

ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP, South Africa — If there is a knock on your door in this teeming black township of 300,000 people on Johannesburg's northern outskirts, the one thing you don't do is answer it. You switch off the lights and dive for cover.

One who forgot that rule was John Msimango. He and his wife went to bed early in their little wood-and-iron shack on the night of April 8. They were almost asleep when there was a scream outside, the sound of people running, and loud knocks on the door. Msimango opened it.

A group of men burst in, assault rifles at the ready. Msimango was hit in the face with a rifle butt and thrown into the street. When he came to, he ran next door for help, but the neighbors' shack was dark and no one answered his calls.

Helplessly he waited outside until the attackers left. When he went in he found his wife had been raped and shot through the leg. Their 12-year-old son had been battered. Msimango tried desperately to staunch the bleeding from his wife's wound. There was no telephone, and no way to get help in the violent night. Slowly she weakened and died in his arms. Today, riven with guilt at his inability to protect his family, John Msimango is a patient at a trauma clinic run by Witwatersrand University's Project for the Study of Violence.

The ghastly massacre in Boipatong Township that drew headlines last week was only a larger-scale example of what is now an everyday happening in South Africa's black townships. The kind of random killing that destroyed John Msimango's quiet life, perpetrated by armed gangs raiding homes or attacking commuters in trains and taxis, is now an everyday occurrence. Life in these communities has become more nightmarish than ever at a time when the country is supposed to be negotiating a transition to democracy and the world imagines it is changing for the better.

The violence is built on a surplus of weapons. Russian-made AK-47 semi-automatic rifles abound in the townships, the spillover of guerrilla wars in Mozambique, Angola, and South Africa itself. There are stolen revolvers and army rifles, clubs, spears and machetes, and a crude homemade zip gun called a qwash, produced from piping, rubber tubing and springs.

In any week, the township death toll from violence equals that of the Los Angeles riots — an average of eight a day, or 923 from January through April.

"The townships have always been violent, but now the violence is coming right into the home territory. People don't feel safe anywhere. They feel trapped and alone. Whole communities are being traumatized," said Ntobiseng Nogale, a 28-year-old social worker who coordinates the clinic, in a recent interview.

Fear is pervasive. "Mothers tell me how they get up in the morning, get their children ready for school, and then have the kids cling to them, crying and begging their mothers not to go to work because they are terrified they'll be killed on the way," said Nogale. "And even when she is back home with her children they still don't feel safe. At night they will hear gunfire all around. And if there is a knock on the door — oh, my God. . ."

Fear and guilt run together. Nogale told of another patient who heard gunshots outside her front door and her 12-year-old son's scream for help. Her four other small children were inside the house. She was terrified that if she opened the door the attackers would sweep in and wipe out the whole family. So she kept the door shut.

As it turned out, the boy survived. "But imagine the guilt that mother is suffering now," said Nogale. "And imagine how the boy feels, knowing his mother was prepared to sacrifice him for his brothers and sisters."

Nogale offers many interacting reasons for the escalation of violence in this time of political transition. Her explanation begins with the "lost generation" of young blacks who abandoned school and got caught up in a lawless revolutionary culture during the unrest of the 1980s. They held the apartheid laws in contempt, warred with police, set themselves up as judges of community behavior, and carried out the gruesome "necklace" killings in which bound victims were burned to death by gasoline-filled tires around their necks.

Nogale recalls that her own nephew, age 8 at the time, used to talk of giving people "three cents and guava juice" — slang for the box of matches and gasoline used in the necklacings. The child once warned his father not to associate with the school headmaster who lived next door. He had been "targeted" by the "comrades," the boy said. Three days later the headmaster was killed.

"What do you do with an 8-year-old who grows up like that?" Nogale wondered. "Fortunately he was in a stable family and he's okay today. But others had little parenting and no schooling. They drifted into gangs and became criminals."

Thousands of youngsters were detained and tortured by the police. They became brutalized. Nogale claimed to know of one who, tortured at the age of 18, has become a seasoned killer of police and citizens.

The tide of violence has been accompanied by a virtual collapse of policing by a police force disenchanted with reform and which most blacks accuse of carrying out a campaign of destabilization in the townships anyway. Ordinary people hate and fear the police, while political rivals carry out their vendettas and criminal gangs their mindless attacks without fear of arrest.

The fabric of traditional African society, with its sense of communalism and mutual support, has broken down. Nobody trusts anybody any more. "If you know that no one is going to help you, and you don't trust the police, then you must protect yourself. And you must get in first," says Nogale.

Feeding the violence and tension is a profound disillusionment. Nelson Mandela has been released from prison, but life in the black communities has gotten worse, not better. The negotiations are bringing no tangible benefits.

"A lost generation, angry and disillusioned, brought up on a culture of violence, without discipline and without tolerance of other people's views, has been unleashed on society," says Nogale. "Those are the ghosts of apartheid that are coming back to haunt us."

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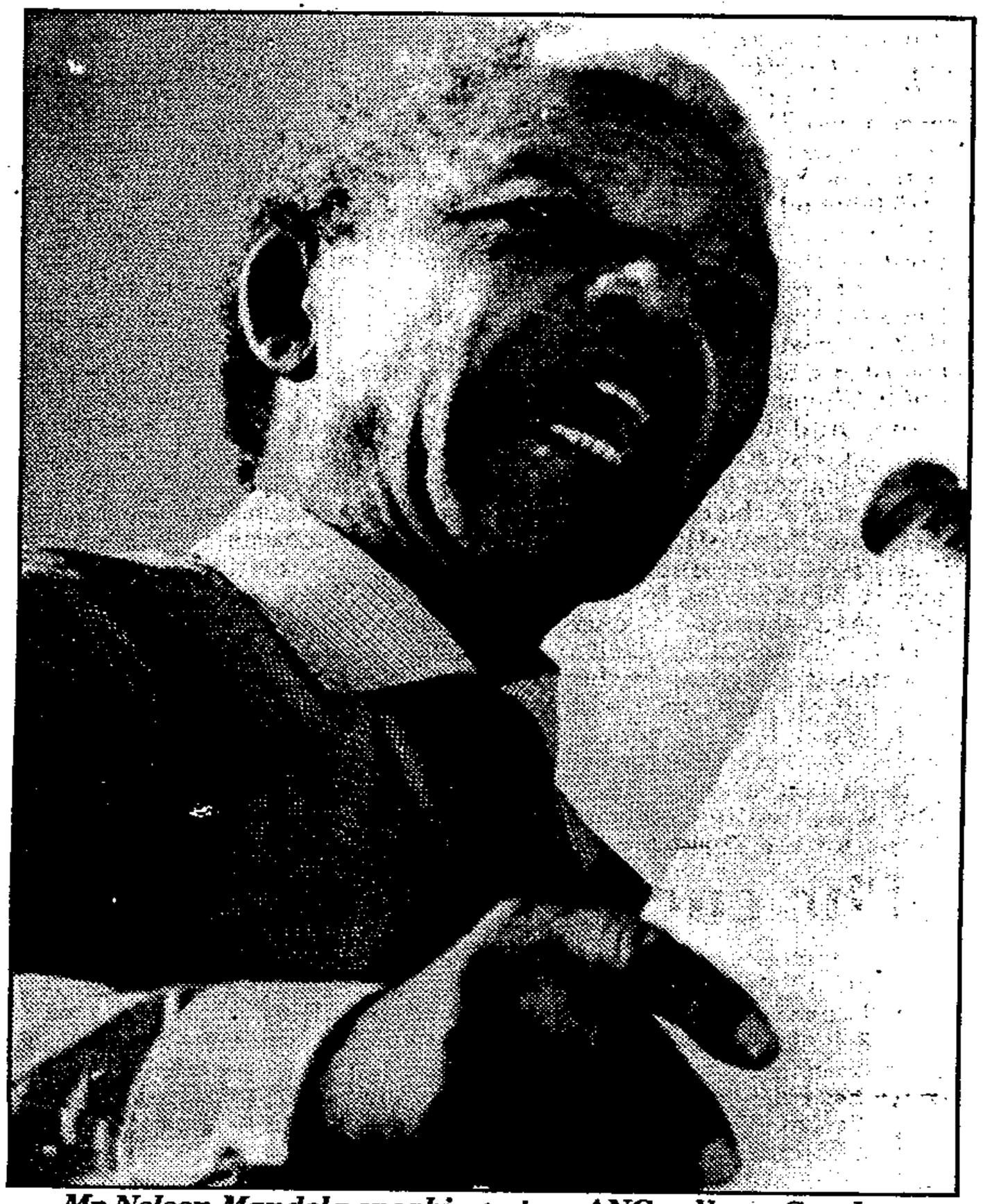
INCLUDING REPORTS FROM The Washington Post AND Le Monde



Mr Nelson Mandela speaking at an ANC rally on Sunday

Massacre brings call for South African Olympics ban

Guardian/W [in W(mail)] 26/6 – 2/7/92

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By David Beresford and Hella Pick

SOUTH AFRICA'S government this week faced a rising chorus of demands for international sanctions to be reinforced and its newly restored foreign sporting links to be suspended in the wake of last week's slaughter in Boipatong squatter camp, in which more than 40 men, women, and children were murdered.

The Commonwealth secretary-general, Emeka Anyaoku, said that the South African government risked a return "to full international ostracism" unless it acted "quickly, effectively, and impartially" to stop the murder of blacks. Although the Zulu-dominated Inkatha movement is suspected in the Boipatong killings, police are accused of supporting them at worst, or at best doing nothing to stop them.

Chief Anyaoku added that the determination of Commonwealth governments, with only Britain excepted, would now be bolstered to maintain financial sanctions against South Africa until agreement was reached on a transitional government in the country.

The ANC's spokesman on sport, Steve Tshwete, said he had a "gut feeling" that the crisis might force the postponement of forthcoming Australian and New Zealand rugby tours. He added that the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was unlikely to take up his invitation to attend the Olympic Games opening ceremony in Barcelona on July 25.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu called for the exclusion of South Africa from the Olympics unless President de Klerk allowed the establishment of an international monitoring force and placed the security forces under multi-party control.

"Those who choose to insulate themselves from the suffering and grief caused by this horrific slaughter must realise that they cannot have both a Boipatong and Barcelona," said the Anglican primate of South Africa. "If our Olympic committee does not withdraw the team then it must be expelled from the forthcoming games, and I am calling today on our friends around the world to begin a campaign to achieve that end."

In Washington, congressional spokesmen have told President Bush that the congressional ban on South Africa's membership of the IMF and the World Bank cannot be lifted in present circumstances.

In London, anti-apartheid campaigners, led by Labour MP Peter Hain, made an urgent call for the suspension of South Africa from the Olympics. Mr Hain raised the issue as a Commons point of order saying: "Surely after the appalling massacre of black citizens by South African police, the Government should introduce immediate diplomatic sanctions."

But the Foreign Office, although declaring itself "appalled" by the killings in Boipatong, brushed aside the sanctions question. It has appealed to President de Klerk and Mr Mandela to maintain the constitutional negotiations.

In private messages to both leaders, the Government urged them to use the legacy of the township killings to make significant concessions on township policing and the establishment of an interim government.

The Minister for Overseas Development, Lady Chalker, said: "I am still sure that the new basis for co-operation can be made to work." But in an apparent admonition of the South African police, she called for "fair and proper dealing with violent behaviour". This was "as much a hallmark of democracy as free and fair elections".

The Guardian Weekly
June 26 to July 2, 1992

Mandela calls a halt to talks

[redacted] (278).

Guardian/W [in W/Mail] 26/6 – 2/7/92

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

THE CRISIS in South Africa over the latest security force and Inkatha massacres worsened on Sunday when Nelson Mandela — declaring the police were not fit to be regarded as human — announced the ANC was calling off talks with the government.

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people," the ANC leader told a rally.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would be reconsidering participation in multi-party talks at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and he would also seek to address a special session of the UN Security Council on the violence.

"We are now convinced that his [President De Klerk's] method of bringing about a solution to this country is war," the ANC leader said. "We are going to respond to that."

The foreign minister, Pik Botha, appealed to the ANC for an urgent meeting to discuss the massacre, saying "there is no alternative to negotiation." In Washington, the US secretary of state, James Baker called for a resumption of the talks.

The ANC decision came after an extraordinary succession of events in the Transvaal township of Boipatong beginning with last week's massacre of 42 people by Inkatha and culminating on Saturday with police killing three more residents in front of the world's press after President de Klerk had been forced to flee *(report, page 17)*. Mr Mandela announced the suspension of talks during a visit to Boipatong. Touring the houses and shacks where the massacre took place, he was surrounded by crowds singing: "Mandela, give us guns."

Several thousand dancing supporters gathered on the township's dusty sports field to hear him say of the police: "I am convinced that we are no longer dealing with human beings, but with animals." He added that he had never seen such cruelty as had been carried out at Boipatong.

At a bigger rally later, Mr Mandela said: "The negotiation process is completely in tatters." The country was back in "Sharpeville days," he added.

"The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable. Mr de Klerk owes his loyalty not to the people of South Africa, but to the National Party. He wants to keep it in power by brute force."

In an apparent reference to a possible state of emergency Mr Mandela warned Mr de Klerk that the introduction of anti-democratic measures would result in his leading a defiance campaign.

The suspended talks are thought to be the most important forum for the constitutional talks going on. But Codesa has more symbolic importance and an ANC decision to pull out of it could force its collapse, and effectively end negotiations.

There had been horrific scenes in Boipatong the day after the massacre as police and mortuary attendants carted away corpses of men, women, and children. Stunned residents washing blood off their floors and boarding up broken windows described how relatives and friends died.

Belina Lerobane, aged 58, said she was hiding under her bed when she heard her aged mother being stripped by the killers before being stabbed to death. "I heard the man say they wanted ANC [African National Congress] members."

Elizabeth Kolatswewu said her sister-in-law, Elisa Mbatha, banged on her door. "I could hear her children crying next door. I opened my door and she fell on the floor. She had been stabbed and chopped on her neck. She died there on the floor." Her baby was strapped to the dead woman's back.

In another street a mother was lying with her nine-month-old infant clasped to her breasts; both had been stabbed to death. On the next block a year-old child lay dead.

Mr de Klerk expressed revulsion at the "mindless killing" and said: "We will not rest until we have found the perpetrators of this shocking act and have brought them to justice." Police and government inquiries are planned.

A spokesman for the ministry of law and order said the ANC's recently launched mass action campaign "undoubtedly created a climate in which it is easier for such incidents to take place".

Five die in more unrest on the Reef

CT 26/6/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — Five people were killed in this area overnight in continued political violence following the Boipatong massacre last week, police said yesterday.

Police found the body of a man with gunshot wounds at Katlehong on Wednesday night, while another body with burns was found at Sebokeng.

At Orlando railway station in Soweto police found the body of a woman who had been thrown from a moving train, while another body was found at Nancefield station — also apparently thrown from a train.

At Dube, in Soweto, gunmen opened fire at an unarmed, off-duty police officer, killing him instantly. In a separate incident in the same area gunmen wounded two men and two women.

A woman was shot in the head and killed and a bus driver shot in the chest and seriously wounded in an attack by gunmen at the Langeberg Co-operative plant in Boksburg yesterday.

A policeman's home and car were set alight in Sebokeng by a mob which later turned on policemen trying to save possessions from the flames. Petrol bombs were thrown at a vehicle, gutting it.

Two delivery lorries were set alight and destroyed at the township, and a man was arrested when a street barricade was erected.

● An Inkatha Freedom Party organiser at Wembezi, near Estcourt, has been assassinated.

He was Mr Isaac Mswane, 49. His wife Busisiwe escaped uninjured.

The Inkatha Institute in Durban said this brought the number of IFP office-bearers killed since 1985 to more than 200. — Sapa

Hostels to continue as central focus of political conflict

B/Day 26/6/92.

WILSON ZWANE (278)

ONLY WEEKS before the Boipatong massacre again flung SA's hostel system into the spotlight, a special report published by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression described hostels as a key element in violence which has gripped the Reef since July 1990.

The board — many of whose members are sympathetic to the ANC — says it has recorded 261 attacks on township residents by hostel dwellers between July 1990 and April this year. These attacks have left 1 207 dead and 3 697 injured. Most records are taken from media reports.

Most of these attacks occurred in Soweto, where the Mzimhlophe Hostel has emerged as a major flashpoint. Other violence-linked Soweto hostels are the Nancefield, Diepkloof, Dube, Jabulani and Dobsonville hostels. In Alexandra, Nobuhle and Madala hostels have allegedly accounted for 26 attacks which left 106 people dead and 133 injured.

On the East Rand, Thokoza's three hostels, Katlehong's Kwesine Hostel and Vosloorus's two hostels accounted for much of 1990's violence.

And then there is Iscor's KwaMadala hostel. The report — which ironically contains a five-page appendix devoted to the hostel's recent history — records 10 attacks emanating from the hostel from July 1990 to April 1992 in which 50 people died and 12 were injured.

It quotes Inkatha West Rand secretary Humphrey Ndlovu as saying that 100% of KwaMadala residents are Inkatha supporters, with Inkatha support running at between 87% and 100% at 10 hostels in the Johannesburg/Soweto area.

According to the report, police raids on these Transvaal hostels have turned up 58 AK-47 rifles and 25 pistols and revolvers. Other dangerous weapons, such as axes, spears and sharpened rods have also been found.

There is also evidence linking hostel dwellers to train attacks. The report records 23 such attacks which left 39 dead and 277 injured.

The report argues that the closed nature of the hostel system and the existence of large concentrations of single men "create a perfect terrain for coercion and forced recruitment. This terrain also affords the opportunity for rapid mobilisation, instant meetings and preparation for armed attacks". The hostels have been described as training camps, weapons stores and arms factories while inmates have been accused of abduction, rape, assault and murder.

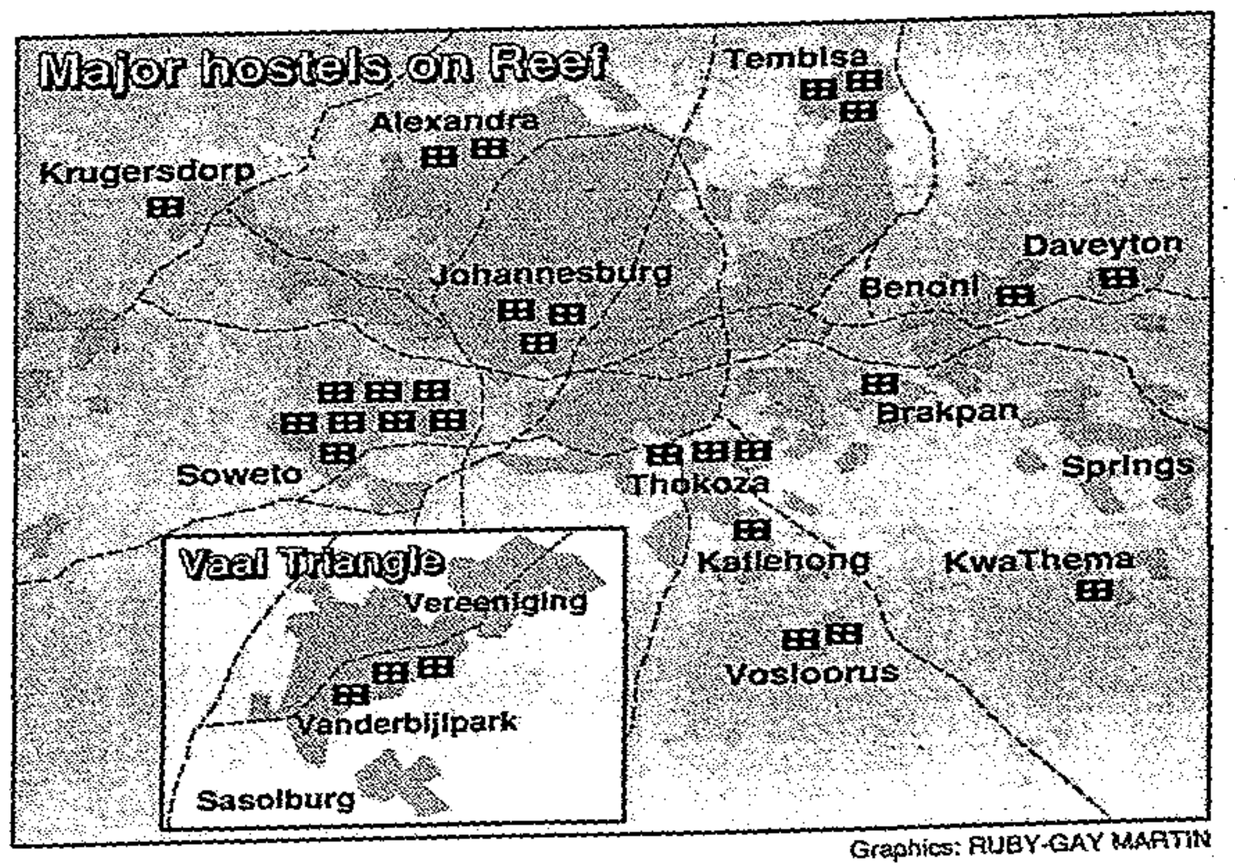
"There have been reports that certain elements within hostels have forced hostel inmates to contribute money for the buying of arms and food for unemployed people who live at the hostels," it says.

It is such circumstances which led ANC president Nelson Mandela to call for all hostels to be converted into family units, saying that if this had been done the Boipatong massacre would not have happened.

But it is not as simple as that. While the ANC and Cosatu say the continued existence of hostels is a threat to social stability, government, Inkatha and hostel dwellers' associations maintain that hostels should continue to exist as they fulfil a housing need. Indeed, there have been threats that attempts to shut them down could prompt violent resistance by their inmates.

According to the Local Government and National Housing Department, there are 402 hostels countrywide under the jurisdiction of local authorities or provincial administrations. Transvaal has 135, the Cape 216 while the Free State and Natal have 35 and 16 respectively. There are 207 158 beds in the hostels in the Transvaal, 50 158 in the Cape, 24 904 in the Free State and 26 125 in Natal.Other hostels, including KwaMadala, are owned by companies.

Department spokesman Francois Jacobs says government intends making conditions at hostels "humane". Hostels will either be upgraded or converted into family units. "Government is making R296,6m available in the current financial year for the conversion of hostels," he says. Allocation of the money to provinces will be determined by the number of beds in hostels of each province.



Graphics: RUBY-GAY MARTIN

Hostel overcrowding is a serious problem, with the ratio of inmates to beds possibly as high as three. Transvaal Hostel Residents Association chairman Joseph Kubeka argues that far from being dismantled, hostel space needs to be increased. People often sleep on the floors or under the beds. "We urge authorities to address the situation as a matter of urgency . . . these hostels need to be expanded in order to accommodate their extra inmates properly.

"We want hostels to be made aesthetically more pleasing . . but we are totally opposed to their conversion into family units," he says.

He adds that, should government move and close hostels as suggested in some circles, hostel dwellers will be left with no choice but to "take over homes of township residents . . . a recipe for civil war on an unprecedented scale".

Kubheka argues that it is virtually impossible for government to find alternative accommodation for the hostel dwellers in the near future, given the "present enormous backlogs in black housing".

The ANC's Alexandra branch has threatened a services boycott unless authorities close Nobuhle and Madala hostels — said to have been the origin of 106 killings — before the end of next month. Alexandra administrator Andre Jacobs says the town council would look into the ANC's demand and see what it could do about it. But he could consider closing the hostel only if it was found that residents were guilty of killings and if alternative accommodation was found for those not implicated.

The department's Jacobs warns that government will not bow to pressure and "unilaterally" convert hostels into family units. Parties to the National Housing Forum, which was set up last year, have agreed there is a need for "accommodation for both single people and families", he says.

He adds that all interested parties — authorities, hostel dwellers, civic and political organisations and trade unions — should reach consensus "through negotiations" on what needs to be done to hostels.

Boipatong probe finds arms cache

B/Day 26/6/92. (278)

PRETORIA — Trunks containing R1 rifles and ammunition were discovered at the Greenside collieries near Witbank this week during a visit by a delegation from the Goldstone commission, it was disclosed yesterday.

The commission's investigating officer, Lt-Col Henk Heslinga, told a preliminary hearing in Pretoria that the commission had received information a group of people staying at the mine were involved in recent acts of violence at Boipatong.

He said a delegation from the commission, including lawyers, went to investigate on Wednesday and found about 40 former Koevoet members staying in a security building at the mine.

Heslinga said three firearms were found in the building and later, about a kilometre away at the quarters of white policemen in charge of the group, trunks with R1 rifles and ammunition were found.

ANC counsel Gys Rautenbach told the commission earlier that information became available to the ANC that there were "suspicious people" at the mine who were armed, spoke a foreign language and were kept away from mine workers.

He said an ANC delegation which went to the mine to investigate had been threatened by members of the former Koevoet police unit, deployed in counter-insurgency operations during the Namibian bush war.

Counsel for the Law and Order Minister, the SAP and employees of the SAP, Phillip Hattingh, denied that members of the group were involved in acts of violence at Boipatong. He conceded, however, that they were former members of Koevoet.

Hattingh said the group was not made up of permanent policemen, but were employed by police to combat crimes such as stock theft and the theft of telephone cables in the countryside.

He said the unit was based in Rooiberg, near Thabazimbi and the base was not a secret place as it had already appeared on a television programme.

Meanwhile, in an emotional memorial service yesterday for the 49 people killed in Boipatong, an angry church minister called on people to form defence units and "go to war".

"This violence is planned violence and it won't end today. It is perpetrated by a Satanic type of government," Rev Ernest Sotsu told the packed audience in Boipatong Community Hall.

"I call on the people of the Vaal to organise defence units and go to war. You must drive out the enemy."

As relatives of those killed last Wednesday night wept, the minister read out the victims' names. The service was organised by local clergy and attended by representatives of most churches, including Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church and the Rt Rev Martin Lund of the Presbyterian Church.

The service passed without incident and during the afternoon police were not seen in the township.

However, after the service police said about 400 people gathered on the grounds of the Boipatong police station and demanded weapons.

Col Dave Bruce said police locked themselves inside the building as the crowd knocked on the doors and shouted for weapons. The Internal Stability Unit arrived and the crowd dispersed without incident.

The Vaal Civic Association yesterday suspended all local government negotiations in protest against the massacre.

☐ It could not be ascertained yesterday how much money had been contributed to the Boipatong Relief Fund.

The ANC has said it would donate R100 000 to a fund which would be used to assist vicitims of violence in SA, including Boipatong. The PAC has pledged R20 000.

Among the foreign missions in SA, the US and Taiwanese embassies have pledged R700 000 each to the International Committee of the Red Cross for the assistance of violence victims. — Sapa.

Foreign VIPs to attend funeral

(278)

WILSON ZWANE

FORMER Zimbabwe president Canaan Banana and the late Martin Luther King's widow Correta Scott King would attend the funeral of Boipatong victims on Monday, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) said yesterday.

A western Transvaal Cosatu spokesman said 42 of the victims would be buried at Sharpeville Cemetery. Six others would be buried in the Free State, Transkei, Natal and Venda. A police spokesman said police would be deployed to monitor the funeral.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, SACP national chairman Joe Slovo, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso would address mourners, the Cosatu spokesman said. B/Day

The SACC said Banana, King and British Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Trevor Huddlestone would attend the funeral to "symbolise" international concern over the Boipatong massacre. 26/6/92

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday said those unable to attend the funeral should express solidarity with Boipatong's people by engaging in memorial services and work stoppages.

Massacre: Cleric calls for 'war'

CT 26/6/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — In an emotional memorial service yesterday for the 49 people killed in Boipatong township, an angry church minister called on people to form defence units and "go to war".

"This violence is planned violence and it won't end today," the Rev Ernest Sotsu told the audience that packed the Boipatong Community Hall. "It is perpetrated by a satanic type of government.

"I call on the people of the Vaal to organise defence units and go to war. You must drive out the enemy," he said.

The service passed without incident, but after the service, police said, about 400 people gathered on the grounds of the Boipatong police station and demanded weapons.

The Internal Stability Unit arrived and the crowd dispersed without incident.

All day hundreds of residents milled about the streets and at a nearby soccer stadium, evidence of the success of a stayaway called to protest the killings.

The stayaway culminates in the funeral on Monday of the victims.

● Government employees will be given the opportunity to attend Monday's funeral, and President F W de Klerk has called on private sector employers to consider a similar arrangement.

Mr De Klerk also called for a day of prayer on Sunday for those suffering because of the country's violence.

● Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of slain US civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King, will attend the Boipatong funeral, said church officials.

● A lunchtime inter-faith service for Boipatong victims will be held at St George's Cathedral on Monday. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP-AP

Foreign assessor for Goldstone to be named

Politicial Staff

THE Goldstone Commission is expected to announce soon the name of the international assessor who will assist with its investigations.

A commission spokesman said yesterday Mr Justice Richard Goldstone was overseas but the appointment would be made early next week.

This follows President F W de Klerk's announcement that he had asked Mr Justice Goldstone to "arrange for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor".

Boipatong: Ammunition find

PRETORIA. — Trunks containing R1 rifles and ammunition were found on Wednesday at the Greenside Collieries mine near Witbank by a delegation from the Goldstone Commission, it was disclosed yesterday.

The commission's investigating officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Henk Heslinga, told a commission hearing here yesterday the visit followed information received of people staying at the mine who were involved in recent violence at Boipatong.

He said the delegation, including lawyers, found about 40 former Koevoet members staying in a security building of the mine.

Colonel Heslinga said three firearms were found in the building and later, about a kilometre away at the quarters of white policemen in charge of the group, trunks with R1 rifles and ammunition.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa

(278) CT 26/6/92

Armed guards protect Baragwanath staff

B/Day 26/6/92 (278)

KATHRYN STRACHAN

PRIVATE armed security guards were deployed at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto yesterday to counter intense intimidation by armed strikers, hospital authorities said.

A Johannesburg Hospital department head said yesterday delays caused by the strike had led to the deaths of several accident victims.

Hospital spokesman Annette Clear said strikers were armed with firearms, knives and sjamboks and superintendent Chris van den Heever said the "anarchy" reigning in the hospital had lead to a further deterioration of services. Urgent decisions had to be taken.

At Johannesburg Hospital Dr K Boffard, head of accident casualties, said his unit had been unable to save the lives of "a few" patients because too much time had been lost in transporting the patients to his unit instead of to the nearest hospital. Without the delays, those lives would probably have been saved, he said.

Because of the reduction of facilities it had become difficult to cope with emergencies in his unit.

Boffard said outpatients had to wait in queues for up to six hours before they got attention. A hospital gynaecologist said only patients with acute problems were being admitted, and that he had to turn away patients with malignant diseases.

Touring Johannesburg Hospital yesterday, National Health Minister Rina Venter attacked the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) for using patients and hospitals as "hostages" in their blatantly political battle.

She condemned the union for using hospitals as "soft targets". Venter said Nehawu's labour grievances had been addressed and the state did not have the funds to offer a higher increase. She added that Nehawu had refused to continue negotiations — an allegation which union officials have denied.

Sapa reports Venter said the strike had shown that some hospital departments could work with smaller staff complements and that the strike could result in retrenchments.

In Cape Town, two more hospitals were affected, taking the number of hospitals affected to 13, and day hospitals to five. There were reports of intimidation by strikers.

Allowances

Today authorities at Baragwanath and Natalspruit hospitals will decide on the future of their striking workers.

The strike has made it impossible for hospitals to process applications for disability allowances. TPA spokesman Willie van Niekerk said about 10 people a day applied for disability allowances in Johannesburg and Soweto.

To receive a disability allowance, people required a medical assessment. Taking into account people with temporary disability allowances who needed reassessment, 1 000 people were affected by this every month, he said. Until the strike was ended, no new applications could be considered.

National Health Minister Rina Venter holds a newborn baby in Johannesburg Hospital's obstetrics ward during an inspection of conditions at the strike-torn facility yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Goldstone team finds arms at mine

Sowetan 26/6/92 278

A GOLDSTONE Commission delegation found trunks containing R1 rifles and ammunition at Greenside Collieries Mine near Witbank on Wednesday, it was disclosed yesterday.

The commission's investigating officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Henk Heslinga, told a preliminary hearing in Pretoria yesterday that they had been told a group of people involved in recent acts of violence at Boipatong were staying at the mine premises.

He said a delegation from the commission, including lawyers, went to investigate.

They found a group of about 40 former Koevoet members staying in a security building of the mine.

They found three firearms in the building and later, about a kilometre away at the quarters of white policemen in charge of the group, trunks with R1 rifles and ammunition were found.

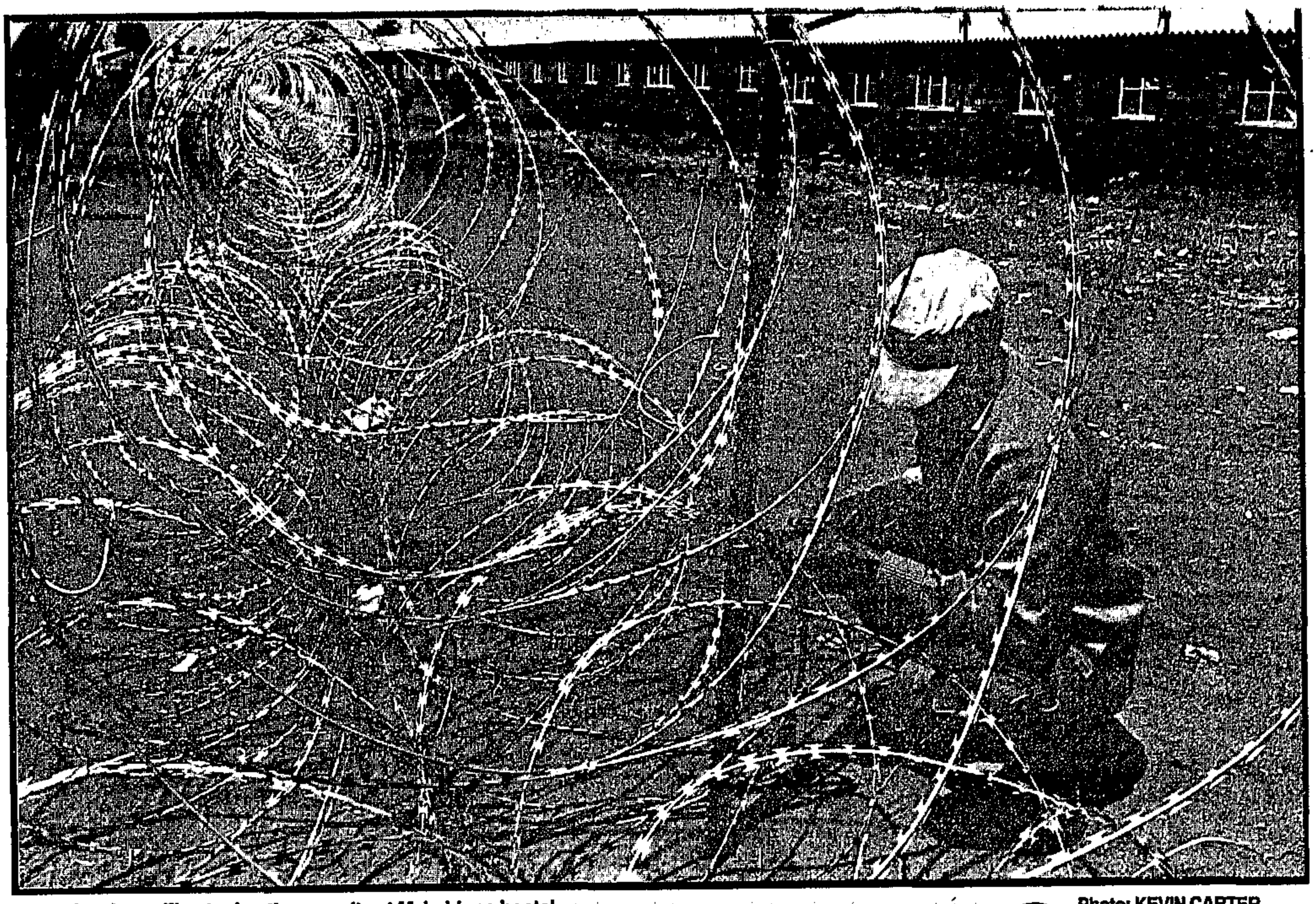
Earlier, counsel for the African National Congress, Mr Gys Rautenbach, told the commission that the ANC had received information that suspicious people were at the mine premises.

The information was that these people were armed, carried radios, spoke a foreign language and were kept separately from the mine's workers.

Rautenbach said the ANC was not alleging the group was responsible for the Boipatong violence, but the organisation had received information citing members of the group as having been involved in the violence at the Vaal Triangle township.

"That is why we say we are concerned and the matter should be investigated so that proper findings could be made," Rautenbach said.

Counsel for the Minister of Law and Order, the South African Police and employees of the SAP, Mr Phillip Hattingh, denied that members of the group, who he conceded were former members of Koevoet, were involved in acts of violence at Boipatong.- *SA Press Association.*



Razor's edge ... Fine tuning the security at Mzimhlope hostel

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

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"Now, when violence threatens the hostel, the chief induna calls a meeting of his subordinate indunas and orders are issued for the formation of tribal regiments to patrol the complex. When the impis have been created, it is easy for them to go on attacks in the townships."

National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) organiser Geoff Schreiner says it is a tragic mistake to advocate the bulldozing of existing hostels and their replacement with low-cost housing units.

"Simplistic calls for the abolition of hostels — or even the abolition of the hostel system, which is quite different — will be taken by hostel dwellers to be a direct attack on themselves," says Schreiner.

"Any initiatives which fail to put the hostel dwellers at the centre stage are doomed. They will have to be consulted about proposals and developments, from the start through to the end of the transformation process."

In many hostels, residents have created committees to deal with issues such as social functions, room allocation, security, links with the rural areas and the regulation of disputes.

"These committees command the respect of significant numbers of hostel inmates, despite being autocratic and politically conservative, as is often the case. They too cannot be ignored in any consultation process," Schreiner adds.

An agreement signed this week by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and Anglo American to "bring peace to our mines" provides an example of how solutions to the hostel violence can be negotiated directly between organisations with conflicting political views.

The pact endorses freedom of expression and assembly in Anglo's hostels, bans weapons and provocative actions on the premises, and prohibits the hostels from being organised along ethnic lines. Anglo director Bobby Godsell said he hoped the agreement, which had been forged by "parties with vastly different policies and programmes", would be noted by all politicians.

The mining industry has also provided a model for the reformation of hostels. National Peace Accord chairman John Hall, who is also a senior executive for Rand Mines, says his corporation has experienced no violence at its shafts in Middelburg since the reformation of its hostel accommodation.

Single-sex accommodation there comprises small complexes with apartments that take two to a room, rather than the huge barrack-like structures which characterise most hostels. Large recreation areas are located close to the married quarters so that maximum interaction is encouraged between migrants and families who live in the township.

"Part of the problem with today's hostels is that they house thousands upon thousands of inmates who are isolated from the broader community," says Sally Sealey, of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression. "The solution may be to build much smaller units which are completely integrated into the community."

FOR MONTHS. BUT IT TOOK A MASSACRE LAST WEEK TO DRIVE THE POINT HOME ...

flashpoints for too long

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men who led the attack were pointed out as hostel residents.

MZIMHLOPE, SOWETO

Twenty-three people were killed and 66 people injured in 15 attacks linked to this hostel.

●On July 25 last year, two people were killed and two injured at Mzimhlope station when they were attacked by a group of men armed with guns and knobkieries. Witnesses said the more than 50 attackers were wearing red headbands.

●Nine people were killed and 21 injured on February 8 this year when hostel dwellers clashed with residents in nearby Meadowlands. Victims were shot and hacked to death, and 12 people were set alight.

●On March 25 this year, police found the charred body of a man outside the hostel. He had allegedly been petrol-bombed.

DOBSONVILLE, SOWETO

Fifty-three people were killed and 29 injured in 25 incidents of violence linked to this hostel.

●Nine people were killed and three injured when gunmen attacked the home of a family near the hostel on the night of December 8 last year.

●After rumours of an impending IFP attack, Dobsonville school children were sent home early on September 10 last year. Later in the evening three residents were shot dead outside the hostel.

●On March 10 this year, three people from the Snakepark squatter camp were killed and several injured when four men, believed by witnesses to be from the hostel, opened fire on squatters.

●On March 13 this year, three Dobsonville residents were shot dead and four injured when three armed men wearing headbands forcibly entered a house, demanded money from the occupants and then opened fire. Police reported that two suspects were arrested at the hostel on March 16.

JABULANI, SOWETO

Thirty-five people were killed and 18 injured in 28 attacks linked to this hostel. On March 3 this year, one man was killed and two others injured when two men armed with automatic rifles opened fire on them. Witnesses say the men then fled back into the hostel.

●A municipal worker was shot dead and then set alight in his car outside the hostel on March 14 this year.

MADALA, ALEXANDRA

Forty-nine people were killed and 230 injured in 26 incidents of violence related to this hostel.

●On November 2 1991, two men were killed after gunmen, said to have emerged from the hostel, indiscriminately opened fire on residents.

●On November 6 1991, in an attack launched by IFP supporters on 2nd Avenue in Alexandra, eight people were injured and a woman gang-raped. They then raided surrounding houses, demanding protection money from residents.

●On March 22 1991, about 20 heavily armed men wearing red headbands kidnapped several residents and took them to the hostel, where they said they were assaulted, stabbed and robbed. Police later found five bodies in the township and 18 injured people.

●In March this year, four people were killed — one of them a seven-year-old — and 16 injured when two groups of men from the hostel moved through the township firing on residents and attacking schools. Two houses were gutted during the attack.

MSHAYAZAFE, THOKOZA

Six people were killed and 28 injured in six major attacks allegedly mounted from this hostel.

●On October 9 1991, six people were injured while on their way to Sam Ntuli's funeral in Thokoza. A survivor said they were attacked by hostel-dwellers who abducted his companion to the hostel.

●On November 17 1991, a resident of Mshayazafe Section in Bruntville said she was stabbed by hostel inmates who attacked the area that night. Afterwards, it was alleged, police did not attempt to disarm the hostel-dwellers, instead chasing youths during the attack.

●On February 2 1992, in nearby Phola Park, five people were killed and four injured when the armed occupants of a minibus passing the Angus railway station opened fire on the crowd. The driver, who was killed in retaliatory fire, was identified as a hostel inmate.

6 Should the hostels be destroyed, we will simply walk into the townships and occupy the houses

Massacre: Americans believe the allegations, not the denials, reports **Hugh Roberton**

FW is losing the war of words

STAR 26/6/92.

(278)

PRESIDENT de Klerk has described the ANC's allegation of Government complicity in the Boipatong massacre as a claim based on a "fundamental untruth". He may be right. But whether or not he is, the fact remains that he is losing the war of words which is raging in the United States over the issue, and over the ANC's decision to suspend negotiations.

Trendsetting newspapers like The New York Times reveal in editorial comment that they fully accept allegations of police involvement in the killings and urge Mr de Klerk to "make the police stop inciting the violence they are meant to prevent".

Even the Bush administration, which one must assume has at its disposal at last as many facts about Government involvement as do the haughty dispensers of editorial advice, is ambivalent. In the face of Pretoria's denials of police collusion, the Secretary of State, James Baker, has frankly acknowledged on TV he simply does not know what the truth is.

In the Senate, the well-disposed chairman of the foreign relations committee, Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, urges the parties to come together, but in the same breath encourages the Government "to work to control elements that have not been constructive in the past in the peace process".

And the US Conference of Mayors, which will largely determine the fate of the local sanctions which continue to bedevil efforts to rehabilitate South Africa's economic relationship with the US, roundly backed the ANC position and approved a resolution calling for continued sanctions. Individual mayors condemned police involvement at Boipatong as if it were a proven fact.

Does President de Klerk deserve this sort of treatment from Americans? Seen from their perspective, sadly, he does. Their view has nothing to do with distorted media reporting, or bias, or any of the other real or imaginary evils that many South Africans would cite as reasons for dismissing the American attitude.

And it has nothing to do with the South African embassy and its overworked staff in the US. They do what just about every other embassy in Washington acknowledges to be the most dynamic public relations job in the diplomatic corps, and they do it with energy and panache.

Rather, it has everything to do with an apparently indelible public impression here of a security apparatus which is unreliable, disobedient and politically malevolent, and it is an impression based on altogether reasonable deductions. Some examples:

Two days after the Boipatong killings, a Supreme Court judge criticised the police for sloppy work in assembling evidence against seven men accused of killing 38 people in Sebokeng in an equally ghastly massacre last year. Americans cite this as evidence of police bias.

When documents were produced earlier this year purportedly showing official involvement in the murder of community activists during the Botha oligarchy, nothing apparently was done. Likewise, when covert police funding of Inkatha was exposed, and defiantly confirmed by Pik Botha, that incomparable master of political chutzpah, the perpetrators did not receive so much as a slap on the wrist. Americans — and not a few South Africans — were appalled.

When the Boipatong killings were made known, comment by SAP spokesmen, and by the Government, sought to put the blame for the massacre on the ANC's campaign of mass action. Not a word was said about allegations that Inkatha members actually did the killing. SAP spokesman Craig Kotze was quoted in the US media as saying it was clear that the political temperature was pushed to "unacceptable" levels.

This implied that the ANC's mass action was the cause of the killing, rather than those who actually did the shooting, bludgeoning and stabbing, and who were assisted by the police.

Why, Americans ask, would the police seek to deflect blame on to the ANC, even before there had been time to conduct a proper investigation?

If, indeed, the police knew that the political temperature had been pushed "unacceptably" high, and knew from extensive past experience that violence typically was directed at squatters from a finite number of hostels, why were precautions not taken — more especially when, according to reports here, the police were warned an attack was imminent?

All these questions follow reports by organisations widely respected in the US — Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and others, who have pointed fingers either at the security establishment, or rogue elements within those establishments who the Government is seen to be powerless to restrain.

All this raises what probably is going to be a crunch decision for the Government. Given the limited time, resources and sympathy available, there appears to be little prospect of turning around American public opinion.

This being so, has the moment not arrived for the Government to embrace what it has consistently shunned — the use of some neutral international presence to monitor the situation and help get to the the truth behind the violence?

It is a demand made by the ANC, it is a proposal put to the United Nations this week by ANC president Nelson Mandela, and it is a concept supported by influential Americans such as Senator Simon in a resolution from the floor of the US Senate this week. It also ties in with the Bush administration's view of the UN as a new and decisive force in the resolution of conflict.

Clearly, with the backers it has got, the idea is not going to go away and standing against it in the present circumstances would merely exacerbate the suspicions and doubts that already exist. For the time being, Mr de Klerk continues to enjoy a degree of respect, if not admiration, in the US. But it is unlikely to survive more Sebokengs and Boipatongs. □

Two killed, four injured in bus attack

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By IKE MOTSAPI

TWO people were killed and four injured when a gunman opened fire with an AK-47 rifle inside the staff bus of an East Rand company yesterday morning.

The incident, which is linked to the ongoing feud between the Inkatha aligned United Workers Union of South Africa and the Food and Allied Workers Union at Langeberg Korporasie in Boksburg, happened about 6.50am. Sowetan 26/6/92

About 14 members of FAWU working at the company have so far been killed since trouble between the two unions began in August 14 1991.

The dead are Mrs Gladys Maladi, who was a member of FAWU, and the unidentified driver of the bus.

The injured include Shume Zwane, who is being treated at Boksburg-Benoni Hospital for gunshot wounds in the thigh. The other three people have not yet been identified.

East Rand police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said firing started when the bus off-loaded workers.

Mr Thembinkosi Majola, a security officer at Langeberg Korporasie, said he heard "loud bangs" and later saw people running in different directions.

He said: "I saw a woman lying dead on the ground with a bullet wound in the neck when I went to investigate.

"I also saw a car driving away while some people ran for cover," Majola said.

The company's FAWU organiser, Mr George Machacha, said their members have been harassed since unidentified members of Uwusa allegedly threatened management to stop recognising us in favour of them.

He said: "These people have also threatened management with a list of demands which they said should be met or else they will act.

"On June 12 1992 one of our members, Mr Amos Magcanya, was shot in the right arm by a member of Inkatha during an argument.

"This was followed by the killing of Amos Ganeli and Welcome Benjatwe last week by five assassins identified as members of Inkatha."

Management spokesman Mr Ray Brown confirmed there was a problem between Uwusa and FAWU. He said they were refusing to sign a "peace accord".

SOWETAN Friday June 26 1992

More than 1-m will hit streets

Sowetan 26/6/92

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By IKE MOTSAPI

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions' mass action campaign will intensify on Monday when more than a million people take to the streets to demand a constituent assembly.

And the National Council of Trade Unions has called for a stayaway on the same day in support of the families of the victims of the Boipatong massacre. Forty nine people were killed in the Vaal township.

Cosatu's protests will also highlight workers' demands for better wages, a moratorium on retrenchments and an end to violence, according to Mr Neil Coleman, media officer of the federation.

Mr Mudini Maivha, Nactu's information and publicity officer, said: "People should show their support for the families of the Boipatong massacre victims. We warn employers against the no-work-no-pay approach against those who will not be going to work on Monday."

On that day, when the victims of the Boipatong massacre will be buried, Cosatu and the African National Congress will be embarking on what is described as "a stepped-up phase two of mass action programme".

Coleman and the ANC's PWV region media spokesman, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said Monday will be regarded as "a day of mourning", but said that will be the beginning of "the process of rolling mass action".

The regional tripartite alliance of the ANC-PWV, Cosatu Northern Natal, Cosatu Witwatersrand and the SACP-PWV including the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal, have arranged 50 buses to transport mourners to the funeral.

While the Boipatong victims are being buried, thousands of workers will engage in mass demonstrations in major centres across the country.

Rallies will be held at different centres countrywide before workers march to various Government departments and earmarked employers to present memoranda.

On Tuesday, a major conference will be held in Johannesburg at a venue still to be decided by the tripartite alliance of Cosatu, ANC and the South African Communist Party to assess the situation and check whether the Government has responded to the demands of "the people".

Coleman said a decision will be taken on when to embark on a national general strike.

On July 3, the alliance and other formations from across the political and labour movements such as the National Council of Trade Unions will hold a summit to decide on how best to launch "phase three of the mass action campaign".

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation have also endorsed a call for a day of mourning on Monday.

IFP 'unit' member tells of attacks

By Jo-Anne Collinge STAR 26/6/92

A self-confessed member of an armed "unit" in KwaMadala hostel has given the Goldstone Commission detailed testimony about the mobilisation of hostel dwellers against "comrades" in the surrounding Vaal communities.

A copy of Mr X's affidavit to the Goldstone Commission is contained in the memorandum compiled by attorneys for the Vaal Council of Churches (VCC).

According to the VCC document, Mr X's verbal testimony was heard by advocate J J du Toit of the Goldstone Commission on April 3. Mr X's identity is known to the commission.

The following is an edited version of his affidavit, from which all identifying details have been removed.

"I am able to live at the KwaMadala hostel without charge. I am unemployed.

"All the residents of the KwaMadala hostel are members of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Among the residents there are individuals who are leaders of the IFP. Among them is one Mr Y.

"A system exists in the KwaMadala hostel whereby each resident becomes part of a 'unit'. I was trained in the use of weapons by Mr Y. Every resident is trained in the use of weapons. "I have seen many arms and ammunition stored at the KwaMadala hostel. The arms are brought by members of the IFP from Natal.

"On (a certain date) my unit was instructed by Mr Y to go to Sharpeville township to attack comrades who had been responsible for the killing of an Inkatha member, to attack certain taverns (and) ... kill people there because it is known that comrades drink there.

"We were given arms by Mr Y. I was not myself carrying a rifle. I moved with A. He was carrying a rifle.

"Between 8 pm and 9 pm, in Sharpeville, we saw a group of comrades. Among them was one comrade known to me. My partner opened fire and this comrade was struck.

"Thereafter, we moved to (a certain) tavern. B was shooting at people in the tavern. I was carrying a rifle given to me by A at this tavern."

The mission, which resulted in a number of deaths, was terminated abruptly, Mr X stated, because of unforeseen developments. Details of these developments would reveal his identity.

PAC decides to cancel service

STAR 26/6/92

The Pan Africanist Congress, after an emergency meeting yesterday, has decided to call off a memorial service for the Boipatong victims.

"The PAC campaigns committee felt that at this crucial moment of the struggle in our country, unity of all the oppressed forces was of paramount importance," a PAC statement said.

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The organisation said that because of the service in Boipatong today, it had decided to cancel its own service. — Sapa.

Residents pay tribute to victims

(278)

BOIPATONG was tense yesterday after police confronted scores of people who had gathered at a local hall to pay tribute to 49 people who were killed in last week's massacre. Sowetan 26/6/92

The confrontation with residents took place when members of the Internal Stability Unit disembarked from a Casspir and closed a gate, preventing a group of residents from entering the hall.

But the Rev Peter Moerane, a South African Council of Churches official, stepped in and ordered a policeman commanding the unit to leave the area.

Police later opened the gate and left the area.

Inside the church the atmosphere was touching.

Addressing the emotion-charged service, Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church said: "Something devilish has happened in Boipatong. And that can only come from the devil. As your tears fall today, we have come to weep with you."

FM 26/6/92

VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE

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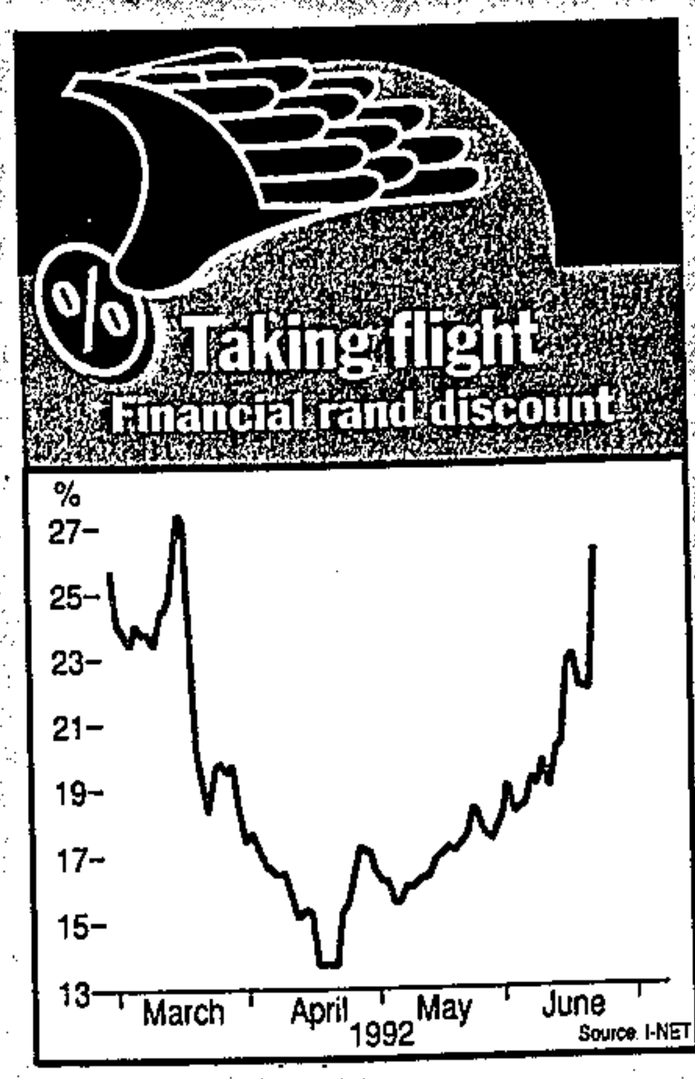
The tragedy at Boipatong and the disruption of negotiations sent the financial rand discount soaring to over 26% (with the unit trading at US$/R3,83) at the close on Tuesday, from less than 22% at the end of last week. The events were also reflected in the JSE Industrial index which fell from 4 522 at the close of business on Friday to 4 468 at Tuesday's close.

This may not have been entirely due to domestic events. Tokyo's Nikkei index fell 11,6% from the beginning of June to its lowest level since 1986 — 15 921,22 — on Monday. While the Dow Jones Industrial index fell 3,8% in June to 3 280,8.

An analyst pointed out that, in a bearish environment, investors tend to reduce risky holdings in their portfolios. SA holdings fall into this category and more so now than last week.



A new watershed for South Africa

Guardian W [in W/mail] 26/6-2/7/92 (278) [redacted]

Continued from page 1

quoting diplomats on the inevitability of international pressure for action against Pretoria.

But perhaps of even more importance are the domestic repercussions, the most striking of which is the fact that in those brief hours on Saturday the government's entire strategy to lead South Africa into a democratic era (if such a strategy is to be believed) was almost completely destroyed. Saturday's incidents came just a few days after the ruling National Party had finalised plans to mount an intense electoral campaign in the country's townships, in an attempt to sell themselves as a non-racial party to rival the ANC. After Boipatong they need not bother. The campaign could, possibly, have survived President de Klerk's humiliation at being driven out of the township — the Nationalists were always adept at exploiting such incidents. But the subsequent murderous fusillade by police gave the protesters a credibility which is out of the reach of even the most sophisticated government PR exercise.

Without hope of making inroads on the ANC's township support there would appear to be little chance of the de Klerk administration breaking the deadlock at the constitutional talks, over their demands for a 25 per cent minority veto. Which leaves them dangerously cornered and gives ominous overtones to remarks Mr de Klerk made to reporters after fleeing Boipatong "Maybe we should be asking whether the violence can be coupled to the un-banning of the ANC and the South African Communist Party . . . We will not allow this country to fall into a state of anarchy . . . We have tried to avoid it at all costs, but we have to look beyond the present (security) measures to maintain law and order and to ensure the safety of men, women and children in our country." He was speaking before his police had managed to disgrace themselves once again, by opening fire on unarmed men, women, and children.

If Boipatong does not spell an end to the reform process credit will probably be due — somewhat perversely — to the ANC, which is currently making such a fuss over it. And reason for saying that can be illustrated by the product of yet another of those intrusive cameras which give such insights into the South African condition.

This particular picture fitted rather oddly among the lurid photographs of bloody carnage splattered across the pages of South Africa's Sunday newspapers. It was a birthday picture, taken at a party in Johannesburg's northern suburbs to celebrate the 50th year of one of the ANC's most popular and outstanding leaders, Thabo Mbeki, and shows him beaming happily in the middle of some curious company. On one side is the veteran anti-apartheid activist, Helen Suzman, on the other the Communist Party chief, Joe Slovo. The rest are well-heeled businessmen, a "financial whizz-kid," a successful stockbroker, and one Sol Kerzner — who has made his particular fortune by creating a gambling empire, including the notorious Sun City, out of South Africa's inherently corrupt bantustans system.

The Johannesburg Sunday Times, which published the birthday picture, takes an almost malicious delight in "exposing" ANC leaders with cheap digs of the "socialist sends-his-kids-to-an-elite-public-school" variety. And it must be said that Mr Mbeki's company was no choice of his; it was a surprise party and as such the guest-list not his responsibility.

But there was, in the jolliness of the moment as the flashbulb went off, a reminder of how far it has been from the bush war to Johannesburg's northern suburbs, and how long would be the journey back again. A reminder that an awful lot now hinges on the consequences of events in Boipatong.

Moment of truth for Mr de Klerk

Guardian (W Fin W/Mail) 26/6-2/7/92 (278) (304A)

BOIPATONG — this name will now join Sharpeville and Soweto in appalled world memory. The massacre on Wednesday night last week had already struck a deep chord of black suffering. The 42 who died joined the ranks of eight thousand over the past two years, very many at the hands of the Inkatha movement, with its strong connections to the white regime. What happened on Saturday resonates on an even more acute wavelength. The sequence of events showed confusion rather than — as on the Wednesday — the strong hint of premeditation or the turning of an official blind eye. But this only sharpens the question: How can an inherently violent regime seek to defer change on the grounds that black majority rule would be more violent?

In other circumstances resignation would be the only appropriate personal gesture for Mr de Klerk. Nelson Mandela, already under enormous pressure from his own rank and file, on Sunday said he was suspending the ANC's talks with the government, in language which also showed uncontainable outrage. It is doubtful now whether their personal relationship can ever be rebuilt. Much of the South African press has concluded that Mr de Klerk has met his Waterloo and that the National Party is a broken reed. Yet there is still no alternative, and somehow a road has to be found back to dialogue. Mr Mandela's suspension of talks is not the same as termination. It has been said that, where governments are concerned, they should be assumed guilty until proven innocent. And, if ever a government owed it to the world to discharge the onus of proof, it is surely the one, justifiably reviled for so long, in Pretoria. The debt has been compounded, twice, in Boipatong. Threats of a state of emergency lead further in the direction of disaster. If Mr de Klerk is to stay in office with any credibility, he must change course very fast.

Let credit of a sort be given to the president for seeking to express his regrets for the original massacre. But it was naive and condescending to suppose that a personal visit would not be seen as a provocation. The much publicised police raids on the KwaMadela Zulu encampment had not resulted in a single arrest. Briefly last year Mr de Klerk seemed shaken by the allegations of a "third force" seeking to destabilise the black-white political dialogue. But his attitude hardened again along with his position in that dialogue. It is hardly surprising if the ANC accuses the President of personal complicity as long as he will not face the real enemy within.

The possibility of racial civil war in South Africa has become very real. The Western governments who took Mr de Klerk at his own best valuation now have to speak to him very clearly. On the political front, the National Party must make the concessions in the Codesa negotiations which will remove the suspicion that they intend to hang on to power indefinitely, and bring back the ANC to the table. On the security front, the guilty — whether Inkatha, police, or security forces — have to be apprehended and charged. The suggestion that international peace monitors should be invited to the townships should be acted on. To achieve all this, Mr de Klerk may need a revolution in his party. But that is far, far better than a revolution in the country.

A new watershed

By David Beresford

Guardian (W Fin W/Mail) 26/6-2/7/92 (278) [redacted]

BOIPATONG is not the sort of place where one would expect to witness the foundering of a noble enterprise. A small community of tiny brick houses and tin shacks tucked away behind the belching chimney stacks and waste dumps of a giant iron and steel foundry, the place is representative of the thinking which lay behind the placement of hundreds of such townships scattered, and for the most part hidden, across the South African countryside. Out of sight, out of mind . . .

Today, of course, with the help of the cameras which have done so much to destroy the fantasies of apartheid's planners, the name of Boipatong is not only on the national, but the international consciousness. Boipatong, where a pregnant woman was killed and mutilated so horribly, where a little baby was stabbed to death; where 40 others died last week. But above all Boipatong will be remembered as the place where the country's head of state had to flee for his life on Saturday; and where three more lives sacrificed to police guns yielded up to cameras the final proof that in South Africa, as elsewhere, leopards do not change their spots.

It was not Wednesday's massacre that gives Boipatong its significance, however horrific it may have been — recent South African history has been littered with too many such massacres to make even the loss of 42 lives of more than passing political importance. But the timing and circumstances of Saturday's events give promise that Boipatong will long be remembered as a watershed in South African affairs, which could radically affect the entire reform programme.

There are a number of levels at which Boipatong is likely to have major repercussions, perhaps most obviously at the international. South African newspapers reported at the weekend that cabinet ministers were steeling themselves for a worldwide outcry. "A pall of gloom settled on the government as it realised the full impact of President de Klerk's Waterloo at Boipatong," one political correspondent observed

Continued on page 6

(278) ARG 27/6/92

Langa demo boycott call

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

A PLANNED Bonteheuwel protest march against the Boipotong massacre failed to take place because of a poor turn-out of "comrades", but in Langa about 50 placard-waving ANC members toyi-toyied at the police station for more than an hour.

A delegation of the Bonteheuwel civic association and the ANC branch, led by leader of South African Municipal Workers Union Mr Salie Manie, went by car to present a petition at the Bishop Lavis police station.

In the Langa protest there were placards reading: "Suspend Barcelona trip. Equal rights for all" and "We say no to traditional weapons".

Earlier, feelings ran high when riot police confiscated the protesters' placards and ordered the group to "go to the cells".

But as the chanting group marched to the charge office, station commander Warrant Officer Strydom told the protesters to disperse within "five minutes or face arrest".

The crowd then moved out to the police yard and continued to protest.

Government collusion, proved

ANC's memorandum is delivered to De Klerk

STAR 27/6/92 (278)

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has outlined, in a memorandum to President de Klerk, several incidents which "proved" Government collusion in the ongoing violence.

The memorandum was delivered to De Klerk's office in Pretoria yesterday after attempts to arrange a meeting between the two leaders collapsed. The ANC, in breaking off negotiations on Tuesday, said it would hand its demands to the Government but would not enter into any discussions.

South Africa was on the brink of disaster because of the crisis in the negotiation process and "the continuing direct and indirect involvement of the NP Government, the State security forces and the police in the violence".

Failure to act

Mandela said the Boipatong massacre was a tragic culmination of the Government's practices and policies. "Ministerial defences of the SAP and your Government's failure to act against the KwaMadala hostel make Government collusion an inescapable conclusion," he said.

The Government, he said, had legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the majority of deaths had been caused by cultural weapons.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police, or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and ridiculously low bail?"

Mandela noted the acquital of seven accused in the Sebokeng trial and the evidence of the investigating officer in the Trust Feed massacre trail which showed extensive cover-up.

"The evidence shows that either the NP Government, even at its top levels, sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," he said.

All religions recognised reconciliation and repentance, he said. Mandela added: "I have avoided imposing such requirements in the hope that you and your Government would reach that recognition on your own."

The Government's persistence in portraying the crisis as a creation of the ANC was "unhelpful and extremely dangerous". Mandela accused the Government of placing party political interests above national interest by trying to minimise the seriousness of the crisis.

Mandela said the crisis in the negotiations process stemmed primarily from the Government "pursuing the path of embracing the shell of a democratic South Africa while seeking to ensure that it is not democratic in content".

He noted that in a letter, written from prison in 1989, he said the two issues which had to be reconciled were the demand for majority rule as well as the insistence by whites for checks and balances which would mean that majority rule was not domination by blacks.

The crux of the deadlock in negotiations was the failure of the Government to face up to the need for the conciliation of these two issues. Mandela said the Government had chosen to reject internationally accepted democratic principles which defined a democracy — by equating majority rule with black domination.

The negotiations deadlock would remain unresolved for as long as the Government insisted on a minority veto. "We are of the view that the response and concrete steps by your Government to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and pace with which bona fide negotiations can take place."

LASTING peace is more than just crisis management, one of Alexandra's leading peacemakers tells JOE LOUW.

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PEACE, says Dr Liz Carmichael, is more than that which is left after the opposition has been eliminated: it is "a fragile new culture", a new language, a new way of life.

"I realise how much greater a challenge it is to insist on and be optimistic about peace when people are living on this knife edge of continuous violence. But now more than ever it is crucial to give peace a chance."

Carmichael is a double "doctor". She is a skilled anaesthetist who, during the height of the Soweto uprising, spent seven years at Baragwanath Hospital, where her job was "to keep people alive" and where she saw at first hand what a high-velocity bullet does to a young body. She is also a doctor of theology and an ordained deacon of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

It was her Christian convictions that landed her in the middle of the peace process in Alexandra earlier this year as a convener of the Interim Crisis Committee which brokered the present tenuous peace in that troubled township.

"There was a small war going on," says the dimunitive cleric, who has by now become a familiar figure along the township's dusty streets "patrolling" and monitoring its corners and alleyways, chatting with residents, and looking in daily at its police stations and clinics.

"There was a dreadful tension in the community. Groups were at daggers drawn. There was a desperate need for non-aligned persons to act as facilitators."

On April 1, after a desperate seven-hour emergency meeting of the regional dispute resolution committee (DRC), Carmichael was appointed convener.

"Basically this meant keeping the community in touch with itself and opening and involving the authorities, the administration and the police in a dialogue of what was happening, and attempting to bring some rationality to what had to be done," she says.

A large part of her job as convener entailed investigating every incident and following up and establishing the truth or falsity of the many rumours spawned during a time of crisis.

"We had to keep the political parties talking to each other to find solutions to the problems, and to prevent retaliation it was critical to establish the facts. And we had to involve the police — sometimes even though all the sides were accusing the police — and at the same time try to remain neutral politically.

"There were confrontations galore," she says, "and many times we did not succeed at putting out the fires. But it was not for a lack of trying".

Carmichael sees lasting peace as more than just crisis management. "There must be empowerment so that people can take control of their lives, their situation and their future in a co-operative way. Peace has to mean coming to agreement instead of promoting intolerance and confrontation."

On a practical note, Carmichael hopes the reconstruction programme initiated by the Interim Crisis Committee will flourish.

Disaster area

The programme consists of a community-based refuse removal scheme, a damage survey of Alexandra's "Beirut" area, a survey of the Madala hostel with a view to rehabilitating it, and a scheme to have Alex declared a disaster area and thereby qualify for Government funds for reconstruction.

Given the current situation of extreme political politicisation and confrontation and mass killing, how does it make her feel about the prospects for peace?

"No, it isn't at all that dismal," she says. "Even though one's mood can change from elation to disappointment so quickly, I've never felt we can't get anywhere.

"We must always look to the next step. Sometimes I've gone away from one group voicing despair and met another immediately giving me hope."

SAP mum on atrocity probe

STAR 27/6/92.

KEN VERNON,
Deputy Editor

A REPORT into allegations of police involvement in the Boipatong massacre called for last week by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has landed on his desk — but is to be an "internal" report only.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday police had met the six-day limit imposed by the minister on the handing over of the report into police conduct "prior to and during" the massacre.

"The minister is studying the report and will comment in due course," Kotze said.

POLICE yesterday said they had evidence that the Boipatong massacre had been carried out by residents of KwaMadala hostel, from which weapons showing traces of blood had been found, but rejected allegations that a unit of former Koevoet members had been involved in the atrocity. 278

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said "a fairly clear picture" of what happened at Boipatong had emerged. STAR

He said the interrogation of some 600 hostel residents had indicated that between 200 and 300 men were involved in last Wednesday's attack. STAR 27/6/92.

Van der Merwe said a search of the hostel had uncovered 276 spears, 44 bars and other dangerous weapons. Forensic tests had revealed traces of blood on some of them, more tests were to be carried out and further arrests would be made.

A few blocks away from police headquarters in Pretoria where Van der Merwe was addressing the press, the Goldstone Commission was sitting to hear preliminary evidence of the alleged involvement in the massacre by former members of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit. A number of witnesses were questioned.

Guard

The commission heard the testimony of Mandla Mngomezulu, a security guard at the Greenside colliery near Witbank, who said one of the Koevoet members, Jeremiah Shikongo, had told him of the attack at Boipatong. Shikongo himself then denied this.

M du Preez, the chief of security at Greenside — which is owned by Gold Fields — also gave evidence, and told the commission that a similar police unit had been housed at the colliery last October.

● TO PAGE 2.

Goldstone names monitors

THE former Chief Justice of India, Mr Justice Bhagwati, has been appointed to join the Goldstone Commission's investigation into the recent killings at Boipatong. This follows a call by President de Klerk to have a jurist of "international repute" involved in the proceedings.

Judge Goldstone said it was an honour for the commission to accept the appointment. He also announced the acceptance of Dr P A J Waddington, director of criminal justice studies of Reading University, to help evaluate the police investigations of the tragedy.

Judge Goldstone noted that this had been done at the suggestion of the SAP. Both Judge Bhagwati and Waddington will be arriving in the country early in July.

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Hostel 278

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The allegations — which Van der Merwe said would prove to be "flagrant lies aimed at discrediting the SAP" — were made after a snap raid this week on the colliery, where the Koevoet men were based.

The raid was carried out on Wednesday by a special police task force, members of the commission and representatives of the ANC following a tip-off that the Koevoet group might have been involved in the Boipatong bloodshed. Trunks containing R-1 rifles and a number of pistols were found in the barracks at the colliery.

Some 40 members of the former unit, which police say is now used to prevent the theft of stock and copper wire, have been housed in the barracks since the beginning of June.

Mngomezulu, a security guard at Greenside and a member of both the ANC and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), said Shikongo had confided in him because "he had been asked by his employer" why he had failed to fire at Boipatong. Mngomezulu said Shikongo now feared for his life and had asked him to seek help from the NUM and ANC on his behalf.

Mngomezulu said the Koevoet men — who were led by two white officers — always went out at night and returned in the early morning. He said they took weapons from the barracks wrapped in blankets.

Shikongo, who was picked out by Mngomezulu at an identity parade in the commission's offices, denied confiding in Mngomezulu — insisting that he hardly knew him — and said he had never been to Boipatong. He said he had come to South Africa in 1990 from Namibia, where he was part of Koevoet, "because people who were part of Koevoet would not get work in Namibia".

Shikongo testified in Afrikaans after a request by counsel for the police to delay his appearance until an Owambo-speaking interpreter could be obtained was turned down by the commission. A police request at the start of the hearing on Thursday to have the evidence heard in camera was also turned down.

Shikongo said his work with the police involved "following the tracks in stock theft". He said they were also used to prevent the stealing of copper wire from Post Office installations. He denied that any of the Koevoet men carried weapons.

At the start of the hearing, counsel for Gold Fields read a statement from the company's board of directors which said that "until the evening of June 24 1992" they were "unaware that a contingent of the SAP was housed on the premises" at Greenside. A later statement read to the commission said an arrangement had been made between the manager of Greenside and the SAP to house members of the police for a short time "while such members were busy with crime prevention activities in the area".

Du Preez, who heads security at Gold Fields, told the commission a group of men wearing similar uniforms to the Koevoet contingent had been housed at Greenside October. He said this group was also involved in "crime prevention".

Du Preez testified that he had seen no weapons in the barracks, which he visited to inspect for cleanliness.

The commission will hear further evidence on the Koevoet allegations on Monday.

STAR 27/6/92

Necklacing the key to killings?

(278)

STAR 27/6/92

KEN VERNON, Deputy Editor, and JOE LOUW

THE necklacing of the girlfriend of a KwaMadala hostel inmate may have triggered last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

This emerged when a Saturday Star team managed to enter the dreaded hostel opposite Boipatong this week — the first team of journalists to do so since the killing of more than 40 people last week, allegedly by hostel residents.

While inmates spoken to denied they were responsible for the attack, they were clearly shocked and enraged by the necklacing of the woman.

Police have confirmed that the body of a woman who had been necklaced was recovered in Nkgomo Street, Boipatong, three days before the hostel dwellers allegedly surged into the township on a killing and looting spree.

During an earlier visit

● TO PAGE 2.

Necklace

(278)

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because of political affiliation.

A hostel spokesman, who gave his name as Petros Mdiniso, said he had heard of the necklacing of the unnamed woman from inmates who escaped from the necklacing party, and said the woman had been killed merely because she was going out with a man from the hostel.

He said that the following day, five other people connected with the hostel had fled from Boipatong to the hostel for safety.

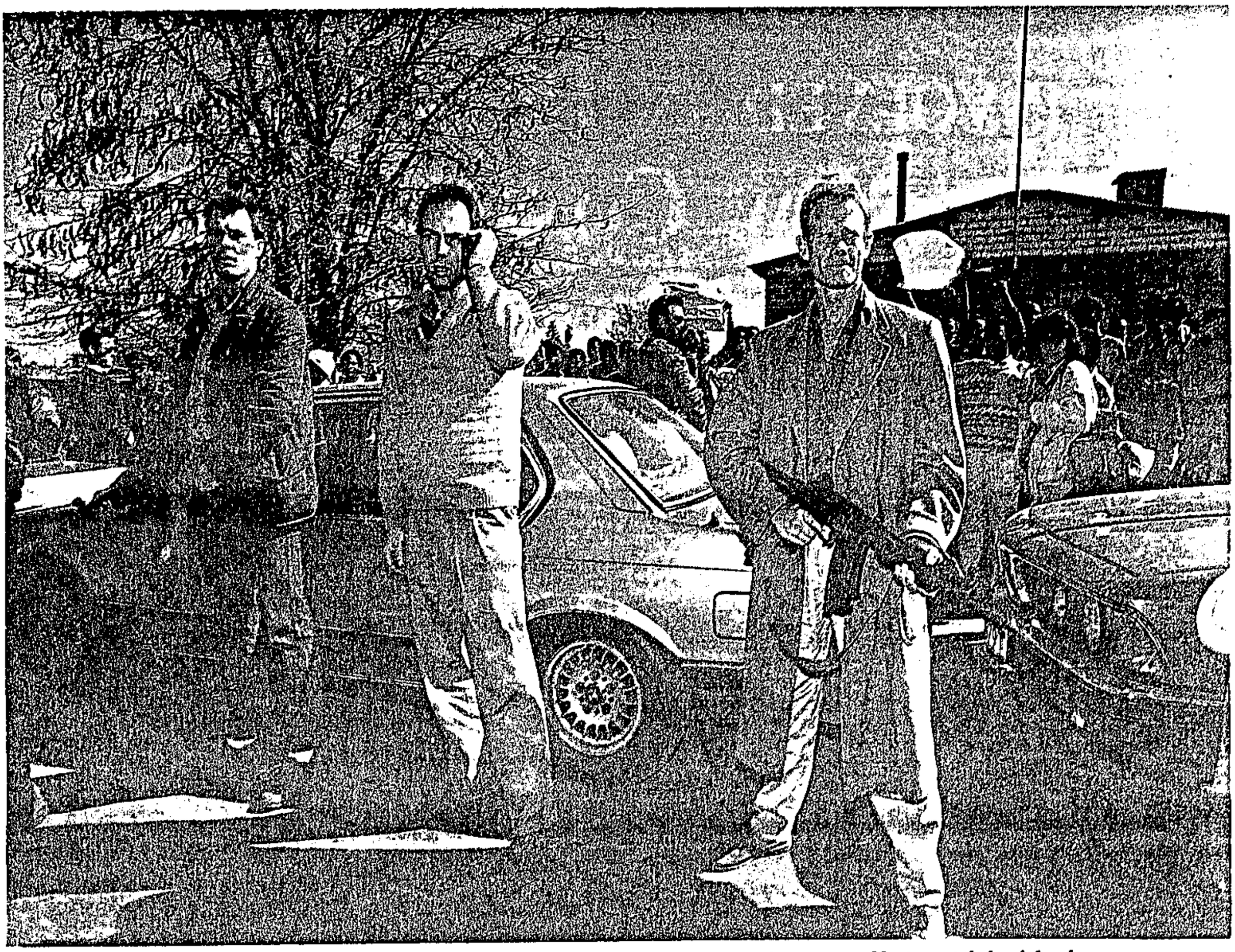
"We feel like we are surrounded by enemies," said Zulu hostel supervisor Moses Mthembu. "Our children can no longer go to school in the township. We cannot shop there. The houses of IFP supporters are burnt. Our girlfriends are necklaced. What are we to do?

"We are homeland Zulus. We come here to work, not for fun. We refuse to join in boycotts and strikes. But the ANC can't do what they want while we are here. So we are attacked. If we are attacked, we will fight. What else can we do? We can't run."

STAR 27/6/92

● More reports — Page 6

'Yes, there is a war in SA'



READY TO KILL: State President FW de Klerk's bodyguards close ranks around his motorcade as Boipatong residents vent their grief and anger

SOUTH 27/6 – 1/7/92.

By Rehana Rossouw (278)

IS THERE a war in South Africa?

Violence monitors, political activists and township residents say there is.

The slaughter of over 80 people in PWV townships in the past week, with the highest death toll at Boipatong, have left residents with little doubt they are under serious attack.

The massacre, coupled with recent evidence to the Goldstone Commission that officers of 32 Batallion — made up of Angolan mercenaries — believe they are "at war" with township residents have left black residents in the PWV region fearful of another bloodbath.

"Death haunts them every minute of every day, people in this region have not led normal lives for a long time," said ANC PWV spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) recorded 106 deaths and 83 injuries in the past seven days.

"It's difficult to find words strong enough to describe the emotions of a community which has witnessed the slaying of a nine-month-old baby," said Ms Ventia Govender, co-ordinator of Peace Action, a violence monitoring group.

"The Boipatong massacre was carried out with military precision, leaving residents with very little idea of what has happened to them, and more importantly, why.

"It has left Boipatong reeling. The community has been completely dehumanised.

"They tell us they feel their lives mean nothing to anyone, that they were treated like dogs."

Peace Action was caught up in the thick of the massacre. Their 24-hour paging service was used by Boipatong residents to report the invasion of the township.

The first call was received on Wednesday night, when a Sebokeng resident warned Peace Action he had been tipped off that there would be "trouble" in the area that night. The caller said he had difficulty in getting a positive reaction from the police in his area.

A second caller said she had been tipped off by somebody who had been told by Inkatha members that "the ambulances must be on standby. They are going to be used".

Peace Action reported the warnings to the police, with the caller's name and telephone number. Police agreed to "take over" the matter.

From 4am on Thursday, Peace Action received eight telephone calls from Boipatong, reporting that the police had moved into the area and were teargassing residents, that Inkatha had moved in, that people were being killed and that police were shooting at residents.

"The callers were in a state of absolute panic, fear and frustration. They said they couldn't get police to help them and that they wanted help immediately," Govender said.

"It was the worst incident we had ever dealt with."

Peace Action has organised counsellors to assist Boipatong residents in the aftermath of the killings.

Mamoepa said in the immediate aftermath of the Boipatong slaughter residents were baying for blood.

"Immediately after Boipatorg we had people asking us to resume the armed struggle, people wanted the ANC to fight back in the war in the townships," Mamoepa said.

"When Nelson Mandela visited the area on Sunday people were demanding guns, asking the ANC for permission to fight back.

"People asked the ANC why they must behave like lambs when they were being slaughtered.

Mamoepa said a number of township parents had contacted ANC structures following last week's bloodshed and offered their children to assist with patrolling their townships.

Schooling in most areas had broken down and in some areas families slept in shifts — some standing guard to warn of another attack.

ANC calls for a day of mourning

By Rehana Rossouw

SOUTH 27/6 - 1/7/92

MONDAY has been earmarked for a possible work stayaway in the Transvaal and a day of prayer in the Cape to mark the burial of the victims of last week's violence.

The ANC has called on whites to join blacks in a national day of mourning.

In a statement after a NEC meeting on Tuesday, the ANC said the government had brought South Africa to the brink of disaster.

The Boipatong massacre was "one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the De Klerk government".

The organisation noted that between July 1990 and April 1992 there had been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

"In no modern state would any government survive if that was the situation," said ANC NEC member Mr Reginald September.

"We cannot talk to the government while the lives of black people are thought to be so cheap," said ANC Western Cape chairperson, Dr Allan Boesak.

"Boipatong is not just a place — it is a condition of our people and our situation."

ANC Codesa negotiator Mr Kader Asmal said the government had shown it was unwilling and incapable of controlling township bloodshed.

Instead of bringing to book the killers, it had resorted to declaring Boipatong an unrest area.

Journalists had been prohibited from taking photographs at Boipatong and had been instructed by police to leave the area.

ANC demands

THE ANC is calling for:

- The creation of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution;
- The establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity;
- Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activity;
- Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces and detachments of foreign nationals;
- Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence;
- Ensure all repression in the self-governing states, and the so-called independent states, is ended;
- Start phasing out hostels and convert to family accommodation;
- Install fences around these establishments;
- Guard hostels with security forces permanently, monitor through multi-lateral peace structures and expel those who occupy them illegally;
- Ban cultural weapons in public
- Establish an international inquiry into Boipatong and international monitoring of violence;
- Release all political prisoners;
- Repeal all repressive legislation, including that recent passed.

SOUTH 27/6 - 1/7/92

Who's who at ceremonies for victims

(278) ARG 27/6/92

MONTSHIWA MOROKE, Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — International concern over the Boipatong massacre will be symbolised by the attendance at the victims' funeral on Monday of renowned world and national church leaders and members of the diplomatic corps.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) announced yesterday that some of those expected to attend the ceremony at the Boipatong stadium included the London-based president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and possibly the former Zimbabwe president, the Rev Canaan Banana, on behalf of the World Council of Churches.

Also expected to attend is Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain American civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

National church leaders who are to attend the funeral are to include Bishop Napier, presiding Bishop of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Dr Khoza Mgojo, president of the SACC, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, general secretary of the Methodist Church and vice-chairman of the National Peace Accord, and Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu.

According to the SACC, Archbishop Tutu will deliver the sermon. The service will be led by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, assisted by local clergy.

The service, which will start with the arrival of the coffins and families of the victims at the Boipatong stadium about 8.30am, is expected to last several hours before the burial during the early afternoon.

Political and community leaders will speak. A number of business leaders are also expected to attend.

Meanwhile the SACC has asked all churches to ring bells at noon on Monday, hold services or remember the Boipatong dead in the day's services.

"It is suggested that members of the public wear black armbands as a sign of respect for the dead on that day," the SACC said.

In Cape Town a lunchtime inter-faith service will be held at St George's Cathedral from about noon on Monday.

"Religious leaders want to give citizens of the Mother City an opportunity to mourn those who have died, to show their solidarity with all victims of violence in South Africa and to pray for peace," the Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones, said on Thursday.

The cathedral bells will be tolled between on Monday when the service begins.

"We are inviting people of all faiths from all over greater Cape Town to join us — political parties, the business community, women's organisations, civic and community organisations, sports bodies and the City Council," said Dean Jones, who will preach at the service.

Members of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce have been asked to allow staff to attend the cathedral service for prayer and introspection on the recent violence. A chamber spokesman said it was concerned about the continuing high level of violence, especially at Boipatong.

The ANC (Western Cape) appealed to sportsmen and women to observe a minute's silence in memory of those killed at Boipatong before they started their matches this weekend.

Boipatong: 'Hostel dwellers involved'

CT 27/6/92 (278)

PRETORIA. — Police investigations into the Boipatong massacre indicated certain residents of the KwaMadala hostel had been involved in the killings, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

General Van der Merwe told a news conference here that police had serious objections to the fact that certain people and newspapers had used the Goldstone Commission proceedings for what he said were anti-SAP propaganda purposes.

It was reported last night that initial police investigations indicated that between 200 and 300 KwaMadala hostel dwellers could have been implicated in the tragedy.

At the news conference, General Van der Merwe said he had taken note of some newspaper reports saying evidence put before the commission indicated members of the SAP Crime Investigation Service Support Unit — referred to as Koevoet — were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

He said these reports were based on untested evidence and were one-sided.

Koevoet's alleged involvement in the massacre made headlines when a delegation from the Goldstone Commission visited a mine hostel on the Greenside Colliery premises, which is operated by Gold Fields' coal-mining arm, near Ogies in the eastern Transvaal on Wednesday and found 40 members of the former unit, handguns and nine R1 rifles.

The commission's investigating officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Henk Heslinga, told a special hearing of the Goldstone Commission on Thursday that the commission had received information that people staying at the mine were involved in the massacre.

Despite police denials of involvement the National Union of Mineworkers walked out of annual wage negotiations yesterday in protest against the former Koevoet members living on the mine and because Gold Fields had refused to grant workers time off on Monday to mourn the Boipatong deaths.

● About 30 people picketed the head offices of Gold Fields of South Africa in Johannesburg yesterday. — Johannesburg Bureau and Sapa

DENIAL . . . Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe (right) yesterday criticised "inaccurate" media reports of police involvement in the Boipatong massacre. Colonel Floris Mostert looks on. Picture: AP

State blamed for massacre

JOHANNESBURG. — The Boipatong massacre could have been prevented if the police, Iscor management and the Goldstone Commission had acted immediately on representations by the Vaal community about dangers posed by the KwaMadala hostel, Mr Nelson Mandela charged yesterday.

In a memorandum sent to the government, Mr Mandela repeated his accusation of state and security force complicity in the violence.

The memorandum singled out SADF detachments composed of foreign nationals as being problematic. — Sapa

Police warn protesters

Staff Reporter

POLICE yesterday warned about 50 placard-wielding demonstrators, sympathising with the victims of the Boipatong massacre, they would be arrested for protesting in the grounds of the Langa police station.

Members of the Langa Youth League, affiliated to the ANC Youth League, had gathered in the grounds about 5.30pm.

● A delegation of five Bonteheuwel civic and ANC members delivered a memorandum to the Bishop Lavis police station during the celebration yesterday of Freedom Charter Day.

Appeal to let workers mourn

(278)

CT 27/6/92

Business Editor

THE president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Mr Herbert Hirsch, has appealed to member firms to allow employees to attend a memorial service on the day of mourning on Monday for the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

"Cape Town Chamber of Commerce appeals to its members to allow staff to attend a lunch-time inter-faith service at St George's Cathedral," he said.

In other developments:

- The Democratic Party yesterday called on President F W de Klerk to order flags on all government buildings to be flown at half mast on Monday.

Transkei mourns

- National Soccer League clubs, Kaizer Chiefs, Orlando Pirates and all clubs affiliated to controlling body the SA Football Association will observe a minutes silence before their matches this weekend.
- Transkei also declared Monday as a day of mourning, the Transkei Military Council announced yesterday.
- The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa) yesterday echoed the call for companies to accommodate "any reasonable request from workers to mark (Monday's) occasion in an appropriate manner. Seifsa does not however support the call from some trade unions for a stayaway or for factories to close on this day".

Massacre: Koevoet role denied

278

CT 27/8/92

PRETORIA. — A former member of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit yesterday denied a claim that he had admitted his present SAP unit took part in the Boipatong massacre.

Mr Jeremiah Sekongu told the Goldstone Commission that the allegation by a mine security guard that he had admitted that his unit took part in the June 17 massacre of 49 people was false.

The commission, investigating township unrest, was conducting the second day of an extraordinary session considering ANC charges that the unit — housed at mine premises near Boipatong — was involved in general township violence around Johannesburg.

The security guard, ANC member Mr Mandla "Ace" Mngomezulu, yesterday stuck to his claim.

He said Mr Sekongu had told him a white officer in the police unit had driven the men to Boipatong on the night of the killings.

He said the policeman told him he had been accused of not showing enough enthusiasm during the massacre.

Mr Sekongu had said that, according to the unit's rules, he had to be killed because he had not taken part in the shootings, and he asked the security guard to inform officials of the National Union of Mineworkers and the ANC about the matter.

Mr Mngomezulu also said that every night since the beginning of the month members of the group were taken away in a minibus with weapons wrapped in blankets which they sat on in the vehicle.

Mr Mngomezulu also said he had watched television news coverage of the Boipatong massacre and while watching the broadcast he had noticed one of the unit's members touching another as if to attract his attention. All members of the unit left the room immediately after the broadcast.

The mine security chief had informed him the unit was involved in the massacre, he said.

A representative of Gold Fields of South Africa, which owns the mine, Mr Peter Pauw, told the commission the company was not aware that a police unit was housed on the premises.

On Wednesday members of the commission discovered nine South African-made R1 automatic rifles and ammunition in a part of the mine quarters occupied by white members of the unit. — Sapa-Reuter, Sapa

Clues to the massacre

Blood traces on weapons point to hostel residents as being involved at Boipatong

ARG 27/6/92 (278)

■ Police have rejected allegations that a unit of ex-Koevoet members was involved in the Boipatong massacre and say traces of blood on captured weapons point to residents of the KwaMadala hostel.

JOHN PERLMAN, Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police say they have evidence the Boipatong massacre was carried out by residents of KwaMadala hostel after weapons were seized with traces of blood.

They rejected allegations that a unit of ex-Koevoet members was involved in the killings.

Meanwhile Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has been handed a report he ordered into police conduct "prior to and during" the massacre.

At a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said "a fairly clear picture" of what happened at Boipatong last Wednesday had emerged.

He said the interrogation of some 600 hostel residents had indicated that between 200 and 300 were involved.

General Van der Merwe said a search of the hostel had uncovered 276 spears, 44 bars and other dangerous weapons. Forensic tests had revealed traces of blood on some of them, more tests were to be carried out and further arrests were expected.

He said six people had been arrested but none of them were suspected of being the ringleaders.

A few blocks from police headquarters in Pretoria where General Van der Merwe was addressing the Press, the Goldstone Commission was sitting to hear preliminary evidence of alleged involvement in the massacre by former Koevoet members.

General Van der Merwe said the allegations of police involvement would prove to be "flagrant lies aimed at discrediting South African police".

He said they were made after a snap raid this week on the Greenside Colliery near Witbank where the Koevoet men were based.

Trunks containing R-1 rifles and a number of pistols were found in the barracks at the colliery. About 40 members of the former counter-insurgency

■ Turn to page 4.

Cricket tour in jeopardy

IQBAL KHAN
Weekend Argus Reporter

ANOTHER international sporting tour is in jeopardy because of the political crisis in South Africa.

The president of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, Mr Madhavrao Scindia, said in a statement in Delhi last night that his organisation would be guided by their Ministry of External Affairs — and by the ANC with regard to the forthcoming tour to South Africa.

Mr Scindia said: "We will not take a single step without consulting our Ministry and the ANC.

"The ANC made it possible for the South Africans to visit India last year and as such, whatever decision they take, we will have to abide by it."

According to Mr Krish Mackerdhuj, the president-elect of the United Cricket Board, this does not augur well for the activities of South African cricket. He said: "The political scene is a far bigger game than cricket at this stage.

"We will discuss the entire matter in full at the UCB annual meeting in Johannesburg this weekend."

Rambo turns into PC Plod – and Codesa gets arrested

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

STAR 27/6/92

IN THE 1990s, something has changed in the modus operandi of the South African security forces that were once held in awe and fear around the world.

IN THE 1980s, if it was so much as suspected that a "terrorist" base had been identified, the full might of the South African military would be unleashed against it. Often, such targets were suburban houses in far-flung foreign cities. They were bombed and blitzed with complete ruthlessness and relative precision.

Acting upon necessarily untested information, commandos stormed buildings from Gaborone to Mbabane, Maputo to Harare. These were extreme but not unusual cases. The circumstantial evidence against the occupants was considered to be so grave — they were believed to be somehow connected with the killing of South African civilians — that they were fair game. They were killed even before questioning, if necessary.

Within the country it was not necessary to use aircraft, but the tactics were no less effective: dawn raids, detentions and brilliant detective work saw to it that the attrition rate for ANC guerillas was remarkably high.

But now, in the 1990s, something has changed in the modus operandi of these security forces that were once held in awe and fear around the world.

There is overwhelming circumstantial evidence that certain clearly identifiable hostels in townships here at home are being used as bases for terrorism — terrorism, that is, in its proper sense of violence and coercion against civilians. In terms of body counts, this terrorism is of a scale never before experienced in this country.

Again and again, inmates are linked directly by eyewitnesses to massacres of mind-numbing proportions. The Independent Board of Inquiry estimates that between July 1990 (when the township carnage began in earnest in the Transvaal) and April this year, a minimum of 261 attacks on township dwellers was launched from some 15 hostels. At least 10 of these attacks, claiming 50 lives, came from Boipatong's KwaMadala hostel. This was before the latest and ghastliest bloodbath.

Again and again, huge arms caches are found inside. Media reports alone show that in the same 22-month period, the following weapons were confiscated from hostels: 58 AK-47s, nine revolvers, 18 pistols, 361 rounds of ammunition, and "truckloads" of knives, spears and the like.

But in the case of the hostels, the response of the security forces is strictly-by-the-book, gentlemanly, even diffident. Police spokesmen explain that their men are holding "discussions" with the occupants of the latest hostel named as a fortress and billet for bloodshed.

There is "some resistance" from the inmates, they say by way of explanation for their extraordinarily sensitive behaviour. They go out of their way to return weapons which they say they have ascertained were not used to commit crimes. It is as if Rambo has suddenly turned into PC Plod.

Savage murderers must be quite pleasantly surprised to discover that they can, en masse, hack, gouge and shoot dozens of civilians to death and expect to get away with it.

If they enjoyed the experience, they will probably be keen to repeat it and — given that the chances of punishment seem demonstrably to be so low — will encourage others to join in the fun. Out there, there must by now be hundreds of veterans of such brave campaigns — enough to form a society and swop reminiscences of massacre techniques.

Now there is tremendous surprise and anguish in the land at the fact that negotiations at Codesa have temporarily broken down. The reaction is hopelessly naive. What is being sought at Codesa is a peaceful negotiated settlement — an alternative to bloodshed. Instead, since negotiations started, there is less peace than ever before, and more bloodshed.

The Government insists on retaining exclusive control of the security forces, and therefore retains the responsibility for maintaining the security of all South African citizens. It is failing utterly to do so. It has not even kept its months-old, solemn promise to seal off the hostels.

Now, you try telling the bereaved of Boipatong why Codesa is such a jolly fine idea. They'll want to see some murderers convicted first.

The case of the 200 missing detectives

STAR 27/6/92 (278)

IN THE wake of last week's Boipatong massacre, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel ordered "200 experienced investigators" into the township to get to the bottom of the killings.

But a Saturday Star investigation has not managed to turn up even one family in the bereaved township that has been questioned by detectives. Hostel dwellers also deny that there has been any large-scale police questioning of inmates.

What has happened to the 200 tough detectives?

When reporters visited the Moshupe home this week, where 65-year-old Flora Moshupe and another woman were killed on the night of the 17th, they were shown a bullet hole in the cinder block wall made, the family allege, from a bullet from the Casspir that knocked down their front wall.

Moments after the wall was demolished, attackers brandishing spears and pangas attacked the house, killing the two women. The next morning uniformed police arrived to inspect the scene and collect the bodies. The bullet hole was pointed out, but the family were brusquely told to mind their own business.

Not one of the 200 detectives has yet visited the scene or tried to recover evidence in what must be regarded as elementary police detective work.

In fact teams from The Star and Saturday Star have been unable to find one home visited by detectives investigating the estimated 45 murders that took place in Boipatong on the 17th.

At the KwaMadala hostel, the hostel manager said no inmates had been arrested, but some had been questioned by uniformed police.

The police officer in charge of press inquiries concerning the Boipatong investigation, Colonel Dave Bruce, said police were facing "tremendous difficulties" in the investigation.

"The people are refusing to speak to us, and our job is being made more difficult by political organisations making accusations against the police — and you can quote me on that."

When it was pointed out that it was impossible for the residents of Boipatong to speak to police if they did not visit the scene to ask questions, Bruce suggested that some press people were in fact biased against the police.

Bruce promised to reply regarding just what the 200 "experienced investigators" were investigating, but at the time of going to press had not yet done so.

NO QUESTIONS: Not one resident who has been questioned by detectives could be found.

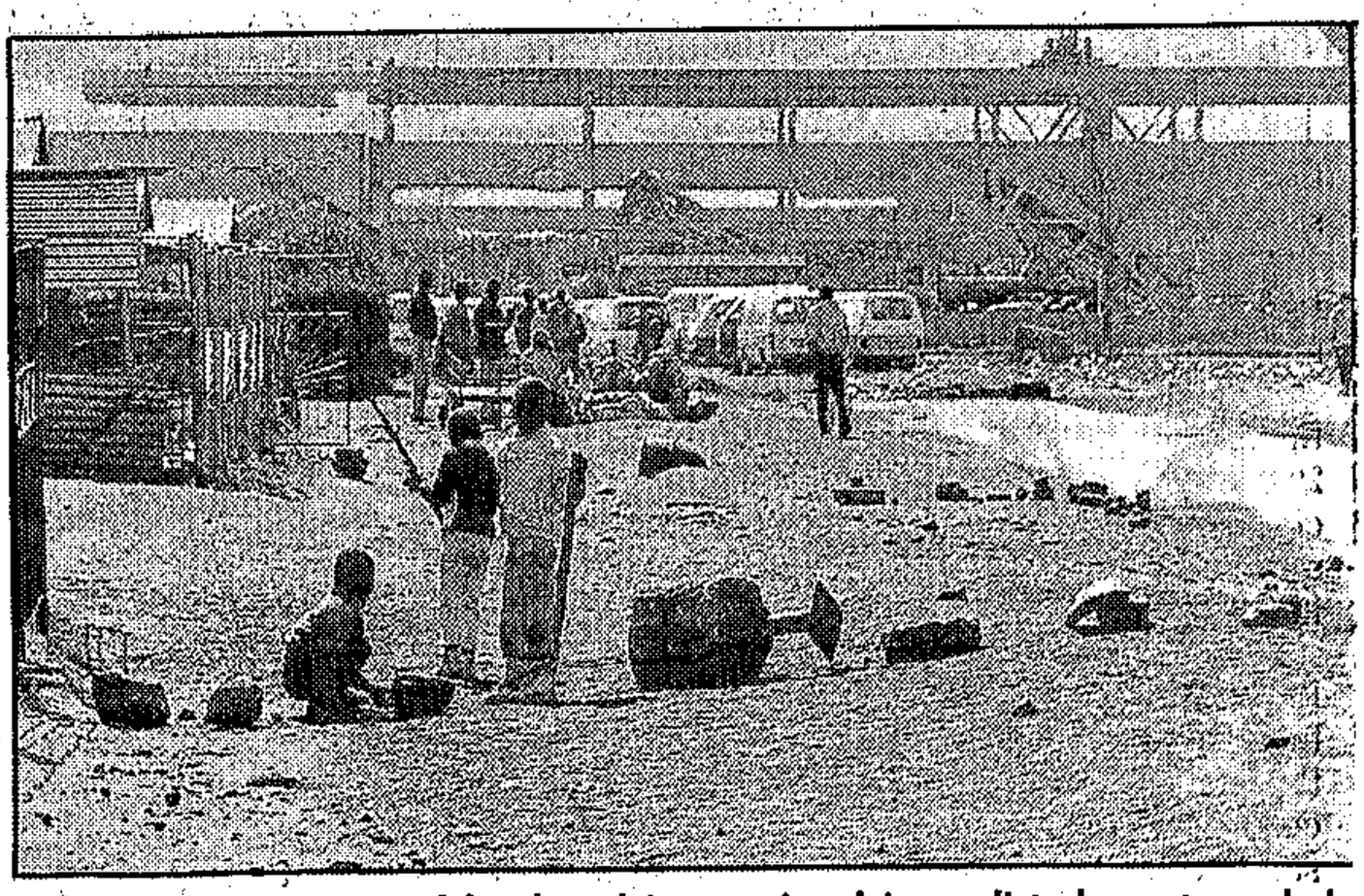
Boipatong carnage leaves host of riddles in its wake

STAR 27/6/92 (278)

WHEN the bitterly cold winter winds scour the litter-laden, dusty streets of Boipatong, there can be few more miserable places on Earth to live.

From piles of uncollected rubbish, plastic bags fly through the air seeking the homes they came from; eyes and noses fill with a foul mixture of dust, coal smoke and factory waste, and not even the thickest jacket can bring a moment's comfort.

In the past week, since the horrific massacre in the township, scores of local and foreign journalists have tramped those dusty streets looking for answers to a seemingly endless list of questions about the night of June 17 when death stalked those streets. Question piles upon question, to be met with obfuscation, contradiction and sometimes just plain silence.



BOIPATONG: Scores of local and international journalists have trampled its dusty streets looking for answers to an endless list of questions.

Were Zulu-speaking men responsible for the attack?

Initial reports suggested that the attack on the town was carried out by several hundred "Zulu-speaking men". But close questioning of many survivors this week revealed that people heard several languages spoken by the attackers, including Zulu, Afrikaans, English, Sotho and Xhosa.

Did the police disperse the informal township guard, known as the "Boipatong Boys", shortly before the attack?

An off-duty black policeman confirmed that the nearby Powerville riot squad had in fact dispersed the Boys — the first time they had ever done so and despite the fact that the township was, at that time, absolutely quiet.

Police confirm they dispersed the group, but say they were first attacked three times — presumably by the Boys — and used birdshot to disperse them.

How did the attackers get to Boipatong?

Despite initial reports of men being dropped off from police vehicles, the Saturday Star could find no one who had actually

WHERE WERE THEY?: The role of the police is again in the spotlight.

police by pressing an alarm button. But when they arrived 15 minutes later, they ignored his pleas to investigate and later tried to remove him and

house fled and her father locked himself in a bedroom.

Other claims of white men being present were all second-hand

Coup bid al

STAR 27/6/92

MARCH 1987 is a month the dairy industry is not likely to forget. It saw a nationwide attempt by the Big Four to hijack the entire supply of milk in South Africa. Almost overnight, smaller dairies suddenly found that milk supplies had dried up and prices had skyrocketed.

The hijacking took place with military precision. The Big Four were able to use their vast financial resources to buy the fleets of road tankers which had previously supplied the small dairies with milk. And they were also able to outbid the small businesses at the farm gate.

The distributors' dismay turned to anger when they realised that the Big Four had usurped the role at the time of the Dairy Control Board (DCB), and were illegally buying milk directly from farmers.

Legislation at the time required the DCB to buy milk from farmers at controlled prices and then to supply the distributors. The situation was to continue until September 1988, when the Big Four were able to set in motion [illegible] assary [illegible] tions a [illegible] supplie [illegible] from fa [illegible] During [illegible] period" [illegible] use the [illegible] to crus [illegible] consolid [illegible] pleas [illegible] the DC [illegible] practic [illegible] met wit [illegible] turned [illegible] distribu [illegible] that the

THE first look by journalists inside Boipatong's KwaMadala hostel since last week's massacre at the Vaal township did not reveal an armed fortress. KEN VERNON and JOE LOUW report.

STAR 27/6/92. (278)

THE necklacing of the girlfriend of a KwaMadala hostel inmate may have triggered last Wednesday's brutal massacre in Boipatong.

This emerged when a Saturday Star team managed to enter the dreaded hostel opposite Boipatong this week — the first team of journalists to do so since the killing of more than 40 people last week, allegedly by hostel residents.

During the visit it emerged that hostel dwellers — mostly, but not exclusively Zulu-speakers — regarded themselves as virtually under siege in what they perceive as a hostile environment.

While the inmates we spoke to denied that they were responsible for the massacre at Boipatong, they were clearly shocked and enraged by the necklacing.

Police have confirmed that the body of a woman who had been necklaced was recovered in Nkgomo Street, Boipatong, early on Sunday morning — three days before the hostel dwellers allegedly surged into the township on a killing and looting spree.

During an earlier visit to Boipatong the Saturday Star learnt from township residents of at least one other incident in which a suspected Inkatha supporter in the township had been killed because of the victim's political affiliation.

A hostel spokesman, who gave his name as Petros Mdiniso, said he had heard of the necklacing of the unnamed woman from inmates who escaped from the necklacing party, and said the woman had been killed merely because she was going out with a hostel inmate.

He said that the following day five other people connected with the hostel had fled from Boipatong to the hostel for their safety.

If the killing of the woman was the trigger for the Boipatong massacre, the gunpowder waiting to be ignited seems to have been the atmosphere of mutual animosity that has built up between hostel and township residents, and which has both political and tribal roots.

Hostel dwellers refer to township dwellers as either "the ANCs" or "the Xhosas"; those in the township refer to hostel dwellers as "the Zulus" or "the Inkathas".

"We feel like we are surrounded by enemies," said Zulu hostel supervisor Moses Mthembu. "Our children can no longer go to school in the township. We cannot shop there. The houses of IFP supporters are burnt. Our girlfriends are necklaced. What are we to do?

"We are homeland Zulus. We come here to work, not for fun. We refuse to join in boycotts and strikes. Because the ANC can't do what they want while we are here, we are attacked. If we are attacked, we will fight. What else can we do? We can't run."

As he spoke, many of the small knots of men standing around in the afternoon sun came to listen. Mdiniso confirmed that most of the inmates were members of Inkatha, and his word seemed to be law with the men.

Elsewhere in the sprawling hostel complex, women were queueing for food parcels — seemingly the same parcels seen being handed out earlier in Boipatong, marked "Courtesy of Premier Food".

Children in industrial hard-hats played with homemade carts and kicked at piles of fallen leaves.

The hostel hardly resembled the armed fortress filled with aggressive warriors that township residents feel it is, but during our visit it was impossible to investigate the entire complex.

Permission to enter the hostel had been given by owners Iskor, despite one surly white Iskor security manager initially denying access.

THE MAN IN THE MIDDLE OF A WAR

Themba Khoza: Warrior who yearns for past

S/Times 28/6/92 (278)

SUNDAY PROFILE

In the week in which violence resulted in a breakdown in negotiations, CHARLENE SMITH looks at two personalities caught up, in different ways, in the war

AS A boy, Themba Khoza, his head filled with tales of the great Zulu warriors, would lie awake and wish he had been born in another era — "to be a great Zulu warrior."

Some would say he is. As Transvaal Inkatha youth leader, Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party organiser and an executive member of the Transvaal region, at 33 he is one of Inkatha's most powerful figures. Some say he may succeed IFP founder Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In 1990 he persuaded the Inkatha leadership to open its first office outside Natal in Johannesburg. Not only did this boost lagging Transvaal membership to about half a million, but it coincided with the first serious Inkatha/ANC clashes in the region.

It was his angry face above a neat suit that television viewers saw arguing with policemen and the media outside KwaMadala hostel after the Boipatong massacre. You will see him at most Transvaal Inkatha rallies, driving his white car among marching impis, or wading in among men with red headbands, tattered clothes and fists full of spears, negotiating with them and police after another dramatic incident threatens peace.

Rumour abounds about him in ANC circles. A prevalent one is that he is employed by state intelligence and has links with Renamo. They view him with derision but he is revered by his own cadres.

His real upbringing is less dramatic than rumour. The first two children his mother had died at birth. It was expected that the third sickly child of the humble labourer and his wife would die too.

"I had no name because they thought I would not survive. The doctor told my mother to trust in God and that is what my name, Thembinkosi, means."

The family lived in poverty in the hilly rural area near Eshowe. Themba loved hunting and was the best slingshot among his friends.

Some of his happiest childhood memories are of the Zulu legends his mother wove for him.

"My mother told me a lot about the Zulu wars and ancestral life. She told me about different Zulu people who fought the British, and how, after the British came, the Zulu empire collapsed.

"When I was in primary school I used to lie in bed and think of those wars and King Shaka. I wanted to be born during the Zulu empire."

He was recruited by Inkatha when a tribal meeting was held to tell villagers of the new organisation.

"I didn't believe in non-violence — I believed the armed struggle was the best option. I kept saying these people in Pretoria don't want to talk; if they don't talk will we fight? At the end a man said: 'Yes, we will fight.' Then I said: 'I will join the party.'"

At school he was a prefect with good grades. He matriculated wanting to become a lawyer, but poverty saw him training first as a welder and then a boilermaker at a technical school in Issithebe.

Mr Khoza lived in a shack and worked at a factory but was very poor and "felt oppressed". In 1981 he came to Johannesburg where his father, a migrant labourer, lived. Themba lived with his grandparents in Soweto.

He worked for a factory making tractor ploughs in Denver but, after complaining about racial practices, was fired. "I talk straight — I have made many enemies by doing that."

While working for a furniture manufacturing company, he became active in the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, a forerunner of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA. He then worked in a building society and then for a labour recruitment agency.

"When the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983 I was really happy."

However, at the UDF launch there were verbal barrages against Chief Buthelezi. Mr Khoza was dismayed.

"Then there was this thing of these comrades harassing communities.

"Comrades burnt the houses of IFP people in Mzimhlope. I realised how far the UDF had divided the community; if you did not belong to the UDF you were a target."

He accuses the media of bias against Inkatha. He begins recounting incidents he has witnessed, including attacks during which compatriots have died.

"It is terrible when someone dies calling your name. It echoes and echoes in your ears, it never stops. Or when you pull a small baby burnt to ashes from a burning shack, or when someone dies in your arms.

"Last weekend a Youth League member was killed when he was driving to the funeral of another member. And then we had Boipatong ..."

His face crumples and tears fill his eyes. He stops speaking and puts his head in his hands. "These things are really sad." He wipes his hands roughly across his eyes — "I don't want to talk about this."

Live frugally and esteem learning above all else

278

S/Times 28/6/92.

AT THE end of a week in which political leaders squeezed every possible advantage from the massacre of innocents at Boipatong, and every last drop of bathos, the impression that remains is nausea: a lingering taste of foulness on the tongue, a scent of decay in the nostrils.

Allowances must be made. The anger of the crowds was greater than the anger of the leaders who addressed them, and new dangerous voices — among them a man who professed to be a minister of the church — were calling black people to a race war. The PAC began to reap the harvest of its own intolerance as the ANC leader was denounced, with a poetic inversion that was surely unconscious, as a lamb leading his people to slaughter.

Radicals are displacing moderates. Winnie Mandela for Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani for Thabo Mbeki, hot-headed Peter Mokaba for Cyril Ramaphosa, PAC for ANC, and a new breed of violent radicals lurk at the corners of the stage. The ANC leaders had plenty of reason for a show of ferocity, and their political demands were not, if you examined them closely, outrageous.

Yet Mr Mandela's accusation that President De Klerk was, like a Nazi, allowing black people to be killed because they were black was untrue, recklessly intemperate, and calculated — whether deliberately or not — to whip up racist feelings. His habit of resorting to extravagant invective is, in a leader of his stature, a weakness.

Chris Hani leaped into the fray with a fresh flood of warlike rhetoric, and Mr Ramaphosa's lugubrious descriptions of Boipatong were so transparently manipulative and politically expedient as to raise the suspicion that the ANC leaders were not altogether displeased to have more blood for the cause. The IFP's Themba Khoza was not slow to take the gap by suggesting — without evidence — that the ANC itself might have perpetrated the massacre.

Of course, the international anti-apartheid movement, anaemic and close to death after two years of negotiations, was revived; its glee was palpable as it launched into a new campaign for sanctions, sports boycotts, and the renewed isolation of South Africa. Not surprisingly, the first victims were the usual soft targets, innocent sportsmen and desperately conciliatory businessmen.

So far, the ANC's methods have all displayed more theatricality than threat. There is a curious dissonance between the ANC's strategy, which rests on the myth that the Nationalist government is a pushover, and its tactics, which are evidence of impotence. Propaganda, boycotts, sanctions, stayaways, strikes, international pressures — these are the methods of the weak.

Strip away cheap political theatre, and what is left is the ANC's real dilemma: it faces a government which is too weak to govern, and too strong to be overthrown. Trapped between an immovable National Party, and an irresistible tide of anger rising on its left, the ANC needs evidence of success if it is to continue negotiating.

The ANC's dilemma? It is South Africa's dilemma.

President De Klerk has done much in three years to strengthen his party and to widen its power base. The core support consists of half the Afrikaners and most of the English whites; the remaining Afrikaners, scattered in disarray on his right, have nowhere else to go in a pinch. A majority of the coloured people, and probably of the Indians, and a scattering of black people now lean towards the National Party.

THIS is not to say the Nationalists will win an election — I am sure they would lose — but that they are in a much better position at home to resist the ANC than they were when Nelson Mandela came out of prison.

Abroad, too, they are in a much stronger position, not only because Mr De Klerk has assiduously gathered diplomatic support. The national reserves of gold and currency, which dropped steadily until mid-1989, have risen since then from practically nothing to about R10-billion; foreign debt shrinks steadily.

In his hands, President De Klerk has an array of immense powers: control of the money supply and the budget, of borders and of tariffs, of transport networks and vehicle fleets, of taxation and expenditure, of the appointment of judges and the deployment of public prosecutors, of police, army and bureaucracy. It is only the inevitable tide of demography, of numbers, that ensures the eventual defeat of his party.

Indeed, his position might seem well-nigh impregnable, except that this mighty array of powers does not, ironically, enable him to govern wisely or well — or, in some case, to govern at all. The bureaucracy is so overblown, so corrupt, and so determined to defend its own privileges that perhaps it is beyond rehabilitation.

WHAT Boipatong has shown, above all, is the cost of a police force which nobody trusts, which does not investigate with vigour, which cannot prevent its own members from opening fire at the most disastrous moments, which will not disband its covert units, and which does not even suspend an officer found by a court, on balance of probability, to be a poisoner.

If the ANC's dilemma is that it lacks the power to achieve its strategic aims, the dilemma of the government is that it cannot direct its power to its own strategic ends. The result is confusion, mayhem and political cynicism. As John Hall lamented this week, we need statesmanship, and we have none.

For the ordinary citizen, chilled by the shadow of anarchy, the only sensible course of action is to batten down. In capricious times, go back to old truths: live frugally, without ostentation; neither a borrower nor a lender be; make your home your castle, or your fortress; avoid the limelight, travel with care, take no risk; cultivate disbelief and caution; prepare for the rainy day but disperse your savings and trust your family above your bank; take a lesson from the world's greatest chroniclers of insecurity, the Jews, and esteem learning above all else.

Hope will return. Until then, take care to survive.

KEN OWEN

WHO WILL LOOK AFTER US NOW?

By SOPHIE TEMA

"OH Lord! Why should it have happened to me?" said young Boipatong massacre survivor, Seipati Mbatha, before breaking into a bout of unrestrained sobbing. *Cape Times 28/6/92*

The mind-numbing massacre of 39 Boipatong residents last Wednesday has left a trail of orphans like Seipati.

More than that, Seipati has been dumped with the responsibility of fending for her six younger siblings – three brothers and three sisters.

Her parents Elizabeth and Jonas died in the slaughter.

In the cruelest twist, the Mbatha family lost little five-year-old Christine Mbatha, who died of her wounds this week, bringing the final death toll to 48.

Two days after the attack Christine featured on the front page of a daily newspaper being comforted in the arms of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Controversy continues to rage over the massacre with pictures of the police firing at residents appearing all over the world, allegations that the police "dropped off" the rent-a-mob, and that a Koevoet-linked arms cache was discovered in a mine on the Reef.

Tomorrow Christine and her parents will be buried with the rest of the victims at a mass funeral reminiscent of the terrible days of the black protest and state repression in the mid-1980s.

Orphans of Boipatong speak of their fears

(278)

After composing herself, Seipati told how she escaped the baying 200-strong male mob who swarmed through the Slovo Park squatter section of Boipatong, slaughtering people indiscriminately.

"Mama, Dad and Christine were in bed. I had already dozed off when Mama woke me and told me that things were bad outside. She also woke Dad and said we must run to my uncle's house nearby.

"Mama took Christine, strapped her to her back and went out the house.

"We tried to run after her to stop her, but a lot of shots went off and we had to run back inside. A few minutes later I opened the front door. I saw Mama standing at my uncle's shack knocking on the door.

"As she stood there knocking I saw two men – one armed with a spear – running towards her.

"The man with the spear said something I could not hear. He stabbed Christine on Mama'a back and then he stabbed Mama a lot of times. Mama lay there on the ground with Christine on her back. They were both screaming.

"Dad and I were too scared to get out of the house but Mama and the baby's dreadful screams forced Dad to go out.

"While he was going towards Mama to help her the very same two men came at Dad and stabbed him.

"I was the only one who stayed in the house. I was so scared I locked myself in. By the Grace of God the two men walked past our shack. Mama was dead by the time we got to her. Dad died at the hospital . . . and now the little one too . . ."

Fifteen-year-old Paul Sebolai is another survivor orphaned by the raid. He lay in terrified silence under a bed with the screams of his dying brother and mother in his ears. They were speared.

While we were talking, the bodies of his loved ones were carried away on stretchers, and loaded into a waiting mortuary van.

Paul, a pupil at the Lebohang High School in Boipatong, spoke in trembling voice of his fears.

"I am all alone . . . What will happen now that they are gone? But I will look up to the Almighty for help and I know he will not forsake me," he said with tears streaming down his cheeks.

Dinah Manyika is unemployed. Her parents were also speared to death. Now she has four brothers and three sisters to parent.

She said: "I will never forget their screams. I shudder every time I think of it."

Man confesses to bloodbath at Boipatong

S/Times 28/6/92 (278)

THE SA police claim they are on the verge of a breakthrough in their investigations into the Boipatong massacre following a confession by one of the attackers.

Sunday Times Reporters

Last night, Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Mostert confirmed that a man had made a statement to a magistrate on Friday night in Vanderbijlpark.

Colonel Mostert said the police expected to arrest more hostel dwellers soon.

The man who confessed provided the police with in-depth details of the bloody attack and names of other hostel residents involved.

Over 40 people were killed in the early morning attack on Wednesday, June 17.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone Commission — assisted by two international experts — will face a tangle of contradictory evidence when it begins investigating the Boipatong massacre on Thursday.

Police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe admitted on Friday the police had not been able to get a single statement as residents of the Vaal Triangle township were unwilling to speak to them.

Violence-monitoring groups, which have been collecting evidence for the past week, say they have statements from residents testifying to police involvement in the attack.

But General Van der Merwe said the police investigation, which involved the interrogation of more than 600 inmates of the Kwamadala Hostel, had indicated that between 200 and 300 hostel-dwellers may have taken part in the massacre.

The police had confiscated 276 assegais, 44 iron rods and other dangerous objects, General Van der Merwe said.

"Some of the weapons, which had traces of blood on them and are being examined," he said.

However, the Goldstone Commission will also have to investigate allegations that members of Koevoet were responsible for the massacre. General Van der Merwe has dismissed the allegations as "infamous lies".

The commission will be seeking answers to the following questions:

- Was the attack in revenge for the alleged necklace murder of a hostel-linked woman?
- Was the death of a policeman near Sebokeng on the day before the massacre related in any way?

Hampered

- What happened during the eight hours which elapsed between the time police were alerted to the attack and their arrival on the scene?
- To what extent has ANC control of the area hampered access to information and witnesses?
- Were Koevoet police units involved?
- Were whites involved in any way?

Meanwhile, the streets of Boipatong have become battle zones.

Trenches have been dug across strategic streets as Casspir traps and barricades made of boulders, tree trunks and burnt-out tyres are manned by ANC youths in overalls.

I didn't call for war, says township priest

S/Times 28/6/92

By EZRA MANTINI

THE man at the centre of the Boipatong call to arms row this week is a self-proclaimed man of peace who says he's preparing to help residents form self-defence units.

But Newsweek magazine has a less contradictory label for the Rev Ernest Sotsu, chairman of the ANC in the region, who it claims is the leader of about 200 ex-guerillas.

Newsweek quotes unnamed officials who describe the Brethren Church priest as a "complete nutcase" bent on taking power.

Mr Sotsu, who admits to being a former Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, stirred up the row when he allegedly told the people of Boipatong to "go to war and drive out the enemy" after the massacre in the township last week. He has since denied making the remark.

Satanic

The fiery priest told a packed crowd at Boipatong hall during a service for the victims: "This violence is a planned violence and it won't end today. It is perpetrated by a satanic type of government."

Mr Sotsu said his church had not reprimanded him for his remarks.

ERNEST SOTSU
Centre of row

Speaking from Boipatong in the company of the ANC's PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and other ANC colleagues, he dismissed claims by Newsweek that he opposed the local ANC leadership.

"The only problem I have is with the local labour movement, Numsa. But it is a domestic problem and I cannot discuss it," he said.

He also denied calling on people to go to war and said: "I merely explained that, as the police and the SADF have declared war on the people, we must learn to defend ourselves.

"There is absolutely nothing wrong with me as a priest teaching and telling people to defend themselves.

"This government has always used the excuse that a man of the cloth has no right to preach about problems that affect people. It is merely an imperialistic approach to think that, as a priest, you are different from ordinary people.

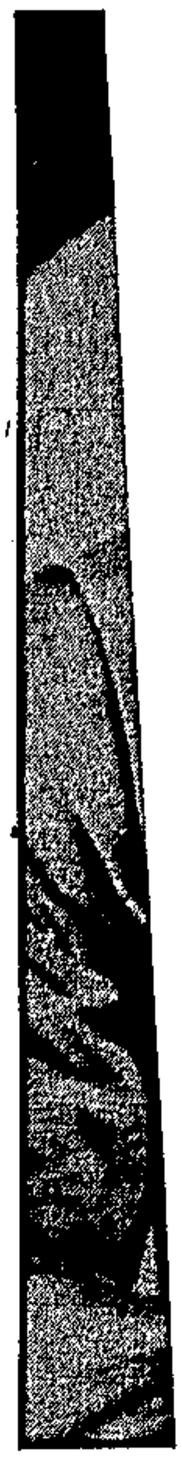
"I am one of the people and I am prepared to die for the liberation of my people."

Accused

Mr Sotsu added that, in 1986, he was arrested in Umtata by Transkei security police while on a mission for the ANC. He said he was jailed for treason and released by Major-General Bantu Holomisa in 1989, whereupon he returned to Boipatong.

The controversial cleric also accused men of the KwaMadala hostel, from which the Boipatong attack was allegedly launched, of being responsible for petrol bombing his house last July while he was at the ANC Congress in Durban.

He lost his wife, daughter and grandchild in the blaze.



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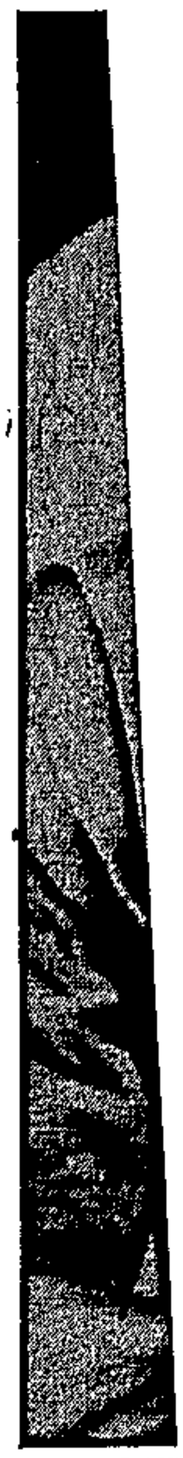

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Squat among bureaucrats

By THEMBA KHUMALO (278)

FOR the past three months employees of the Alexandra Town Council near Johannesburg have been battling to carry out their administrative duties effectively because of the presence of dozens of displaced families in their offices.

"Sometimes I stumble on a couple exercising their conjugal rights when I come into the office in the morning," said local town clerk Willie Khumalo.

The families moved into the council offices in March after being hounded out of their homes by hostel-dwellers, believed to be IPF supporters, from the nearby Madala Hostel.

The destitute families occupied the offices to put pressure on the council authorities to do something about their plight. Most of the families moved in with children and they are exposed to the chilly winter conditions. C/Press 28/6/92.

Although the security forces have succeeded in restoring relative peace in the trouble-torn township, they have not been able to evict the invaders from the houses.

A resident said: "The police told us that it's not their duty to evict hostel inmates from our houses."

Khumalo said the matter was so serious that it had been referred to the Interim Crisis Committee (ICC), which consisted of various political organisations.

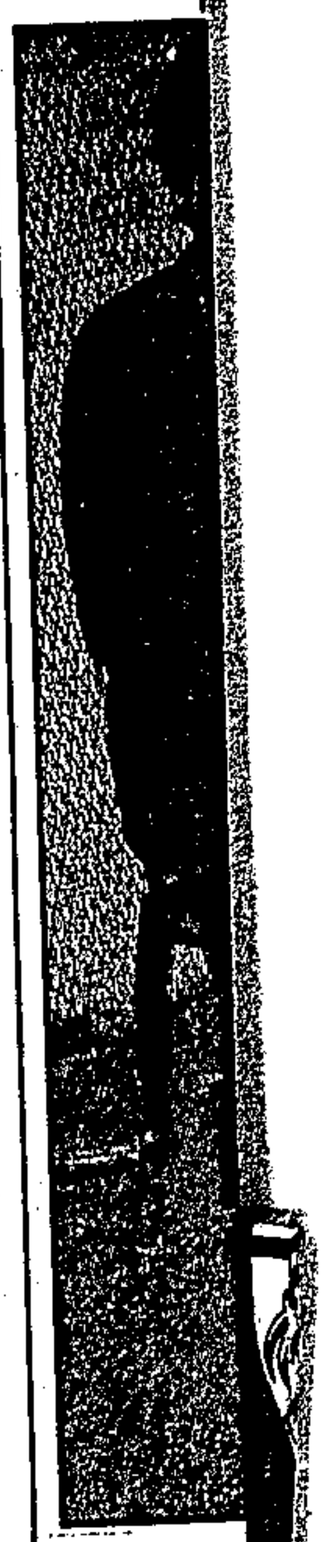
The crisis had forced the council to rent temporary offices nearby. Most employees had already moved to the new offices, Khumalo said.

"I'll follow in a week or two," said Khumalo, who moved into the former mayor's office after his was occupied by the families.

To an outer-space visitor the offices could easily be mistaken for waiting-rooms at a railway station in a Third World country. Noises vary from Primus stoves used for cooking meals to yelling infants and loud music which blares from portable radios.

Matters are made worse by the presence of a big beerhall in the council premises where most of the unemployed squatters spend the better part of the day.

Khumalo said: "We don't have many problems with them, except for young boys who occasionally drag girls around. Quite often the families co-operate with us."



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C/Press 28/6/92 (278)

It's up to FW to break the political deadlock

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE tragic deaths of 45 people in the sleepy Vaal township last week that shocked the world could signal a turning point in negotiations for SA's future.

Following the failure of Codesa 2 and subsequent trading of accusations between Pretoria and the ANC, there was general consensus that the government was prepared to hang tough against the ANC's mass action campaign.

Several government spokesmen left little doubt that they were bracing themselves to meet the ANC head-on – which would have delayed movement towards resolving the constitutional impasse.

Ironically, Boipatong has changed all this.

Although no solid evidence has emerged linking the government to complicity in the killings – save claims by residents that the killers were ferried to Boipatong in casspirs – there is no doubt that the government has taken a serious knock over this tragedy.

International condemnation of Pretoria, particularly by Western Europe and the United States, has been muted, but it is there nonetheless.

A leading ANC official told City Press that "important voices among SA's major trading partners", have told the government that the Boipatong outrage does not inspire investor confidence and cannot be tolerated.

In a matter of days following Boipatong, State President FW de Klerk found himself forced to plug a burst dam of anger with his fingers. Apart from international censure, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (the country's barometer of stability) took a dip and the participation of our sportsmen in international events including the Barcelona Olympics, was threatened.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who has been quiet since the start of negotiations, has threatened to mobilise international pressure to exclude SA from Barcelona unless certain steps are taken to end the violence and achieve a political settlement.

The cumulative effect of all this means that, if in the weeks before Boipatong the onus to get the talks back on track lay principally with the ANC and the government, it is now the government which must deliver a lot more to save the process.

With its back against the wall the government will, in the next few weeks or even days, take a serious look at how far to go in rescuing the talks.

Having built an impressive image locally and abroad as a reformist, De Klerk will have to take drastic measures to keep his image. His immediate task is to address the ANC demands.

An angry ANC national executive committee – after meeting for several hours in Kempton Park near Johannesburg – has come up with 14 tough but by no means unreasonable demands (see box) the government must address if the talks are to resume.

The organisation says it is willing to return to the negotiating table if significant progress can be made in satisfying – not necessarily *meeting* (our emphasis) – the demands.

That the ANC is in an angry mood is understandable. Its political standing has also taken a knock in recent weeks. Internally the organisation is faced with a restive membership (even some leadership) which questions the wisdom of placing too much faith in negotiations.

Externally, since the impasse at Codesa, the organisation has had to live with the constant refrain from rivals (PAC and Azapo) that De Klerk had sold them (ANC) a dud cheque.

The rejoinder by PAC and Azapo – "We told you so!" – must have been rankling to the ANC leadership, especially Nelson Mandela, who has placed so much faith in Codesa and the integrity of De Klerk.

While the ANC was still trying without much conviction to justify participation in Codesa – along came Boipatong. The organisation was under even more pressure.

At the same time the ANC was painfully aware that they had to do something urgent or risk losing support to their rivals. The sight of desperate Boipatong residents demanding weapons from Apla, the PAC's military wing, must have been unsettling.

After much agonising, withdrawing from Codesa and cancelling all bilateral talks with the government was the only route left for the organisation. Yet, Boipatong may in fact save the negotiations.

De Klerk is now placed in a situation where he must seek a political understanding with the ANC. The ball is now firmly in his court to break the deadlock.

As one senior ANC official stated: "After Boipatong, the government is now forced to take demonstrable action to curb the violence and also resolve the impasse at Codesa."

By cutting short his trip to Spain where he was to open a South African exhibition, De Klerk has shown that perhaps he has now grasped fully the magnitude of the problem.

On arrival in Pretoria, he announced at a hastily convened international media conference that the government and the ANC should meet as soon as possible to break the current impasse and get the negotiations on track. He has proposed that the two meet over two days. The date and venue of such a meeting – it is a moot point whether they will take place – has not yet been agreed.

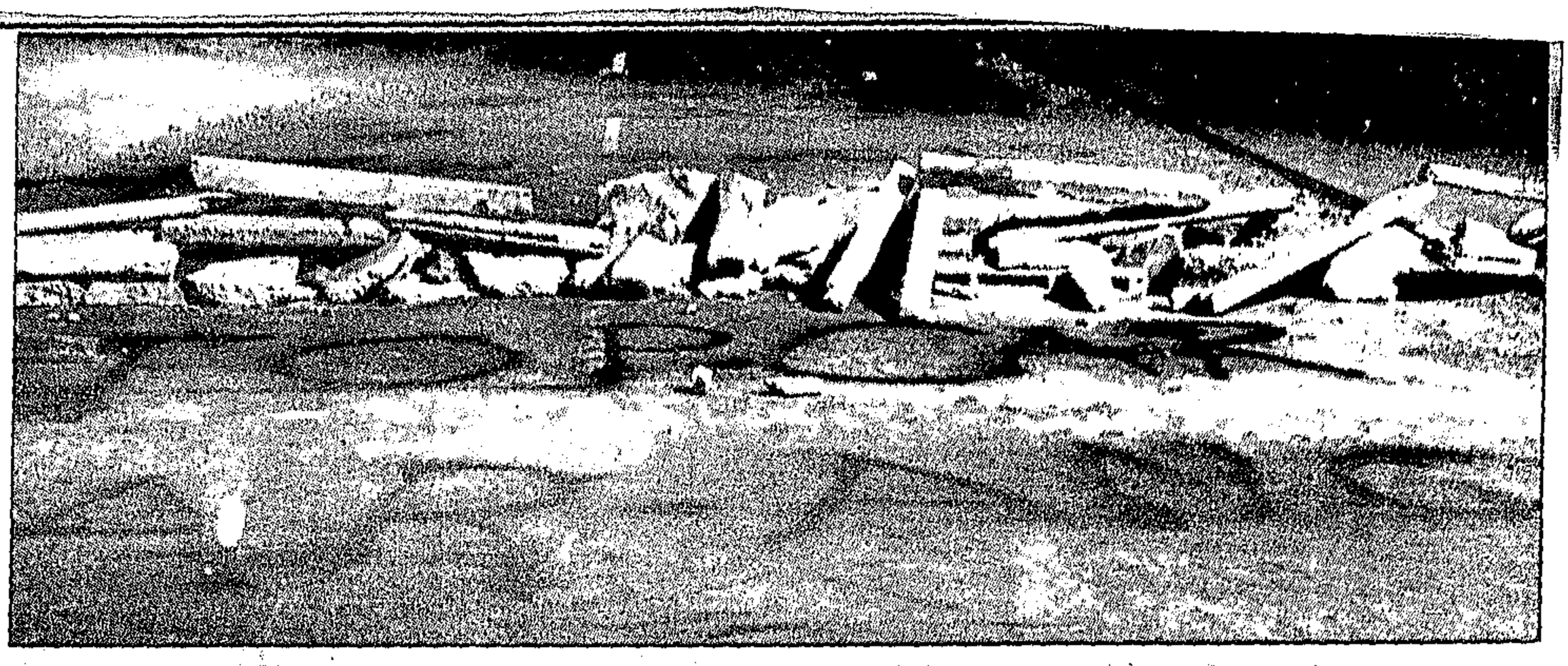
But such a meeting, brought about as a result of Boipatong and its aftermath, may well determine the future of the negotiations.

This will of course depend on whether De Klerk will satisfy in a significant way the ANC demands – especially the curbing of the slaughter.

"GO AWAY MURDERER!" ... FW de Klerk was forced to flee Boipatong in the wake of the massacre when enraged chanting youths besieged his car. Shots were fired after the presidential party left and three more people were killed.

IN THE WAKE OF SLAUGHTER ... Municipal bulldozers clear away the makeshift roadblocks of concrete and rubble erected by Boipatong residents after the night of death. ■ Pics: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Hope rises out of Boipatong ashes



BOIPATONG BARRICADE ... A defenceless community tries to protect itself against night attackers.

LAST RIDE . . . Security guards [illegible]

Shadowy youth group enters battlefield

By MOSES MAMAILA

(278)

"WHAT's the score ?" asked one Soweto resident. "Five-three," replied another.

Overhearing the conversation, a listener would not realise that the tally was not goals in a soccer match, but a count of human lives – in this case, the number of people killed in fighting between hostel dwellers and the residents in the township.

But who is winning this cruel game of death? Few people know.

The two speakers were saying that five hostel dwellers had been mowed down in a gunfire attack, while three residents were pushed to their deaths from a moving train near Orlando station this week.

Two of the five victims of the pre-dawn raid on Dobsonville hostel were women, according to Soweto police spokesman Capt Govindsamy Mariemuthoo.

On Wednesday, scores of commuters on a moving Johannesburg-bound train were flung off. Three died and several others were injured.

The ongoing fighting between residents and hostel dwellers in Soweto is being sharpened into organised warfare by a shadowy youth movement calling itself Youth for the Revolution. C/Press 28/6/92.

The organisation, which is independent from the ANC, has claimed responsibility for the attack on Dobsonville hostel.

'Only one' Boipatong confession

(278)
CT 29/6/92

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

POLICE yesterday confirmed that only one confession has been made in connection with the Boipatong massacre, but remained tight-lipped about possible further confessions.

According to weekend reports, a number of confessions of involvement in the massacre of more than 40 people had been made before a Vaal magistrate by hostel dwellers from KwaMadala, who apparently broke down under police interrogations.

However, police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce yesterday confirmed only one confession. He would not discuss its contents or who made it.

He said it was not police policy to release information about confessions because this could tip off wanted persons.

Another spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe, said last night that rifles and ammunition found in the possession of a unit of former Koevoet trackers staying in the Greenside Collieries hostel near Witbank by a Goldstone Commission team, had been issued to the unit's leadership.

Colonel Crewe said that under a cabinet decision only the handlers in the unit were policemen and might carry firearms.

The trackers themselves were classed as civilian labourers, had no powers of arrest and might not be issued with weapons.

He said the unit's handlers offered the weapons to the commission for ballistics tests but the commission had not yet accepted the offer.

Colonel Crewe said police would not object to independent ballistics tests, "otherwise it looks like we have something to hide". However, a decision on testing remained with the Goldstone Commission.

The trackers had been moved out of the colliery hostel because of "friction with other workers there".

Boipatong victims mourned today

(278)

STEPHANE BOTHMA

HUNDREDS of services and prayer meetings will be held across SA today to coincide with the funeral of the Boipatong massacre victims. B/Day 29/6/92

Employer organisations have called on companies to take a sympathetic view of employee absences, but they do not expect a serious disruption of industry.

Several political, church and employer organisations as well as businesses throughout the country indicated that lunch-time prayer and commemorative services would be held.

Police yesterday said violence in the Vaal triangle could be expected, and the situation would be closely monitored by security forces.

Yesterday's unrest report listed five deaths and said police had come under fire in several townships on Saturday.

A sergeant was wounded when his patrol car was shot at in an ambush in Boipatong. Police were also attacked in Sebokeng and Evaton in the Vaal Triangle.

Seifsa executive director Brian Angus said employers should allow workers to attend prayers.

"One hopes this day will be recognised as a day of dignified mourning and that nobody uses it as a springboard for further violence," Angus said.

Sacob earlier advised "no work, no pay"

□ To Page 2

Boipatong

B/Day 29/6/92 (278)

□ From Page 1

in cases of a stayaway, but no disciplinary action. It suggested practical actions that would not disrupt the workplace such as prayer services, lowering of company flags and collections of money for victims.

President F W de Klerk has encouraged employers to follow the state's example in giving workers the chance to express sympathy with the victims in an appropriate way.

De Klerk last week said government would allow public sector workers to attend today's mass funeral at Boipatong and other commemorative services.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said although his organisation supported the ANC's call for a national day of mourning, the only region that would be affected would be Boipatong, where the ANC, SA Council of Churches, Cosatu and Numsa would address mourners at the funeral of the 42 massacre victims.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said sporadic local stayaways could be expected, particularly in the Vaal Triangle.

The chamber said information provided by a recent survey on mass action showed the business community felt overwhelming sympathy for victims of violence.

Sapa reports the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has appealed to its members to allow employees to attend a lunchtime inter-faith service at St George's Cathedral today.

Meanwhile president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement Trevor Huddlestone left London to attend the funeral.

Coinciding with the funeral in the township today will be a service at St Martin-in-the-Fields church in London, Sapa-AFP reports.

Coretta Scott King, widow of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, will not attend the funeral.

In a message to Archbishop Desmond Tutu declining an invitation to attend, King called for "nonviolent force" to be used to end all traces of apartheid.

King said in a statement which would be read at the funeral: "Although I cannot be with you in person, I join in your grief and outrage as you lay to rest the innocent men, women and children who were so brutally massacred at Boipatong by Inkatha and the South African Police."

● Comment: Page 6

Thousands brave cold to attend massacre funeral

STAR 29/6/92

Staff Reporters (278)

Thousands of mourners today trudged through the freezing pre-dawn smog that hung over the Vaal Triangle on their way to Boipatong Stadium to bury the victims of the June 17 massacre.

Streets throughout the Vaal area were deserted

By 8.30 the Boipatong Stadium was only about half full, but reporters from The Star said several thousand more people were streaming into the stadium, after being searched at the gate.

The first two coffins of the 42 victims of the massacre arrived at the stadium just before 8.30 on the back of a bakkie surrounded by mourning family members, wrapped up against the cold.

A spokesman for the Vaal Transport Corporation in Vereeniging confirmed that buses had not transported workers from the township today.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said all Vaal Triangle townships were quiet this morning.

He said security forces were deployed on the outskirts of townships to monitor the proceedings, but were keeping a low profile.

The Star's Vereeniging office received complaints from domestic workers of intimidation. They said they had been threatened with death if they were caught at work or on residential streets.

The funeral, organised by the SA Council of Churches, was expected to be one of South Africa's biggest.

The youngest massacre victim to be buried today is nine-month-old Aaron Mathope. At least 42 people were killed in the attack, and another three — who will also be buried today — were killed by police gunfire when President de Klerk tried to visit Boipatong three days later.

The funeral was expected to be attended by tens of thousands of mourners, including British Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, former Zimbabwean President Canaan Banana and foreign diplomats.

Speakers will include PAC leader Clarence Makwetu, Azapo leader Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, SACP leader Chris Hani and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Police said at the weekend that inmates of KwaMadala hostel had confessed to being involved in the Boipatong slaughter and that some had provided police with a battle plan drawn up by hostel leaders.

According to the Sunday Star, the first formal confession to a Vaal magistrate was made on Friday by one of the six hostel dwellers detained earlier by police.

An ANC witness on Friday told the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria that former Koevoet counter-insurgency members based at Greenside Colliery, and currently employed by the police as trackers, had taken part in the massacre.

Police have denied that the members had anything to do with the attack.

ANC lawyer Peter Harris confirmed the organisation would today bring more witnesses before the Goldstone Commission to substantiate allegations that former Koevoet members were involved in the massacre.

1 killed, 3 hurt after abduction

(278) CT 29/6/92

PRETORIA. — A man was killed in clashes between ANC and IFP members in Empangeni, Natal, after about 200 ANC supporters abducted five Inkatha men on Saturday.

Police said three other men were wounded and the homes of three IFP supporters set alight.

Near Murchison on the Natal South Coast two men were shot and killed in a fight between ANC and IFP supporters. A man and a woman were wounded by AK-47 rifle fire and another man was later found dead. Two homes were also burned down.

In the same area on Friday night three people were shot dead and two wounded in an attack on an ANC refugee camp and, later, an Inkatha kraal.

In KwaMashu, near Durban, a young woman was seriously injured and a man slightly wounded when a handgrenade was hurled into a house.

In the Transvaal a police sergeant was wounded in Boipatong when a patrol vehicle was shot at.

Another policeman was wounded in Sebokeng when youths stoned a police patrol. Two youths were wounded in the incident.

In the same township a home was set alight.

The body of a man with bullet wounds was found in the Kwa-Masisa hostel in Sebokeng at 7.50pm on Friday.

Two men were found dead next to the railway line near Katlehong on the East Rand at 10.30am on Friday. At the same time, another man was found dead next to the tracks in Germiston.

Police found the body of a fourth man beside the railway line between Germiston's Union and Wattles stations at 6.45pm.

A man was stabbed to death in Jeppestown on the Witwatersrand.

At Nogamuni, KwaZulu, alleged IFP supporters armed with spears attacked and wounded a woman, said the police report. No arrests were made.

KwaZulu policemen were ambushed in Kwa-Makhutha, south of Durban, and a police station in the township damaged in a handgrenade attack on Thursday. No one was injured.

— Sapa

VIPs for Boipatong funeral of massacre victims

(278)

ARG 29/6/92

JOHANNESBURG. — South African and international dignitaries are attending the funeral of 37 of the Boipatong massacre victims in the township today.

The sermon will be preached by the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu.

Other church leaders present are SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane, SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo, the presiding bishop of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, Wilfred Napier, and Methodist president Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

International guests are Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Zimbabwean ex-president the Rev Canaan Banana, and the Rev Humphrey Taylor, who will represent the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Speakers include Mr Jay Naidoo (Cosatu), Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe (Azapo), Mr Cunningham Ngakana (Nactu), Mr Chris Hani (SA Communist Party), Mr Clarence Makwetu (Pan Africanist Congress), Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (African National Congress) and Mr Aubrey Mokadi (Vaal Civic Association).

The Council of Churches in Namibia is holding a memorial service in Windhoek in solidarity with the bereaved families.

According to a Namibian TV report, the service will be held at St Mary's Catholic Cathedral this afternoon.

In an earlier Press statement the CCN condemned the killings.

"The perpetrators of this dastardly deed are none other than those opposed to a peaceful resolution of the South African crisis, through negotiations within Codesa," it said.

The CCN also urged the international community to support the South African Council of Churches' call to the government to respond to the African National Congress ultimatum before July 15.

"The Council of Churches in Namibia expresses its deepest sympathy with the bereaved families ... as well as solidarity with all the people of South Africa as they struggle for freedom and emancipation," the statement said.

"We are with them in our daily prayers". — Sapa.

International assessors will join Goldstone investigation this week

CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — A British academic and a former Indian chief justice will fly to SA on Thursday to start overseeing investigations into the Boipatong massacre.

Judge Richard Goldstone said at the weekend that because of the urgency of the ANC's mass action campaign he hoped new rules for police and crowd behaviour could be put into effect within three weeks. He named the international assessor in the Boipatong massacre probe as former Indian chief justice Judge Bhagwati.

The man who would evaluate the police probe was Reading University criminal justice director Prof Peter Waddington.

Five other top experts from the US and Britain would join five top SA counterparts in the Goldstone commission subcommittee probe into mass public demonstrations, beginning in Cape Town on July 9, Goldstone said. Immediate input would come from lawyers, psychologists and other experts who were now considering submissions from the ANC, Cosatu, municipalities and police on mass demonstrations.

Goldstone said the commission would draft legislation, for submission to government, on aspects of conduct. On the current potential for violence with the ANC's mass action campaign, the judge said he hoped for rules and agreement between the parties within three weeks.

Goldstone arrived in London last week from France where he had been probing the "absolutely fascinating" French system of judicial checks on the police. He said SA could learn from the system.

In London, he is scheduled to meet UK Constabulary chief inspector Sir John Woodcock, the UK police's quality and service division head, Peter Martin, and top appeal court judges and barristers.

He will also see senior Home Office officials, Amnesty International researchers, Aid and Development minister Lynda Chalker and a member of the recent International Commission of Jurists mission to SA, John MacDonald QC.

Goldstone said he had been in almost daily contact with his commission.

He welcomed the "highly unusual" request by the SAP to have their Boipatong massacre probe evaluated by an outsider.

The commission's most important function would be to act as a catalyst to bring about a new culture of policing in SA, he said.

Goldstone said that after hearing of the Boipatong massacre in France, he had felt "deep anguish, concern and horror" that it could happen when it seemed the option of peace in SA was a reality.

He said he now felt a tremendous sense of urgency about his probe.

He said there had been 10 500 demonstrations in SA in the 18 months since President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech, three of them "violent".

Massacre: 500 gather to mourn

CT 29/6/92

(27)

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 500 people crowded into a Nyanga church yesterday and heard a senior Cosatu official charge that President F W de Klerk could not escape culpability for the Boipatong massacre.

Cosatu national assistant-secretary Mr Sam Shilowa said he had been one of the people who had visited Boipatong and had seen that children as young as three years of age had been stabbed.

"I can understand that someone can be shot from a distance, but what I cannot understand is when grown men stab children to death."

He alleged it was not the first time that people had died in state-sponsored violence, saying: "The time has come for us to say we've had enough".

The nation mourns

Boipatong set for mass funeral

(278)

Sowetan 29/6/92

SOUTH Africa is a nation in mourning today as 37 victims of the Boipatong massacre are buried.

The mass funeral in Sharpeville is expected to be attended by thousands of mourners from throughout the country.

Industry and commerce, especially in the PWV area, are expected to be paralysed as workers heed a call by political organisations and trade unions to observe a national day of mourning.

The ANC and Cosatu have issued a joint statement calling for the day to be observed "with dignity."

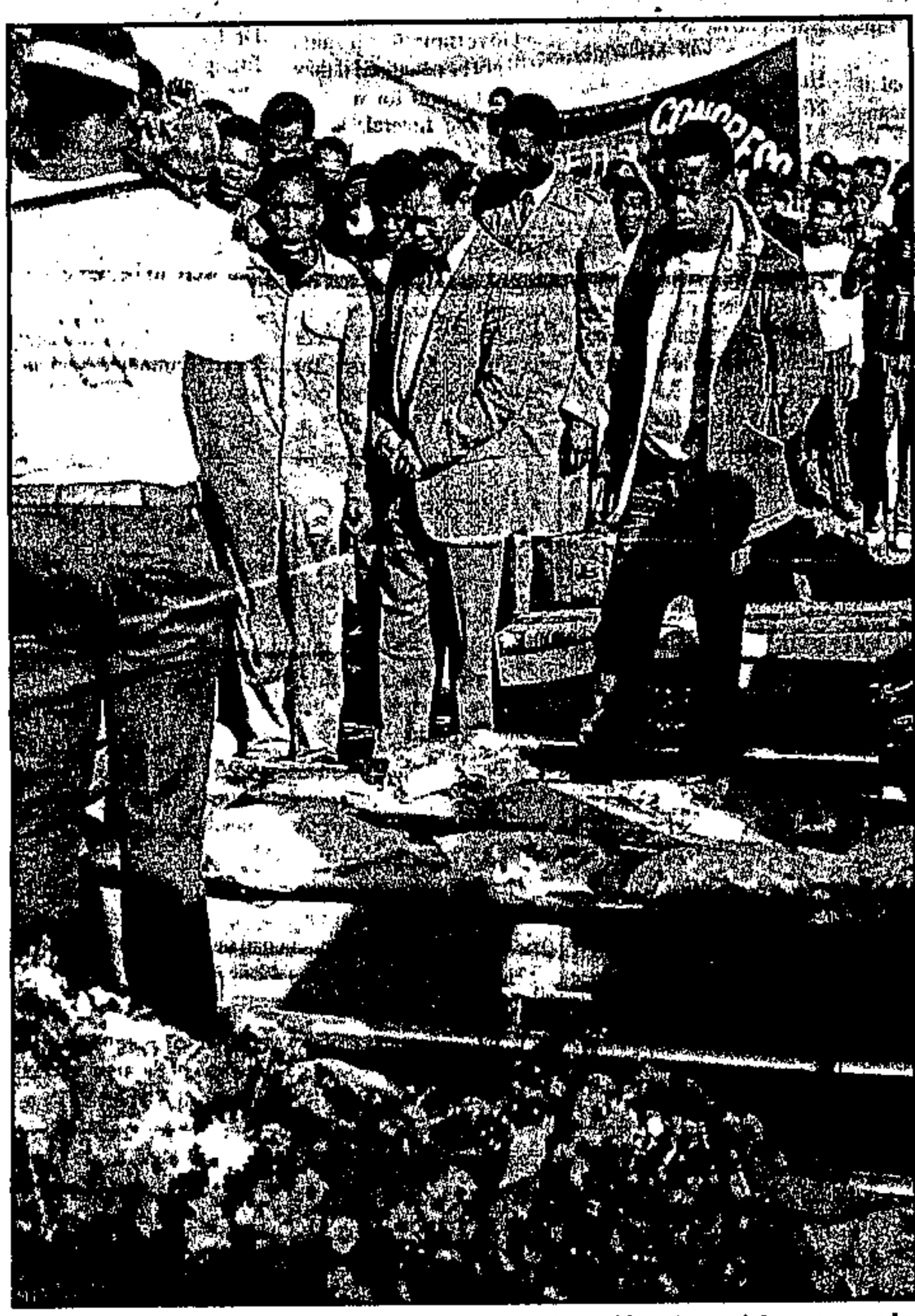
The Boipatong funeral committee yesterday said the 37 will be buried at the Sharpeville Cemetery after a service at the local stadium.

Eleven other victims were buried last week and at the weekend in separate funerals at various places including Venda, Transkei, Virginia and Heilbron.

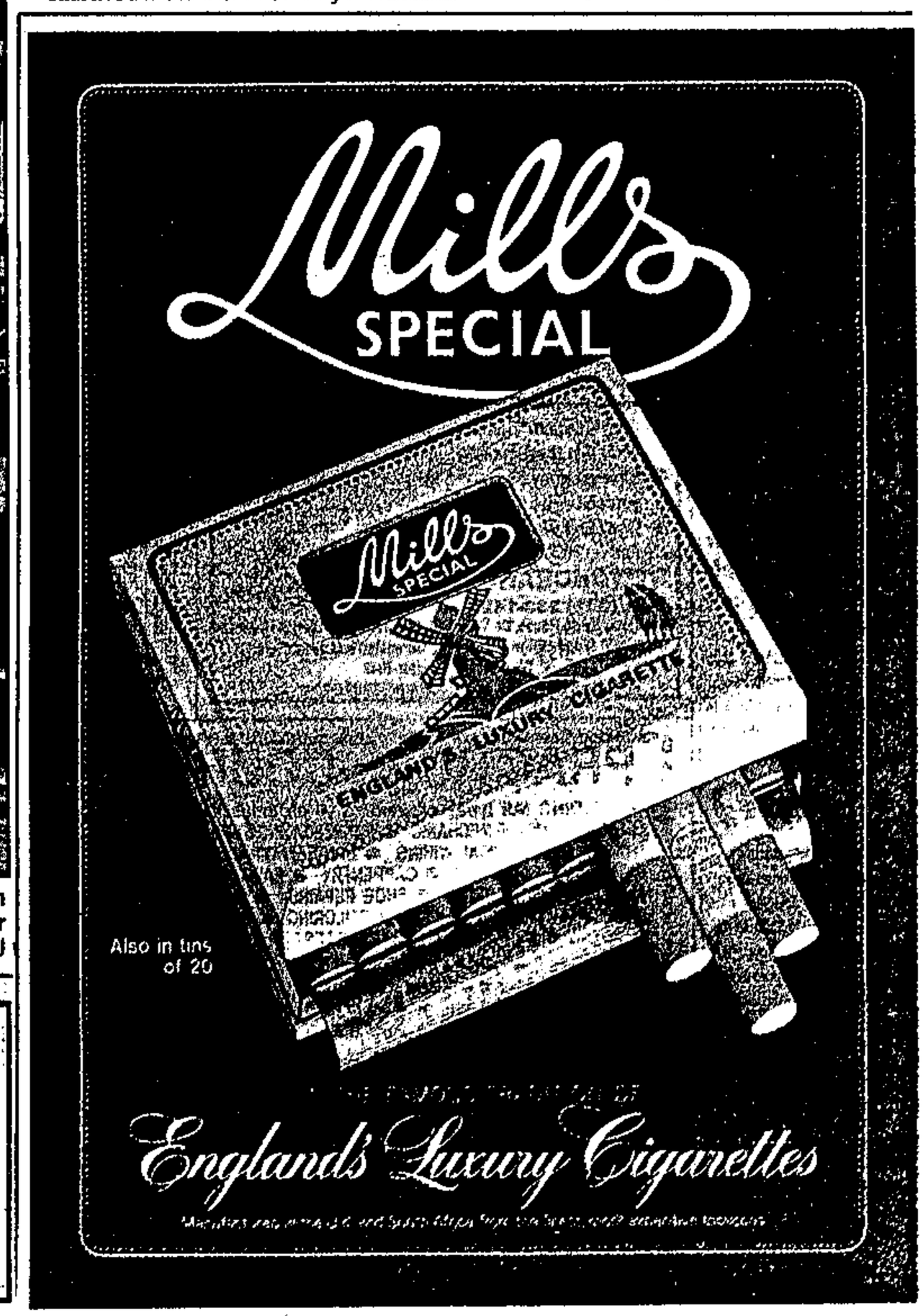
Officials confirmed that the service will start at 8am.

And in Soweto yesterday, mourners buried four of the nine victims of the June 16 Moletsane massacre.

●Full reports on page 2



The coffins of four of the 10 people who were shot dead in an attack by gunmen in Moletsane, Soweto, on June 16 are about to be lowered into graves during their burial at Avalon Cemetery yesterday. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU



Creating a better Sowetan for you

— Page 3

Boipatong Watch

TWELVE days have passed since the massacre of 49 people at Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle. Police at the weekend said about 300 hostel dwellers had taken part in the attack. Only six people have been detained.

Diplomats and VIPs to mourn Vaal victims

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Sowetan 29/6/92

DIGNITARIES including diplomats from various embassies will attend today's mass burial of Boipatong's massacre victims.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and former Zimbabwean president Bishop Canaan Banana are among the dignitaries who will attend the funeral.

Diplomats from countries such as the United States, Germany, Britain and France will attend.

By KENOSI MODISANE

The United States Embassy in Pretoria announced yesterday that it will "join South Africans in observing a day of mourning for the victims."

The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches will conduct the service.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, will deliver the sermon.

Speakers at the service will include the ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, SACP's Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Chris Hani, and Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Moses Mayekiso.

Soweto shops will be closed from noon to 1pm to observe the national day of mourning.

Mr Thami Skhenjana, general-secretary of the Soweto Independent Shopkeepers Association yesterday said: "We are only showing solidarity as South Africans affected by the senseless carnage raging through our country."

Government servants will not be penalised if they did not report for work to attend the funeral. President FW De Klerk made the announcement last week.

According to Sapa, the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates has requested principals of schools and colleges under its control to arrange for prayers to be offered collectively at special assemblies today.

The chairman of the HoD Ministers' Council, Dr JN Reddy, said it was fitting children should be encouraged to become emotionally involved by taking part in prayers for an end to violence.

Vista University has postponed all examinations that were to be written today.

The University Management Committee said the examinations would be written on July 2.

Witness in hiding

Sowetan 29/6/92

A WITNESS who claimed he saw police escort KwaMadala Hostel dwellers into Boipatong shortly before the massacre has gone into hiding.

(278)

Mr Meshack Theoane of Slovo camp in the township told Sowetan last week that he feared for his life and then disappeared.

Theoane, an attendent at a petrol station near the township, said he was on night duty when he saw hundreds of men escorted by police on foot and others in two Casspirs cross into Boipatong from the hostel.

His claim that the attack was carried out by KwaMadala Hostel dwellers was at the weekend supported by police who said about 300 dwellers had taken part in the attack.

However, police denied the armed mob was escorted by members of the force.

Theoane said: "Two policemen came to us and ordered us into a room behind the garage. One of them threatened us with death if we told people what we had seen."

IFP refutes complicity in massacre

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Sowetan 29/6/92

SA Press Association

THE Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party has condemned the Boipatong massacre and strongly refuted its alleged complicity in the tragedy which left 49 people dead.

"No IFP structure - national, regional or local - made any decision to attack Boipatong, nor did any IFP structure have any awareness that the attack was to take place," the party said in a statement after a meeting of its central committee in Ulundi.

The IFP said it would call on the National Peace Committee to arrange an emergency meeting with all parties and organisations that signed the National Peace Accord before, and in addition, to a meeting already planned for July 30.

The party would also ask the NPC to urge the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging, the Conservative Party, the Azanian Peoples Organsiation and the Pan Africanist Congress to sign the National Peace Accord.

The IFP charged the South African Council of Churches with not successfully promoting peace, saying the recent utterings of certain church leaders had shown a political bias.

It was also decided at the meeting to call on SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane to meet with an IFP delegation to explain the biblical grounds which supported the SACC's endorsement of the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa.

The IFP further re-committed itself to non-violent strategies and tactics, distancing itself from any suggestions to establish military structures.

"We particularly call on all memebers of the Central Committee to spread the IFP's rejection of the call to establish a so-called Bambatha battalion," the statement said.

The IFP also expressed its condolences to the families of all those who died in the Boipatong massacre.

Life becoming cheap - Gerwel

Sowetan 29/6/92

SOUTH Africans were in danger of becoming used to the senseless loss of human life.

Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape, said they were developing a national consciousness in which human life, and particularly the lives of black people, became cheap.

Gerwel was speaking at a winter graduation ceremony at UWC on Saturday.

"Boipatong is a national tragedy and it touches each of us," he said.

Boipatong is another tombstone in the bloodstained history of South Africa and stands in recent history with Sharpeville and with Soweto 1976.

"Let us commit ourselves and work for true democracy in our country. And for peace. And for justice. Let us in that way honour the dead of Boipatong," Gerwel said. - *Sapa.*

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Why cops are losing credibility

In this fourth part of our series on the role of the police and their handling of investigations into the ongoing violence, Sowetan Investigations Editor MATHATHA TSEDU (right), looks at why police continue to lose credibility and respect in the black townships.

THREE developments last week, unrelated but linked, have served to reaffirm public perception of police unreliability in curbing the violence.

These developments, coming on the eve of the mass funeral today of the victims of the Boipatong massacre, not only erode the remaining credibility of the police but heighten tensions in the affected areas.

Vulnerable communities, who see the police as part and parcel of the raiding impis, are looking elsewhere for protection - military wings of their liberation movements.

It is a serious indictment on the country's police force that responsible people such as priests should feel compelled to stand up and say, just as Reverend Ernest Sotsu said at a memorial service last Thursday, that people should form defence units and go to war instead of relying on the police and "their Satanical state" for protection.

The accusation of bias and or indifference is rejected by the police. But the lack of progress in the investigations of attacks such as Boipatong and other massacres, as opposed to the swift responses by the same police force when a white farmer or his wife is killed, are quoted by the public as proof of bias.

In one of these developments, the National Peace Committee, at an emergency meeting, resolved that individuals from the private sector would be appointed to monitor police activities "of a sensitive, violence related nature".

Sowetan 29/6/92.

On Wednesday, an investigation team of the Goldstone Commission raided a house at the Greenside Collieries Mine in Witbank after receiving information from the ANC, linking people there with the Boipatong killings.

The team found ex-Koevoet members and an arsenal of weapons.

Koevoet is a notorious unit of the South African Police which was used in Namibia to torture civilians in the anti-Swapo war.

In another development, a Boipatong resident who works for Unipark Motors situated at the entrance to the township and opposite KwaMadala Hostel, said he saw the raiding impis going into Boipatong and raised alarm through a special button linked to the police station.

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Police, he said, arrived on the scene within 15 minutes but failed to act.

He said they left, only to return later and took him and a security guard to a nearby factory from where they could not see what was happening in the township.

He said he went back to the filling station in time to see the impi returning to the hostel in the company of police.

Police spokesman Major Ray Harrald has refused to comment on the allegations, saying this may jeopardise ongoing investigations.

He instead called on the man and other people who may have information about the massacre to make statements to the police.

"We are getting no co-operation from the residents of Boipatong", he said, blaming the ANC for the lack of co-operation.

Harrald's dilemma of public disinterest in providing police with information sums up the public perception of the role police play in the violence.

As illustrated by the three developments, the fact that even the NPC has expressed what amounts to a vote of no confidence in the police's ability to deal with "violence related" situations indicates the depth of the problem.

Still in the Vaal, when State President FW de Klerk was chased out of the tiny township 10 days ago, police shot and killed a man who they said was chasing another with a panga.

The police later shot at a crowd of people who were apparently stopping them from taking the body of the dead man away.

They killed two more people and injured at least 18 others.

The police said they fired shots because the people were refusing a mortuary attendant to carry the body away.

As they were doing this, a team of 200 "crack" detectives was being refused entry into KwaMadala Hostel by inmates.

These were men suspected of killing (at that time) 39 people but no shots were fired by the police, and no one was injured.

To date, only five men are known to have been held for questioning.

This reinforces the belief that police are lenient in dealing with hostel dwellers.

This is despite the fact that hostel inmates have been implicated in at least 261 attacks on township residents between July 1990 and April this year, resulting in at least 1 207 deaths.

KwaMadala Hostel had been responsible for 10 attacks in which 50 people were killed. This was until April this year and prior to the Boipatong massacre.

In these attacks - which include attacks on train commuters - police arrested at least 40 people in connection with at least seven incidents.

All the attackers were hostel dwellers.

Today, Boipatong gathers to mourn and bury its dead who include children, youths, women and men.

They have joined the long list of victims of what has now come to be conceptualised as violence.

And as the thousands gather for the mass funeral, uppermost in people's minds all over the country is where will the attackers hit next?

Added to that is the question: When will those responsible for the more than 7 000 deaths in the past two and half years be arrested and brought before the country's courts for justice to take its course?

● **Tomorrow we look at the role played by Soweto hostels in the violence.**

4 Moletsane victims buried

Sowetan 29/6/92

By TSALE MAKAM

FOUR people who were shot dead in an attack on residents at Moletsane, Soweto, on June 16 were buried yesterday.

They were among 10 victims who were killed by gunmen who fired randomly at people on that night after rallies were held to commemorate Soweto Day.

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Those buried yesterday were Mr Phillip Mosia (32) Mr Patrick Maduna (58) Mr Skatie Mphahlele (62) and Mr Jacob Karabo Metsing (15). They were buried after a joint funeral attended by representatives of the African National Congress, SA Communist Party and Azanian People's Organisation at the Roman Catholic Church in Moletsane.

All the organisations stressed a necessity for unity among black political organisations.

Azapo's Mr Lybon Mabasa said: "We have become one big burial society. It's time blacks stood up and said never again."

Mr Jerry Kau of the Moletsane Civic Asssociation thanked the Red Cross and the SA Council of Churches who provided financial assistance to the bereaved families.

Within hours of the funeral the Mosia family arrived home to find Phillip Mosia's uncle dead.

Mr Charles Ralisia (72) suffered from asthma.

Hundreds of people formed a guard of honour as the hearses carrying four of the nine people who were shot dead in an attack in Moletsane, Soweto, on June 16 enter Avalon Cemetery.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

2 METRO

Shock, heartbreak for detective

STAR 29/6/92 (278)

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

A Vaal Triangle detective, who lost his home, car and virtually all his personal possessions when a mob set them alight last week, told at the weekend of his heartbreak at being ostracised by the community he serves.

Detective Constable Andriase Makgobotloane (41) was speaking at a press conference at the Vanderbijlpark police station following the attack by rampaging youths on his home in Sebokeng Zone 13.

"Sebokeng is becoming a second Phola Park, where policemen are deliberately being driven out," said Constable Makgobotloane, who has served in the police force for 12 years.

He was not insured, and his losses are estimated at about R130 000.

"I love my job and my community and have served everyone impartially — regardless of whether they are Inkatha or ANC supporters, or rich or poor people.

"I am not only surprised, but shocked, at the treatment I have received from my community now."

Constable Makgobotloane has identified some of the attackers on his home as the children of residents in his community, whom he had assisted in the past with schooling and housing problems.

He said the attack took place on Wednesday after an anonymous telephone call in the morning, warning him that his home was going to be burnt down.

While he and a few colleagues were loading his furniture and other possessions onto an armoured vehicle, a group of about 30 youths surrounded them and started hurling petrol bombs.

The policemen retaliated by firing shots to disperse the group, but the detective's house and belongings were already on fire and were destroyed by the flames shortly afterwards.

"Members of my community were responsible for all of this, and all I have left now are unanswered questions — why they did this to me."

Referring to claims of police collusion in ongoing township violence — including the Boipatong massacre — Constable Makgobotloane stressed that he would never have joined the SAP and would not still be a member of the force if this were true.

He said that although he was afraid for his life, he was not concerned about disclosing his identity. He said he would continue to serve in the SAP — like many other colleagues who had found themselves in a similar situation.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said it was clear that township residents wanted members of the police out of the area. But the SAP would not be intimidated and would not withdraw until the situation was stabilised, he said.

Policemen living in the townships and fearing for their lives were given the choice whether they wanted to stay on or leave, he added.

Relief as policeman finds boy

Pretoria Bureau

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themselves unable to get a seat.

Three killed in two

Three people were shot dead and tw
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Background to the Boipatong massacre

Sowetan 29/6/92

A Wits academic who has been studying the violence in the townships, places the Boipatong massacre in context. BABYLON XEKETWANE, a sociology masters student, questions the role of the police after 39 people were ruthlessly murdered.

(278)

FOCUS

THE image of the South African Police has once more been thrown into a crisis of credibility. Their behaviour in Boipatong before and after the massacre leaves much to be desired.

How could one explain the fact that it took them several days to assign a team of 200 detectives to negotiate the detention of six people after an impi of more than 300 men raided Boipatong and killed 39 men, women and children?

While we applaud that the police did act, we are still surprised that mass arrests of the murderers did not take place on the day of the massacre.

But it should not be surprising when we remember that the Boipatong massacre follows the pattern of other slaughters of blacks around the country where clear police support of the attackers was demonstrated.

The Boipatong massacre occurred a few weeks after Mr Justice Wilson and Mr Justice Didcott had pronounced about the role of the police in the current violence.

In his judgment at the end of the Trust Feed massacre case, Justice Wilson called for an independent inquiry into the involvement of police officers in "counter-revolutionary strategies as well as police cover-ups."

Eleven people were killed after an order given by Captain Brian Mitchell who was later given 11 death sentences.

Mr Justice Wilson's call was further strengthened by Justice Didcott's assertion that certain crimes and planned murders had been perpetrated by the security forces in defiance of the law.

The allegations against the police are not new.

Apart from the Trust Feed case, there has been other strong confirmation of police complicity with Inkatha.

The "Inkathagate Scandal" is a case in point.

Inkathagate lent credence to accusations that the security forces have aided armed attacks by Inkatha members on innocent people whose views were opposed to those of Inkatha.

In 1991 2 000 people died in what State President FW de Klerk calls black-on-black violence, giving support to those who assert that inherent tribalism makes blacks unfit to be stewards of peace and democracy.

One other case in which security forces are alleged to have aided anti-progressive forces connected to the IFP is that of the Ermelo-based "Black-Cats" gang which was involved in violence against the residents of Wesselton.

A member who defected and gave evidence to the Goldstone Commission was assassinated by professionals whose methods and pattern resembled those used by the faceless killers who strike at will in trains, taxis, shebeens and night vigils and then evaporate without trace.

It is no exaggeration to assert that South Africa has one of the best police forces in Africa. It has uncovered sophisticated political operations in the past. It has acted with precision and with lightning speed to apprehend the killers when the victims were either white farmers or white policemen.

However, now that the victims are overwhelmingly black the same force drags its feet instead of solving the problem.

It appears that a very special culture is prevalent within the security forces.

Jacques Pauw calls it the "Total Onslaught Ideology Culture," conceived from the days of "Total Onslaught" when everything that represented black political aspiration was said to be communist inspired.

It is this culture that is responsible for police connivance at IFP violence and their unwillingness to act against Inkatha and others who are against progressive forces.

This culture is embedded in police training manuals that have been obscured from public scrutiny for decades.

It is not surprising that the arms confiscated by the police were giving back to Inkatha on the eve of De Klerk's address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

It is against this background that the release of Abel Shange, a member of the KwaZulu Police, should be viewed.

Shange was dubbed a "beast in a policeman's clothing" by the judge who sentenced him to 27 years imprisonment.

Shange served only nine months of his sentence before the "Vlok virus" invaded the computer community and saw him released, to the dismay of the community in and around KwaMashu.

Earlier there had been strong demands for the removal of Mr Adriaan Vlok and Mr Magnus Malan from the Cabinet.

It was argued that De Klerk was unable to rid himself of them.

Vlok still remains controversial: How does one explain the "Vlok virus"? It is ironic that this "bona fide computer error" favours what most South African academics call the Government's "surrogate force."

The slaughter of hundreds of blacks by faceless killers every month will not stop until this culture is changed.

We should not be fooled by the police propaganda of searching the hostels.

Madala Hostel in Alexandra, for example, appears to have been searched as a ploy to divert attention from the Trust Feed judgment.

If the police are really unbiased, hundred of displaced families in Alexandra would have been returned to their homes. The intruders who drove them out would not only be forced to vacate these homes but would have been arrested and charged with trespassing and robbery.

It is true the Alexandra community heaved a collective sigh of relief when the SADF invaded the township.

It is against this backround that the Boipatong massacre should be viewed. Up to the time of writing this article I had still not heard the security forces blaming Inkatha for the killings. But predictably, Craig Kotze of the Ministry of Law and Order blamed the ANC's mass action for creating an atmosphere conducive to such violence.

'FW must go' call at Boipatong funeral

(278) CT 30/6/92

BOIPATONG. — Political and church leaders at the Boipatong funeral yesterday were united in their calls for President F W de Klerk to resign.

A crowd of about 20 000 people attended the funeral here of 37 victims of the massacre.

"He (De Klerk) must go," ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a packed stadium. "He has proved he is incompetent and useless because he cannot control the security forces."

Mr Ramphosa claimed Mr De Klerk had admitted to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela he had no power over the police.

The alleged disclosure was made when the two met for crisis talks during the ill-fated Codesa II negotiations.

"I have no power over these policemen," Mr Ramaphosa quoted Mr De Klerk as having said. By late last night, Mr De Klerk had not responded to the claim.

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and the South African Communist Party displayed a public unity at the funeral not seen since the collapse of the Patriotic Front.

"Let us poise ourselves for rolling mass action . . . the only way is the implementation of more and more mass action," SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said.

He urged a summit of the liberation movements to plot a strategy to "defeat the regime".

This call was echoed by PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovodhwe, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and veteran British anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Mr Ramaphosa emphasised, however,

To page 2

From page 1

the government would do everything possible to get negotiations back on track. (278)

The mood of the Boipatong crowd grew militant as the cortege proceeded to Sharpeville cemetery about 5km from the stadium. CT 30/6/92

Two journalists were assaulted and there were reports of a necklacing and of a person being hacked and shot to death. Police could only confirmed the shooting.

As mourners drove to the cemetery through a white suburb, police said a man was shot in the foot.

Mr Andries Purchase, 59, of Vanderbijl Park, said the bullet passed through his left ankle and shattered his shoe. He was watching the procession when an occupant in a blue minibus shouted at him: "Hey, you bloody hell . . ." Then a man behind the driver fired a shot. Mr Purchase was admitted to hospital and discharged later.

Armed white residents and police manned the streets adjoining an open field next to the cemetery. Police were unable to confirm the presence of armed whites, "but it is possible," a spokesman said.

In Dakar, Senegal, foreign ministers at the Organisation of Africa Unity meeting drafted two resolutions dealing with South Africa for summit approval.

One denounces South Africa for failing to end the violence and blames the killings on "elements of the South African security forces, in collusion with IFP supporters". The other resolves to send an OAU fact-finding mission to investigate the violence.

In London, several protesters handcuffed themselves yesterday to rails outside the South African embassy in protest at the Boipatong killings. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter-AP

Violence monitors a possible next step

B/Day 30/6/92 (274)

PATRICK BULGER

AN INTERNATIONAL violence monitoring effort for SA is being seriously considered by government, the ANC and world bodies as part of an effort to get stalled negotiations back on track.

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday met UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to put the case for a UN security council meeting and a permanent committee to monitor violence.

Mandela said the meeting was productive and that he left it "with a feeling of strength and hope", but declined further comment, Sapa-AFP reports.

Government sources said yesterday a world observer team monitoring political violence and security force conduct during SA's political transition could help restart negotiations by meeting the ANC's demand for international monitoring and security force impartiality. Violence, the sources said, could provide a "back door" through which the parties could start talking again and ultimately get back to Codesa.

In an important shift last week, President F W de Klerk responded to the ANC's pullout from talks by welcoming international observer teams as long as they did not compromise national sovereignty.

While the ANC is awaiting De Klerk's memorandum in response to its violence-related demands before negotiations restart, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has said the ANC was considering his response on international monitoring.

A senior government source said yesterday government's shift on foreign involvement was relayed to Boutros-Ghali by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer in weekend talks at Abuja, Nigeria.

Boutros-Ghali, who met Mandela on Sunday, would probably visit SA within the next few weeks for talks with government, the ANC and other parties on details of an international mission.

The SA government told Boutros-Ghali that a short high-level visit could fail as in the past. A permanent township monitoring mission numbering as many as 400 people might be more useful.

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Monitors

B/Day 30/6/92 (274)

☐ From Page 1

Boutros-Ghali's visit will be preceded by a visit by Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku who will also have meetings to assess what role the Commonwealth could play. He will report to Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference chairman Barbara McDougall of Canada.

A diplomatic source said yesterday there were experts in political monitoring that could be called in to help and that a team could be put together within weeks.

However, government's response to the ANC's memorandum as well as progress in the police investigation into the Boipatong massacre may take some of the responsibility for progress off the shoulders of the international community.

The OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, this week will consider a proposal that the SA problem be referred to the UN Security Council. If this was accepted it could delay an international initiative on SA.

However, a Foreign Affairs Department source said OAU leaders were not keen to destroy the progress SA had made in African relations.

OAU foreign ministers yesterday urged the Security Council to put pressure on the SA government to end violence.

Government representatives had been expected to make an appearance on the sidelines of the OAU meeting.

But the newly cordial relationship returned to more familiar ground as the ministers here passed a resolution urging Pretoria to "end the carnage".

Girl (4) drowns in 'attack' panic

STAR 30/6/92 (278)

Rumours of an imminent Inkatha Freedom Party attack on the Swanieville squatter camp near Krugersdorp led to the drowning of a four-year-old girl when residents fled into a nearby marsh yesterday, police said.

A West Rand police spokesman said a resident saw about eight men wearing headbands near the marsh. — West Rand Bureau.

Newsmen witness brutal death

(278)

STAR

30/6/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Two horrified news photographers saw a man being dragged out of a Boipatong house and beaten unconscious before being shot and necklaced during yesterday's mass funeral for victims of the June 17 massacre.

Star photographer Joao Silva and Weekly Mail counterpart Guy Adams were chased from the scene at gunpoint after witnessing the murder.

They described how a crowd pulled a man said to be an Inkatha Freedom Party member from a house.

"They started to beat him senseless with sticks and then threw rocks at his head.

"As the crowd got the man into the street, a minibus carrying a lot more people, some armed with AK-47s, drove up," Silva said. "They shot him dead and put a tyre around his body."

Silva and Adams said that as the group was about to burn the body, they were chased away at gunpoint.

Onlooker wounded by shot

278

"My God, I've been wounded in the leg," an elderly Vanderbijlpark resident shouted to his wife after being shot as the funeral procession passed his home. STAR 30/6/92

Andries Purchase (59) said the bullet went through his left ankle and shattered his shoe.

He was sitting on the veranda at his home in Donges Street when an occupant of a blue minibus shouted at him: "Hey, you bloody hell ..." A man behind the driver fired a shot.

Police are investigating.

● An unidentified man was fatally wounded after shots were fired from a minibus.

A spokesman confirmed that shots were fired at a police helicopter in the township. Nobody was injured.

In another incident, police cordoned off Boipatong police station after the building was stoned. No action was taken. — Vereeniging Bureau.

'Group at mine involved at Boipatong'

278

STAR 30/6/92

A security guard at Greenside Colliery near Witbank said yesterday his chief had told guards that a group of men who stayed at the barracks were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

William Mthimkulu appeared before a preliminary hearing of a Goldstone Commission committee investigating allegations that former Koevoet counter-insurgency members housed at the mine were involved in the massacre.

He said after a Goldstone Commission delegation had searched the barracks at the mine last week, he had received a phone call from a security sergeant about a meeting of the security staff the next day.

"The chief of the mine security, a Mr du Preez, said the group of people housed at the barracks had been working with the police and were involved in the shootings in Boipatong."

Mr du Preez had said the group's involvement in the massacre was an allegation.

The group of men arrived at the mine early in June and the mine's security was surprised because the group did not work during the day, but left at night in a minibus carrying objects concealed in blankets, he said.

He said guards who asked about the group's work were told by their chief that if they persisted with questions they could lose their jobs. — Sapa.

Speakers at funeral attack FW and Govt

STAR 30/6/92

278

● From Page 1

● Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, addressing a message directly to the Goldstone Commission, said: "You are looking for a person called the 'Third Force'. That person is none other than F W de Klerk."

● In his address, SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani referred to "this Government of vampires" and said that what had begun was "a fight to the finish". He told Boipatong residents they had to be involved in the struggle "but not just once. Prepare for rolling mass action ... until we defeat De Klerk."

● Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said: "We cannot pretend progress is made at the negotiations table ... (at the cost of) the coffins of our people.

"De Klerk has declared war on our people. We gather here to bury victims of this war. Let De Klerk know that Boipatong will be his Cuito Cuanavale. Mr de Klerk must go. If you (De Klerk) don't go voluntarily, our people will compel you through mass action to go.

"Those vigilantes at KwaMadala Hostel have been trained by De Klerk and the SADF. Behind the hand of vigilantes there is the hand of this Government," Mr Naidoo said.

● PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said a "watershed" had been reached in South Africa. He said in a reference to the armed struggle: "A nation without arms is no nation."

● Nactu secretary-general Cunningham Ngcukana said the National Peace Accord "lies in tatters, drenched in the blood of our people".

● The SA Council of Churches issued a strong set of demands to the Government on its own behalf, and called for multiparty control of the security forces.

In his speech, SACC president Dr K M Mgojo said if his organisation's demands were not met by July 15, the SACC would call for the tightening of sanctions and the withdrawal of the SA team from the Olympics if those responsible for the Boipatong massacre were not arrested, charged and convicted.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu said white South Africans had ignored township bloodshed and treated the massacre as "just another incident" until the ANC had called for South Africa's withdrawal from the Olympics.

Black South Africans also wanted to see South Africa at the Olympics, but the onus was on the Government to bring the murderers of Boipatong to justice before the Games became an option.

● British Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston called on the United Nations and European Community member countries to "stop talking but act and isolate the regime ..."

● Former president Banana brought condolences from Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe and said it was tragic that "we gather in sorrow, not to bury apartheid, but to bury more of its victims".

● In a message read on her behalf, Coretta Scott King, widow of Martin Luther King, expressed her sympathy with the people of South Africa in their time of mourning.

A woman who lost her son in the Boipatong massacre is overcome with grief at yesterday's funeral service held for 37 of the 49 victims. More pictures and reports on pages 2, 6 and 7.

Vaal 37 laid to rest

Sowetan 30/6/1992 (278)

MORE than 37 000 people attended yesterday's burial service for 37 of the 49 victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation forgot their differences to bury the 37. PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation would support mass action if it was aimed at overthrowing the Government.

The three organisations pledged themselves to a revival of the Patriotic Front.

Meanwhile, an indefinite worker stayaway is to start in the Vaal today until KwaMadala Hostel has been demolished. A march will also be held in Vereeniging to protest against the killings. The three organisations meet with local bodies today to decide on the march, and the worker stayaway.

The ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also told mourners that State President FW de Klerk had confessed to the ANC's Nelson Mandela that he had lost control of the security forces.

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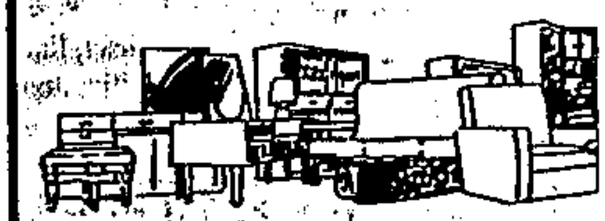

LOUNGE SUITES SPECIALS

8 PIECE MODULAR LOUNGE SUITE from R399

4 PIECE SHOW LOUNGE SUITE from R799

3 PIECE LEATHER LOUNGE SUITE

3 PIECE QUEEN ANN LOUNGE SUITE from R1 899

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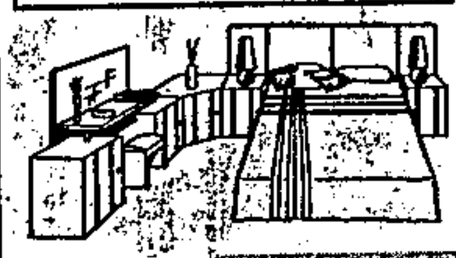
FREE QUOTATIONS ON WALL TO WALL CARPETS



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'Progress' in police probe

CT 30/6/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — "We are making progress," police spokesman Major Ray Harrald, said yesterday of the investigation into the Boipatong massacre.

He said the SAP Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, had called in senior police officers overseeing the investigation yesterday for a progress report.

Major Harrald said it was unlikely that any further information on the killings would be released as this would prejudice the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the matter.

Earlier, police said they had arrested six people in connection with the killing of 49 people in a night raid on June 17.

Major Harrald said survivors of the attack were hampering the investigation by refusing to give relevant information.

"The ANC are advising people not to speak to police. It's a flagrant violation of the National Peace Accord," he said.

● Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said that South Africa was becoming the "murder capital of the world" while the ANC and the National Party fought for dominance. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Boipatong funeral at FW

ANC 20/6/92 (278)

Speakers allege official complicity

SHAUN JOHNSON, BRONWYN WILKINSON and BRIAN SOKUTU
Political Staff

PRESIDENT DE KLERK came under the most concerted attack of his presidency as speakers at the Boipatong funeral accused the government of direct complicity in violence and dashed any hopes of a quick resumption of Codesa negotiations.

Thousands of mourners attended yesterday's memorial service for 37 of the more than 40 victims of the massacre.

Attacks by leaders of extra-parliamentary organisations, including allegations that Mr De Klerk was directly implicated in the continuing violence, were made in front of senior political, religious, business and diplomatic figures.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told mourners that in a meeting during Codesa 2, Mr De Klerk had said to ANC president Nelson Mandela that he had no power to stop the violence.

Mr De Klerk was not fit to be president and should go, Mr Ramaphosa said.

Until the ANC's demands were met, the chances of the organisation returning to Codesa were "virtually nil". He emphasised, however, that the ANC had not given up on negotiations.

Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, addressing a message directly to the Goldstone Commission, said: "You are looking for a person called the 'Third Force'. That person is none other than F W de Klerk."

Communist Party chief Chris Hani referred to "this government of vampires" and said what had begun was "a fight to the finish".

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said: "We cannot pretend that progress is made at the negotiations table ... (at the cost of) the coffins of our people."

Nactu secretary-general C Ngcukana said residents had a right to defend themselves.

The South African Council of Churches issued a strong set of demands to the government and called for multi-party control of the security forces.

In a message read on her behalf, Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of assassinated American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, expressed her sympathy with the mourners.

cess and structures of the peace accord at both national and local levels," it said.

"There was an overwhelming need

Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi.

These meetings are expected to take place within the next week.

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Guards 'told of group's involvement in attack

B/Day 30/6/92. (278)

PRETORIA — A security guard at the Greenside Colliery mine near Witbank yesterday told a preliminary hearing of a Goldstone commission committee his chief told guards that a group of men who stayed at the barracks were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

William Mthimkulu appeared before the committee, chaired by Gert Steyn, investigating allegations that former Koevoet members who were housed at the mine were involved in the June 17 attack.

Mthimkulu said that a meeting of mine security personnel last week, "the chief of the mine security, a Mr du Preez, said the group of people housed at the barracks had been working with the police and were involved in the shootings in Boipatong."

Mthimkulu said the group of men arrived at the mine early in June and the mine's security was surprised because the group did not work during the day, but left at night in a kombi carrying objects "concealed in blankets".

He said security guards who inquired about the group's work were threatened by their chief and told that if they persisted in asking questions they could lose their jobs. — Sapa.

087 COMPLAINTS

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to hold commemorative meetings. | a march to Parliament.

Outcry over ANC's 'police escort'

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE Goldstone commission will be asked to investigate an alleged police-escorted ANC march into an Inkatha stronghold in the Natal midlands this weekend which preceded several attacks on Inkatha — leaving four dead and 12 injured.

Inkatha was also considering asking for redeclaration of the Richmond, Natal district as an emergency area and for redeployment of the SAP's internal stability unit in the area, Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson said yesterday.

The move followed a march last Friday by about 200 ANC supporters carrying spears, pangas and other weapons to Patheni outside Richmond.

"The SAP, allegedly under instruction from station commander Lt Lombard, escorted the impi into the Inkatha area. This act has been described by Patheni residents as a blatant act of provocation," Hodgson said. A formal complaint was being drafted and would be submitted to the Goldstone commission today.

The march into Patheni was followed by an ambush in which ANC youths allegedly ambushed and gunned down 11 Inkatha supporters, killing two men and injuring nine at Gengeshe outside Richmond on Saturday, he said. On Sunday two men died and three were injured when Inkatha supporters at Patheni were attacked by a large group of armed youths.

Violence also erupted in Durban's Umlazi township. The dead included a three-year-old child who was burned in a petrol-bomb attack on a house in the township.

The body of a policemen who had been stabbed was found in Empangeni, police said. B/Day 30/6/92

Sapa reported that the latest violence had led to an exodus from the area, with unrest monitors reporting a possible refugee crisis in the Port Shepstone area on Natal's south coast.

Three people were killed in fighting between Inkatha and the ANC in Murchison, on the south coast, police said yesterday.

Their unrest report said the body of a man who had been shot was found in Katlehong, near Germiston, on Sunday.

□ The ANC's Stanger branch in Natal has broken off talks with the local town council, citing the political crisis triggered by the Boipatong massacre. They were to meet today to discuss demands.

Dutch airline puts SA flights on hold

AMSTERDAM — Dutch charter airline Transavia said yesterday it was postponing a planned new service to Durban because of renewed unrest in SA.

Parent company KLM Royal Dutch Airlines said it did not rule out changes to its own recently expanded programme. (278)

"In the light of the political situation and the reactions of tour operators ... we see no basis to begin flights," said a Transavia spokesman. B/Day 30/6/92

Transavia had been due to start the weekly flight on December 1.

A KLM spokesman said: "We don't rule out changes but we hope to fly as planned."

KLM, which has an 80% stake in Transavia, plans to extend its twice-weekly Johannesburg run to Cape Town from October 27.

No one was available to comment at Martinair, which also just won extra SA landing rights. KLM also owns a minority stake in Martinair. — Sapa-Reuter.

De Klerk called on to resign over failure to control security forces

B/Day 30/6/92

(278)

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC launched a stinging attack on President F W de Klerk yesterday, saying he should resign as his recent admission that he had no control over security forces proved he was "incompetent and useless".

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo warned that government's failure to bring to book perpetrators of violence would lead to people meting out their own "justice".

And ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told more than 20 000 people, gathered for yesterday's funeral of 42 Boipatong massacre victims, that De Klerk had admitted to ANC president Nelson Mandela in May he had no control over security forces.

Yesterday's day of mourning was marked by hundreds of thousands of people, but work absenteeism was limited and there were few incidents of violence.

However, Reuter reports witnesses said one person was shot and hacked to death at the funeral after being grabbed by people in a section of the crowd standing outside the sports stadium.

And Sapa reports township youths toyi-toyied between and on graves, brandishing a variety of weapons, including shotguns, AK-47 rifles and Makarov pistols.

"Hey, settler, you deserve a bullet," a youngster shouted at a white journalist.

Two journalists, including one from the BBC, were reported to have been assaulted later by militant youths.

Police confiscated a handgrenade carried by a man attending the funeral.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk should "go" as he had proved to be "either incompetent or useless as a president".

He called also for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Ramaphosa said the ANC had not given up on negotiations.

However, chances of the ANC's return to the negotiations were zero unless government met demands, which included bringing violence to an end and banning dangerous weapons at public gatherings.

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance should not be pressed into resuming negotiations. These should be resumed only when time frames for the transition to "representative" government were in place.

Ramaphosa also called on blacks to unite, saying their unity was important and could not be achieved through speeches at funerals but through mass action aimed at forcing government out of power.

PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation would join the "ANC and all other liberation organisations" in a struggle whose clear-cut objective would be the overthrowing of the government.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe called for the "combination" of his

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De Klerk

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(278)

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organisation's military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), the PAC's Azanian People's Army (Apla) and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The combined forces would play a role in ousting government, Nefolovhodwe said.

Naidoo told the cheering crowd that workers were tired of "endless negotiations".

Inkatha, whose supporters at KwaMadala Hostel allegedly attacked Boipatong residents, was not represented at the funeral. But Sapa reports that its national chairman Frank Mdlalose extended the organisation's condolences.

SA Council of Churches (SACC) president Khoza Mgojo said unless government met their demands before July 15, church leaders would lead people in peaceful protests. Church leaders' demands, included the conviction of perpetrators of violence and the bringing of security forces under multiparty control.

Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddlestone said his London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement would try to shift the Western powers' focus from the "democratisation" of eastern Europe to the ending of apartheid in SA.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said had the ANC, the PAC and Azapo had armies, the Boipatong massacre would not have happened.

Ngcukana urged leaders of the liberation organisations not to discourage people from forming defence units.

Former Zimbabwe president Canaan Banana said the Boipatong massacre underlined the urgency with which SA had to move towards democracy.

● Picture: Page 3

Boipatong: Guard talks

(278)

CT 30/6/92

PRETORIA. — A security guard at the Greenside Colliery Mine near Witbank yesterday told a preliminary hearing of a Goldstone Commission committee that his chief told guards a group of men who stayed at the barracks were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

Mr William Mthimkulu appeared before the committee which is investigating allegations that former Koevoet members housed at the mine were involved in the shootings in Boipatong on June 17.

Mr Mthimkulu said that after a Goldstone Commission delegation went to the barracks at the mine last week and searched the area, he received a telephone call from a security sergeant about a meeting of security staff the next morning.

"The chief of the mine security, a Mr Du Preez, said the group of people housed at the barracks had been working with the police and were involved in the shootings in Boipatong," Mr Mthimkulu said.

Mr Mthimkulu said the group of men arrived at the mine early in June and the guards were surprised because the group did not work during the day, but left at night in a kombi carrying objects concealed in blankets.

He said some security guards who inquired about the group's work were threatened by their chief and told that if they persisted in asking questions they could lose their jobs.

Further witnesses will be referred to the formal sitting of the Boipatong committee which begins on July 2. — Sapa

Boss spoke of attack in Boipatong - claim

Sowetan 30/6/92

A SECURITY guard at Greenside Colliery yesterday told a preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission his chief told guards that some men at the barracks were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

Mr William Mthimkulu appeared before the committee, chaired by Mr Gert Steyn, investigating allegations that former Koevoet members housed at the mine near Witbank were involved in the shootings at Boipatong on June 17.

Mthimkulu said after a Goldstone Commission delegation went to the barracks last week and searched the area, he received a telephone call from a security sergeant about a meeting of the security personnel the next morning.

"The chief of the mine security, a Mr du Preez, said the group of people housed at the barracks had been working with the police and were involved in the shootings in Boipatong."

He denied that this was an allegation.

Mthimkulu said the group of men arrived at the mine early in June. The mine's security was surprised because the group did not work during the day but left at night in a kombi carrying objects concealed in blankets. (278)

He said some security guards who enquired about the group's work were threatened by their chief and told they could lose their jobs if they persisted in asking questions.

Mthimkulu said members of the group were at the barracks when he went to play soccer on June 17. But most of them had left when he returned.

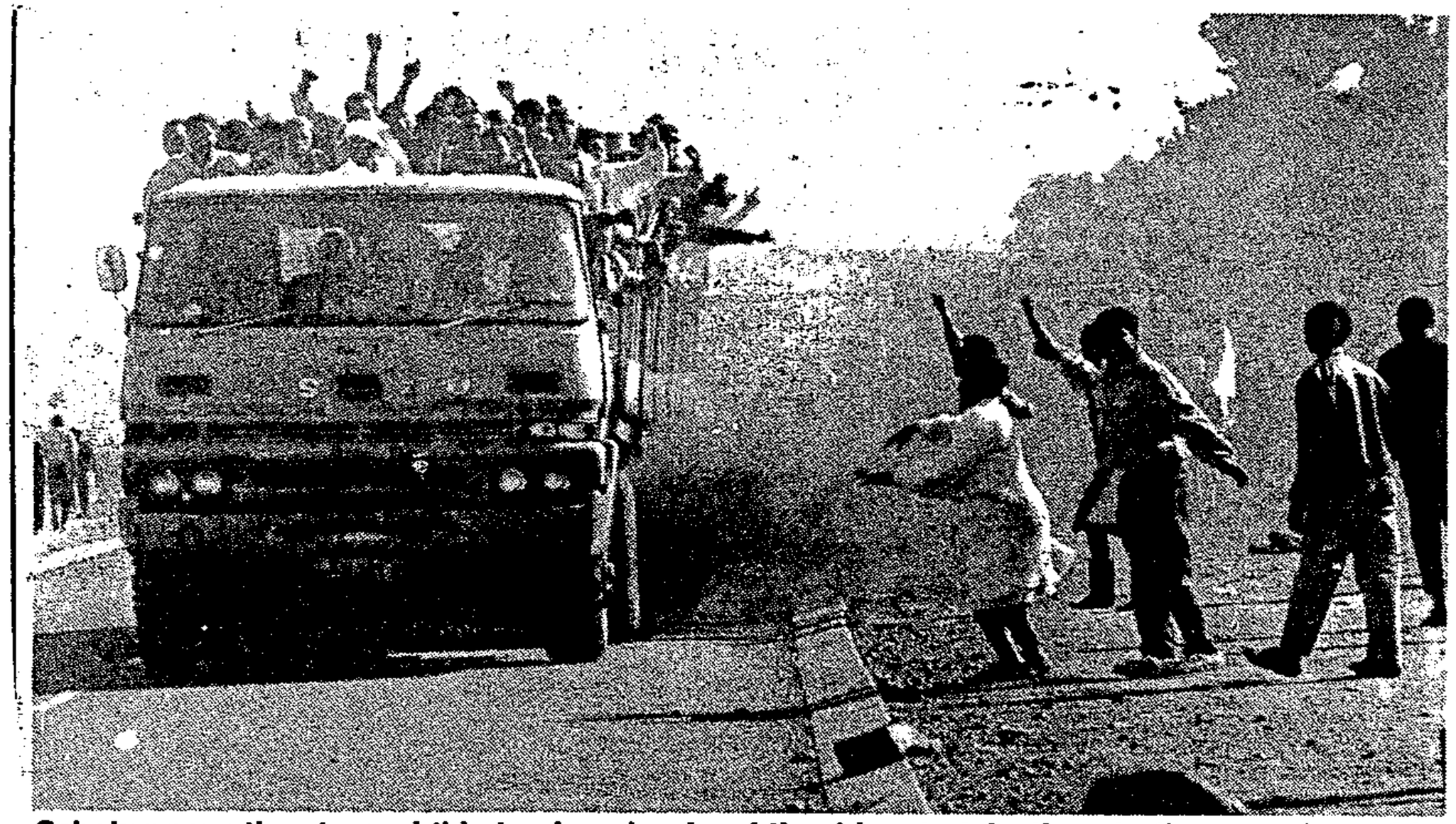
He thought they might have gone out to perform their duties as they seemed to work during the night.

He and security guards Mr Ace Mngomezulu, Mr Michael Mkele and Mr Zama Nokosi were not happy with the men's stay at the mine because they did not know what their work was.

Mngomezulu promised to find out on June 19 about the type of work they were doing from some of them, who used to play a board game with him.

Mthimkulu said he did not receive a report from Mngomezulu the next week.

Counsel for the commission, Mr Torrie Pretorius, told the committee that further witnesses would be referred to the formal sitting of the Boipatong committee which would begin on July 2. - *Sapa.*



Sebokeng youths stopped this truck and ordered the driver to take them to the mass funeral in Boipatong yesterday. Pic: PAT SEBOKO

President goes to bed without fear of being butchered, observes **Mike Siluma**

FW fails to fathom the fury

STAR 30/6/92 (278)

IN ASCRIBING the disruption of his visit to Boipatong to the work of political elements bent on using his foray into the shell-shocked township to embarrass the Government, President de Klerk may have been right.

But he also revealed an astounding failure to fathom the level of anger engendered by violence in Boipatong and other townships across the land.

Those who advised him to visit Boipatong — where 39 people, including women and children, perished just 48 hours before — should also have told him that black people across the country are angry at the continuing violence which has claimed more than 12 000 lives in eight years.

Today there is no black person in the townships of the Witwatersrand, the Vaal and Natal, who, by virtue of skin colour, is not a potential target of the faceless killers whom the police seem to be having so much difficulty arresting.

Perhaps the reason Mr de Klerk cannot grasp the depth of fury in the townships is that he does not have to retire every night fearing he might be butchered in his bed by a marauding gang such as that which descended on Boipatong 13 days ago.

He does not have to fear that those close to him could, just because they are white, become fair game for a spear and club-bearing mob, an AK-47 sniper or gang.

Someone needs to tell the State President that since he came to power three years ago, millions of his black compatriots have been forced to live under this cloud of terror and death, day and night. And they are furious about it.

To say that his reception in Boipatong was the result of the machinations of unscrupulous politicians on the Left is to refuse to accept this fundamental fact.

Since the major outbreak of violence in Natal in 1984, when the security forces and the Government first used the term "black-on-black violence", there has seemingly been a denial that the violence is a national crisis. This probably accounts for the muted response to the problem by white South Africans.

Mr de Klerk, recognised as having introduced the most far-reaching reforms in South African history, may wonder why so much anger was directed at him personally. This is because he has insisted on retaining State power in his hands. He says because the National Party is the government of the day, it must have the final say on crucial issues including the control of the security forces.

To that extent he must be willing to accept blame for the failure of those security forces to curb the violence and bring to book the murderers who have plunged the constitutional talks into a crisis.

To hell with De Klerk and your IFP murderers . . . a poster reflected in the President's window on his Boipatong visit.

Mr de Klerk's often-repeated casting of the violence (echoed by his Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel last week) as essentially a fight for territory between the ANC and Inkatha is only partly true.

Can he say, for instance, how those who randomly mowed down nine people with AK-47s in Moletsane, Soweto, on June 16 knew their 'victims' political affiliations? Or how the Boipatong attackers knew the allegiance of each one of those they murdered?

With not even the ANC having claimed all black people to be its members, and the violence having assumed such indiscriminate proportions, Mr de Klerk's assertion becomes hard to sustain with any credibility.

More to the point, Mr de Klerk needs to explain his police's abysmal performance in catching the perpetrators of some of the most horrific massacres of his three-year reign, from the Jeppe train outrage to Swanieville and Boipatong.

He might point out that arrests have been made in connection with Boipatong. But those at the receiving end of the violence have learnt the lesson, thanks to the police's investigative track record, that in these matters an arrest does not equal a conviction — witness the acquittal, ironically as the Vaal was on the boil again, of seven men accused of 38 counts of murder following the Sebokeng funeral vigil attack last January.

Mr de Klerk rejects as "a fundamental untruth" the ANC's claim of his complicity in the violence. Even if we give him the benefit of the doubt, the questio still remains: Why is he not able get the police to put the killers jail? The political aspect as the police's track record shoul the very least, be a simple tion of law and order, of crir being seen to be punished fo crimes.

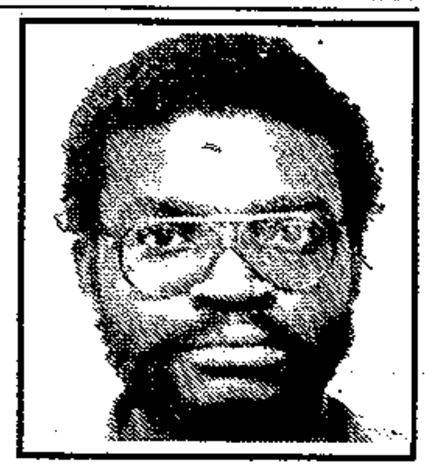
The country is going largely on the police and of the security forces that the transition from to democracy is relati ful. This has led some community to begin the wisdom of makir a head of state whos the security forces least, suspect.

If Mr de Klerk's pable of arrestin and protecting li of political affi then the argur trol of the sec as the need volvement, less hare-br out to be.□

Hostels - home to killers

Sowetan 30/6/92 (278)

In the fifth instalment series of our looking into police handling of investigations into violence committed by hostel dwellers, *Sowetan* investigations editor, MATHATHA TSEDU focuses on Soweto hostels and their role in attacks on trains, taxis and the general township community.



SIX hostels around Soweto have been responsible for at least 112 attacks on township residents, resulting in 391 deaths and at least 933 injured in the space of 22 months.

In the same period, 17 attacks on commuters on Soweto trains took place near or around stations bordering three hostels. These attacks claimed 17 lives and left 274 injured.

Records compiled by monitoring institutions show that only six people were arrested by police in connection with two of the incidents, all of them hostel inmates.

Early this month, 10 people died in two horrific taxi killings that turned taxi rides into journeys of death and so far no one has been arrested.

Gunmen shot and killed nine people in Moletsane on June 16, shattering the peace that had prevailed during the commemoration services. To date no one has been arrested.

And so the list of unsolved murders goes on and on.

Reacting to mounting criticism of their alleged complicity in attacks on trains, police posted patrols at stations but investigations by newspapers revealed that no searches took place and that people carrying bundles which could easily be arms were left to board trains while police looked on.

The lack of progress in police investigations of these killings has now led to the political crisis caused by the Boipatong massacre 13 days ago, which in turn, has led the ANC to temporarily withdraw from negotiations.

In the memorandum sent to State President FW de Klerk on Friday, the ANC, echoing the sentiments of other organisations such as Azapo and the PAC, and a vast majority of black people, said the Government collusion in the killings had been proven beyond doubt by the failure to act speedily against KwaMadala Hostel dwellers after the killings in Boipatong.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and ridiculously low bail.

"The evidence shows that either the NP Government, even at its top levels, sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," the ANC said.

The following is a table of incidents in Soweto which have been linked to hostel inmates where police progress in investigations has virtually been nil in terms of arrests:

Nancefield : 28 incidents with 74 killed and 107 injured.

Dube: 17 incidents with 34 killed and 10 injured.

Jabulani: 12 incidents with 93 killed and 466 injured.

Merafe: 11 incidents with 73 killed and 265 injured.

Mzimhlope: 34 incidents with 84 killed and 70 injured.

Dobsonville: 10 incidents with 33 killed and 15 injured.

These figures are up to April this year and do not include the upsurge of May and June which saw many people killed in Mzimhlope and Dobsonville. In train attacks on Soweto lines, stations that border on hostels have been the staging post of at least 17 attacks. The breakdown of station attacks is as follows:

- Inhlazane near Jabulani hostel: 7 attacks with 13 killed and 162 injured.
- Nancefield near Nancefield hostel: 3 attacks with 11 killed and 46 injured.
- New Canada near Mzimhlope hostel: 10 attacks with 7 killed and 66 injured.

In most of these incidents survivors told the media that the attackers had retreated into the hostels after the attacks.

Eye witnesses also said police who arrived on the scene had failed to act against the hostel inmates and in one incident in Nancefield, police were refused entry into the hostel to arrest an identified attacker.

Coupled to this have been the assertions by residents who were victims of hostel attackers that police had escorted these attackers and watched the plunder and looting of houses without interfering.

The seeming police collusion with these attackers has led to a belief that because hostels have virtually become Inkatha strongholds, the collusion is therefore political and desired to create manoeuvring space for Inkatha against the non-establishment organisations such as the ANC, Azapo, PAC and SACP.

The IFP itself has accepted that hostels in Soweto and other areas have become almost exclusively Inkatha. In figures given to the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR), IFP West Rand Secretary, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said IFP support in Soweto hostels was as follows:

Nancefield: 90%
Dube: 87%
Jabulani: 100%
Merafe: 100%
Diepkloof: 95% (this hostel has not been affected by the attacks).

Interestingly, Ndlovu said IFP support in KwaMadala Hostel, staging post of the Boipatong killings, was 100 percent.

Police Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, said on Friday police have now established that the Boipatong murderers were from KwaMadala. He said police had interrogated about 600 inmates and confiscated 276 spears and other bars, some of which had revealed traces of blood.

So far only five people are known to have been arrested and are being held in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The police reaction had been slow and generally in keeping with the trend of their behaviour in such cases. And as one woman in Boipatong said: "Would they have left the hostel alone for so many hours if just one white person had been killed?"

- **Tomorrow we look at hostels on the East Rand and how the informal settlements there fit into this scenario.**

> "The ANC, echoing the sentiments of other organisations such as Azapo and the PAC, and a vast majority of black people, said the Government collusion in the killings had been proven beyond doubt ..."

Photographers assaulted

Staff Reporters (278)

STAR 30/6/92

Press photographers and reporters came under attack at the Boipatong funeral yesterday when at least six newsmen were held at gunpoint and severely assaulted.

Among those injured were Juhan Kuus of Sipa-press and Joao Silva of The Star.

Kuus said last night he owed his life to black photographers and a man, known only as George, who was wearing a PAC T-shirt. This man was later attacked "for helping a white man".

Kuus said he was advanced upon at the burial site by youths wearing PAC T-shirts. One knocked him to the ground with a stick. The group started stoning him.

"They circled me. It was an absolutely terrifying experience. Thank God for George and the black photographers who rescued me."

Silva was kicked in the face earlier in the day when he and Weekly Mail photographer Guy Adams were taking pictures of marching people, also wearing PAC T-shirts.

"While I was kneeling, one moved out and kicked me a hefty blow in the face. Another in the same group reached out and grabbed Guy Adams by the hair."

Later, Adams had a shotgun shoved in his face and was threatened with shooting after taking a picture of an armed PAC man.

Kuus said last night he had only partial sight in his right eye after being hit with a stone, and would see an opthalmologist and have X-rays taken of his skull today.

Kuus said he had once before in his career been beat-

● To Page 3

Pressmen attacked at funeral

(278)

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● From Page 1

ten up by the AWB and considered himself now "beaten up equally".

He would call on political leaders to tell their supporters to "leave the media alone".

A Citizen reporter was reportedly dragged from his car by a group of youths who tried to prevent him from getting into Boipatong to cover the funeral.

Later, two other journalists, including Tom Carver from the BBC, were reportedly assaulted by youths.

● Anti-apartheid organisations today strongly condemned attacks on journalists and press photographers during yesterday's funeral.

They said they distanced themselves from any harassment of the press.

The PAC said the attacks were carried out by people wearing PAC T-shirts who wanted to "put our name into disrepute".

Boipatong, on Monday June 29 1992, offered a glimpse of the kind of country South Africa is in danger of becoming once again. And it was a harsh, painful vision, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.

STAR 30/6/92 (278)

THE POSTERS said it all: a picture of President de Klerk, his eyes coloured in bright red like the Devil's, and the words "How many more deaths? De Klerk GET OUT". One teenage boy, in a frenzy, stamped the picture into the dust and then spat on it.

Being in Boipatong yesterday was like being back in the South Africa of P W Botha. Tens of thousands of poor, angry black township dwellers gathered to share their grief and focus their hatred on the leader of the white minority regime.

The Boipatong massacre had recreated, with a vengeance, the deadly racial polarisation which the onset of the "new South Africa" promised to break down. Its cost threatens to go beyond, even, the terrible deaths of the victims.

Boipatong stadium was worlds away from the rarefied, genteel negotiating chambers of Codesa. Here, gathered in fury and defiance, were "the people" the politicians talk so blithely about. Activists, certainly, and the ubiquitous, vicious young comrades with ersatz AK-47s made out of motorcar parts. But also kindly old matriarchs struggling to fend off the sun, young priests, teachers, toddlers — all horrified by what had befallen their township, and all convinced beyond any argument that it was somehow the work of "the regime".

So deeply politicised and angry were the speeches that the Rev Frank Chikane was moved at one point to remark that "we must not allow ourselves to become more important than the people we have come here for (the bereaved relatives of the massacre victims)."

As the sun broke through the winter clouds and beat down, the dust rose to meet it and the wind whipped sharply around the tumble-down stadium in its steel-grey, harsh industrial surrounds.

Again and again, speakers conjured up the horrific image of a nine-month-old child being driven through with a spear. This drew gasps of renewed horror; and the bare mention of the name "KwaMadala" elicited a low, ominous growl from the crowd. And, every time, the two phrases of pain were linked to the "white regime". It was a startling indication of just how deep, on the ground, is the feeling of alienation about the much-vaunted negotiations process and the "new South Africa".

It took Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, in a speech which was a curious combination of rancour and conciliation, to leaven the atmosphere just before the end of the protracted memorial service.

He mourned the tragedy and castigated the Government, but he also got the crowd to laugh, via self-deprecatory jokes, and he offered some hope for life beyond the massacre and its consequences. He took the menace out of the situation.

As the crowds snaked slowly toward the burial ground at Sharpeville, there was a final incongruous, discomfiting sight. A row of limousines — a Bentley, a Cadillac and a Mercedes Benz among them — nosed nervously and aimlessly through barricades in the poor, narrow dirt streets of Boipatong. They carried worried-looking diplomats: worried, no doubt, about finding the safety of the main road, but worried too about the state of the nation they had had so much hope for, so recently. Boipatong is leaving scars on all who touch it. □

Confidence as 'freedom' nears

The Boipatong massacre has united the radical left for what it believes will be the final phase in the struggle against white rule. A mood of confidence prevails that victory is certain and imminent.

PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

STAR 30/6/92. (278)

WHEN THE bodies of 37 victims of the Boipatong massacre were lowered into graves at Sharpeville cemetery yesterday, there was a stupefying sense of the cyclical nature of political violence in South Africa.

Just over 32 years ago nearly 70 victims of another tragedy, the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, were buried in the same cemetery a few days after police opened fire on a crowd in Sharpeville.

But it would be a mistake to conclude that history had merely repeated itself and that no progress had been made — in the phraseology of the orators at yesterday's funeral service — towards freedom.

Outlaw

In 1960 the then Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd had no hesitation in declaring a state of emergency and outlawing the ANC and the PAC.

Within months, if not weeks, the sense that Sharpeville presaged the imminent fall of apartheid and end of white rule had dissolved as the police cracked down, rounded up hundreds of anti-apartheid leaders and forced scores more to flee.

The mood of the orators at Boipatong yesterday, the huge crowd of 30 000 people who attended the rally, seemed to foreclose that option to President de Klerk.

Speaker after speaker, from a wide ideological spectrum, exuded confidence that the Boipatong massacre of June 17 marked a decisive turning point in South Africa history, not in the sense that it would one day be seen as a watershed but in an immediate, almost palpable sense.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa reflected and amplified the mood when he said to tumultuous applause: "Boipatong is a signpost that leads us to our freedom."

South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani spoke in similar confident tones when he said of the post-Boipatong period: "It is a fight, a fight to finish until we become an independent country, a democratic country, a free country."

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston caught the mood of the times when he referred to the angry response to the Boipatong killings as presenting a "great moment" to launch the campaign to bring apartheid to an end finally.

Words were not enough. "We have to act," the archbishop said.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovodhwe struck the same note: "Speeches will achieve nothing ... We need to act. We need to overthrow the Government. We must act now."

Linked to Mr Nefolovodhwe's sense that Boipatong was a call to action, was an awareness that it should not be squandered by disunity: "Today is a day that we must be united."

PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke picked up the same theme, emphasising the need for unified action by the often divided "liberation movement" to seize the moment and exercise maximum pressure on the De Klerk administration.

He announced that the PAC would join the ANC in mass action to bring about the collapse of the Government.

"We must act together through mass action directed at overthrowing the settler racist regime and installing a democratic order in our land," he said to cries of approval.

Mr Moseneke's speech illustrated how Boipatong has spurred the often fractious and divided liberation movement to unite against President de Klerk.

Less than a fortnight ago PAC speakers were declaring that their members would not join the ANC's mass action campaign because they were not prepared to serve as the "ANC's storm troopers".

Congress of South African Trade Unions general-secretary Jay Naidoo, spoke in apocalyptical tones about the coming collapse of the De Klerk administration. After leading the crowd in chants of "De Klerk must go!" he addressed himself directly to Mr de Klerk, saying: "If you do not go voluntarily, millions of people will take to the streets and force you to go."

Mr Naidoo appeared to be buoyed by the massive crowd which filled the local sports stadium, raising dust as it stamped and shouted its belief that liberation was near. He fed the crowd's militancy and in turn was fed by it.

"We are radical because they are murdering our people, because they are stealing millions of rands," he declaimed, raising his hands alternately as he swooped his notebook from one hand to another like a juggler.

National Congress of Trade Unions secretary-general Cunningham Ngukana cautioned against fine rhetoric about unity without substantive action to achieve it. "It is not good enough coming together at funerals," he said. "We must ensure that commitments and pledges made today are carried out."

Mr Ngukana implicitly cautioned that the struggle ahead might be harder than many people thought. "Let us speak the truth," he said. "Let us live with the truth. If the ANC, the PAC and Azapo had armies, Boipatong would not have happened."

After appealing for unity, Mr Ngukana drew loud cheers when he pronounced that the National Peace Accord was covered with the "blood of our people".

Must go

He added: "We must be able to defend ourselves against these killers ... Boipatong has united the leadership of the liberation movement behind our people."

Interwoven with the proclaimed confidence that "liberation" was near was the belief that President de Klerk was tottering on his last legs.

Mr Ramaphosa encapsulated the feeling in his speech: "At a meeting between De Klerk and Comrade Nelson Mandela at Codesa 2, De Klerk actually said: 'Mr Mandela, I have no power. I have no power over the police force.'

"We say De Klerk must go because he has been proved to be either incompetent or totally useless as a State President ... We do not believe he is fit to be State President." □

A day of anger and sorrow

Forlorn mood as mourners go home in fear

STAR 30/6/92

(278)

DUSK descended rapidly in Sharpeville Cemetery yesterday as the graves of 37 victims of the Boipatong Massacre were covered in and mourners hurried away, uncertain what the dark journey home would bring.

The graveside service was abandoned and replaced by brief prayers as the huge crowd simply melted away at sunset. A forlorn mood settled on the graveyard as clouds of dust lingered in the air above the fresh graves.

The sound of thousands of feet tramping the dusty road to Boipatong could be heard in the semi-dark as mourners began their journey. For many, living further afield in Sebokeng and Evaton, the journey continued in pitch dark.

Hordes of men and women and young people streamed along the access roads, urgently begging lifts from every passing vehicle. Those who stopped found themselves mobbed by anxious and weary mourners.

Prayers

A large crowd made the journey from Boipatong Stadium to Sharpeville Cemetery for the burial. But the logistics of transporting 37 coffins and carrying them through the throng caused considerable delay; many mourners left before the graveside prayers were said.

Awaiting the funeral procession, sections of the crowd formed a marching column, its members "armed" mainly with sticks cut from the nearby bluegum trees. Shots were fired into the air on several occasions.

As the long line of hearses drew up beside the graves, the crowd pressed close to watch coffins of varying size — small enough in one case to carry an infant — lowered on to cradles over the long line of graves.

Families of the victims, hemmed in by the crowd and the huge mound of soil, found it difficult to participate in the burial and pay their very last respects.

Staccato

One of the officiating ministers of religion appealed to the crowd to move back and give the bereaved a chance to express their grief.

Anthems and freedom songs were sung patchily by members of various political organisations, whose banners were raised above the graves. The staccato sound of shots was heard once again.

Back at KwaMadala Hostel, the source of the devastating June 17 attack on Boipatong, members of the South African Police were gathering in huge numbers. Nyalas, Casspirs, a large staff bus and several vans clustered on the bridge and the courtyard outside the hostel at dusk. They were also very much in evidence at the entrance to Boipatong.

A police officer at the hostel said that there were still 200 residents in the hostel and confirmed that the concentration of police in camouflage dress was a "precautionary measure". — Staff Reporters. □

T.V.L.

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - [redacted]

JULY - 1992

Bound by desire to 'bury' FW

Sowetan 1/7/92

278

Independent Correspondent JOHN CARLIN finds the thousands who packed into a shabby football stadium to mourn the victims of Boipatong in unforgiving mood

FORTY thousand blacks packed into the shabby little soccer stadium at Boipatong on Monday to bury 37 of the 49 innocents massacred two weeks ago allegedly by Inkatha supporters.

Enraged by reports that police delivered the Inkatha 'killers' to the township, what bound the crowd and the speakers, politicians and churchmen of all persuasions, was the desire to bury the Government of State President FW de Klerk.

The spectacle of the rows of coffins, and of the bereaved families, solemnly apart, somehow, from the political proceedings, inspired pity and grief.

Condolences

Speaker after speaker offered condolences to the mourners, but more as an afterthought, it seemed.

It was the denunciations of the "murderous De Klerk regime", the metaphorical call to arms for "the final battle" against apartheid, the chant "Down with De Klerk! Down!", the clamour for the international community to use its clout to help bring down the Government, that rang through with real conviction, that ignited the passions of the crowd.

"Enough", the banners read, "is enough!"

The day's most militant speaker, Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, received the loudest cheers.

The Inkatha "vigilantes", he declared, had been armed by De Klerk, trained by the army and let loose on the black communities.

Naidoo warned of a national strike unless the Government altered course.

He said: "Cosatu is not making an idle threat. We are mobilising for the type of mass action that will bring this country to a standstill. The issue is simple: We want majority rule now!"

To chants of "De Klerk must go! De Klerk must go!" he stepped back from the microphone for Mr Chris Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Hani called the Government vampires and merchants of death, and said their hands were "dripping with blood".

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, who is normally statesmanlike, led the crowd in the chant "Down with De Klerk! Down!".

Announcing that South Africa had reached "disaster point", he said talks with the Government had brought nothing so far, "just misery".

De Klerk was useless and incompetent, he said, a fact revealed, he claimed, by his admission to Mr Nelson Mandela in a private meeting last month that he had "no power over the policemen".

De Klerk and his Minister of Police, Mr Hernus Kriel, had to go, for the ANC would "no longer tolerate the politics of murder".

Leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress and Azapo, radical organisations that have scorned the ANC for negotiating with the Government, shared the podium with the likes of Ramaphosa.

They echoed the cries of rage against "De Klerk and his killers" and called for Boipatong to unify all liberation movements behind the call for democracy.

It was left to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, speaking last, to attempt to defuse a palpable anti-white sentiment among parts of the audience, which runs counter to the ANC bedrock concept of "nonracialism".

Murderers

But the archbishop, like other church leaders who spoke before him, demanded that De Klerk arrest the Boipatong murderers, admit international monitors to supervise the security forces and hold elections for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

He, too, however, could not resist a dig at his white compatriots. "For most white people the killings of Boipatong were just statistics until I said: What about Barcelona?"

It was the threat of pulling out of the Olympic Games, he said, that stirred white consciences, not the killing of black children.

found but no arrests yet

Sowetan 1/7/92

Park by the SADF's 32 Battalion six days after the Crossroads attack.

The raid saw two people allegedly killed by soldiers and women raped and maimed. A child was overcome by teargas fumes as police tried to disperse people.

And so the saga of the hostels continues. Hostels such as KwaMadala near Boipatong township, which houses the alleged killers who shocked the world two weeks ago with the wanton murder of 49 people.

Two weeks ago today, and police have still to haul someone before the courts in connection with the incident.

There have been calls for the demolition of hostels as in Vosloorus where sections of the complex have been bulldozed.

Calls have been made for these centres to be fenced in, policed and guarded round the clock with no weapons allowed in or out.

These calls have been rejected by Inkatha which is waging a campaign to retain the system.

278

And so the question rages on... what should be done with these hostels? Analysts say unemployment is one of the factors that have forced people to join in the organised killings emanating from the hostels.

The creation of job opportunities has been suggested as one of the solutions. Some of the hostel dwellers have claimed they were recruited and paid large sums of money for taking part in killings.

But as these debates go on, the killings continue and the absence of arrests by police only serves to confirm the widely held view that police are not interested in arresting the perpetrators of violence because they themselves are behind it.

"Get out of here you friends of our killers," this Boipatong youth tells a policeman four days after hostel dwellers raided the township and killed 49 people. The youth's attitude sums up the perception of black people about the role of the police in the ongoing violence.

16 14 13 11 10 8

31 AK-47s

Sowetan 1/7/92

This is the sixth and final article in our series on police handling of investigations involving attacks on township residents and commuters by hostel inmates. In this article, *Sowetan* Investigations Editor **MATHATHA TSEDU**, looks at the East Rand.

Police at the scene of yet another killing. But why are there no arrests and convictions, people ask.

ON September 29 last year gunmen travelling in a car ambushed Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal chairman Mr Sam Ntuli in Tokoza and pumped AK-47 rifle bullets into his body killing him instantly.

To date no one has been arrested.

When Ntuli was laid to rest on October 7, gunmen moved in on the mourners, killing 20 and injuring scores of others. During February this year police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman announced that a man had been arrested but nothing further has been heard.

Ntuli's killers were seen travelling in a Chevrolet car with registration numbers that were traced to an inmate of the Tokoza hostel. The man denied involvement in the attack.

The tracing of the vehicle is one more thread that links hostels to unsolved murders in South Africa's undeclared wars.

Tokoza hostel is one of the staging posts for killings on the East Rand - in keeping with the trend in other areas.

Hostels which have been turned into Inkatha strongholds are the home of killer squads.

Tokoza hostel yielded 31 AK-47 rifles during several raids by police and this accounted for 53,4 percent of all AK-47 rifles found in hostels.

The conversion of hostels into Inkatha strongholds has spawned informal settlements around them, with former inmates moving into the shacks to escape being forced to become members of Inkatha.

This has resulted in the creation of places such as Phola Park which is a staunch ANC area, and Crossroads, which is an IFP stronghold.

While most of the attacks have been from Inkatha-held hostels and areas, April 3 saw a new trend when the inhabitants of the IFP-held Crossroads camp were attacked by alleged ANC members.

Twenty eight people were killed and more than 18 were seriously injured in the attack.

But by and large the East Rand, like other areas, has seen many killings staged from hostels and which have as in other areas again, gone unpunished because police say they cannot trace the perpetrators.

The region has also seen its share of security force killings and maimings, which include the raid on Phola

Service 'necklacing' horror attacked by ANC

(278) ARG 1/7/92

Political Staff

THE ANC has condemned the "necklacing" of a man believed to be an Inkatha Freedom Party member during the Boipatong mass funeral on Monday, but said the regrettable re-emergence of this method of killing was a sign of people's "deep frustrations and anger".

In a statement yesterday the organisation said: "The ANC abhors the practice of necklacing and calls upon all the people to stop it."

However, it had to be clearly understood that "the resurfacing of necklacing is a manifestation of deep frustrations and anger in the community with the violence and with the government's refusal to accept a democratic dispensation in South Africa".

The Black Sash also condemned the necklacing, saying it indicated the extent to which law and order had broken down.

The organisation made an urgent call for an interim government which, with the assistance of the United Nations, would form a multi-party committee to oversee the security forces.

It argued that the killing would not have taken place "if law and order were reigning and the people trusted the security forces and the courts".

The Black Sash further criticised "hypocritical and irresponsible" speeches made by some speakers at the mass funeral on Monday, saying they had used inflammatory language and some mourners were heavily armed.

In another development, the IFP yesterday said "an alleged ANC comrade" was burnt to death "by fellow gang members" in Sebokeng last Thursday after a 16-year-old girl, Baizel Mohlakwana, had identified him as a former IFP member.

Inkatha Institute member Mr Ed Tillett said the girl — who had allegedly been abducted and held hostage for 10 hours by "ANC vigilantes" while visiting her father in the Vaal township — identified one of her kidnappers as a former IFP member and a regular visitor to KwaMadala Hostel where she stayed.

'Abandon violence'

(278) ARG 1/7/92

FW condemns funeral rhetoric for whipping up emotions

PRETORIA. — The anti-government rhetoric at the Boipatong massacre funeral drew a sharp rebuttal from President De Klerk.

"The tone of many of the statements at yesterday's funeral for victims of the Boipatong massacre gives rise to concern," Mr De Klerk said in a statement last night.

He was reacting to speeches at Monday's funeral service where threats were made "to take the government to hell", Mr De Klerk was declared incompetent and his resignation called for, and he was accused of being directly involved in the continuing violence.

"Instead of using this occasion to mourn the tragic deaths of the victims and to console their families and loved ones, the funeral was exploited to whip up emotions and to harden attitudes against negotiations and reconciliation," Mr De Klerk said.

He said the repeated allegations concerning the involvement of the security forces and of the government in the tragic events at Boipatong were devoid of truth, and there was not a shred of evidence to support them.

Mr De Klerk invited anyone with evidence of government involvement to get in touch with the police or the Goldstone Commission.

He pointed out that further lives had been lost since the Boipatong tragedy. Immediately after the funeral a man was brutally murdered and necklaced in front of journalists.

During the past 24 hours a further 16 people had been killed in Natal. Most of them were apparently Inkatha supporters, and another policeman was senselessly murdered in the course of his duties.

"The death of any of our countrymen in violence — whoever they may be and whatever party they may support — diminishes us all and makes the goal of a peaceful and negotiated settlement all the more difficult," Mr De Klerk said.

He appealed to all leaders and to all South Africans to abandon violence and brinkmanship, saying the present course of confrontation, race hatred and violence, would, if left unchecked, lead to tragedy.

"The South African government will be firm in taking responsible steps to prevent this," he said.

Mr De Klerk said he would respond in more detail to the situation soon. — Sapa.

Police detain more hostel residents

(278)

ARG 1/7/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Another 75 Kwamadala hostel residents have ben detained for questioning in connection with the June 17 Boipatong massacre, says police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

He yesterday said 81 Kwamadala residents were now being held in connection with the massacre, in which at least 45 people were killed.

The 81 residents were all being detained under the unrest regulations and had not been arrested or charged.

Last week General Van der Merwe announced that investigations had established that between 200 and 300 residents of the hostel had been involved in the attack.

Meanwhile anti-apartheid organisations met in Boipatong yesterday to discuss an indefinite stayaway and consumer boycott in the Vaal Triangle until Kwamadala — believed to have been the launchpad for the massacre — was demolished.

Mass action blamed for Boipatong

(278)

ARG 1/7/92

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has launched a blistering attack on the African National Congress, blaming it for the massacre at Boipatong and calling on the government to crack down on lawlessness.

"A man of Mandela's calibre should have seen that the announcement of mass action would lead directly to people's deaths.

"He immediately tried to play the innocent god while the poor government was helplessly looking on as the ANC destroyed the country," he said.

Brigadier Gqozo, who recently returned from a fact-finding mission on federalism in Europe, said he was "embarrassed" by the negative impression of South Africa there.

He said: "They showed De Klerk being chased away at Boipatong and Mandela getting a hero's welcome."

The South African government should be stricter and he expressed his regret that it was "apologetic".

Calm returns to the Vaal

(278)

Sowetan 1/7/92

By KENOSI MODISANE

CALM returned to Boipatong and Vaal townships yesterday as thousands heeded the stayaway call made at Monday's mass funeral for the township's massacre victims.

Neighbouring towns Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark and factories bordering Boipatong were hardest hit by the stayaway.

Streets in the two towns were deserted at lunchtime yesterday with only a few blacks in sight.

Thousands of people gathered at Boipatong Stadium, which has become the central point for communication between leaders, workers and the residents.

A boycott co-ordinating committee was still locked in a meeting to draw up strategies at the time of going to Press.

The committee comprises leaders of the ANC, PAC, Azapo, the civic associations and trade unions.

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday condemned the necklacing of a man during the funeral for the Boipatong victims on Monday.

Massacre: 75 held

(278) CT 17/7/92

PRETORIA. — Another 75 residents of the KwaMadala hostel have been arrested in connection with the Boipatong massacre, police said yesterday.

Police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said the breakthrough came after many hours of intensive investigation into the killings on June 17.

Rejecting claims that police had been directly involved in the massacre, the general said "no evidence could be found to substantiate the allegations".

He again made an "urgent appeal" to anyone who might have any information to come forward. — Sapa.

● Cosatu hits streets — Page 5

ANC blames govt for the resurgence of necklacing

B/Day 1/7/92. (278)

WILSON ZWANE

POLICE and Inkatha reported yesterday that necklace killings were on the increase again in the Vaal Triangle.

An Inkatha supporter was necklaced in the area on Monday, pulled from his house by a mob, beaten and set alight during the funeral for victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC said necklacing was abhorrent, and called for its demise. But it blamed the phenomenon on government's "refusal to accept a democratic dispensation". Police said a number of people had been necklaced in the Vaal Triangle since Easter, but no arrests had been made. Inkatha said this included at least 10 of its members. It would refer all the incidents to the Goldstone commission.

The ANC condemned attacks on six white journalists who were beaten with clubs by mourners in PAC T-shirts at the funeral. Others were spat at and theatened with death.

The PAC denied involvement, saying the attacks were by people seeking to bring the organisation into disrepute. The ANC reaffirmed its commitment to Press freedom.

The Black Sash condemned the necklacing and said law and order had broken down.

It urged the installation of an interim government with a multiparty committee and UN assistance to oversee the security forces.

The organisation slated speakers at the funeral.

Meanwhile, political leaders who refused to stop using "war talk" could be expelled from the national peace accord, a source said yesterday.

The national peace committee meets tomorrow to consider Inkatha's request for an emergency meeting of all signatories to last year's accord.

The source said six lawyers from the Transvaal Law Society had been asked by the committee to investigate infractions of the accord.

Leaders could be summoned before a full meeting of the committee to account for their statements.

Inkatha has referred several allegedly inflammatory statements to the committee. Spokesman Sue Vos said these included statements by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala and ANC PWV secretary-general Barbara Hogan.

Inkatha's request followed newspaper reports that ANC official Reggie Hadebe had held a "mock trial" where President F W de Klerk and members of government and Inkatha were sentenced to death.

● Comment: Page 8

De Klerk condemns rhetoric at funeral

(278)

STAR 1/7/92

The anti-Government rhetoric at the Boipatong massacre funeral drew a sharp rebuttal from President de Klerk yesterday.

"The tone of many of the statements at yesterday's funeral for victims of the Boipatong massacre gives rise to concern," Mr de Klerk said in a statement last night.

He was reacting to speeches made at Monday's funeral service where threats were made "to take the Government to hell"; Mr de Klerk was declared incompetent and his resignation called for; and he was accused of being directly involved in the ongoing violence.

"Instead of using this occasion to mourn the tragic deaths of the victims and to console their families and loved ones, the funeral was exploited to whip up emotions and harden attitudes against negotiations and reconciliation," he said.

The repeated allegations concerning the involvement of the security forces and the Government in the tragic events at Boipatong were devoid of truth, and there was not a shred of evidence to support them.

Mr de Klerk invited anyone with evidence of Government involvement to get in touch with the police or the Goldstone Commission.

He added that he would respond in more detail to the situation soon. "We must not allow ourselves to be pushed away from the path of a peaceful and negotiated settlement." — Sapa.

President de Klerk . . . funeral was exploited.

ARG 1/7/92 (278)

IFP offers big reward

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party's Sandton branch has offered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the people responsible for the killing and necklacing of an IFP member during Monday's mass funeral in Boipatong.

Mr Bruce Anderson, a member of the IFP delegation to Codesa and also of the National Peace Accord, said the reward offer had been decided on after a report on the killing appeared in a Johannesburg newspaper.

According to the report, a crowd pulled an unidentified man, said to be an IFP member, from a house and began beating him with sticks and stones. They then shot him dead and put a tyre around his body. — Sapa.

Massacre: 75 held

(278) CT 1/7/92

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Police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said the breakthrough came after many hours of intensive investigation into the killings on June 17.

Rejecting claims that police had been directly involved in the massacre, the general said "no evidence could be found to substantiate the allegations".

He again made an "urgent appeal" to anyone who might have any information to come forward. — Sapa

● Cosatu hits streets — Page 5

(278)

Body of activist found

Star 11/7/92.

A former chairman of the Mohlakeng, Randfontein, branch of the Azanian Students' Movement, Siphiwe Mampondo, was found dead between Randfontein and Westonaria a week ago, according to his brother.

Mr Mampondo (19), who was a first-year B Proc student at the University of the North and a member of the Azanian Students' Convention, disappeared from home with his girlfriend, Lebogang Motlhatlhedi (19), at about 8 pm on June 20.

His brother Kenny said their bodies were found at the Roodepoort government mortuary on Thursday after their families had looked everywhere for them.

Mr Mampondo said police records at the Randfontein police station showed that the youths' bodies had been found on Main Reef Road between Westonaria and Randfontein on June 20 at about 8.30 pm.

He said police believed they had been knocked down by a stolen car which was later found at the entrance to Bekkersdal on the East Rand.

The two will be buried on Saturday in Mohlakeng.

Mr Mampondo appealed to his brother's friends to contact the family at (011) 414-2294.

— Political Reporter.

Residents 'refuse to co-operate with SAP'

STAR 2/7/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Staff

Boipatong residents are so antagonistic towards the police that they are refusing to claim belongings which were stolen during the June 17 massacre, according to SAP spokesman Major Ray Harrald.

Major Harrald told The Star yesterday that during their investigations into the massacre, police had recovered household goods which had been dumped in the veld near the KwaMadala hostel from where the attack was allegedly launched.

"There are a few television sets and other valuable items among the goods, but we cannot get residents to come forward and claim them," he said.

Major Harrald said he believed the antagonism and lack of co-operation stemmed directly from instructions by local ANC leaders that residents should not help the police in any way with investigations.

ANC PWV spokesman Wally Mbele confirmed this week that ANC leaders had advised residents not to make statements to the police "because of alleged police complicity" in the massacre.

Major Harrald said police had not found "a single shred of evidence" of police collusion in the bloodshed. He believed the police investigations would prove the police had nothing to do with the tragedy.

He again appealed to residents to come forward with information and statements.

SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe announced yesterday that Major-General Hannes Gloy, head of the police team investigating the massacre, had been replaced.

General Gloy has been on leave since his 76-year-old uncle was murdered on his plot in Sundra last Friday.

General van der Merwe said Brigadier Daan Hugget had been appointed acting commander of the Unrest and Violent Crime Investigation Unit in General Gloy's absence.

Children in a street in Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle watch a young man combine a toyi-toyi dance with a breakdancing flip-over routine.

A militant mood in Vaal

Sowetan 2/7/92 (278)

THE Vaal Triangle townships of Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Bophelong have, more than any other area in the country, come to represent the new face of militant politics.

Codesa means nothing here. We have our own agenda," a local African National Congress leader in Sharpeville said during a tour of war-torn Boipatong on Monday when 37 victims of the June 17 massacre were buried.

Signs of the new mood of militancy, some argue it is anarchy, were unmistakeable in the streets: metre-deep trenches had been dug, full-grown trees had been neatly felled with electric saws, piles of rubbish and tyres would be set alight at night, there were metre-high walls built of boulders.

Gone were the days following the February 2, 1990, unbanning of political organisations when members of the news media felt they were safe in these townships.

A number of local and foreign journalists were attacked by angry youths at the Boipatong funeral. One was bashed over the head with a metal bar.

"Hey settler, you deserve a bullet," is now typical of the cries of many angry youthful residents in the Vaal.

The ANC leader in Sharpeville, like a military commander, proudly told reporters that his defence units had been operating "smoothly" for months now.

He added that the final touches were being put to a plan to reintroduce street committees in Sharpeville.

Operations at the Sharpeville police station, where 69 residents marching in protest against pass laws were gunned down by police in 1960, had virtually ground to a halt, he claimed.

"When we see a policeman in the streets nowadays we disarm him."

Trends marking this new-found militancy are clearly disturbing: At the Boipatong funeral, attended by about 40 000 people, there was an abundance of weapons - including firearms - and a lack of discipline was evident.

The attacks on reporters were blamed on a splinter PAC group, which reportedly cannot be controlled by the local leadership.

But the ANC came in for its share of the blame too. ANC supporters armed with AK47s, shotguns and pistols paraded in the open.

During the long wait for the bodies to arrive at the Sharpeville cemetary, people toyi-toyied between and on graves - firing at random. While some of the older women shouted "thula (keep quiet)" others, mainly "young lions", roared their approval.

Makharov pistol

Police later claimed a shot had been fired at, and missed, the ever-present police helicopter whose crew diligently monitored the day's events.

Then there was the boy - journalists estimated he was 10 years old, definitely not more than 12 - who strutted about with a Makharov pistol stuck in his belt.

Other youths passed the time chasing the odd white who cycled down a street in a nearby white Vanderbijlpark suburb.

A white resident sitting on his veranda was shot in the foot from a passing minibus taxi.

Clearly the mood in the Vaal Triangle's townships has changed - many residents seem to have turned their backs on the negotiation process.

The country will have to wait and see whether the "liberation" leaders, who themselves gave militant speeches at the Boipatong funeral, will be able to control and direct this anger during the upcoming "rolling" mass action campaign. - *Sapa.*

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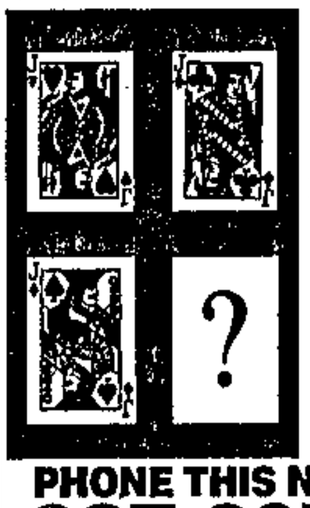

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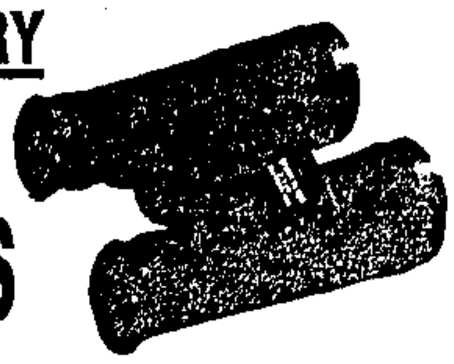

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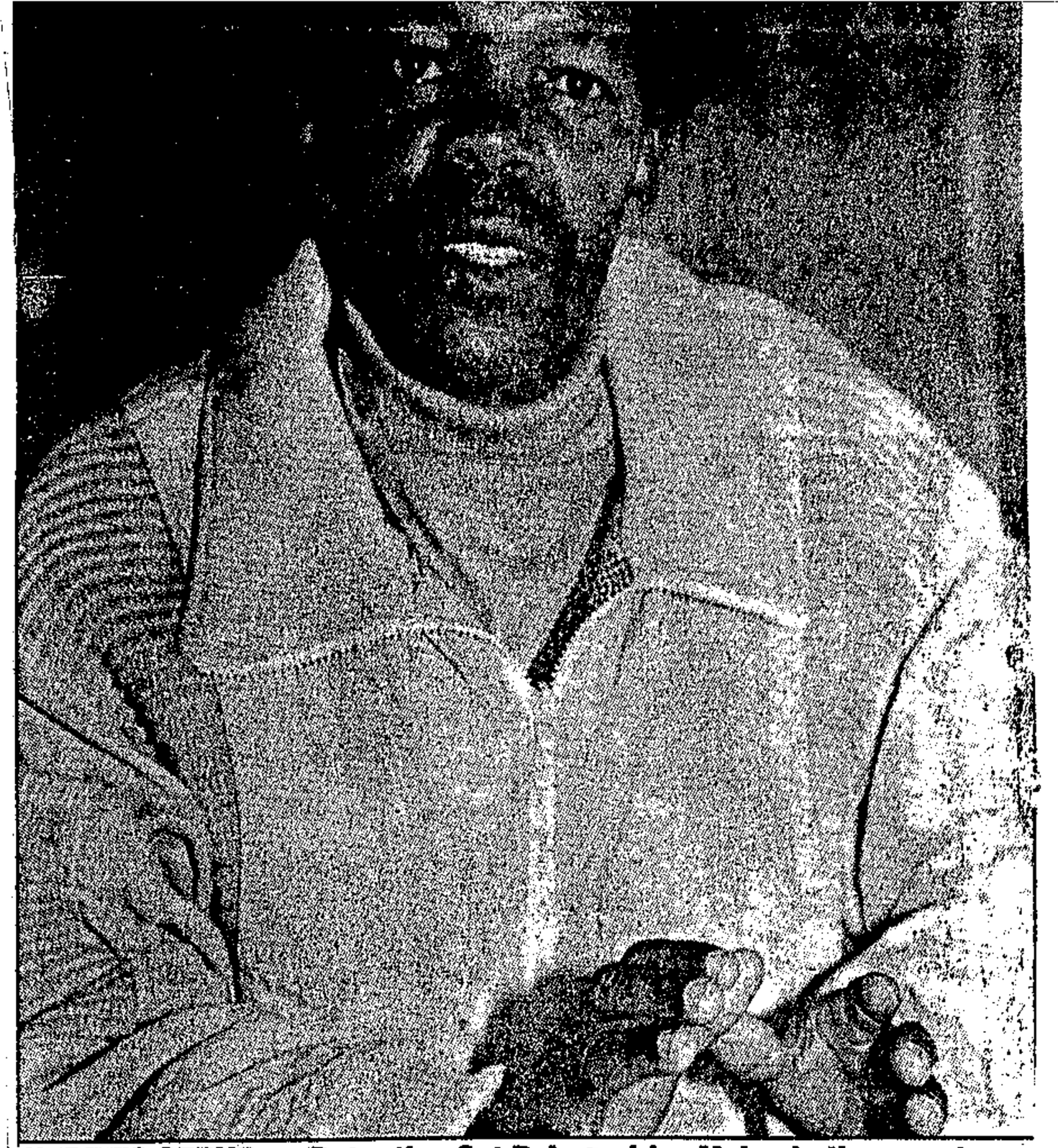


HERE TO SERVE . . . Detective Sgt Pule Andrias Makgobotloane, whose home was petrol-bombed and gutted in Sebokeng recently, told reporters he would apologise if he had wronged his people.

Police speak out on fear of attacks

C/Press 12/7/92 (278)

By SOPHIE TEMA and MOSES MAMAILA

As conflict in the Vaal escalates, policemen are increasingly the targets of violence. On the one side there are residents who say they have to defend themselves against policemen. But the men in uniform claim they are doing their best in difficult conditions to serve the community. Here are two viewpoints on this uneasy relationship.

"WE are no murderers, we are the people's friends and ought to serve the community."

These are the words of Detective Sgt Pule Andrias Makgobotloane, soon after his Sebokeng house was petrol-bombed.

At a police media conference held in Vanderbijlpark recently, Makgobotloane spoke of his fears following a spate of attacks against policemen in the Vaal.

He said that although his house was petrol-bombed by people who he loved and served, he bore no resentment nor hatred for them.

He said he is prepared to apologise if he has wronged his people in any way.

"I have always kept up a good relationship with members of the community – including members of the ANC and Vaal Council of Churches."

Makgobotloane said he resigned his post in 1982 and rejoined the police force two years ago.

"If police were murderers then I would not have returned to my post. I came back because I knew that most of us are friends of the community and our duty is to serve.

"I was always ready to help those in need whenever they called on me to do so."

Makgobotloane is not alone. Various other policemen also spoke of their vulnerable situation.

A 28 year-old police constable, who refused to be named, said: "My dream career was to become a television presenter. I roamed the streets for two years without a job and finally I decided that any type of employment was better than starving.

"I was staying with my family in Evaton when I was tipped by a friend that the comrades had resolved to eliminate all policemen living in the area.

"I had to leave my family to come and stay in police barracks."

A policewoman who has also sought refuge at the barracks after being displaced from her Zone 10 Sebokeng home, said after being unemployed for two years she had no choice but to join the force.

"The youngsters accuse us of being agents of apartheid. They seem to forget that we too are victims of the same system."

March on KwaMadala Hostel

Sowetan 21/7/92 (278)

BOIPATONG residents will march on KwaMadala Hostel tomorrow to demand the hostel's immediate closure, it was announced yesterday.

In a joint statement, Cosatu and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa said the march, which was decided upon at a meeting yesterday, would begin at the Boipatong Stadium at noon.

The move follows the Boipatong massacre on July 17.

Iscor, which has long resisted calls to close the hostel, finally announced that it would close it and find alternative accommodation for its residents. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

UK cops to probe massacre

Sowetan 2/7/92

SENIOR British detectives will assist the Goldstone Commission in its investigation into the Boipatong massacre. 278

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said yesterday Commander Tom Laidlaw and Detective Superintendent David Don of the British Metropolitan Police would assist the commission.

"Their function will be to form a judgment of the adequacy and effectiveness of the South African Police investigation into the events at Boipatong," said Goldstone. The detectives would report directly to the commission, he added.

ANC tells supporters not to help SAP probe

(278) B/Day 2/7/92

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC had told its supporters not to help police investigating the June 17 massacre which left 42 dead and scores injured, the organisation said yesterday.

ANC PWV spokesman Wally Mbele said the decision to discourage Boipatong residents from co-operating with police was taken by the Vaal branches of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

ANC national spokesman Gill Marcus said she could not comment on the matter as it had not been communicated to the organisation's headquarters by the Vaal branches of the alliance.

Mbele said the alliance had decided to discourage residents from co-operating with police because of anger at the police for not heeding warnings about an attack on Boipatong residents on June 17, and for alleged police complicity.

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrald confirmed that police were finding it "extremely difficult" to secure the co-operation of Boipatoing residents.

"We are, however, determined to get to the bottom of the matter with or without the residents' co-operation," Harrald said.

Sapa reports that Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday the call for non co-operation would "mean a total subversion of the process of justice" if it were true.

"How is it possible that an organisation which demands the police catch the perpetrators of violence turns to the very witnesses who have information and tell them not to assist police in finding the killers?"

The question immediately arose whether the ANC said the same thing with regard to other massacres in which it accused the SAP of complicity, such as Swanieville, train attacks and Sebokeng, he said.

"How can you be serious about catching killers if there is no co-operation with the police? The ANC will have to clarify this. If the reports are true it is a flagrant violation of the national peace accord."

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said yesterday it had obtained more than 10 signed statements from residents which lawyers would present to the Goldstone commission.

A board spokesman said Boipatong residents were told at a rally in the township that they should give statements to the board, not police.

The commission will begin a hearing on the Boipatong massacre in Pretoria today. Evidence from both the ANC and SAP will be used to assess the terms of reference of the committee which will investigate the massacre. Indian former chief justice Judge Bhagwati is expected to be a member of the committee.

Sapa reports that Goldstone said yesterday Cmndr Tom Laidlaw and Det-Supt David Don of London's metropolitan police would assist the commission.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that police yesterday put a new officer in charge of its investigation into the massacre.

Maj-Gen Wouter Grove, a detective with extensive experience in the investigation field, had replaced Gen Hannes Gloy, who withdrew on sick leave last week.

□ Fourteen Reef townships were currently unrest areas, police said yesterday. The townships were: Boipatong, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Evaton, Bophelong, Alexandra, Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Soweto, Dobsonville, Diepmeadow and Meadowlands.

SAP's training hit at for being racist

B/Day 2/7/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE SAP's basic training system was pervaded with racism and inequality and should be scrapped, Police Board member Janine Rauch said yesterday.

Rauch said she would advise the board that the system also lacked understanding of discretionary policing.

Wits University Policing Research Project leader Rauch was the first independent researcher given access to the SAP's training materiel and institutions. She was recently appointed to the Police Board which would advise Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on police policy.

The SAP expended a great deal of energy and financial resources on improving its training system, Rauch said in her report. But such improvement was impeded by a dominant "anti-training" ethos.

She recommended that a new curriculum be developed in consultation with experts from other countries and communities not traditionally consulted.

Boipatong marchers will demand hostel's closure

STAR 21/7/92

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter (278)

Boipatong residents and workers at stayaway-plagued Vaal Triangle companies will march to the KwaMadala hostel tomorrow to demand the hostel's immediate closure, it was announced yesterday.

In a joint statement, Cosatu organising secretary Zwelinzima Vavi and National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) Vanderbijlpark organiser Lazarus More said the march — decided upon at a meeting of the two organisations yesterday — would begin at the Boipatong Stadium at noon.

The clamour for the closure of the Iscor hostel increased after the killing of more than 40 Boipatong residents by alleged hostel dwellers on June 17. Iscor, which has long resisted calls to close the complex, finally announced that it would close it and find alternative accommodation for its residents.

The Cosatu-Numsa statement said arrangements would be made for Iscor management and the police to receive a memorandum at the gates of the hostel.

Demands made in the memorandum would include the immediate closure of the hostel, the arrest of all "warlords residing at KwaMadala", and the compensation by Iscor of people who had lost relatives and whose property had been looted and destroyed during the June 17 attacks.

Representatives of the unions are expected to hold a meeting with Iscor today.

The two unions also demanded that companies affected by the stayaway should not take any action against their employees.

The Cosatu-Numsa move comes after a decision by a broad forum of anti-apartheid organisations to review the local indefinite stayaway and consumer boycott in the aftermath of the Boipatong killings.

The decision, which followed Monday's announcement of a consumer boycott in Vereeniging and a stayaway in the entire Vaal region, was taken at a meeting in Boipatong on Tuesday.

The forum also called for maximum unity among Vaal Triangle residents, and strongly condemned the stoning and hijacking of cars along the Golden Highway.

"We call on all those elements involved in such acts to immediately stop these acts, which will sow division among us and discredit our just struggle for our liberation," said a statement issued after the meeting.

Mr Vavi said although the response to the calls for the stayaway and the consumer boycott had been positive, there were some people who were not aware of these calls. He appealed to them "to join us in mourning for our people".

The meeting was attended by representatives of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Vaal Civic Association, the Vaal African Chamber of Commerce, the Roshnee Civic Association and the Vaal Council of Churches.

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday distanced itself from the forum's calls, saying its members could not "embark on such a stayaway".

Boipatong hostel to close down soon

By Brian Sokutu STAR 3/7/92

Iscor management has pledged to close the KwaMadala hostel and house inmates at a block of flats in Vanderbijlpark.

But despite the Iscor undertaking, made at a meeting with National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) officials yesterday, the union said residents would go ahead with today's march from Boipatong Stadium to KwaMadala.

While management yesterday met almost all union demands, no agreement could be reached on a time-table for the relocation of the hostel inmates.

Both parties agreed the hostel should be closed and no longer used to accommodate Iscor workers. 278

But the management offer to transfer hostel inmates to a Vanderbijlpark block of flats in a month's time was rejected by Numsa officials, who demanded that the inmates leave within seven days.

"Our problem is that we would have to give the people occupying the block of flats a month's notice to leave before transferring KwaMadala hostel inmates," said Iscor delegation leader Hannes Viljoen.

Bid to end taxi feud

Sowetan 3/7/92

COSATU and the KwaThema Civic Association are to tackle the continuing taxi feud which is crippling commuter transport in the Springs/KwaThema area, the union federation said yesterday.

The two bodies held emergency meetings during the past two days to try and resolve the bloody taxi feud which has so far claimed one life.

"This conflict is continuing without any resolution in sight. For the last two years there has not been a single conviction of the perpetrators of this violence despite the fact that aggressors have been seen waving AK-47 rifles in public," the two groups said in a joint statement.

They added that the conflict had resulted in a transport crisis as some taxi operators had allegedly interfered with commuter buses and commuters using private transport.

A mass meeting is to be held on Sunday to try and bring about peace between the feuding taximen.

South African Press Association.

SOWETAN Friday J

ANC followers heckle NP MP

Sowetan 31/7/92 (278)

A MEETING of the Hillbrow and Jeppe branches of the National Party in Johannesburg was disrupted this week when ANC and PAC supporters heckled the NP MP for Jeppe Mr Hennie Bekker.

The meeting became rowdy shortly after it began on Wednesday evening when Bekker called for a moment's silence for those killed in the ongoing violence around the country.

A speaker, however, insisted that those who had died in the "apartheid struggle" be included.

The request was agreed to, which led to the spontaneous singing of Nkosi Sikelel'i'Afrika.

Allegations that President FW de Klerk was a "Nazi", the NP were murderers and that the Government had stolen billions of rands of public funds were thrown around.

After the NP won a motion of confidence from 56 percent of the audience, the ANC and PAC supporters walked out.

"It was clear the hecklers were not interested in debate but attended with the purpose of disrupting the meeting. They, however, got a surprise when they failed to get their way to end the meeting in chaos," Bekker said afterwards.

Witnesses fear giving evidence — Sexwale

(278)

W/Mail 3/7-9/7/92

By LINDA RULASHE and JACQUIE GOLDING

BOIPATONG residents had refused to give statements to the police on the recent massacre because of "profound mistrust of the police and security forces", the Goldstone Commission was told yesterday.

In a strongly worded memorandum presented to the commission on the first day of the inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, African National Congress PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale also said it was not "the hand that disembowelled the nine-month pregnant woman that day" but the forces behind the attack which should be emphasised, namely the police and the state.

Present at the sitting was the former chief justice of India, P Bhaqwati, specially appointed for the inquiry. Also in attendance were a British expert on policing, Dr Peter Waddington and two members of the London Metropolitan Police, Commander Tom Laidlaw and Detective Superintendant David Don.

Sexwale stressed that it was not ANC policy to dissuade people from submitting statements to the police.

Describing the "deep and dangerous explosive anger among the residents", Sexwale explained how President FW de Klerk had been labelled "the butcher of Boipatong" during his recent "insensitive" visit to the township. This, he said, was because De Klerk had legalised the carrying of traditional weapons.

Counsel for the commission Johan du Toit, said: "But we are not looking into that," to which Justice Goldstone interceded: "But with respect Du Toit, I understand Mr Sexwale's depth of feeling and he should be allowed to continue."

Sexwale said residents were also critical of the commission's inability to ensure that steps were taken on its findings and recommendations carried through.

"In fact, giving evidence here is perceived as the same as giving evidence to the police," Sexwale said, because witnesses were often killed or disappeared under mysterious circumstances.

To date, the police have managed to obtain more statements from kwaMadala hostel dwellers — about 400 — than from victims and or witnesses of the massacre.

Major Christo Davidson, attached to the Unrest and Violence Crime Investigation Unit and involved in the probing of the killings, told the commission the allegations that the security forces were involved and that they transported hostel residents to and from the township were unfounded.

Davidson said the evidence collected by the police unambiguously pointed to the residents of the kwaMadala hostel as the perpetrators of the attack.

Other allegations he denied were that the police had prior knowledge of the attack and that they dispersed residents with tearsmoke before the massacre to allow the attackers access to the area.

On the night of the attack, patrolling members of the Vaal Commando saw a group of men wearing white headbands — suspected to be ANC members — in the veld adjacent to Boipatong.

It was ascertained that the group was carrying knobkieries and other traditional weapons but they were not questioned and suddenly vanished.

Members of the South African Defence Force and SAP waited at kwaMadala hostel for a while "to determine what the intentions of this group of blacks was".

Shots were heard coming from the township but this, according to Major Pieter van Wyk of the Vaal Commando, "is not a rare occurrence".

Tension as youth dies

(278)

Sowetan 3/7/92

THE Chairman of Azapo in Bekkersdal, Mr Andrew Rammutle, last night appealed for calm following the killing of Mr Pogiso Mraji, a 16-year-old member of AZASM in the township.

The youth was hacked to death while walking towards his home on Tuesday.

According to Rammutle, the youth was attacked inside his parents' home by people believed to be Inkatha followers.

Azapo arranged a meeting with the IFP in the area yesterday but its officials failed to turn up. The IFP could not be reached for comment.

The Guardian Weekly
July 3 to 9, 1992

The Washington Post

There's No Hope Unless The Police Are Brought To Book

Guardian (W [in W/mail] 3/7-9/7/92 (278)

BOIPATONG TOWNSHIP, South Africa — After the June 17 massacre here, one thing is certain. There will be no negotiated settlement in South Africa unless something is done to restore the credibility of the police as a peacekeeping force.

Foreign Minister R. F. Botha is right when he says there is no alternative to negotiation. But what there is if negotiation fails is the appalling prospect of a slide into anarchy and ruin, of South Africa becoming another Lebanon or Yugoslavia. That prospect looms if President Frederick de Klerk continues to turn a blind eye to the fact that the credibility of the police is in a state of collapse.

I spent time here talking to survivors of the massacre, and I was in the midst of the mini-Sharpeville that followed Mr de Klerk's visit to the township on June 20, when the police fired point-blank, without orders and without warning, into a crowd of about 3,000 people, and I can only say that I despaired for my country.

I despaired because every man, woman, and child I spoke to in Boipatong told me they believed the police had escorted the attackers from a nearby migrant workers' hostel, housing supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, into their township and out again after the slaughter.

I despaired because I saw how inept the police are at handling the kind of volatile situation that arose after Mr. de Klerk's ill-considered visit. After the president had left and the crowd was beginning to simmer down and disperse, the police inexplicably turned their personnel carriers around and re-entered the traumatized township.

The big armoured vehicles drove slowly down the street just a few yards behind the retreating crowd, looking so aggressive and provocative that a newly arrived foreign correspondent beside me blurted out in astonishment: "What the hell do they think they're doing? Are they looking for trouble?"

Then, in those explosive circumstances, a policeman in one vehicle stood up in the turret and fired a shot, killing a black man about 80 yards (73 meters) away. The police claimed the man was threatening another with a machete, but people in the crowd said the shooting was unprovoked. Whatever the truth, the shooting created a situation so explosive that a greater tragedy became inevitable.

Other factors cry out for explanation. Neither these police nor any others I have seen in similar situations in South Africa carried riot shields or batons the way crowd controllers do everywhere else in the world. They wore camouflage battle dress and carried only lethal weapons — submachine guns and 12-gauge shotguns loaded with buckshot. It meant shooting was their first, not their last, resort in case of trouble.

The angry crowd milled around, demanding that the police officer who fired the fatal shot be arrested. They were determined to stop the

By Allister Sparks

police from taking away the body, saying this would lead to a fabricated case of self-defence, and they tried to reach it. When a police mortuary van arrived, they blocked its path. The van driver got out and, pressed back by the crowd, fired his shotgun into the ground to try to scare them off. Instead, this triggered his own colleagues, who on hearing the shotopened fire into the crowd standing directly before them.

They kept up the shooting for more than 19 seconds, firing round after round as the people fled in terror, falling as they were shot in the back until there were two dead and 29 others groaning on the ground.

When the shooting stopped, the officer in charge leaped up and screamed at his men in Afrikaans: "Who told you to shoot? I told you not to shoot without orders."

I despaired finally because when it was all over, the police did not come out to help the injured. It was left to the few journalists there and the black survivors to do that.

I watched a young woman photographer cradle a man's shattered head as he gurgled and died. My wife, who accompanied me on the assignment and had to run for her life with the stampeding mob, turned back to drag a man who had been hit in the spine to safety behind a parked car.

But the police stayed next to their parked armoured personnel carriers. All of this was inflicted on a community that had suffered one of the worst atrocities in South Africa's history four nights before, when more than 40 persons — including women and babies — were shot, hacked, and speared to death in their beds. Mr. de Klerk's decision to visit the scene of that atrocity is a measure of how out of touch he is with the mood of black South Africa in these dark days of frustration and fury.

To those of us who had been there after the massacre it was obvious the moment we heard of Mr de Klerk's intention that his gesture was misplaced and bound to cause trouble.

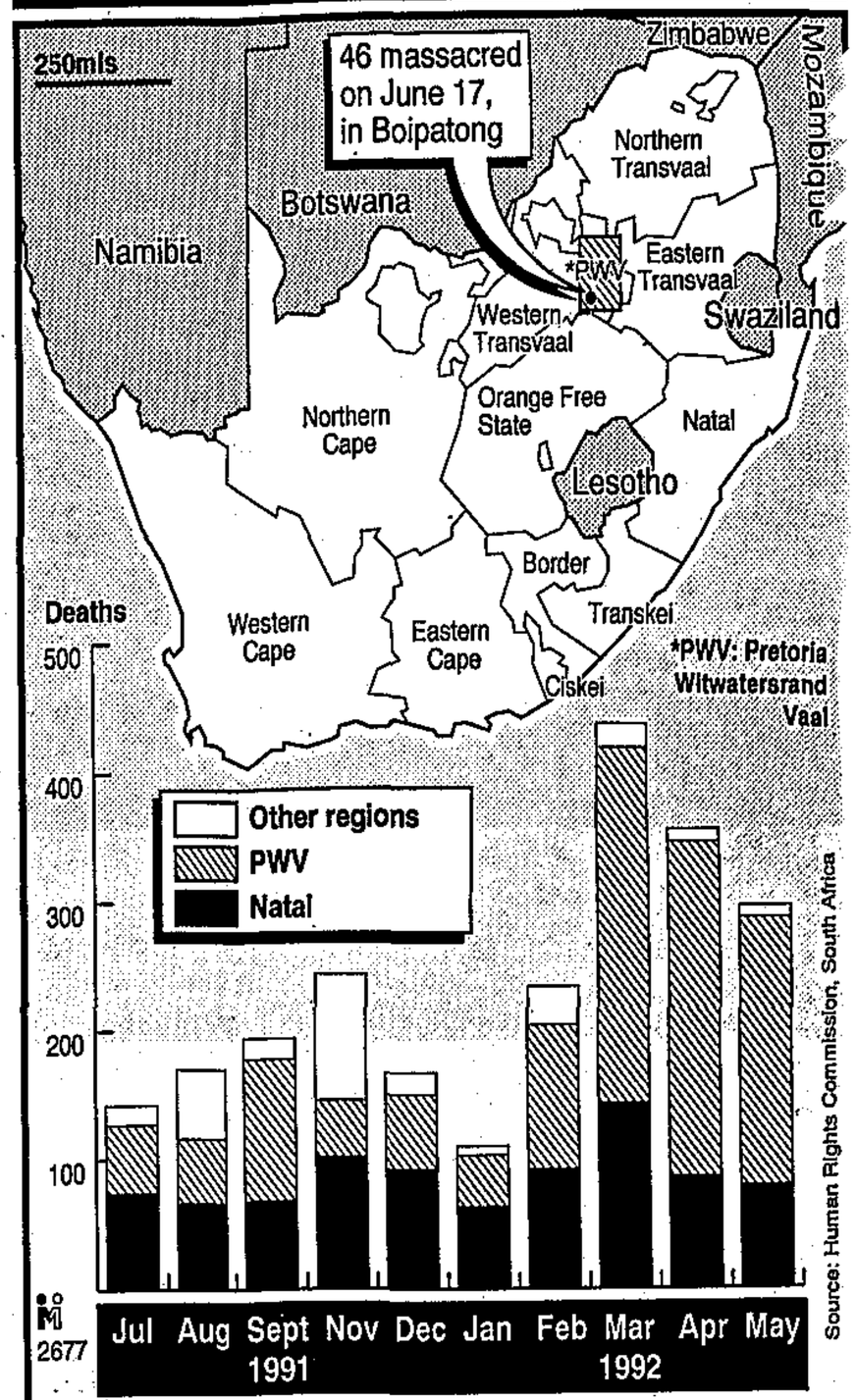
Boipatong and nearby townships were boiling with rage. Absolutely everyone here believes the police were involved in the Inkatha attack. Whatever the president may say, however many exculpatory statements the official police spokesmen may issue, the people on the receiving end of the knives and hatchets and crude home-made guns know who attacked them. You can bluff the whites in their remote suburbs, but you cannot bluff the blacks who are there on the spot — and the more you try, the more you discredit yourself.

That is what has happened to South Africa's police force. It has discredited itself by its deeds and its cynically disingenuous explanations until it is seen not as a peacekeeper but as a feared and deadly enemy.

Mr. de Klerk does not want to believe that. He gets angry when it is put to him. But it is true.

How can credibility be restored? Only by drastic measures. There must be a complete change in the command structure of the security forces, they must be brought under multi party control, and there must be an international commission to monitor police operations. If that is done, there may be some hope of getting the peace process back on track. Anything less, and the abyss yawns.

South Africa: township toll



Estimated 6,000 killed in political violence since Mandela's release February 1990. In 1991 an average 215 killed every month. In first five months of 1992 monthly average was 286

'Killers came from hostel'

STAR 3/7/92

By Zingisa Mkhuma and Own Correspondent

A senior policeman yesterday told the preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre that they could find no evidence linking security forces to the June 17 attack which killed more than 40 people and injured 30.

Speaking on behalf of the police and the Minister of Law and Order, Major Christo Davidson — a member of the 200-strong police team charged with apprehending the killers — said investigations had revealed that ANC allegations that "white persons", security force members or ex-Koevoet members had been involved in the attack were false.

"The allegations that the security forces were involved in the attack and that they transported residents of the KwaMadala hostel to and from the township are totally unfounded," he said.

He said investigations had indicated that between 200 and 300 men had left the KwaMadala hostel on foot at about 9.15 pm on June 17. They had gathered in an open veld before separating into small groups which attacked residents in Boipatong and Slovo Park.

He said police who arrived after the attack had prevented youths from attacking the hostel.

The chairman of the ANC PWV region, Tokyo Sexwale, said Boipatong residents had frequently repeated, at the time, that security forces had been seen in Boipatong and seemed to have been involved in the attack.

"This perception persists among many residents of Boipatong today," he said.

Mr Sexwale added that concrete evidence obtained

● To Page 3

'The killers came from hostel'

STAR 3/7/92

● From Page 1

from witnesses would be submitted to the commission at a later stage.

He denied earlier police submissions that the ANC had hampered police investigations into the massacre by instructing witnesses not to give evidence. Mr Sexwale said it was the people themselves who refused to do so because they perceived the police to be involved in the violence.

He said the commission had no powers to protect witnesses and that some of the people who had given evidence before the commission had in the past been subsequently killed.

Major Davidson submitted that their investigations had revealed that some hostel residents intended attacking the self-defence units in Boipatong on June 17.

Mr Sexwale told the commission the massacre "compelled the ANC and its national executive committee to sever multilateral talks with the Government".

"There is a deep, dangerous and explosive anger among the residents of Boipatong and in the Vaal Triangle generally," said Mr Sexwale.

He said the angry mood of the residents was evident at a mass meeting held in the course of ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit to the area on June 21.

The standard gesture on such occasions is to observe a minute's silence in remembrance of the dead. However, said Mr Sexwale, the residents on that occasion refused to observe tradition.

Instead, he said, they sang a song to the effect that "you are behaving like a lamb, while people are being killed".

10 IFP members died in massacre, says chief

STAR 31/7/92

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

278

At least 10 Inkatha Freedom Party members were killed in the recent Boipatong violence and six of them were buried as ANC members on Monday, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

Speaking in Johannesburg, Chief Buthelezi said although the South African press was the freest in Africa, it was still subject to numerous restrictive laws and the intimidation of journalists by some organisations.

It was this intimidation, he said, which had resulted in "a desperate need for informed reporting".

He said that although many knew about the June 17 attacks in Boipatong, few people knew that:

- At least 10 IFP members were killed in the violence.
- At least six IFP members were buried as ANC members in Monday's mass funeral.
- Lawyers acting for arrested KwaMadala hostel residents obtained Supreme Court interdicts "to ensure that no persons arrested for the Boipatong massacre were tortured".

Chief Buthelezi was speaking on "The role of an independent media in a changing South and southern Africa" at a two-day Nieman Foundation/African-American Institute conference.

Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's speech, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the people who were buried in Boipatong on Monday had been buried "as members of a community that had been slaughtered", and not as members of certain organisations.

Miss Marcus said that was why it was even more tragic that township residents were often attacked at random, regardless of whether or not they were members of political organisations.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke will address the conference today.

MASS ACTION AND NEGOTIATION FM 3/7/92

2'78

Entering the wasteland

A day of national mourning was certainly appropriate — we have more than enough reason to mourn. And in any terms whatsoever, the massacre at Boipatong was an event of unique brutality. Those who were buried this week deserved to be honoured with dignity and sorrow.

This did not happen. There were calls from the podium for more and intensifying mass action. At midweek, Cosatu was meeting to determine both a timetable and a programme for strikes, stayaways and protests — and scant regard was paid to negotiation. Indeed, even as ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa spoke of the need to ban weapons at public gatherings, feral youths brandishing AK-47s were reported to be toyi-toying on the graves at Boipatong.

A man was necklaced on the outskirts of the funeral. The ANC issued a statement abhorring "the practice" and called upon "all people to stop it" — a pathetic response.

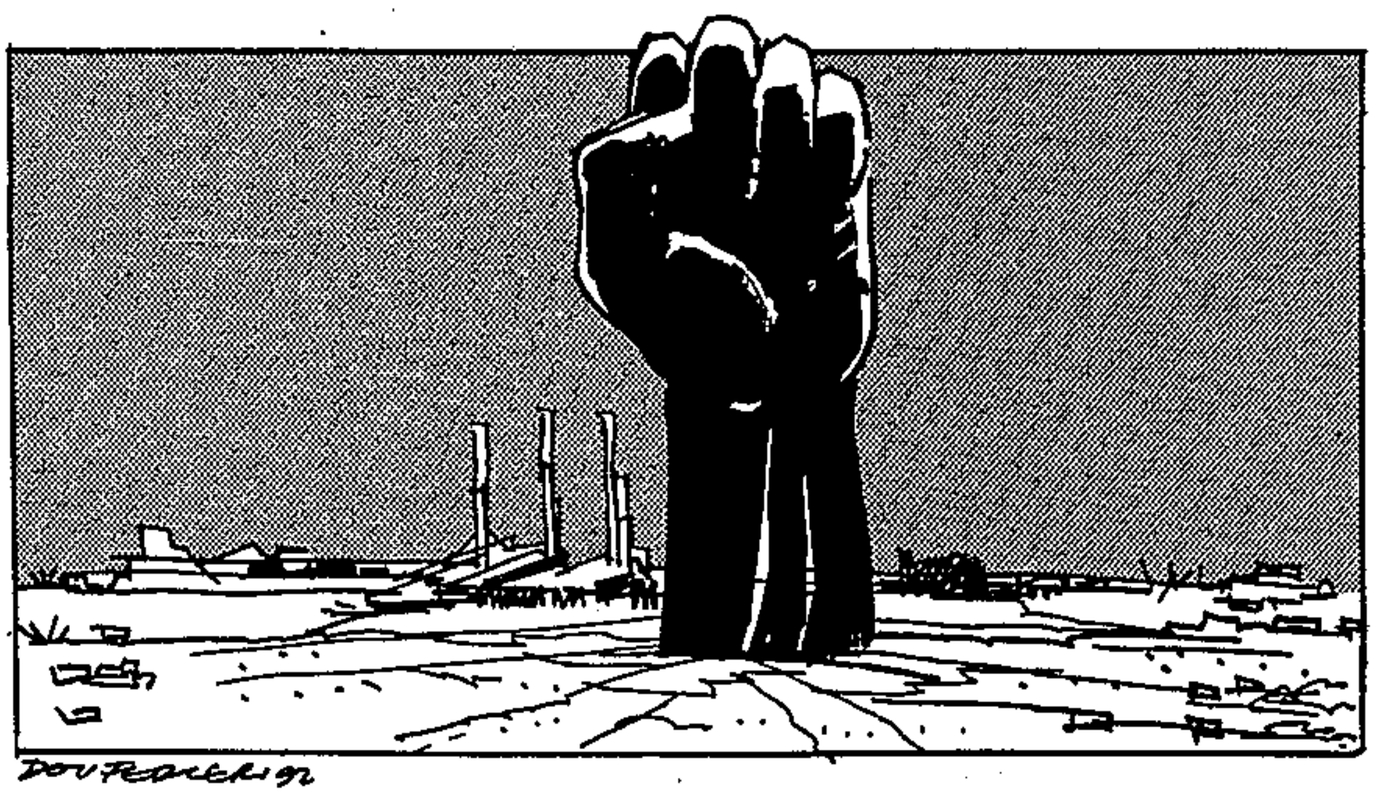
It is now fairly widely accepted — as reiterated by the Democratic Party's Zach de Beer this week — that the breakdown at Codesa had been coming for some time. Buoyed by their success in the referendum, the Nationalists believed they could push through a minority veto if the new constitution was not to their liking — extending the period of interim rule indefinitely. The economy was meant to revive as financial sanctions were formally lifted with the installation of a transitional executive authority.

Instead, the ANC has seized on Boipatong to validate its claims that government has a secret agenda of murder and destabilisation.

If all this was simply a means of mobilising support in advance of a general election — the original, explicit purpose of "rolling mass action" — then the outbursts at the Boipatong funeral could be viewed with resignation. But as the skilful co-ordination of international opinion — manifested in cancellations of sports tours and a rallying of the worldwide anti-apartheid movement — suggests, the ANC has more than short-term aims in mind.

Whether it is being pushed by the feelings of the masses, or by the calculations of hardline communists, the ANC leadership is coming dangerously close to an outright bid for power. Many of the demands it has made on F W de Klerk — now a persistent target of vituperative abuse — are in the process of being met or are impossible to meet.

They were made on the basis that De Klerk is in complicity with Inkatha and killers in the security forces — so whatever the State President does is made to appear weak or, which is worse, guilty. Ramaphosa's claim that De Klerk told Nelson Mandela that he had "no power" over the security forces is, if true, probably not a genuine reflection of what was said. Any such statement was probably made in confidence and with the intention of indicating the limits of government power in current circumstances.



But of course it is not only the ANC which is asking questions about the will and capacity of government to control violence. The government which once sent a worker to jail for scratching an ANC slogan on a tin mug certainly gave an impression of absolute, totalitarian control. Now it has lost this power; or perhaps the security forces are divided and demoralised.

At any rate, De Klerk's acceptance of some form of foreign monitoring of the violence is an astute move. The Goldstone Commission has laid stress on the ANC-Inkatha conflict which underlies so much of the killing — and perhaps the presence of independent international observers will moderate this conflict or at least report it in its true ferocity. There would be no propaganda advantage in truthful reports. Inkatha followers are also being massacred.

It is, of course, of major importance that the various parties to the conflict talk to each other again, preferably at Codesa where the inauguration of the next phase of a negotiated settlement is a hair's-breadth away. If mass action veers out of control — as is all too likely — it would be absurd for government to take the blame. The ANC-alliance has set this particular deadly game in progress.

The ANC also appears to think that economic sabotage is a tool of propaganda, reversible — at a stroke — when it is in power. More probably, forgone investment and a withholding of facilities to fund a deficit when the economy moves into expansion would represent a decision that SA is too unstable to merit financial commitment or assistance.

Added to that would be the possibility that an ANC-led government would find itself desperately short of funds to meet inflamed expectations — and would see socialism as the way out, notwithstanding world experience. The ANC, in other words, would find itself with nothing to redistribute to followers who have suffered and died to gain it the political kingdom. This outcome is inevitable if the ANC does not soon see its way clear to returning to Codesa. One can only repeat that those of its leaders who believe they can ride this tiger will be devoured.■

'Faction fight' sparked attack on Durban train

B/Day 3/7/92

DURBAN — Five people were killed and five others injured on Wednesday night in a shooting spree on a train travelling towards KwaMashu, police reported.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi said the attack was part of a faction fight, and ruled out political motivation.

He said a group of men began firing at passengers at about 6.45pm as the train pulled out of Effingham station in Durban. Four people were shot dead and another was killed when thrown from the moving train.

Ngidi said a witness told police the attackers had spoken to him after the incident. This information had led police to believe the attack was the result of a faction fight.

The attackers had come from a rural area and had wanted to kill one of the passengers who lived in the same area, Ngidi said.

However, Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said all those killed were Inkatha members, although he could not supply their names, and said the attack was politically motivated.

Tillet said the deceased were all occupants of the KwaMashu men's hostel — an Inkatha stronghold.

Ngidi said, however, that one of the dead was a woman.

Meanwhile, police found a body and two injured men who had been thrown from moving trains on the Reef yesterday morning.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said the dead man was found between Kwesini and Pilot stations near Katlehong at 9.22am. Between Langlaagte and New Canada stations two men, not seriously injured, were found at 5.50am.

In their unrest report yesterday police reported that a man was found "brutally murdered by the necklace method" at Zamdela near Sasolburg.

It was also reported that three policemen were injured when attacked at Chicken Farm in Soweto during an investigation into drug related charges. Their vehicle was "extensively damaged" during the attack, the report said.

It said the policemen would "most probably have been killed" had other members not arrived on the scene. One of the attackers was arrested. — Sapa.

Committee convenes a summit for peace

B/Day 3/7/92.

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee will convene a summit of signatories to the national peace accord next Wednesday to try to boost the flagging peace process.

The signatories include President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha asked the committee to urgently call the summit to discuss a mock trial at which De Klerk, his government and 10 Inkatha leaders were allegedly sentenced to death.

The trial was allegedly held by ANC Natal Midlands leader Reggie Hadebe in Maritzburg last week.

Committee spokesman Val Pauquet said the incident was discussed by the peace committee's executive at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. It was agreed to convene a meeting of all the peace accord's signatories.

The ANC was asked to "examine all evidence" related to the mock trial and report back to the executive today.

On the agenda at next Wednesday's meeting will be the continuing violence, the ANC's alleged mock trial and political leaders' inflammatory statements, Pauquet said.

CHARLIE PRETZLIK reports that national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys told a Johannesburg conference yesterday that police were improving their relations with the community.

He said the police were pushing hard to increase the public's confidence in them with a poster campaign and phone-in sessions on the radio.

The conference at Wits was organised by the International Association of Students Interested in Economics and Management.

To further the police's aim, Gildenhuys also called for relations between the police and the community to be monitored by regional dispute resolution committees.

He said "rogue" policemen ought to be brought to book by their colleagues.

Gildenhuys told the conference that violence could be partly attributed to the quest for building strongholds and the demarcation of territories by ethnic groups.

However, he also recognised the importance of third parties.

The territorial imperative, he said, had extended to commuter trains.

Depression in the taxi trade was also to blame for the violence, he said.

Such violence, together with insufficient commitment from political leaders and the lack of community confidence in the police, placed a strain on the peace accord.

Gildenhuys said he believed the establishment of an interim government was essential for securing a peaceful future for SA.

Inkatha members 'among Boipatong dead'

B/Day 3/7/92

(278) WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA yesterday accused the ANC of "expropriating" the bodies of eight of its supporters killed in the Boipatong massacre and burying them under the ANC flag.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said she had proof that eight of the 37 people buried at the mass funeral in the Vaal triangle township were Inkatha members.

She said the ANC had refused to hand over the bodies to their families, who wanted no part of the ANC's "political funeral". They had not pressed the matter as they were frightened of reprisals.

ANC Vaal chairman Ernest Sotsu said Inkatha's claim was "devoid of all truth".

He said it was "absurd" for Inkatha to make such a claim when the "killers of the Boipatong residents are known to be Inkatha-supporting KwaMadala Hostel inmates".

"We challenge Inkatha to come forward and substantiate its claim. But I tell you now that all the people we buried were ANC members."

Vos said Inkatha would not take the matter up with the ANC as it respected the wishes of the families to remain anonymous.

Sapa reports that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night at least 10 Inkatha members were among the 45 people killed at Boipatong, and six of them were buried as ANC supporters.

Witnesses fear giving evidence — Sexwale

(278)

W/Mail 3/7-9/7/92.

By LINDA RULASHE and JACQUIE GOLDING

BOIPATONG residents had refused to give statements to the police on the recent massacre because of "profound mistrust of the police and security forces", the Goldstone Commission was told yesterday.

In a strongly worded memorandum presented to the commission on the first day of the inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, African National Congress PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale also said it was not "the hand that disembowelled the nine-month pregnant woman that day" but the forces behind the attack which should be emphasised, namely the police and the state.

Present at the sitting was the former chief justice of India, P Bhaqwati, specially appointed for the inquiry. Also in attendance were a British expert on policing, Dr Peter Waddington and two members of the London Metropolitan Police, Commander Tom Laidlaw and Detective Superintendant David Don.

Sexwale stressed that it was not ANC policy to dissuade people from submitting statements to the police.

Describing the "deep and dangerous explosive anger among the residents", Sexwale explained how President FW de Klerk had been labelled "the butcher of Boipatong" during his recent "insensitive" visit to the township. This, he said, was because De Klerk had legalised the carrying of traditional weapons.

Counsel for the commission Johan du Toit, said: "But we are not looking into that," to which Justice Goldstone interceded: "But with respect Du Toit, I understand Mr Sexwale's depth of feeling and he should be allowed to continue."

Sexwale said residents were also critical of the commission's inability to ensure that steps were taken on its findings and recommendations carried through.

"In fact, giving evidence here is perceived as the same as giving evidence to the police," Sexwale said, because witnesses were often killed or disappeared under mysterious circumstances.

To date, the police have managed to obtain more statements from kwaMadala hostel dwellers — about 400 — than from victims and or witnesses of the massacre.

Major Christo Davidson, attached to the Unrest and Violence Crime Investigation Unit and involved in the probing of the killings, told the commission the allegations that the security forces were involved and that they transported hostel residents to and from the township were unfounded.

Davidson said the evidence collected by the police unambiguously pointed to the residents of the kwaMadala hostel as the perpetrators of the attack.

Other allegations he denied were that the police had prior knowledge of the attack and that they dispersed residents with tearsmoke before the massacre to allow the attackers access to the area.

On the night of the attack, patrolling members of the Vaal Commando saw a group of men wearing white headbands — suspected to be ANC members — in the veld adjacent to Boipatong.

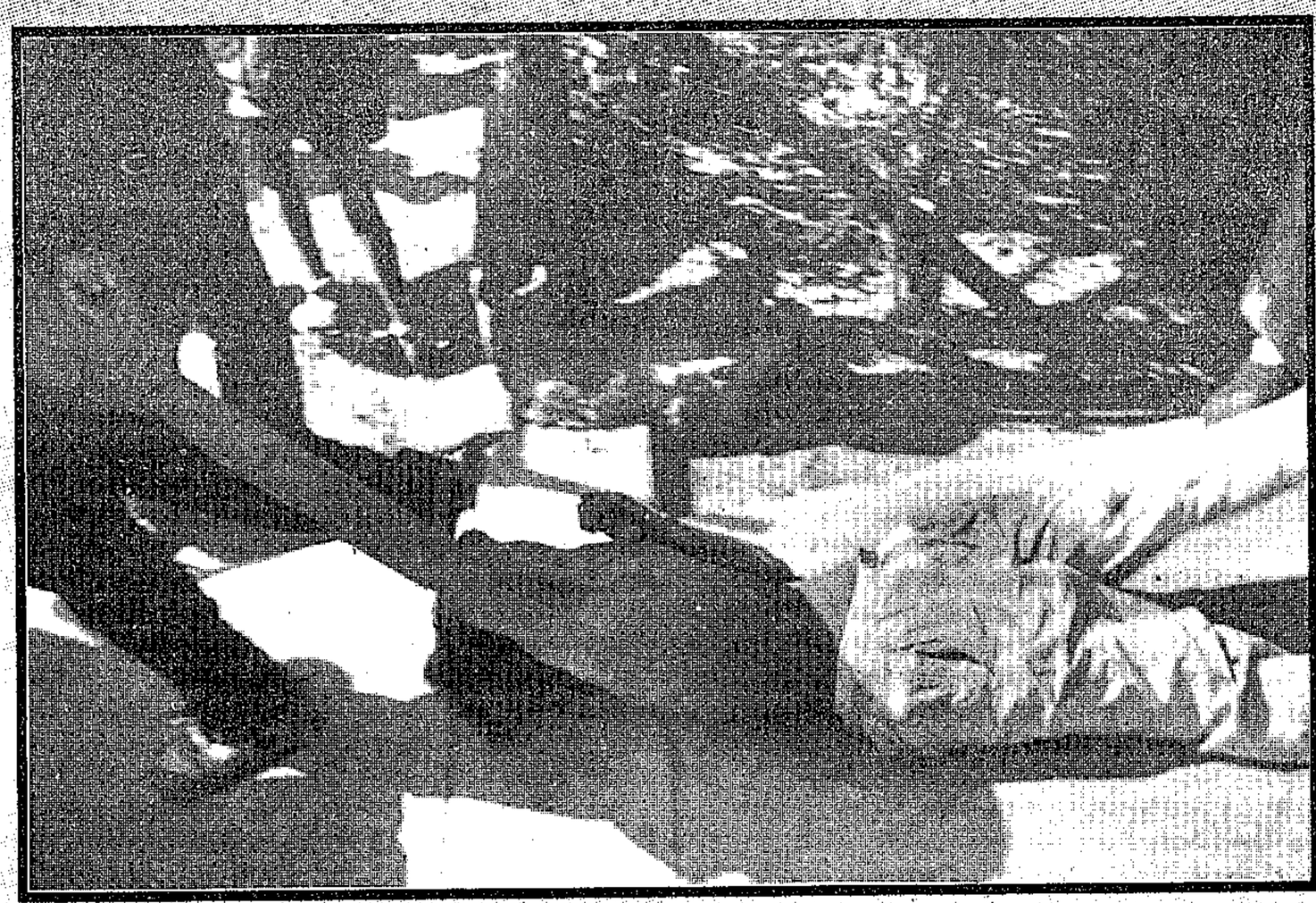
It was ascertained that the group was carrying knobkieries and other traditional weapons but they were not questioned and suddenly vanished.

Members of the South African Defence Force and SAP waited at kwaMadala hostel for a while "to determine what the intentions of this group of blacks was".

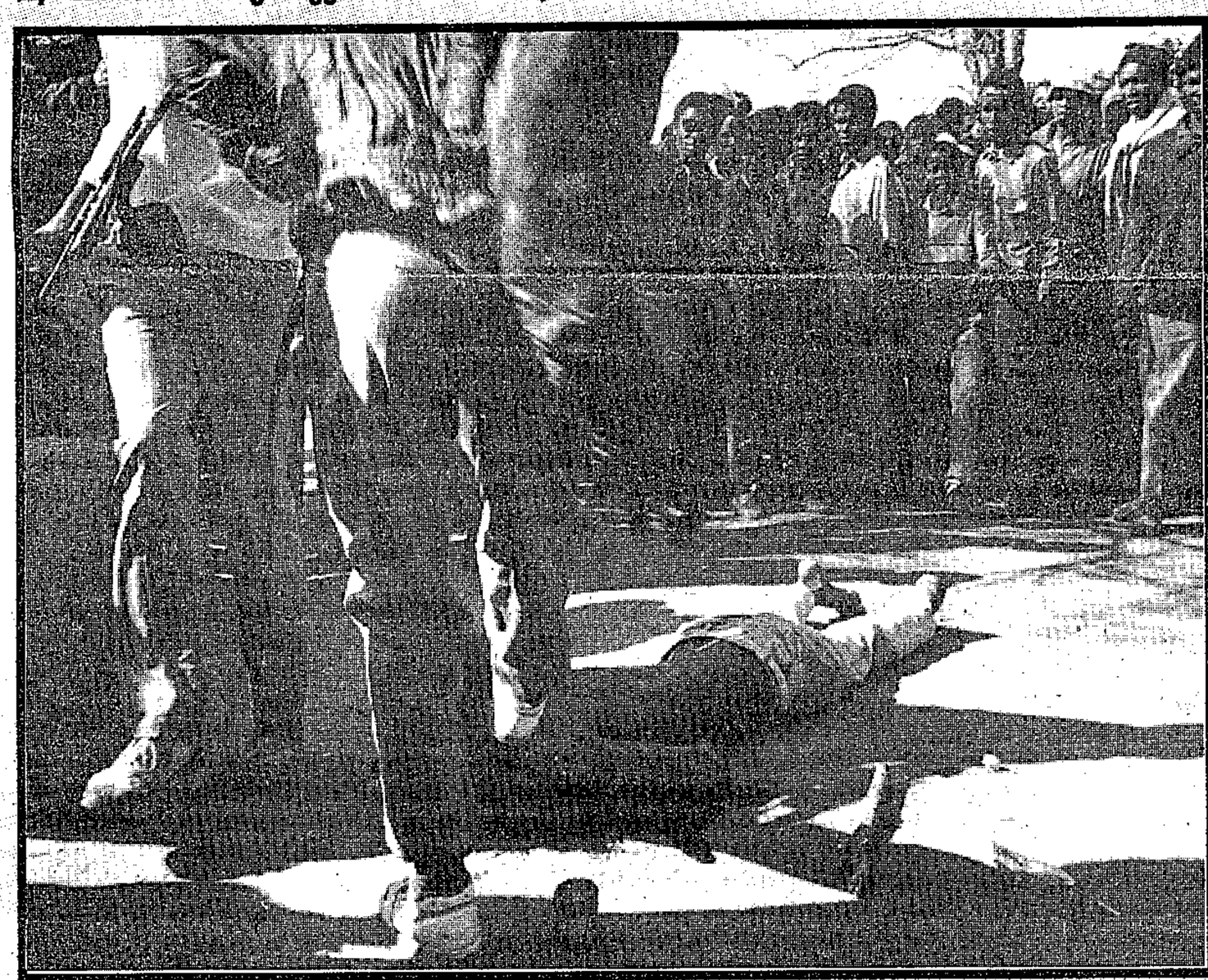
Shots were heard coming from the township but this, according to Major Pieter van Wyk of the Vaal Commando, "is not a rare occurrence".

breaking point. The real target of whites. But the first victim is black...

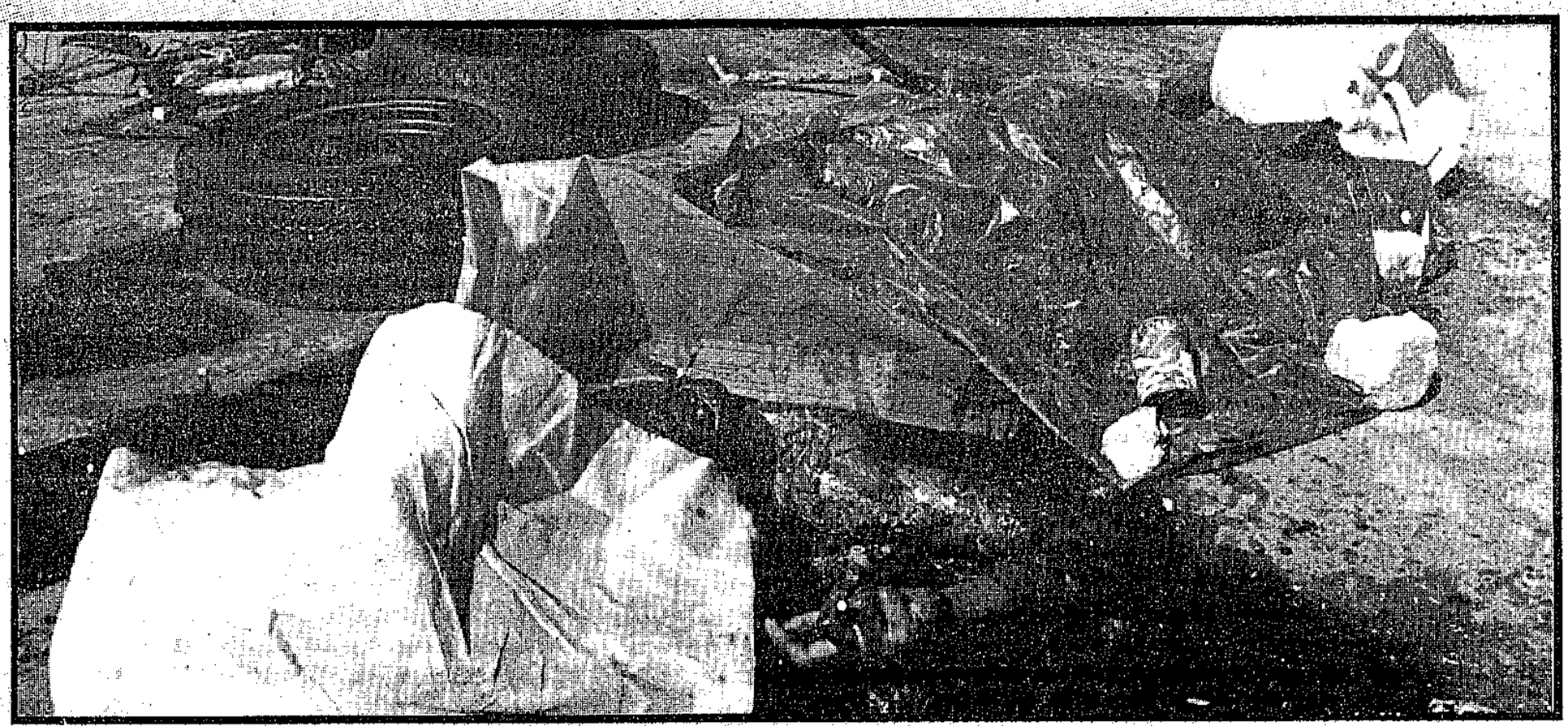
U/mail 3/7-9/7/92. (278)



2/ ... before being dragged into the street, semi-conscious



4/ ... while others kick him, a man tries to shoot him with a home-made gun which fails to fire



A TEENAGER with dreadlocks and a Rastafarian scarf spits on the ground in front of a group of white journalists. "I and I blood boils when I see dem pink man from Babylon," he snarls.

His gesture, before the Boipatong massacre funeral service on Monday this week, epitomises the mood of violent rage which has gripped township youths in the wake of the killings. Much of it has a racial character, with whites accused of "not understanding our pain".

But the frustration and fury over endless violence spills over on to other targets. An alleged Inkatha Freedom Party supporter was dragged from a house, hacked to death and burnt while the funeral service was happening.

At the funeral, white journalists were physically and verbally attacked by young African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress supporters. "Voetsek De Klerk," yelled a group of youths when a white journalist arrived at the Boipatong Stadium. Then, as their anger grew, they began to shout "Kill De Klerk". Suddenly the crowd redirected their anger, screaming "Kill the whites" and "Chase all whites into the sea".

A young Sebokeng activist, standing with another group of people in the stadium, summed up the mood: "They (the whites) don't understand our pain. We can't sleep peacefully at night because we have to erect and man street barricades to stop the police from taking us out one by one."

A Vaal ANC supporter complained there were too many priests at the funeral, lamenting that it did not reflect the real mood of the memorial, nor the extent of the anger of the Vaal residents.

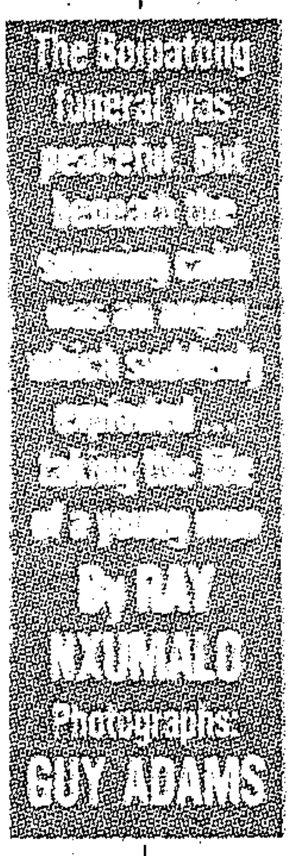
Angry and grief-stricken ANC supporters made no bones about who their enemies were: topping the list was President FW de Klerk, followed closely by Inkatha, then Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and "his dogs".

"We are tired of De Klerk's double standards," said Junior, from Sebokeng. Junior believes that De Klerk should wield his big stick to bring his policemen in line. "Failing that, he must resign."

A pamphlet distributed at the funeral charges "De Klerk — murderer, assassin, thief — go now!" Congress of South African Trade Unions chief Jay Naidoo, the hero of young activists, led the crowd in the thunderous chant: "De Klerk must go!"

In response to PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke's declaration that "we need a sharper analysis of the situation", a young militant retorted: "We need to remove kwaMadala hostel now! There is no time for any sharper analysis."

Outside the stadium the mood was even harsher, with youths calling for immediate action. Every time PAC youths saw a white person, they would spontaneously chant their "One settler, one bullet" slogan with extreme passion and hostility.



In a paroxysm of rage, the crowd set upon an alleged Inkatha supporter — an incident witnessed by *Weekly Mail* photographer Guy Adams. "It was around midday, while the service was going on inside the stadium, and we heard gunshots. I ran, following the noise of the shots. In a yard, a man was being kicked and beaten with sticks by a group of 'comrades'," he said.

Adams, who was with *Star* photographer Joao Silva, started taking pictures. "They were so focused into the killing that no one took any notice of us."

The man was beaten unconscious, left to regain consciousness and then told he was going to die. "They wanted him to comprehend their anger. I found this the most frightening aspect of the whole incident," Adams said.

"As he was being hacked with pangas, he didn't scream or move, he just took it. He knew he was going to die." Someone then shot him several times, "but he must already have been dead".

Adams said that a Toyota Hi-Ace minibus, with armed ANC supporters, then drove over the severely mutilated corpse, with the occupants looking out of the windows to make sure they were on target.

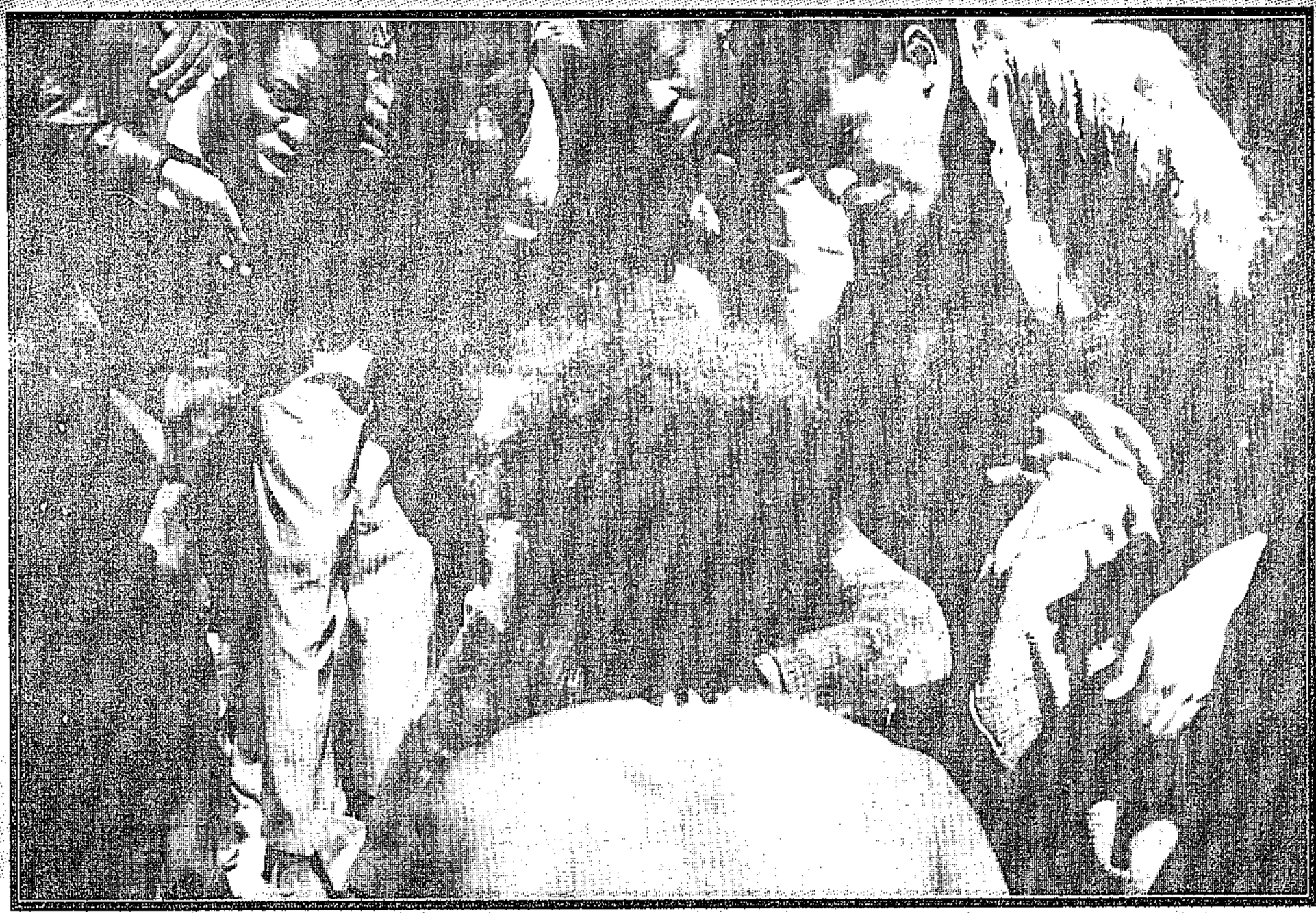
"When they called for a tyre and some petrol, they realised Joao and myself were taking pictures," Adams said. The two photographers were then chased away from the scene at gunpoint.

The ANC said it abhorred the practice of necklacing and called for an end to it.

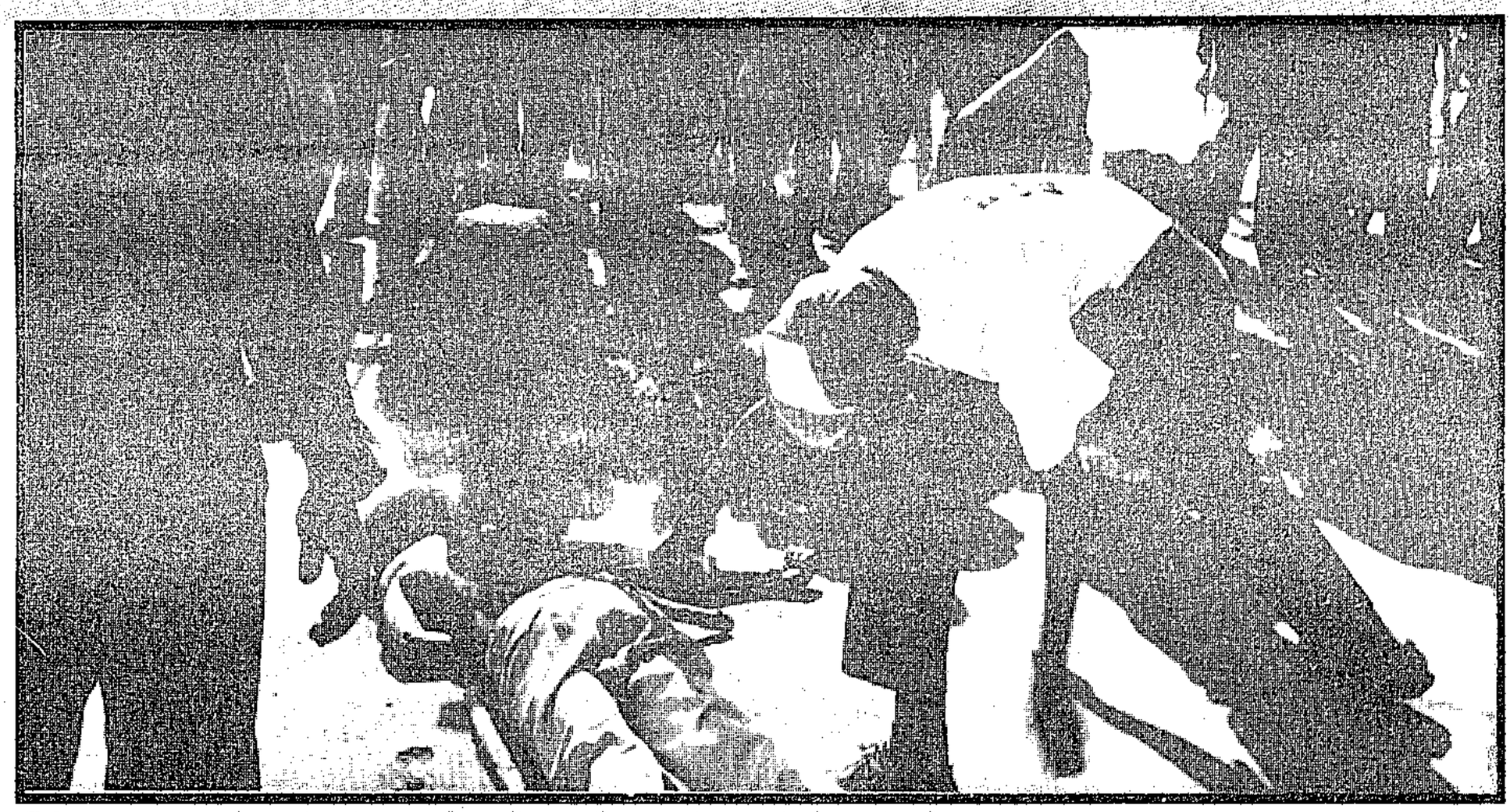
However, it stressed the underlying cause as "deep frustration and anger in the community with the violence and with the government's refusal to accept a democratic dispensation in South Africa".

● See also The Guardian Weekly,

The mood has reached Boipatong's rage are the



1/ The shirtless young man has already been kicked about. Now he is taunted: 'You are going to die' ...



3/ The crowd watches with horrified fascination as two men armed with pangas lay into him ...

'As the man was being hacked with pangas, he didn't scream or move, he just took it. He knew he was going to die'

'White cop in Boipatong massacre'

Sowetan 3/7/92

TWO black police assistants have alleged that people who carried out the Boipatong massacre included a white policeman and were transported in Casspirs. (278)

This was revealed yesterday by Major Christo Davidson of the SAP during the preliminary inquiry before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria into the Boipatong killings. (90)

Davidson said these allegations were made by Mr MM Xaba and Mr Joseph Sello of the satellite police station in Evaton.

Although police were looking into the allegations, investigations have proved them to be false, he said.

Major Pieter van Zyl, a citizen force member of the Vaal Commando, denied any involvement by the SADF in the attack.

He said: "With reference to the allegations made against the SADF, I wish to stress that neither the Vaal Commando nor the SADF were in any way involved in the attack.

Motorists terrorised on Golden Highway

STAR 3/7/92.

By Bronwyn Wilkinson (278)

Mobs of youths, venting the fury seething through Vaal Triangle townships since the June 17 Boipatong massacre, have turned the Golden Highway into a minefield of barricades and incinerated vehicles.

Police are still asking motorists to avoid the road as reports of stonings and terror continue.

A doctor who works in Sebokeng, and who was attacked on the highway this week, has decided to close shop and refuses to go back to her practice in the township.

On Wednesday evening, the doctor had a narrow escape when she and two colleagues were leaving the township to go home.

Up ahead on the Golden Highway, a truck had been pulled to the side of the road and a group of children were hanging around it, trying to pull the driver out.

"We saw the truck and we saw the stones blocking the road, but there was nothing we could do," said the doctor, who asked not to be identified.

The car was stopped and the youths put guns to the heads of the terrified occupants, shouting and taunting.

Fortunately, an SAP vehicle came up behind them on the otherwise deserted road and the policemen got out, firing into the air.

3/7/92

The youths — aged about 16, the doctor believes — ran off into the veld, disappearing into the permanent cloud of dust and smog which hangs over the township.

The doctor says she has decided to close her practice and stay away from Sebokeng.

"I am not scared of being in the township," she said, "but I am terrified of the journey to and from work. These kids don't care if I am a doctor trying to help people ..."

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said there were continuous reports of attacks on the highway and, although police were patrolling the road heavily, he asked motorists to avoid it if possible.

"It is not safe," he said.

● **Youths vent fury on road to hell — Page 13**

Police blame 300 KwaMadala hostel residents for Boipatong

B/Day 3/7/92 (252) (251) (278)

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — The SAP yesterday told the Goldstone commission that the Boipatong massacre was carried out by up to 300 residents of nearby KwaMadala hostel.

The commission was also told on its first day of hearings into the massacre that the ANC would not necessarily give an undertaking that it would submit evidence of security force involvement.

Judge Richard Goldstone and four assessors are hearing submissions in order to prepare terms of reference for a committee which will investigate allegations surrounding the massacre.

In a submission on behalf of the Law and Order Minister and the Commissioner of the SAP, Maj Christo Davidson said investigations to date revealed that about 200 to 300 residents of KwaMadala hostel attacked Boipatong houses and residents.

"The allegations that the security forces were involved in the attack and that they transported residents of the KwaMadala hostel to and from the township are totally unfounded," Davidson said.

No member of the security forces took part in the attack, the street lights were not switched off during the attack, police did not disperse residents with tearsmoke prior to the attack and police did not have prior knowledge of the attack, he said.

Police investigation indicated that on June 17 various vehicles of the SAP and SADF were present. They were patrolling the area or were sent to the scene as a result of reports of the attack, he said.

Hospital authorities were reluctant to allow the SAP to talk to the injured, but once they were allowed to do so none of the injured could identify their attackers.

Other injured people had refused to give statements to the SAP, he said, alleging that the ANC and the Red Cross had advised residents not to make statements.

"The primary cause of the attack can be found in a power struggle between supporters of the ANC and supporters of the IFP," Davidson said.

In his often emotional submission, ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said there was a perception "in the community" that elements of the security forces were involved in the attack.

Asked by the commission's legal representative, J J du Toit whether the ANC would submit evidence in this regard, Sexwale said he trusted that this evidence would emerge, but stressed that people who had given evidence before the commission were in personal danger.

He said there was no official ANC policy or decision to instruct residents not to make statements to the police, but added that in the ANC's view there were sound reasons why members of the community were reluctant to talk to police.

"It is a direct result of the profound mis-

☐ To Page 2

killings

Boipatong

B/Day 3/7/92. (278) ☐ From Page 1

trust which the residents have of the police and security forces generally."

WILSON ZWANE reports that the ANC will not overrule the decision by its Vaal branch to discourage Boipatong residents from helping the police.

On Wednesday ANC PWV spokesman Wally Mbele said the decision to discourage residents from co-operating with police was taken by the Vaal branches of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance because of alleged police complicity in the massacre.

ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday his organisation "understood and respected" the decision.

The ANC was encouraging residents to give statements to independent bodies, such as the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression.

Sexwale told the commission government and President F W de Klerk were "criminally negligent" for not adhering to the recommendations of the Goldstone commission that all hostels should immediately be fenced. Were it not for this omission, the Boipatong massacre might not have occurred.

Citizen Force and Vaal Commando member Maj Pieter van Wyk said he had interviewed all members of the Vaal Commando who were on duty on the night of the massacre and had found no evidence of SADF involvement.

Meanwhile, police have said they were looking for owners of goods they had recovered at KwaMadala hostel and in the reeds nearby.

The goods were allegedly looted by KwaMadala hostel inmates.

● Comment: Page 6

Black-on-Black Killings An Everyday Event

Guardian (w/ment) 3/7—9/7/92 (278)

By David B. Ottaway

JOHANNESBURG — The rivalry between South Africa's two main black political factions, sharpened in the wake of the country's most deadly worst township massacre, threatens not only to ignite civil war but also to undermine prospects for building a multi-party democracy to replace white minority rule.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has condemned his arch-rivals in the African National Congress for their pullout from talks on a new constitution. After the ANC withdrew from the talks last week, blaming the government and Inkatha for igniting a new round of attacks this month, Buthelezi said the ANC's pullout would bring "a tragic loss of life in what could emerge as a civil war."

The rivalry seemed to be behind the massacre that has thrust South Africa into its most serious political crisis since the country began a political reformation in February 1990.

Far less noticed here and abroad was an earlier massacre — this time of Inkatha members by presumed ANC supporters. On the night of April 3, a gang rampaged through the Crossroads squatter camp outside Katlehong township, killing 23 Inkatha members.

The difference in national and international outrage over the Boipatong and Crossroads massacres has not gone unnoticed, particularly at Inkatha headquarters. Local commentators attribute it to the ANC's far better skills at public relations.

Massacres of this scale by either side are rare. But killings are now an everyday event, despite a National Peace Accord that both sides signed last fall, pledging political tolerance for each other.

In Natal Province, increasingly professional ANC and Inkatha assassination teams have been killing each other's local and regional officials with a vengeance. Inkatha says 80 of its officials have been assassinated since the legalization of the ANC in February 1990 and more than 200 since 1985.

The enmity between Inkatha and the ANC is long and complicated, rooted in the ghastly legacies of this country's apartheid system. Apartheid banned all normal black politics for three decades — no rallies, no meetings, and no voting to test public support for each group. Only Inkatha, rooted in the government-supported KwaZulu homeland, was allowed to function freely.

From that base, in the mid-1980s Inkatha began to battle ANC front groups for turf throughout neighboring Natal. There, in scores of clashes, were sown the seeds of their bitter struggle, now flowering with such savagery into an incipient civil war.

South African security forces began to aid Inkatha as the government and Buthelezi realized they had a common enemy in the ANC. Together, they fought the slow expansion of pro-ANC groups into Inkatha strongholds in Natal. The bloodletting, perpetuated in cycles of revenge killings, has been accentuated in the past two years by the ANC's legalization.

Continued on page 18

Where a massacre is a way of life

W/Mail 3/7-9/7/92

Boipatong was just the latest in a series of massacres on the Reef which average two a month and claim on average 25 lives, reports
BEATHUR BAKER

NO fewer than 49 massacres have occurred in the Reef and southern Transvaal in the past two years, costing the lives of 1 250 people — an average of 25 per atrocity.

These startling statistics are contained in a special report by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) giving details of recent massacres. The HRC defines a massacre as resulting in at least 10 deaths.

In 34 cases, the HRC reports, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members were the assailants. Township residents supporting the African National Congress (ANC) were implicated in six massacres. Security forces are alleged to have been directly implicated in four mass killings, while unidentified whites allegedly played a role in others.

Some of the killing sprees bear a remarkable similarity to the carnage in Boipatong. Just over a year ago, on May 12, 27 people were slaughtered by balaclava-clad men in a pre-dawn attack on the squatter settlement of Swanieville, on the west Rand.

The report lists a number of very similar characteristics on the nature and objectives of the massacres, which show that in the majority of the killings:

- Inkatha's drive to establish political territory, influence and membership is a predominant theme.
- Extreme terror tactics were used mainly to immobilise, disorganise and paralyse township communities.
- Hostels were the main bases from which to plan massacres.
- Persistent reports of police and security force complicity in these massacres — especially of the involvement of unidentified whites.
- Retaliation was a frequent motive.
- Of the 49 mass killings, which have occurred at a rate of two a month, funerals and night vigils were targets on three occasions, beerhalls or taverns were attacked twice and on three occasions bus and train commuters were killed in major attacks.

The HRC also points to a remarkable coincidence. As in the case of Boipatong, the Swanieville massacre occurred two days after President FW de Klerk visited IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi. These have been De Klerk's only visits to the IFP headquarters.

But in crucial respects the Boipatong massacre is unique. Never before have 200 detectives been assigned to an investigation, or a special inquiry ordered into allegations of police involvement.

Days after the inquiry began, police commissioner Johan van der Merwe announced that evidence implicating inmates of kwaMadala Hostel in the Boipatong slaughter had been uncovered. At the time of writing, 81 hostel residents had been arrested

Among the HRC's catalogue of less well-publicised atrocities in the PWV alone are:

- On May 12 last year in Swanieville (also known as Mshenguville) squatter camp, 27 people were killed and 30 injured as 112 shacks were razed during a two-hour dawn attack by a group of about 1 000 alleged IFP supporters. Witnesses claimed the attackers were backed by white balaclava-clad men who did not use the firearms they carried.
- On December 2 1990, alleged IFP supporters killed 30 people in Tokoza during a pre-dawn house-to-house raid aimed at Xhosa-speakers, which resulted in hundreds of people fleeing to the Phola Park squatter camp.
- On November 26 1990, 11 people were killed and 16 injured when close to 150 armed men, among them whites, launched a sudden attack on residents of Mandela View squatter camp in Katlehong.
- On September 4 1990, armed, balaclava-clad raiders — allegedly led by IFP leader Themba Khoza and accompanied by whites — stormed the Sebokeng Hostel in the early morning and killed 19 people during the fighting which ensued.
- At the night vigil for a victim of faction fighting in Alexandra on March 27 1991, 15 people were shot dead and 18 injured in a cold blood assault by AK47-wielding gunmen.
- On January 12 last year in Sebokeng, 45 people were killed and 50 injured in a hail of AK47 bullets at the night vigil of Christoffel Nangalembe, a prominent ANC activist in the area.
- On March 27 last year in Alexandra, 15 people were killed and 16 injured when uniformed gunmen invaded a night vigil at about 4am and opened fire with AK47s and automatic firearms. Police from the nearby police station, within earshot of the shootings, arrived an hour after the attack despite having agreed to providing protection for the mourners.
- On October 7 last year in Tokoza, 20 people were killed and 24 injured at the funeral of community activist Sam Ntuli when gunmen attacked mourners. Police were accused of failing to check the attack and of themselves firing on mourners.
- On May 12 last year in Sebokeng, 13 people were killed and 11 injured when two masked gunmen barged in to a beer hall and indiscriminately fired on patrons.
- On October 13 in Mapetla, Soweto, 10 people were killed in another attack on tavern patrons. Stony-faced gunmen opened fire on the occupants of Twelepele Bar Lounge as well as people on the street outside for 45 minutes before moving off in two waiting mini-buses.
- On July 22 1990, 19 people were killed and more than 45 seriously injured in the running battle between members of the IFP and the civic association in Sebokeng. Police are alleged to have stood by while "impis" went on the rampage.
- On March 24 1991, 12 people were killed and 38 injured in Daveyton when police opened fire on a group of about 250 ANC supporters before the 10-minute dispersal period given to them was up. Police alleged that they opened fire on the crowd who ignored a warning to disperse and instead attacked them. In the incident one policeman was killed and two others also injured.
- On August 15 1991 in the Crossroads squatter camp, 24 people were killed and several injured in a pre-dawn attack on the predominantly Xhosa-speaking camp by armed men wearing red headbands.
- On April 3 this year, 23 people were killed and 17 others injured when 30 shacks were flattened during an attack on the Crossroads squatter camp in Tokoza. Residents told how about 30 Xhosa-speaking men armed with guns, pangas and petrol bombs came toward the camp in the direction of the Holomisa squatter camp at about 11pm.

The Guardian Weekly
July 3 to 9, 1992

Tears for the livin

[in w/mail]

By David Beresford in Boipatong

Guardian/W

317-9/7/92

IT is frequently said that the weeping at funerals is for the living, not the dead. And it was true enough of Boipatong on Monday, although at times it seemed they were haunted by legions of the dead.

The living poured into this tiny township in their tens of thousands to mourn the victims of the June 17 massacre, walking, running, dancing through the streets of nearby Sharpeville and Sebokeng, crammed into buses and vans on the highways, perched on top of luggage racks, and clinging to bumpers.

The small football stadium where the rites of mourning were to be performed was so packed that for a moment it seemed there would be no room for the dead to attend their own funeral service. Eventually the marshals heaved and squeezed a passage and the long Cadillac hearses, with the shimmering paintwork favoured by South Africa's township funeral parlours, slid through to deliver 37 coffins to the front of the crowd.

Up on the platform, among the diplomats, politicians, and clerics, one of the survivors was telling how he had lost his eight-month pregnant wife to the killers. Shouting the story in Sotho, an interpreter bellowing the English translation alongside him, he described how he had been woken in the middle of the night.

"I heard a woman screaming, 'Oh that I would die with my children' . . . I saw two men chopping a woman with axes . . . We fled and hid . . . I lifted a fence so that my wife could creep under it . . . She said, 'Don't leave me behind' . . . I put my hand on my head asking, 'What shall I do?'. At six o'clock in the morning I went looking for my wife . . . There was a blanket on the ground. When I removed it, it was her. That's how it ended."

As he fell silent the mourners broke into one of the saddest of African laments, "What have we done? Our sin is that we are black."

Mourners crowded the asbestos roofs of the small brick homes overlooking the ground, their attention switching between the service and their mirror image across the fields — migrant workers gazing from on top of the kwaMadala hostel in the distance, from which the killers were said to have emerged on that nightmarish night.

"We in the west have forgotten

Was it reve

ABOUT three weeks ago the African National Congress campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils sat down with a reporter to discuss his organisation's plan to unseat the recalcitrant apartheid regime. It was to begin with a series of Soweto Day marches, move on to a national strike, and culminate in mass demonstrations of the sort that toppled East German dictator Erich Honecker.

Mass mobilisation on such an enormous scale requires an enormously powerful sense of outrage and grievance, and it's not entirely clear that such sentiment exists in today's South Africa. Virtually every citizen of Leipzig participated in the demonstrations that crippled Honecker — barely 10,000 Sowetans followed Nelson Mandela on his Soweto Day protest march on June 16.

Clearly, an apartheid atrocity was

g

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Nelson Mandela publicly pulled the ANC out of Codesa last week, but despite his denials bilateral talks are said to be continuing behind the scenes. There were allegations, also denied, that a secret South Africa police team had been reponsible for the Boipatong massacre.

the need to hate," mourned the white-haired Father Trevor Huddleston SJ, resplendent in his crimson cassock. "Christians are not only commanded to love, we are commanded to hate what is evil. And nothing in the world is more evil than apartheid . . ."

"Speeches will actually bring us nothing," said Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). "The burials continue and continue and continue . . . Let's combine our liberation armies. Let's fight."

The leather bomberjacket of the black consciousness movement made way for the grey double-breasted suit of the intellectuals of the Pan Africanist Congress. "We have reached a watershed," said the PAC deputy president, Ernest Moseneke. "Ultimately it is a struggle for love and not a struggle for death. But," he added to a roar of enthusiasm, "a nation without arms is no nation."

"Massacre has been the hallmark of the Nationalist Party government since it came into power," said the ANC general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, conjuring up the memories of the collective dead, from Sharpeville to Soweto, from Trust Feeds to Boipatong. "The list is long, comrades, and it is painful."

Hidden from the crowd, among the houses of Boipatong, comrades had cornered a suspected Inkatha member in a backyard. More than 40 young men were beating him with sticks.

He seemed to lose consciousness as they pulled him into the street and began hacking him with pangas. Someone produced a pistol and fired four shots into him. A minibus roared up, the comrades parted, and the vehicle drove over the body. The comrades busied themselves putting a tyre around the corpse. "Petrol, petrol," called one.

"But we have not given up on negotiations," Mr Ramaphosa cautioned the mourners. "We are the guardians of the negotiating process. We are still determined to see it through to its logical end."

nge for murders by ANC comrades?

guardian [W/Cin W/mail] 3/7-9/7/92

By Rian Malan and Denis Beckett

278

needed to reawaken dormant passions, and the ANC was presented with one on June 17, when an army of warriors sallied forth from the Inkatha stronghold of kwaMadala and perpetrated a horrible massacre of innocents in nearby Boipatong. Within hours, ANC leaders were drawing comparisons with Nazi Germany and charging that blacks were once again being slaughtered because of the colour of their skin.

Police had supposedly ignored warnings of the impending massacre, and then ferried the Inkatha warriors into battle on the back of their armoured Casspirs. In fact, the attackers were led by White Afrikaners in balaclavas, and President de Klerk was personally to blame. So it was claimed, at any rate. By the end of the week, the ANC's constituency was drunk on rhetoric and moral outrage. Comrades were barricading streets and burning vehicles, negotiations had broken down, and South Africans were peering into the abyss again. And it was all the government's fault.

Or was it?

Last week we visited kwaMadala, the notorious migrant worker hostel and Inkatha stronghold from which the latest attack was launched. We were the first journalists to make it through the police cordon, and Prince B V Zulu, descendant of Shaka and Ceteswayo, and local Inkatha leader, was waiting for us with a statement. It began thus: "In the beginning, my house was burned down," and went on to detail all manner of insults and injuries suffered by his followers at the hands of the ANC. It was all extremely one-sided, admittedly, but the gist of his charges were verifiable after exhaustive investigation: there were two atrocities in Boipatong. One is the focus of an international crisis. The other went largely unreported until now.

A little background is in order here. The ANC regards kwaMadala as a death factory, the lair of thieves and butchers, who have murdered scores of ANC supporters in the past two years. In Prince Zulu's estimation the hostel is a refugee camp for Zulu-speaking Inkatha members driven from their homes by ANC-inspired arson and violence. Both views are substantially true. The ANC produces a 30-page document detailing acts of violence perpetrated by hostel dwellers. Inkatha counters with a 13-page list of Zulus who lost their homes in retaliatory pogroms. The area is a virtual war zone inhabitated by people who hate and fear each other.

According to residents and police records, Boipatong's latest ordeal began on the night of Saturday, June 13, four days before the massacre, when groups of ANC-supporting comrades started moving through the township in search of enemies.

Their targets were Inkatha members and sympathisers, or, in some cases, ordinary Zulus who had nothing to do with Inkatha at all, but who dared to maintain such customs as the wearing of a leather wristband to denote veneration for the spirits of their ancestors. A local Inkatha leader put it this way: "They say, if you are a Zulu you are a Zulu, you cannot change, so they just regard you as an Inkatha member. And then they kill you straight away."

The first person to die was a woman named Nomvula, whose sin was a romantic involvement with a Zulu hostel dweller. A crowd cornered her on Ngkomo Street and necklaced her — burned her alive. When police tried to intervene they were attacked with stones. Thirty minutes later, a mob torched the home of David Mbele, former schoolteacher and Inkatha member. A fire engine arrived, only to be driven off by gunshots and stones. Mbele ran for his life, but the mob caught and killed him. The charred body of a third Inkatha member, Mr D L Khumalo, was found near Boipatong cemetery the following afternoon.

It was Sunday, June 14. If steps had been taken immediately, the tragedy might have been averted, but nobody did anything. The press never reported the Inkatha murders. The clergymen and peace activists who became so vocal in the wake of the massacre had nothing to say. Even the local police commandant was unaware of what had happened until reporters walked into his office, asking for verification. His excuse: there was so much violence in the area that he could no longer keep track of it all. He showed us a tome containing brief records of just four or five days' worth of mayhem in his district. It was the size and thickness of a London telephone directory. He said, "Two necklaces in a day, that's normal for us. That's acceptable to me, according to normal standards."

Acceptable to a white policeman, perhaps, but not to the warlike inmates of kwaMadala hostel. Three nights later they ransacked Boipatong, butchering 42 innocents in a bloodletting shocking even by South Africa's debauched standards.

Exactly what happened that night has still to be explained. When all the facts are in, it may turn out that the massacre was indeed instigated and abetted by the police. On the other hand, the diabolical plot the world has heard so much about in the past fortnight might be revealed as a figment of the ANC's imagination.

Perhaps the greatest tragedy is that the truth might come too late to calm the incendiary passions now sweeping South Africa. The de Klerk government is reportedly considering reimposition of a national state of emergency, while ANC radicals call for *jihad* against the "satanic" powers-that-be. At this point, Ronnie Kasril's version of the government toppled by huge throngs of peaceful demonstrators is beginning to look like a happy ending. The alternative might be a descent into anarchy.

Rian Malan is the author of My Traitor's Heart. Denis Beckett is a journalist on the Sunday Star, Johannesburg.

ANC shock after claims against cops

(278)

PRETORIA. — The ANC yesterday told the Goldstone Commission that it was having difficulty in getting witnesses to talk about the Boipatong massacre. CT 3/7/92

The ANC's PWV regional chairman, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, told the commission that it could produce no evidence linking police to the June 17 massacre. Initially the ANC accused the police of helping the killers.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and four assessors are hearing submissions in order to prepare terms of reference for a committee which will investigate allegations surrounding the massacre.

In his submission, Mr Sexwale said the important point was not "who pulled the trigger" but why the government had failed to prevent the massacre from happening.

He said there was a perception "in the community" that elements of the security forces were involved in the attack.

Asked by the commission's legal representative, Mr J F du Toit,

To page 3

● Inkatha members buried under ANC flag — Page 5

From page 1

whether the ANC would submit evidence in this regard, Mr Sexwale said he trusted that this evidence would emerge, but emphasised that people who had given evidence before the commission were in personal danger.

He said there was no official ANC policy or decision to instruct residents not to make statements to the police, but added that in the ANC's view there were sound reasons why members of the community were reluctant to talk to police.

Mistrust

"It is a direct result of the profound mistrust which the residents have of the police and security forces generally."

The ANC also will not overrule the decision by its Vaal branch to discourage Boipatong residents from helping the police.

On Wednesday ANC PWV spokesman, Mr Wally Mbele, said the decision to discourage residents from co-operating with police was taken by the Vaal branches of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance because of alleged police complicity in the massacre.

ANC national spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus, said yesterday his organisation "understood and respected" the decision.

The ANC was encouraging residents to give statements to independent bodies.

In a submission on behalf of the Law and Order Minister and the Commissioner of the SAP, Major Christo Davidson said investigations to date revealed that about 200 to 300 residents of KwaMadala hostel attacked Boipatong houses and residents. CT 3/7/92

'Unfounded'

"The allegations that the security forces were involved in the attack and that they transported residents of the KwaMadala hostel to and from the township are totally unfounded," Major Davidson said.

No member of the security forces took part in the attack, the street lights were not switched off during the attack, police did not disperse residents with tear-smoke before the attack and police did not have prior knowledge of the attack, he said.

Police investigation indicated that on June 17 various vehicles of the SAP and SADF were present. They were patrolling the area or were sent to the scene as a result of reports of the attack, he said.

Hospital authorities were reluctant to allow the SAP to talk to the injured, but once they were allowed to do so none of the injured could identify their attackers. (278)

Other injured people had refused to give statements to the SAP, he said, alleging that the ANC and the Red Cross had advised residents not to make statements.

"The primary cause of the attack can be found in a power struggle between supporters of the ANC and supporters of the IFP," Major Davidson said.

Citizen Force and Vaal Commando member Major Pieter van Wyk said he had interviewed all members of the Vaal Commando who were on duty on the night of the massacre and had found no evidence of SADF involvement.

Meanwhile, police have said they were looking for owners of goods they had recovered at KwaMadala hostel and in the reeds nearby.

The goods were allegedly looted by KwaMadala hostel residents. — Own Corresponent and Sapa-Reuter

Security forces 'c

We're not involved, Goldstone probe told

The Argus Correspondent ARG 3/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior policeman has told the Goldstone Commission there was no evidence linking security forces to the Boipatong massacre.

Major Christo Davidson was addressing the preliminary hearing on behalf of the police and the Minister of Law and Order.

More than 40 people were killed and 30 injured in the June 17 attack.

Major Davidson — a member of the 200-strong police team charged with catching the killers — said investigations had shown that ANC allegations of involvement by "white persons" and security force members or ex-Koevoet members were false.

"The allegations that the security forces were involved in the attack and that they transported residents of the KwaMadala hostel to and from the township are totally unfounded," he said.

Major Davidson said investigations had indicated that between 200 and 300 men had left the KwaMadala hostel on foot about 9.15pm on June 17. They gathered in an open veld before separating into small groups which attacked residents in Boipatong and Slovopark.

He said police who arrived after the attack prevented youths from attacking the hostel.

The chairman of the ANC PWV region, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, said Boipatong residents had frequently repeated, at the time, that security forces had been seen in Boipatong and seemed to have been involved in the attack.

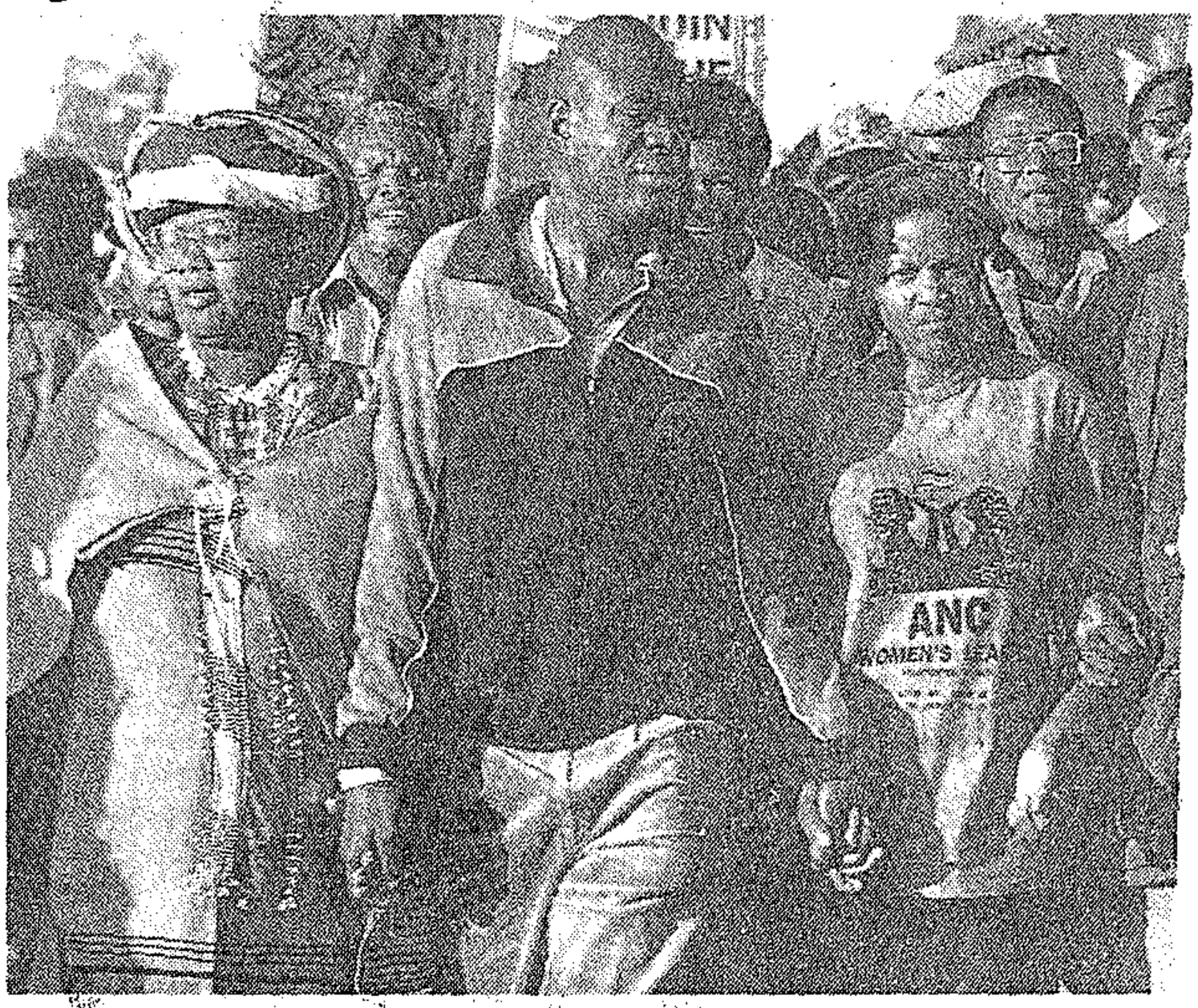
Mr Sexwale added that concrete evidence obtained from witnesses would be submitted to the commission at a later stage.

He denied earlier police submissions that the African National Congress had hampered police investigations into the massacre by instructing witnesses not to give evidence.

Mr Sexwale said it was the people themselves who refused because they perceived the police to be involved in the violence.

He said the commission had no powers to protect witnesses. He said witnesses had been killed in the past after giving evidence.

● At least 10 Inkatha Freedom Party members were killed in the Boipatong violence and six of them were buried as ANC members on Monday, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said.



MARCH FOR DEMOCRACY: Communist Party secretary-general Chr
Sam Silowa, secretary-general of Cosatu, second from left, lead a ma
Uitkyk and Bloekombos squatter areas through Kraaifontein yesterda
Western Cape region's pro-democracy ca

lean'

Pictures: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

s Hani, second from right, and Mr
rch by about 1 000 residents of the
y. The march was part of the ANC
mpaign.

War talk 'sparking violence'

STAR 31/7/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Staff

(278)

Three people were necklaced and eight slain in renewed train attacks in the past two days, as a new wave of violence gripped the Reef and Natal.

Police believe inflammatory statements and war talk by political leaders since the July 17 Boipatong massacre have fanned the flames of violence to an "unacceptable" level and have created a "revolutionary attitude" that threatens to surge beyond control.

A spokesman for the SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe, yesterday said police could contain the violence only if political leaders worked to create an attitude of tolerance and non-violence among their followers.

"With all these inflammatory statements demonising the Government and the police, people are almost compelled to be violent ..." Colonel Crewe said.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu also spoke out against violence and necklacing yesterday.

Two people were necklaced on Wednesday. One man was found burnt to death with a tyre around his body in Illiondale, Edenvale, and another was murdered in the same manner in Zamdela, Sasolburg. A third man was necklaced in Sharpeville yesterday.

In Sebokeng, police yesterday fired birdshot to disperse stone-throwers.

Police also reported that several residents reported they had been intimidated when they tried to go to work.

The houses of two Sebokeng policemen were petrol-bombed — one was completely gutted — by rampaging groups of youths yesterday.

In another attack a hand grenade, lobbed from behind a Sharpeville house, exploded on the roof of a police Casspir. Little damage was caused and no one was injured, police said.

On Tuesday, Vaal community, labour and political organisations called for a work stay-away and consumer boycott in the area to force Iscor to close KwaMadala hostel, whose residents have been accused of committing the Boipatong massacre.

According to Human Rights Commission figures, eight people have been necklaced in the Transvaal since May 20 and 26 necklaced around the country this year.

● The scourge of lethal attacks that has stalked Reef trains infected Natal on Wednesday night when at least five people were killed and five seriously wounded as pandemonium broke out on a crowded KwaMashu-bound train after a man aboard the train opened fire.

On the Reef yesterday, a man was killed when he was attacked and thrown from a moving train between Kwesini and Pilot stations.

Two men were injured in a similar attack between Langlaagte and New Canada stations, police said.

Two people were killed and three injured in four attacks on Reef trains on Wednesday.

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BOIPATONG

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† Florah Nkala
† Martha Nonjoli
† Ntombi Nonjoli
† Maria Ramoeletsi
† Simon Ramoeletsi
† Annah Sebolai
† Pecival Sebolai

HOW MANY MORE WILL HAVE TO DIE?

Police pledge on hostel

Weekend Argus Correspondent (278)

PRETORIA. — The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has given an undertaking to the Goldstone Commission that police will monitor the movement of people in and out of the Kwamadala hostel in Boipatong.

This was announced yesterday by Mr Justice Goldstone who adjourned the hearing into the Boipatong massacre to Monday.

The judge said the postponement was necessary to allow lawyers to decide what issues should form the basis of the inquiry. ARG 4/7/92

The Defence Force had also given an assurance to the commission, through its counsel, Mr D O Pretorius, that it would maintain a round-the-clock presence in the Kwamadala hostel and Boipatong area.

Bloodbath narrowly averted at Boipatong

STAR 4/7/92

(278)

ABBEY MAKOE
BRIAN SOKUTU
and JOE LOUW

THOUSANDS of angry, chanting and singing residents of Boipatong yesterday marched to KwaMadala hostel to demand its immediate closure and demolition.

A potential bloodbath was averted as leaders from the community decided instead to present a memorandum to the directors of Iscor, the company which owns the hostel.

A large contingent of armoured vehicles and security force personnel sealed off access to the hostel. The march came to a halt and a tense confrontation ensued for nearly two hours.

Scarcely 100 m away heavily armed police formed a line facing the marchers. Leaders of the march — consisting of the ANC, the PAC, the Azanian People's

● TO PAGE 2.

Boipatong

● FROM PAGE 1.

Organisation, residents' organisations, Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions and the National Union of Metalworkers — presented a memorandum outlining the residents' demands to a delegation from Iscor:

● The immediate closure and demolition of KwaMadala hostel and that the "bona fide" Iscor employees be "transferred to other Iscor plants or be retrenched".

● That former residents of KwaMasiza hostel who were "coerced" into KwaMadala be returned there immediately.

(278)

● That Iscor compensate the families of the Boipatong massacre.

● That Iscor co-operate with the Goldstone Commission and the international jurists who might visit the country.

● The Goldstone Commission yesterday temporarily halted hearings on the Boipatong massacre to allow legal parties to streamline the issues being dealt with. Mr Justice Goldstone said the legal teams needed time to ascertain which issues should form the subject matter of the inquiry, and therefore adjourned the hearings until noon on Monday.

STAR 4/7/92

Men stone liberal lawyer

S/Times 5/7/92 (218)

By CHARIS PERKINS

HUMAN rights lawyer David Pitman narrowly escaped injury this week when he was stoned by a group of Sebokeng men while on his way to represent a client in the township's magistrate's court.

Chanting "One settler, one bullet", the men hurled stones through his car windows, just missing his head.

Mr Pitman, 39, who is a member of Lawyers for Human Rights, managed to outdistance his attackers and persuaded a group of youths who had gathered to take him to the ANC leadership at a nearby community hall.

"I had to speak to them very firmly, telling them I was in Sebokeng for an ANC trial," he said.

"The ANC leadership expressed horror and disclaimed responsibility."

The hall was then enveloped in teargas and the group was forced to take refuge in a nearby house. Mr Pitman was later escorted out of the township.

"It was a very close thing," he said. "I came close to being seriously injured or worse."

BRUTES WHO TRAIN TO KILL

C|Press 5/7/92

Shock claims from INSIDE KwaMadala

By SOPHIE TEMA (278)

ALL the men in Iscor's KwaMadala Hostel, believed to be the base from which attackers massacred the Boipatong victims, are taught to use guns brought in from Natal, according to an affidavit submitted to the Goldstone Commission by a hostel resident.

The men are then dispatched to the townships to launch attacks, the commission was told.

The ANC, which submitted the affidavit, is not disclosing the inmate's identity to protect him.

The statement was included in a memorandum submitted to the commission by the Vaal Council of Churches in which it gave an overview of events that took place in the Vaal between residents and KwaMadala Hostel inmates.

In another startling submission to the commission this week, a senior SAP official disclosed that two police assistants, MM Xaba and Joseph Sello, had made statements implicating the SAP in the massacre which claimed 49 lives.

Their allegations were being investigated, Major Christo Davidson of the

Twisted arm of the law?

By FRED KHUMALO

A MASSIVE fraud charge – involving the cashing in April of two stolen KwaZulu government cheques to the value of R1,3-million at a Dundee bank – took a dramatic turn when an attorney was arrested this week.

Prominent Durban human rights lawyer Kwenzakwakhe Elijah Mlaba, 42, was arrested by police at his office on Thursday.

According to SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo, Mlaba is alleged to have received R140 000, which was deposited into his trust account.

Mlaba appeared in court this week but was not asked to plead.

He was released on bail and the case was post-

of events that took place in the Vaal between residents and KwaMadala Hostel inmates.

In another startling submission to the commission this week, a senior SAP official disclosed that two police assistants, MM Xaba and Joseph Sello, had made statements implicating the SAP in the massacre which claimed 49 lives.

Their allegations were being investigated, Major Christo Davidson of the Unrest and Violence Unit told the commission.

In a week of drama during which the commission sought to get to the bottom of the massacre which shocked the world and brought constitutional negotiations to an abrupt halt, a resident of KwaMadala told of regular arrivals of arms, including poison-tipped spears, which inmates – all members of the IFP – used in attacks on township residents.

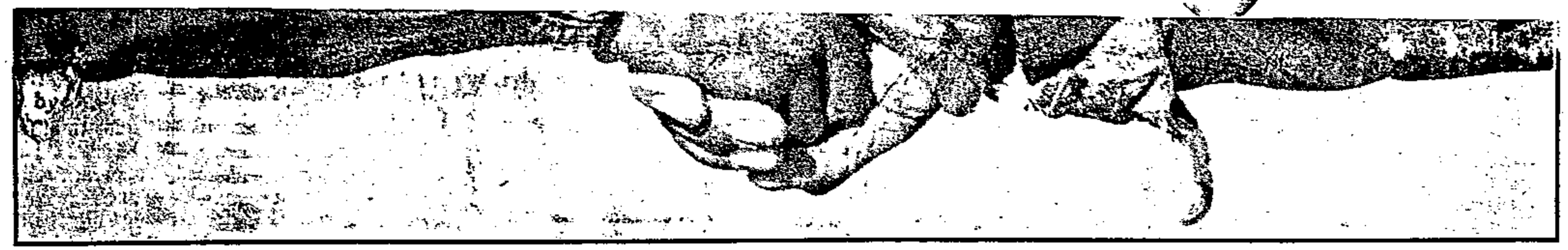
He said he belonged to a unit of four and was trained by a man called Buthelezi.

"During my four months at the hostel I have seen units being sent out on missions, but sometimes I did not know where they were going. On March 15 this year Buthelezi told my unit to go to Sharpeville to attack comrades who had been responsible for the killing of an Inkatha member known as Tlhola," the inmate said.

"We were also told to attack two taverns, Chief's Place and Philadelphia. Our instructions were to kill people as it was known that comrades drank there. Buthelezi gave us two rifles, but I didn't carry one. We divided ourselves into two groups. I moved with a man called Ndondu, who had a gun."

He said at about 8 pm the group spotted "comrades" in Sharpeville's Phomolong Section. They opened fire and hit a man identified as Ntopia. They then proceeded to Chief's Tavern where they found a member of their unit, named Kgosi, shooting at patrons.

The inmate said during the shooting, Kgosi shot him by mistake. After being shot he did not go back to KwaMadala, and later approached the ANC to clear his conscience.



NO ENTRY ... Angry Boipatong residents turn away after marshals prevented them from marching on KwaMadala Hostel in the wake of the June 17 massacre which claimed 49 lives. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

VAAL ANARCHY ... Taxi passengers are sjambokked by youths who accuse them of ignoring a Vaal stayaway call. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Mandela rules out talks with De Klerk

Cipress 5/7/92

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE slanging match between the government and the ANC continued yesterday dimming hopes of negotiations getting on track soon.

ANC president Nelson Mandela dashed any hopes of an early reconciliation between his organisation and the government when he reiterated the accusation that Pretoria is involved in the current violence.

And as relations between the two worsened, Mandela also dismissed the possibility of an early meeting with State President FW de Klerk saying "no good purpose will be served in my meeting him at this stage".

Mandela repeated the allegation of the government's involvement in the violence soon after his arrival from an OAU meeting in Senegal.

The ANC leader's attack follows De Klerk's hardline response to the list of demands the organisation has made to the government before it can resume talks.

However, although De Klerk used a harsh language in replying to the ANC memorandum and accused the organisation of being manipulated by a South African Communist Party/Cosatu cabal, he did not dismiss the demands out of hand.

Instead, he strategically replied in broad terms to the demands – thus leaving room for these to be a subject for further discussion either in bilateral talks or in Codesa.

This left a glimmer of hope that talks between the two parties could could soon take place – something which now seems unlikely.

As a sop to the ANC, the government agreed to the conversion of hostels into family units and has already brought in some involvement of international personnel to investigate and monitor violence.

Pretoria also softened its previous position about the majority percentage needed for a constitution-making body. However, the government's concession comes several weeks too late. The recent ANC conference resolved that the organisation must now insist on its initial 66 percent majority demand.

... which was de-... into his trust account.

Mlaba appeared in court this week but was not asked to plead.

He was released on bail and the case was postponed to July 24.

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NEWS ROUND-UP

British police aid Boipatong probe

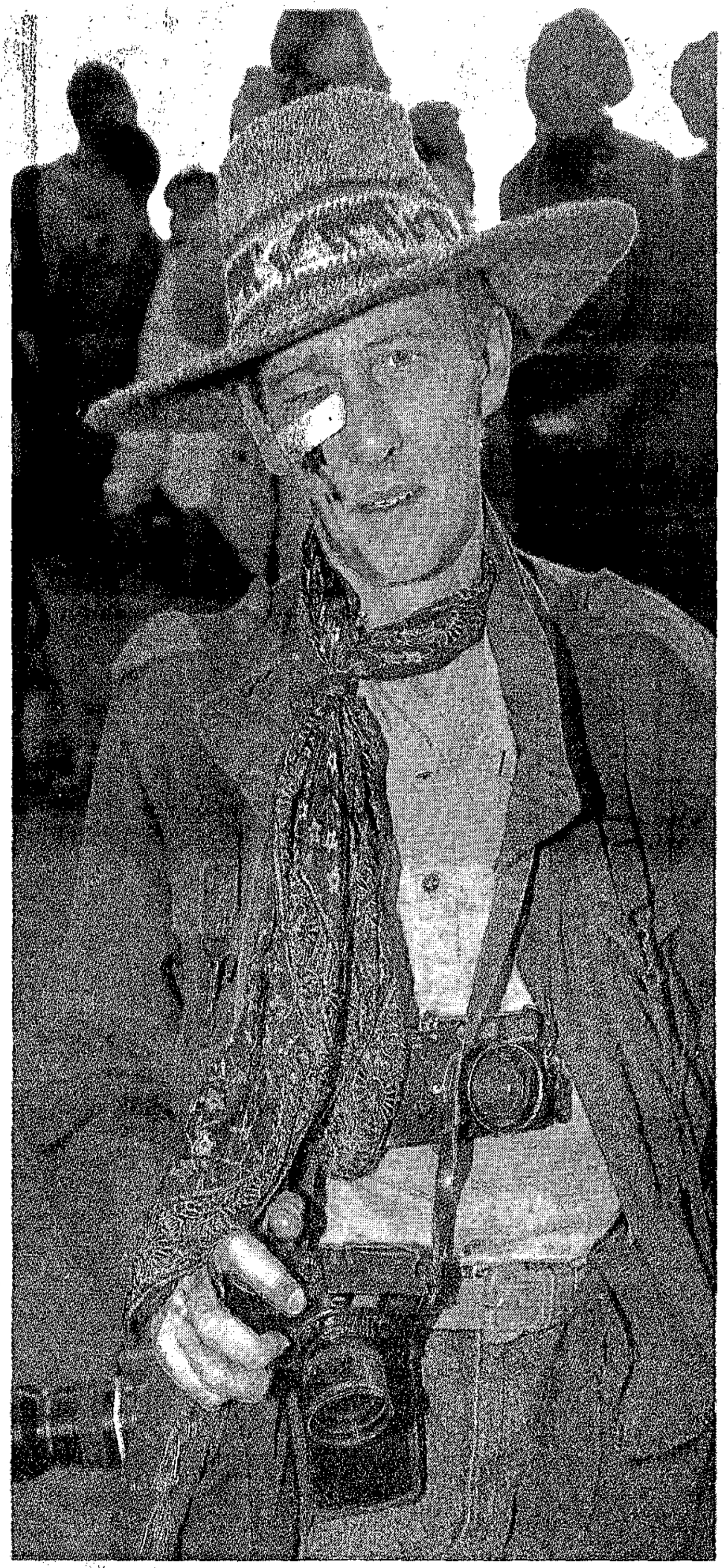
S/Times 5/7/92 (278)

BRITISH detectives, assisting the Goldstone commission, began an intensive inquiry this weekend into the SAP investigation of the Boipatong massacre.

Superintendent David Don and Commander Tom Laidlaw of Scotland Yard, together with police expert Dr Peter Waddington of the University of Reading, spent more than five hours at Vanderbijlpark police station on Friday, interviewing the chief detectives in the Boipatong probe about their investigation techniques and results.

They also interviewed the Inkatha Vaal Triangle chairman, ANC members and Boipatong survivors.

The commission heard introductory evidence this week from the ANC, the police and the SADF about the June 17 massacre.



BLINDED AT BOIPATONG FOR DOING HIS JOB ...

S/Times 5/7/92

(278)

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THIS is the bloodied face of Sunday Times freelance photographer Juhan Kuus after he was beaten up by youths wearing PAC and SACP T-shirts at Boipatong on Monday.

Kuus, who also represents international photo agency Sipa, was there to cover the memorial service for the June 17 massacre victims.

He has temporarily lost the sight of his right eye.

BBC reporter Tom Carver's hand was fractured in another incident when other PAC supporters clubbed his head and hand.

In both cases the attackers chanted "One settler, one bullet", the PAC's anti-white cry.

"The mood has changed completely from the goodwill we experienced a couple of months ago. Now it is black against white," said Kuus.

"The absolutely terrifying thing was that as I was being led to the Red Cross ambulance after the stoning, covered in blood, black people laughed at me."

Kuus and Carver were among six newsmen attacked at Boipatong on Monday.

Mr Nelson Mandela has since said he will issue a directive to all ANC township organisations ordering them to ensure the safety of journalists.

LEFT: Juhan Kuus, photographed by colleague Selwyn Tait, after being beaten in Boipatong on Monday

RIGHT: One of Kuus's award winning pictures, a policeman guarding a child during the battle of Ventersdorp last year

AFTER BOIPATONG, A NEW FEAR GRIPS THE TOWNSHIPS OF TERROR

TRAPPED IN THE PEOPLE PRISONS

S/Times 5/7/92

Special report by EZRA MANTINI

RESIDENTS of seven sprawling Vaal Triangle townships have become virtual prisoners in their own towns, their lives ruled by a powerful new community body calling itself the Broad Forum.

The forum was formed in the wake of the Boipatong massacre by rival political groups — including the ANC, the PAC and Azapo — who buried their differences to seize control of the area.

Its first action was to impose an "enforced protection" programme, under which residents are prevented from leaving the townships — or going to work — unless they can provide "acceptable" reasons for doing so.

Even then, they have to be escorted by Broad Forum marshals.

Campaign leaders say the move is for residents' own protection, but many — who will not be named for fear of reprisals — are desperately unhappy with the situation.

EXTENDED

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Residents of the seven areas — Boipatong, Orange Farm, Palm Springs, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Bophelong and Evaton — are observing a work stayaway out of fear rather than conviction.

At Monday's funeral service for 37 victims of the June 17 killings, local political leaders endorsed both the stayaway and a consumer boycott, saying they should be extended to all townships in the Vaal Triangle.

The campaign is being orchestrated by the Broad Forum, which consists of senior members of the ANC, Azapo, PAC, Cosatu, Nactu and the local civic organisation.

Azapo regional organiser Tshepo Sebuse, who is in the Broad Forum leadership, said: "We are not keeping people from going to town against their will. These measures are taken for their own protection. After the killings, people felt it was no longer safe to go to the city."

He said last week a number of township residents were attacked in Vereeniging by people they believed were from Kwamadala hostel, which has been linked to the Boipatong massacre.

"Of their own accord, residents then decided they should form structures and operations to ensure their safety," said Mr Sebuse.

VOLUNTARY

"It was decided that anyone wishing to go to town should report to his street committee leader or branch leader and explain the purpose of the visit. Those leaders arrange for youths or a marshal to accompany that person to town and back.

"Residents do not see it as being enforced. It's done voluntarily," he said.

But frightened residents have condemned the restrictions on their movements, even though they support the consumer boycott.

Said one: "We support the boycott as a protest against the killings, but having to be accompanied by youths to the bank, for example, sends a chill down the spine. You have to be sure to give the marshals a healthy tip as well, so they don't get tempted to rob you.

"Why should youths monitor our moves as though we are in some prison yard?"

Mr Sebuse said the forum realised it would take

□ To Page 2

Townships' siege

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□ From Page 1

time for some people to get used to the restrictions.

"But I think it is necessary that they are encouraged to follow and abide by what their fellow residents have decided.

"The leadership has not restrained anyone wishing to go to town. We have not set any rules, either.

"Residents have decided to monitor themselves and encourage others who do not abide by the decisions."

Cars are also being stopped and searched for unspecified items at unofficial roadblocks manned by youths throughout the area.

In Boipatong, where anti-white feelings are running high, almost half the streets are marked by trenches, some nearly two metres deep.

Since the massacre, police have kept a low profile in Vaal Triangle townships lest their presence ignite volatile feelings.

SAP spokesman Colonel Reg Crewe confirmed that local police found it difficult to move through the townships because of the barricades and trenches, but said they were still maintaining a presence around the hostels, particularly Kwamadala.

"Searching people and vehicles is illegal. We will act on any complaints we receive about this," he said.

Local leaders say the consumer boycott was a spontaneous reaction by residents after they saw delivery trucks from the OK, Premier Milling and Star Bakery making deliveries to Kwamadala hostel the day after the massacre.

"No word or directive came from the Broad Forum," said Cosatu national organising secretary Zwelinzima Vave.

"It was spontaneous and residents decided not to go to work or town in protest against the killings. It was their own decision.

Exempted

"If people want to go to town, there is no shortage of manpower or marshals to escort them."

Spokesmen for the OK and Premier Milling said yesterday they had not made any deliveries to the hostel after the massacre.

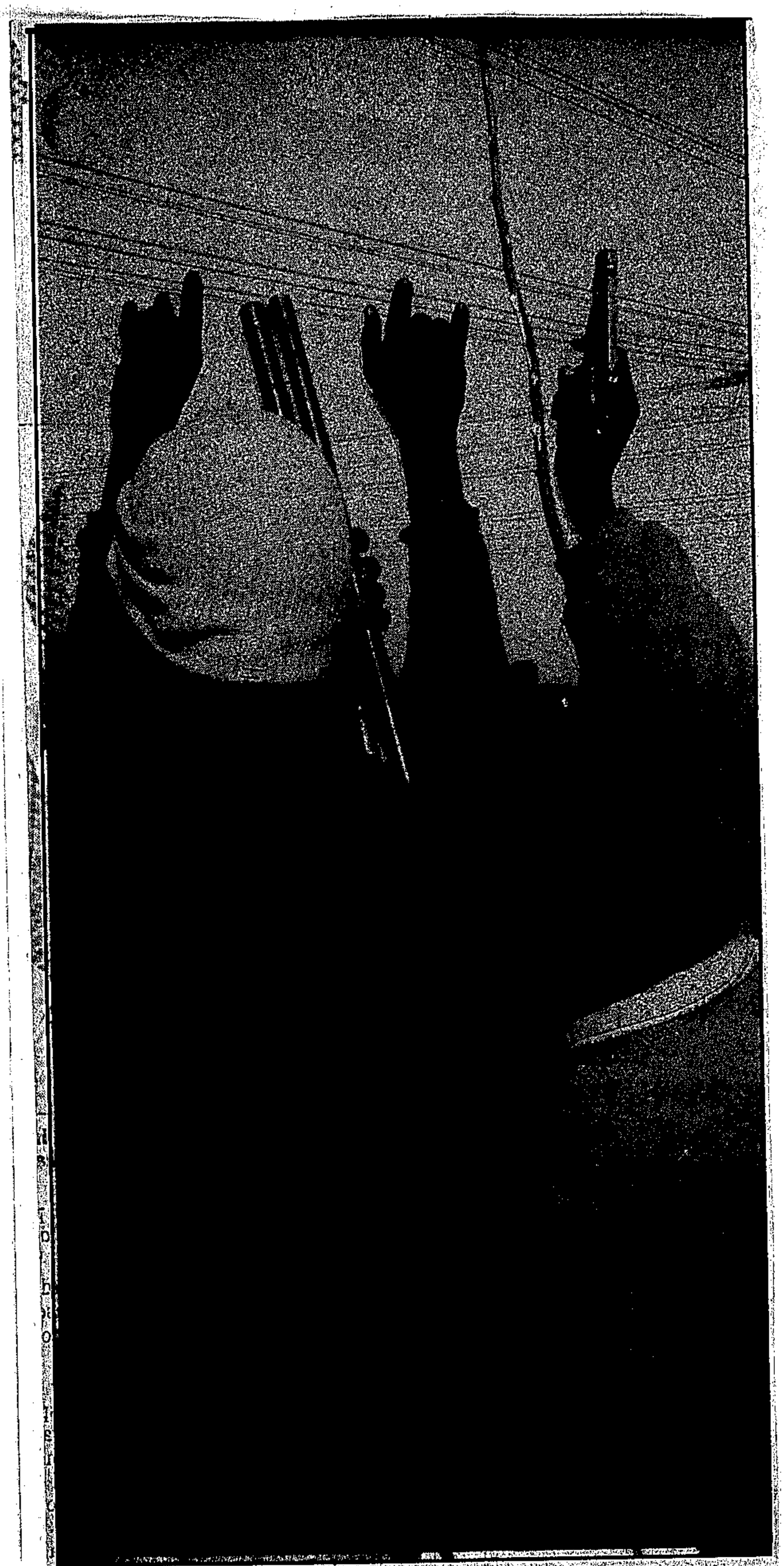
The boycott will continue indefinitely, but some Indian traders in the city will be exempted because of their sympathy with the struggle.

They will be issued with stickers to give to customers to ensure they are not victimised for shopping in town.

Local leaders have also handed a memorandum to Iscor, demanding the company get rid of the "wrong elements" in Kwamadala hostel.

Iscor was also asked to urge other industries not to take action against workers who joined the stayaway.

The stayaway has now been suspended and workers are due to return to their jobs tomorrow.



RATATAT . . . Shots fired by mourners carrying rifles and handguns reverberated into the air above the graveyard. The mood was summed up in stickers plastered on T-shirts and cars: "Enough is enough."

C Press

5/7/92

Gunshots echo a troubled history

By THEMBA KHUMALO

Cpress 5/7/92 (278)

ARCHBISHOP "Father" Trevor Huddleston looked around uneasily as the Sharpeville Cemetery reverberated with gunfire when 37 victims of the Boipatong massacre were buried last Monday.

It must have brought back memories of the Sharpeville shooting in which 69 blacks were killed by police.

But he was visibly relieved when none of the thousands of mourners ran for cover. Instead, they responded with ululations and dancing when comrades started shooting into the air.

Comrades – men and women – were openly carrying AK-47s, R-1 rifles and handguns at the graveyard, and so many were dressed in camouflaged military garb that a visitor from outerspace would have mistaken the graveyard for a military camp.

The procession to the graveyard was preceded by the necklacing of an alleged IFP supporter who youths stabbed before setting alight in full view of the mourners.

Event on Monday were a sad expression of the anger of the people whose daily lives are ruled by the fear of being attacked in their homes, on trains and at taxi ranks.

"Enough is enough" read the stickers on their T-shirts and cars.

Maybe those who fired into the air at the cemetery were carried away by Chris Hani's words at Boipatong stadium: "These killings leave us with no option but to fight to the end." But others believed that he was referring to the intensification of mass action.

Farewell to more victims

Hani and Jay Naidoo, general-secretary of Cosatu, emerged as the darlings of the mourners with their ultra-hardline speeches, and were resoundingly applauded.

Speeches couched in diplomatic language like those made by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, were accepted with less enthusiasm at the emotionally charged service.

The only language the mourners understood was the call for the immediate demolition of the Kwa-Madala hostel. News that some of the hostel inmates has been detained in connection with the massacre was tempered by the fear that the culprits might be freed by the courts.

The acquittal of seven IFP supporters from the same hostel by the Vereeniging Circuit Court recently was fresh in their minds.

PAINFUL GOODBYE ... As thousands gathered to salute the victims of the Boipatong massacre, a mourner is overcome with personal grief at the funeral this

Former Phola Park leaders set to attempt a comeback

B/Day 6/7/92

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WILSON ZWANE

A POWER struggle has developed in the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp in the wake of continued police action.

Moves were afoot among Phola Park residents to reinstate a group that were the self-appointed leaders of the camp until ousted by a militant faction earlier this year, sources said at the weekend.

The sources said the new leaders had plunged the camp into chaos by taking over its defence units and using them for attacks on security forces and private vehicles travelling in the vicinity.

Some members of the self-proclaimed Interim Residents' Committee claimed to be members of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). They appointed themselves in March this year after ousting at gunpoint the original Phola Park Residents' Committee, headed by Prince Mhlambi, the sources said.

"The people of Phola Park, who are now being harassed by the police, are calling for the dissolution of the interim committee, whose members stand accused of misusing the people's money."

The sources alleged the committee members had not bought ammunition, as promised, with money they collected from the community. "The people want their money back . . . they also want the reinstatement of Mhlambi and his committee."

It is understood Mhlambi has pledged to normalise relations with the police if he is returned to power. The police have said they will remain active in the area until peace and normality have been restored.

Three weeks ago police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said MK renegades and former Renamo instructors had hijacked the squatter camp's defence units.

Opperman said the MK rebels had used firearms to murder people and to rob financial institutions and people in and around Phola Park — "even as far afield as Soweto and Bethlehem".

Zingisile Mathiso, a Phola Park resident, claimed recently that the 60-member Residents' Committee headed by Mhlambi was ousted after allegations that it had embezzled community funds and taken part in the local dispute resolution committee without the community's permission.

Sources said at the weekend unruly elements bent on perpetrating atrocities in the camp had spread the rumour Mhlambi and his committee were "corrupt".

They added: "The participation of Mhlambi and his committee in the dispute resolution committee had the full support of the community, which wanted to restore peace in the area."

Civic members begin training

WILSON ZWANE

THE Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) is preparing its members for a new constitutional dispensation by having them trained in local government. B/Day

ACO official Mzwanele Mayekiso is leaving for the US within weeks for study at the New York Pratt Institute. 6/7/92

He said at the weekend it was imperative civic leaders knew how local government worked.

During his stay in the US Mayekiso would talk to educational institutions about establishing a "coherent local government training programme" for ACO members. Foreign governments would be approached for funds.

He said that in spite of its members having received training in local government, the organisation would not contest future local government elections. But individual members would be free to stand in elections under party political banners.

"Even in the new SA there will be a need for a strong, independent civic movement to ensure that councillors deliver the goods to their constituencies."

Killers storm party

Sowetan 6/7/92. (278)

By Sonti Maseko

■ VIOLENCE UPDATE 'hired' murderers gate-crash party, killing one and injuring eight:

SUSPECTED hired assassins, who killed a man and injured eight at a birthday party in Klipspruit, Soweto, at the weekend had a hit list on them.

Police have two pieces of papers, one a list of names of people who were shot and information on the types of injuries sustained by the victims.

Suspicions were raised when family members, who helped the police arrest two of the killers at Baragwanath Hospital on Saturday night, found a piece of paper containing suspicious information on one of them.

"The paper was written 'four days ... seven people ... R5 496' and other smaller amounts suggesting that these people were paid for each person they killed," said Ms Thembeka Jaho, who narrowly escaped death.

The two who were arrested were injured by their friends during the shooting and were arrested at Baragwanath Hospital where they were pointed out by their victims.

One of the men is said to have told the police he was from Merafe Hostel in Soweto.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Eugene Henning confirmed the arrest of the two suspects and the information found on one them.

The two suspects are to appear in court in Soweto today.

The body of Maxwell Nxumalo was discovered yesterday morning with a wound at the back of the head.

● Meanwhile **Tsale Makani** reports that five bodies with gunshot wounds were found in Vosloorus on the East Rand yesterday morning.

And in Daveyton, two men were burnt beyond recognition in a BMW about 1.30am yesterday.

Meanwhile one of the five people killed in Vosloorus was identified as Miss Sarah Swarts (33).

Four bodies of men, who had gunshot wounds in the head, were found nearby.

Other incidents reported by police on the East Rand, Soweto and the Vaal at the weekend included:

On Friday night, two people - including a policeman - were killed in Katlehong on the East Rand.

The policeman, identified as Detective-Sergeant Philemon Ramakgapola (38), was shot dead by unknown attackers.

At Sebokeng, police were attacked in five separate incidents and two officers robbed of their service pistols.

● Four men were killed in an apparent ambush as they were driving out of the Old Hostel in Kagiso, West Rand, last night.

Witwatersrand police spokeswoman Captain Henriette Bester said the four men were all shot in the head and died on the spot.

The motive for killing was unknown.

Mrs Millicent Nyembe, the owner of the house that the killers stormed into. She was injured in the raid. Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

2 METRO

Two burnt in Reef violence

STAR 6/7/92

(278)

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

Township violence on the Reef claimed at least nine more lives at the weekend. The worst violence was on the East Rand and in the Vaal Triangle.

In one of the worst cases, two people were burnt beyond recognition when the car they were trapped in after crashing into a tree was apparently deliberately set on fire in Daveyton.

In another incident on the East Rand, the bodies of five people were found close together in Bohgara Street, Vosloosrus, early yesterday.

The four men and one woman all had bullet wounds to their heads.

At Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, the body of a man, identified as Israel Selepane (28), was found in the backyard of a house in Zone 14 after he had been fatally wounded in the neck.

According to West Rand police liaison officer Captain Henriette Bester, the motives for the killings were unknown and no arrests had been made.

She said the Daveyton incident occurred early on Saturday after the occupants of two luxury vehicles were apparently involved in a car chase in Hurute Street, during which shots were fired by both parties.

Eyewitnesses said the driver of one car apparently lost control and the vehicle crashed into a tree.

While the two occupants were trapped in the vehicle, those in the other set fire to the car.

A pistol was later found by police alongside the charred corpses in the gutted car. Referring to the five bodies found in Vosloosrus, Captain Bester said all the shooting victims were over the age of 18, but none had been identified.

She added there were no spent cartridges found on the scene, and despite house-to-houe inquiries in the area by police, there was no further information to shed more light on the killings.

All the bodies have been taken to the Boksburg mortuary. Anyone with any information in connection with the killings in Vosloosrus is asked to contact Warrant-Officer Lourens Tiearney at (011) 901-1712/3.

● On Saturday, police found the body of a man who had been burnt to death in Orlando West, Soweto. He has not been identified.

Sixteen reported dead in violent weekend

B/Day 6/7/92

AT LEAST 16 people were reported killed in unrest-related incidents at the weekend.

Police found four men and a woman shot dead in Vosloorus township, east of Johannesburg, yesterday morning.

Two men were killed in Daveyton on Saturday when the vehicle in which they were travelling was fired at. A burnt body was found in Soweto, police said.

West Rand police liaison officer Capt Henriette Bester said yesterday that the bodies in Vosloorus had bullet wounds in their heads and were sprawled next to one another in the street.

No cartridges were found on the scene and police found no indication of how the incident occurred. The bodies were unidentified, Bester added.

(278)

At least eight people were killed in further outbreaks of violence in Natal.

Seven people died at Murchison on the south coast as tensions between the ANC and Inkatha continued to rise, police said.

Selvan Chetty, from Port Shepstone's Practical Ministeries, said four people were killed in an attack on a minibus on Saturday. Most were card-carrying ANC

To Page 2

Violence

B/Day 6/7/92

members.

Late yesterday police said they had found another two bodies in the area.

In another attack in nearby Mtengwane yesterday, one person was killed and three people were injured in an attack by a group of men wielding pangas, knives and other weapons, he added.

The township had been extremely tense since the return three weeks ago of ANC-

(278)

From Page 1

aligned youths who had previously fled the violence there, said Chetty.

Police said that on Friday evening an AK-47-wielding gunman shot and killed another man at Magabeni, near Umkomaas.

Police also said two Inchanga-based policemen in the Maritzburg area narrowly escaped injury in an ambush in Fredville township. — Sapa.

Bombers strike again

(278)

THE home of the education officer of the Bekkersdal Civic Association, Mr Andrew Rammutle, was attacked at 2am yesterday, according to a statement from the organisation. An explosive device was thrown at the house and three windows shattered. The incident follows a similar attack on Saturday at the home of the publicity secretary of the association. No one was injured. - *Sapa.* Sowetan 7/7/92

What a smacker

WORLD Cup and Cameroon soccer star Roger Milla gets a warm welcome from a Boipatong resident during a solidarity visit to the township by the Cameroon squad yesterday.
Milla, who was part of a delegation which included Safa's general secretary Solomon Morewa and Cameroon's Minister of Trade and Industry Rene' Owona, was an instant hit among the township's residents.
The Cameroon delegation delivered a message of peace from Cameroon president Paul Biya.
PIC: LEN KUMALO

Goldstone shocker

ATTENTION

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES:
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NO DEPOSIT From

JUDGE POINTS FINGER Government failed to implement recommendations on hostels:

Sowetan 7/7/92 (278)

JUDGE Richard Goldstone yesterday cleared the State President and his Cabinet of direct complicity in the Boipatong violence but slammed the Government for its failure to act on his commission's recommendations.

In a clear reference to the ANC and its allies, the judge said it was "unwise, unfair and dangerous" to accuse the Government and security force leaders of direct involvement, when no evidence had emerged to substantiate the charges.

Responding to the the judge's statement, the ANC said it found it odd that the commission could make conclusive statements without evidence being led.

Government spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said the judge's statement had illustrated how the ANC leadership had abused recent tragic incidents of violence for the purposes of propaganda.

See the main story on page 2

The Government says:

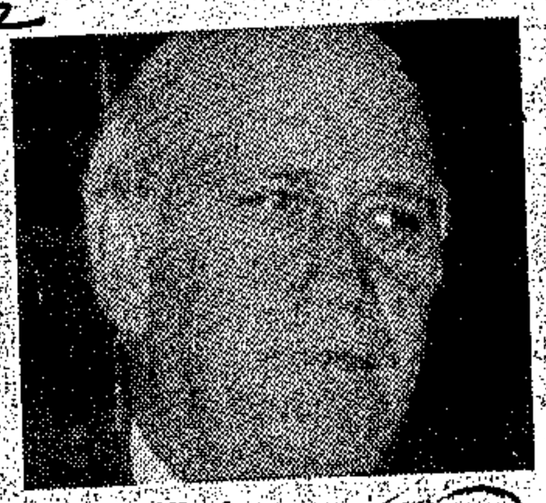
Sowetan 7/7/92

THE leadership of the ANC owed the State President FW de Klerk, the Cabinet and the security forces an apology, the National Party said.

NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said the commission's finding that no evidence had been submitted to support allegations of direct Government or security force involvement in the violence was damning for the ANC, which had spread propaganda to this effect.

"It is hoped the ANC and its leaders will take note of Mr Justice (Richard) Goldstone's finding that under the circumstances such accusations are unwise, unfair and dangerous."

Coetzer said Goldstone's statement illustrated how the ANC leadership abused recent tragic incidents of violence for purposes of propaganda.



FW de Klerk

"If the ANC is serious about a peaceful settlement, it will cease to make wild allegations about others and return to the negotiation table," he said.

Coetzer did not react to Goldstone's expression of "distress" that the Government had failed to implement a number of its recommendations.

Mix-up in birthday party shootings

STAR 7/7/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Staff

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Police yesterday explained the tragi-comic train of events through which a list of people injured in a gun attack on a weekend Soweto party and a scribbled sum found in the pocket of one of the arrested suspects were mistaken as "hit lists".

One man was killed and eight people were injured when six gunmen opened fire on a 21st birthday party in Klipspruit on Saturday night.

Two of the gunmen were arrested after they too were caught up in the gunfire of their accomplices, police said.

Police said the sums, reflecting "7 people, 6 days at (R)7.85 each = R54.96" (sic) and "1 person, 4 days R4.58 = R18.33"(sic), seemed to be a food or transport calculation and were discovered on one of the suspects.

The second list shows an assistant investigating officer's notes on the injuries for his superior officer.

According to SAP public relations head Lieutenant Colonel Johan Mostert, a journalist at the hospital was shown the two pieces of paper by the investigating officer and asked whether they could have been part of a hit list.

Corpses, hurt man found in gutted house

(278) CT 7/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Two bodies burnt beyond recognition and a man with a bullet wound were found in a house gutted by fire in Katlehong's Shongweni section yesterday about 1.45am.

Police said the injured man is in a serious condition at Natalspruit Hospital.

In Bekkersdal, the home of the education officer of the Bekkersdal Civic Association, Mr Andrew Rammutle, was attacked about 2am yesterday, the association said. An explosive was thrown at the house and three windows were hattered. No one was injured.

In Pretoria, police said in their unrest report 23 people were killed and 27 wounded in weekend unrest, mainly on the Witwatersrand and in Natal. Four people were shot dead when a taxi was attacked in Bhomela near Murchison in Natal on Saturday afternoon. Police found two more bodies the following day.

In nearby Mtengwane, one person was killed and three injured in an attack on Sunday morning by a group of men wielding pangas, knives and other weapons.

In Johannesburg, police said their investigation into the murder of five people in Vosloorus on the East Rand has not shed any light on the deaths. Four young men and a woman were found dead, all with bullet wounds in the head, early on Sunday morning. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

... — Sapa.

She said there had been no co
during the stayaway, and el

ON

Police probe killings in Vosloorus

278

B/Day 7/7/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

POLICE investigations into the murder of five people in Vosloorus at the weekend have not yet shed any light on the mysterious nature of their deaths.

Four men and a woman were found dead within metres of each other in the East Rand township on Sunday — all with bullet wounds in the head.

Police could not confirm speculation that some of the dead might have been Mozambican, following the discovery of a letter in Portuguese on one of the men.

No spent cartridges or ID documents were found on the scene, police said.

Meanwhile, Soweto police yesterday denied reports that they had taken possession of a "hit list" when they arrested a man in connection with a shooting at a birthday party. One person was killed and eight injured in the shooting.

Media reports said two lists were found — one with names and the other with figures. Police said the suspect had handed a list to an investigating officer, which a civilian had thought was a "hit list".

The list of figures was an enquiry to a hotel for their tariffs, while the other was a police list of the victims.

Sapa reports police said in their daily unrest report that 23 people had been killed and 27 wounded in violent incidents, mainly on the Witwatersrand and in Natal, at the weekend.

And early yesterday, an explosive device was thrown at the home of Bekkersdal Civic Association education officer Andrew Rammutle. This follows a similar attack on Saturday on the home of the association's publicity secretary.

At the weekend, the bodies of two men were found in Katlehong on the East Rand, one shot and the other necklaced. Police also found four bodies in Kagiso near Krugersdorp and a man who had been hacked to death in Alexandra.

2 METRO

Civics seek national boycotts

(278) STAR 7/7/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), with 700 local-level affiliates, has thrown its weight behind the ANC-led campaign of rolling mass action by calling for a nationwide "rent" and bond boycott to come into effect by August 1.

The move was announced in Johannesburg yesterday as part of a programme of action drawn up by the Sanco general council meeting at the weekend.

Additional forms of pressure and protest in the plan include:

- Mass meetings convened by local civic organisations on August 1, followed by marches to local government offices to demand the disbanding of all forms of apartheid local government, from tribal authorities to white councils.
- The breaking off of all local level negotiations on the restructuring of municipal and metropolitan government. Talks on the improvement of services to the townships may, however, continue.
- A possible consumer boycott, with "selective patronage" of certain outlets.

Deputy president Letshesa Tsenoli said it was not coincidental that the D-Day for meeting the civic movement's demands was just two days before the general strike proposed by Cosatu.

"The civics have stated as a matter of policy that, while we are independent and non-partisan, we will align ourselves with those campaigns that in our opinion advance the interests of residents of this country." Since its launch, Sanco has been a vigorous proponent of the notions of multiparty interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

Sanco campaigns officer Kgabisi Mosunkutu said the national civic movement was aiming at a "far more comprehensive" boycott of rent, service tariff payments and bond repayments than had been achieved in the past.

There was no way that township residents were going to continue to make these payments to institutions of a Government that had been proved to be corrupt and was implicated in violence against the people, said Mr Mosunkutu.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said the boycott of bond repayments was planned mainly because "big business are the people that have a voice that can be used to influence the Government to accede to democratic demands and to stop violence".

Mr Tsenoli added that the banks also had to be persuaded to change their lending policies. To date, they had failed to make loans to all but a tiny minority of people.

The specific demands which were formulated by the Sanco general council were that:

- When national negotiations resume, they do so under a neutral convener drawn from abroad.
- An interim government be installed "as soon as possible" in tandem with an international peace-keeping force.
- All apartheid forms of local government be disbanded.
- The Government cease unilateral restructuring of local government and making laws to achieve this.
- Hostels which have been used as fortresses against communities be demolished and other hostels rapidly converted into family accommodation.

Sanco firmly intended breaking with the tradition of simply lobbying for change, yesterday's statement said. "All civic efforts are directed towards liberating the country for a majority rule government, based on one person, one vote."

ational Civic Organisation executive members announce their
Max Mabasa, Moses Mayekiso, Henry Fazzie and Kgabisi Mosuna

AK attack at offices of taxi body in Springs

(278)

STAR 7/1/92

A man died and five people were wounded when three gunmen armed with two AK-47 rifles and a pistol opened fire on the offices of the Short Distance Taxi Association in Springs yesterday morning.

Police said the shooting occurred at 9.45 am.

A man, mortally wounded in the chest, died on the way to hospital.

The injured were admitted to Pholosong Hospital in Tsakane near Brakpan.

Police said the name of the dead man will be released when his next of kin had been notified.

The wounded are: Snowy Tshuloane, who was shot in the thigh; Louis Mkhaza, wounded in the leg; Colin Mohlabane, who was shot in the thigh and hip and was later transferred to Baragwanath Hospital where he is in a serious condition; Johnson Sehlabele, wounded in the leg; and Simon Mashishi, wounded in the left side.

Police found AK-47 and other cartridges at the scene of the crime, which is linked to a taxi dispute in Springs.

Minimal damage was caused to the offices. — East Rand Bureau.

Beating by police alleged

STAR 8/7/92 (278)

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

A security officer who came to the rescue of a damsel in distress in Hillbrow early yesterday was stabbed and beaten up and then, he said, spent several uncomfortable hours in police hands.

Koos Botha (26) of Crime Watch heard a woman screaming in Kotze Street.

"I tried to help her, but this man came up and stabbed me in the left hand," he said.

Mr Botha said he beat his attacker up, and nine policemen from the Alexandra internal stability unit, who had seen the fight, beat him.

"After they beat me, my partner and I could not get these policemen to tell us where they were from, so we jumped in our car and followed them," Mr Botha said.

He said they followed the police vehicle down Louis Botha Avenue, but just before they reached Orange Grove, one of the policemen took aim at the pursuing security car.

"We followed them into a dark road, where they stopped and a traffic officer stopped us. I asked him for help, but he said he would keep us there and they should get away."

Mr Botha said he and his partner then went to the Bramley police station to report the incident.

"The officer on duty, a Constable Viljoen, phoned the Alexandra internal stability unit and said: 'I've got two moffies who want to know where you are stationed'."

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke confirmed the matter is being investigated.

Zevenfontein demo at JCI offices

STAR 8/7/92.

Staff Reporter 278

About 30 "greenbelt" residents protested outside the JCI headquarters in Fox Street, Johannesburg, yesterday morning against the proposed relocation of the Zevenfontein squatters into the areas of Nietgedacht, Nooitgedacht and Diepsloot.

One of the protesters then took a letter to the chairman and board of directors of JCI. Police monitored the protest but took no action.

The Zevenfontein squatters are due to be moved before July 31 after an agreement to that effect was signed by the TPA, JCI and the Chartwell Local Action Committee.

Protesters complained that JCI had used the agreement to protect its investment in the plush Dainfern Country Club near Zevenfontein.

One protester said: "JCI are using the TPA to protect their investment. In the process they are destroying a community's life savings."

A riot policeman walks away as a group taunts him at the scene of the grenade explosion in which an MK cadre was killed in Vosloorus yesterday morning.

Two killed in hand grenade explosion

Sowetan 8/7/92

■ Mystery blast: MK cadre, mother die as handgrenade goes off:

(278)

By Kenosi Modisane

AN Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre and his mother were killed in a grenade explosion during a police raid on their home in Vosloorus on the East Rand yesterday morning.

Mr George Mashele (28) died in his mother's bedroom at about 4am. His mother, Mrs Lily Mashele (45), died seven hours later at Natalspruit Hospital from injuries sustained in the mystery blast.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed the incident, but could not give further details.

Mashele's brother, Mr Joseph Yende (27), said police, accompanied by a man in civilian clothes forced the doors open before spraying teargas inside the house.

Other witnesses also confirmed that the policemen were accompanied by a civilian whom they identified as a local councillor. The name of the councillor is known to *Sowetan*.

The ANC and local civic structures blamed police and the councillor for the death of the two and for other attacks on residents in the township.

Yende said: "About four policemen dragged me, my wife and our child outside before spraying teargas in the house.

"There was an explosion and I saw the policemen and the man in civilian clothes flee from the house. The policemen got into a Casspir and a private car parked outside.

"They drove off when neighbours came out to investigate," Yende said.

Seven killed in unrest yesterday, report police

B/Day 8/7/92 (278)

RAY HARTLEY

POLICE reported seven people were killed in unrest-related incidents yesterday, including two people who were killed in a hand-grenade explosion and two more who died in an arson attack.

Another victim died after being thrown off a train.

Police have confirmed two people died after a hand grenade exploded at a house in Vosloorus yesterday. Police threw a teargas canister into the house of a man believed to have led a petrol-bomb attack after he refused to allow police entry.

A hand-grenade explosion was heard and the body of a man was found. The Vosloorus Civic Association said the dead man was George Mashele, a member of the ANC's military wing.

An elderly woman, later identified as Lilian Makosha, was apparently injured in the explosion. She was taken to a hospital where she later died.

The charred bodies of Mamotsane Selepe, 2, and Kolo Radebe, 30, were also found in Vosloosrus after their home was petrol-bombed.

Two more charred bodies were found in a gutted house in Katlehong.

An unidentified man was found dead between New Canada and Longdale stations yesterday morning.

Two woman were found seriously injured and a third had disappeared after being kidnapped from a women's hostel in Soweto yesterday.

John Nhlapo of Evaton was found necklaced in Sebokeng on Monday night, police said.

Police were also fired on from a truck in Sharpeville.

Two hand grenades were hurled at two houses in Bekkersdal, but no injuries were reported. Police arrested two men and confiscated three rifles.

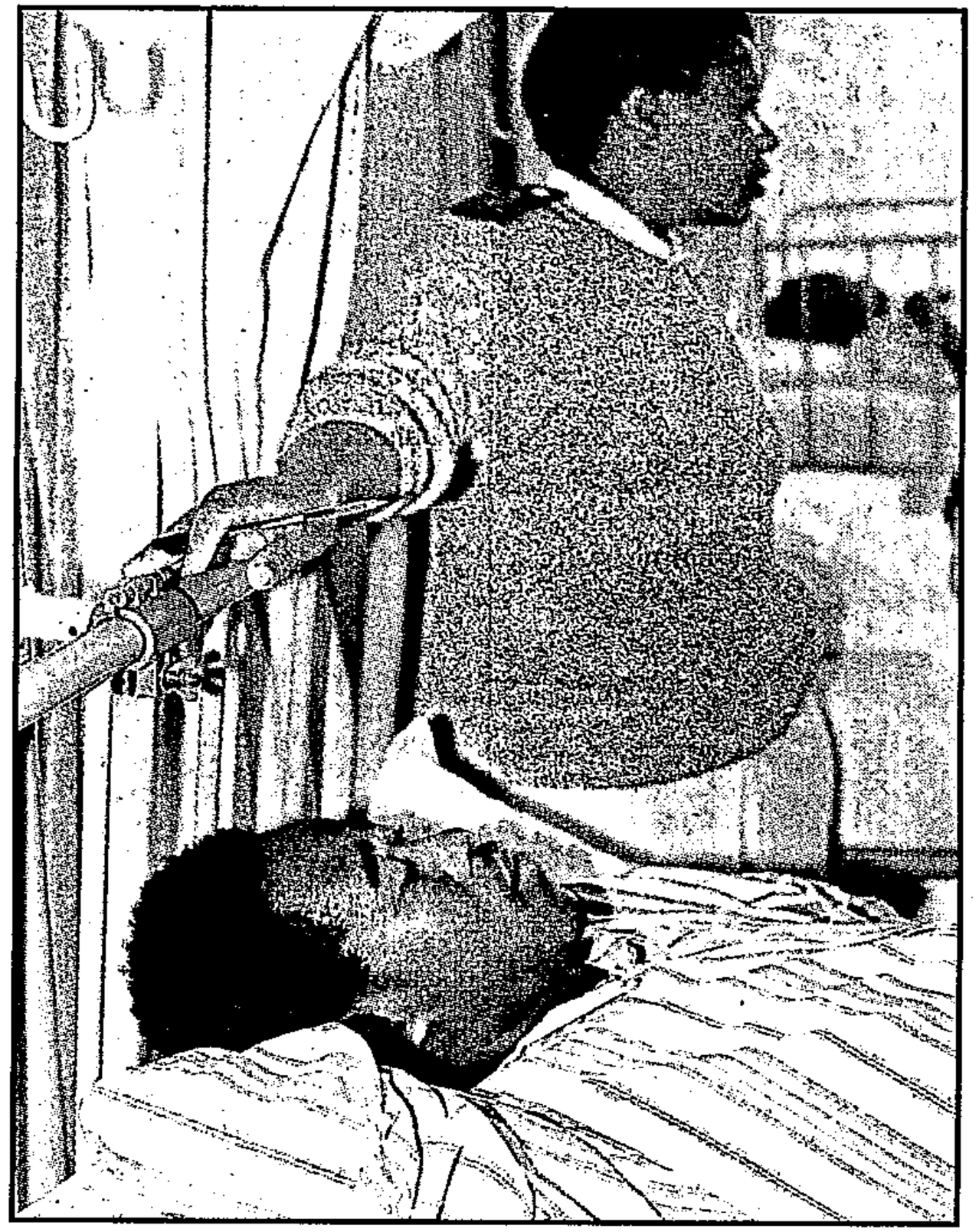
IFP spokesman Kim Hodgson said 12 IFP supporters had been killed in attacks near Maritzburg since Friday. Four IFP supporters were killed when a bus was ambushed near Taylor's Halt. Among the others killed were a 10-year-old girl and the 15-year-old son of IFP Nomgánga chairman Mvimbezeli Mchunu.

Sapa reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday accused the Goldstone commission of making biased political statements following a remark reportedly by Judge Richard Goldstone to the effect he was in favour of full democracy in SA.

The ANC's Natal lower south coast region yesterday called for an urgent sitting of the Goldstone commission to probe the reported killing of eight ANC-aligned people in the Murchison area last weekend. Police have confirmed six of the deaths.

Sapa also reports a caller claiming to represent Apla — the armed wing of the PAC — yesterday claimed responsibility for killing a policeman in Thokoza last Friday.

UK detective ends probe of SAP | Quick march



Reuben Ngcangisa . . . lay hidden. Picture: Jacoob Rykliff

Third shooting attack at Bekkersdal in days

STAR 8/7/92

By Brian Sokutu
Crime Reporter

278

In another attack in Bekkersdal, on the West Rand, unknown gunmen on Monday burst into a backyard shack and opened fire with an AK-47 rifle, injuring one person.

Reuben Ngcangisa (24), of 22 Rastlong Street, who was wounded in both legs in the shooting, is the third victim of an attack since Saturday, when shots were fired and two hand grenades were hurled at the home of Bekkersdal Civic Association publicity secretary Thomas Lethlake.

A similar attack occurred on Monday at the home of BCA education officer Andrew Ramutle.

Considerable damage was caused in these two attacks, but no one was injured.

Nursing his broken left leg at the Leratong Hospital, near Krugersdorp, Mr Ngcangisa said he did not belong to any political organisation and was shocked by the attack.

A hospital spokesman described his condition as satisfactory.

Mr Ngcangisa explained what happened: "At about 10.30 pm I was first rudely awoken when the men knocked hard on the front door of my backyard shack. I was afraid to open the door, which they kicked open.

"Firing shots, they then burst inside. I immediately hid under the bed, not realising that I was injured in both legs. The men left without checking under the bed. I could have been killed had they seen me."

Mr Ngcangisa said he was helped by neighbours who called the police.

"Police took me to an ambulance and I was then transported to hospital. Thank God I'm still alive."

● A West Rand Local Dispute Resolution Committee meeting held in Bekkersdal on Monday called on local political leaders to restore calm to the area by consulting the grassroots membership. The meeting, chaired by Dr Benoni van Graan, was attended by members of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Azapo.

From Yard to township killing field

(278) STAR 9/7/92. (278)

Senior Scotland Yard policeman Detective Superintendent David Don has completed his Goldstone Commission investigation into the effectiveness and adequacy of the SA Police probe into the Boipatong massacre. HELEN GRANGE interviewed him before he returned to London.

WE WERE looking for a well-built, decidedly middle-aged man in a tailored suit, conceivably sporting a handle-bar moustache. Instead, we found Detective Superintendent David Don of London's Metropolitan Police — trim, clean-shaven, casually dressed and disarmingly down-to-earth.

But Superintendent Don, who has played an important role in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, belies his appearance.

As a senior detective in the office of the Commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police, his 25 years in the field of crime investigation earned him respect enough to be appointed as a reliable and objective judge of investigations into the Boipatong incident.

In effect, Superintendent Don's duty was to assess the adequacy and effectiveness of the SAP investigation, using as a frame of reference the standards applied in his own investigations at home.

The job is completed and Superintendent Don returned home on Tuesday, but his comments have yet to be reported to Mr Justice Goldstone.

He is coolly confident that, despite the context of current controversy concerning the effectiveness of the SAP in solving political crimes, his observations were made only on the grounds of being a policeman with considerable knowledge in crime-solving.

"I'm confident my views have been objective. The fact that I haven't been here before and might not know about the political problems of the country is a strength, I think."

Superintendent Don is quite candid about what constitutes the fundamental tools of a police investigation, whether it be a politically inspired massacre, a domestic murder, a fraud or a child abuse case.

"An investigation is an investigation. Some are big, some are small, but the same principles are applied. You need good organisation ... good structure so that the detail doesn't get lost."

Another crucial aspect to an investigation is co-operation from the public, he adds.

But what if, as is the case in South Africa's townships, there is a reluctance by members of the public to assist the police?

Superintendent Don answers simply: "That's a policing problem. For the public to co-operate, the police need to reflect the demands of the public, building up mutual respect."

Throughout his many investigations, he has found — perhaps surprisingly — that the most difficult crimes to solve are not murder, corruption or fraud, but child abuse cases.

"With fraud and corruption, there is usually a trail of documentary evidence, but child abuse cases are ephemeral and the evidence is hard to find."

● Another senior British policeman appointed to the Goldstone Commission, Commander Tom Laidlaw, is currently in Cape Town completing his investigations into the handling of mass protest action before also flying back to London. □

must be protected from flies. Waste matter and stools must be buried or burnt.

Hookworm infestation can be very damaging, especially in children. The patient suffers from paleness, weakness and stomach ache. Most persons are affected by walking with bare feet on infected soil.

The young worms enter the skin and cause a severe irritation called ground itch. They get into a blood vessel and are carried to the lungs.

Effective treatment can be given with special worm medicines. These medicines must be given by a doctor as they can be dangerous if not taken in the right way.

Where hookworm is found, shoes should be worn and human waste disposed of.

Tapeworms are intestinal worms that commonly invade humans. They vary in length from the beef tapeworm, which may be five metres long, to the dwarf tapeworm, never measuring more than a few centimetres.

cooked, the young worms pass into the person's small intestine. There they grow to a length of several metres.

Sometimes there is a mild stomach ache, vomiting or a change in bowel habits. The patient may always feel hungry and eat more than usual.

Pork and beef must be cooked thoroughly to destroy young worms in the meat. In treatment, the entire worm including the head, must be removed medically.

If the head is not removed, the tapeworm grows again

Lice may be found on the head or body of a person and often a number of people in a family or school may be affected as the lice crawl from one on to another.

The presence of lice can cause severe itching and scratching all over the body. All this can be prevented by washing the head, body, clothes and the bed clothes ragularly and by the general practising of good hygiene. Lice can be the carriers of typhus fever.

hen treating frostbite

Every winter, parts of South water turns to ice, frost cc when you go outside, you **Learn & Teach** discusse and ways to treat frostb

Your body's natural temperature is 37 degrees Celsius. If you get too hot or too cold, your body will try to get your temperature back to 37 degrees.

When you get too hot you sweat and cool down, and when you get too cold you shiver and your body heats up.

But sometimes your body can get so cold it cannot work.

Try to stay warm

About 80 percent of your body heat escapes from the top of your head, so wearing a hat will help stop it.

Wear layers of clothes. Put on a few shirts, a jersey and a coat. Women can wear long skirts, petticoats, trousers and stockings.

Help someone who is cold

You can help someone who is cold. It is best to warm that person very slowly, says Dick Kelder of the Institute of Emergency First Aiders.

Frostbite

Frostbite is when parts of your body — usually your fingers, nose, ears or toes — get so cold they start to freeze. Follow these steps to treat frostbite:

Principal 'assaulted by cops'

Sowetan 9/7/92 (278)

■ MADALA HOSTEL

Daniel Mashodi 'dumped by police to be killed

THE PRINCIPAL of Wedela High School in Carletonville was allegedly assaulted by police, who also took him to the Madala Hostel in Alexandra.

Mr Daniel Moshodi (40) said police arrested him at the gate of his mother's house in Alexandra township last Saturday night.

"They found a pistol for which I have a licence and took me away. They beat me and took me to Madala Hostel where they forced me out of the Casspir. They said they would leave me there to be killed by the hostel inmates," he said.

"I refused to remain and said they should rather kill me themselves. I got into the Casspir and they assaulted me further before taking me to the Bramley police station."

He said he was released on Monday afternoon after being charged with drunken driving. He said he has laid charges against the policemen.

Policeman killed, another wounded in E Rand attack

STAR 9/7/92.

By Anna Louw and Crime Staff (278)

Gunmen yesterday shot dead a policeman and critically wounded another when they opened fire with AK-47 and R-5 rifles on a marked police car in Zuma Street, Katlehong.

The shooting brings the nationwide police death toll this year to 100 — the highest recorded toll for the first six months of any year, police said.

Forty-one policemen have been killed on the Witwatersrand alone since January. Seventy one policemen were killed nationwide in 1989 and 145 during last year.

Most of the slayings occurred in the Vaal Triangle, Soweto, the Witwatersrand and in Natal.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman yesterday said both policemen were members of the uniformed branch.

They were wearing uniforms and were on duty at the time of the Katlehong attack.

He said a group of men opened fire on the unsuspecting policemen, fatally wounding one of them in the head.

The other policeman was taken to hospital where he is in critical condition.

The names of the two policemen are being withheld until their families have been notified, said Captain Opperman.

When asked if he believed the attack was part of Apla's (Azanian People's Liberation Army) stated intention of stepping up attacks on policemen, he said the police would naturally investigate the possibility.

Apla, the military wing of the PAC, has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks on policemen including the fatal shooting of a detective in Katlehong on Friday.

"If Apla is responsible for the cowardly attack on the two unsuspecting policemen, one has to ask why Apla is continuing with its despicable attacks on the SAP when it is free to carry out its political activities without hindrance from the police," said Captain Opperman.

He said that, according to reports, Apla had declared war on the SAP and had threatened to intensify its attacks.

Captain Opperman called on law-abiding citizens to publicly condemn the killing of policemen.

Pretoria Police Headquarters spokesman Colonel Reg Crewe yesterday said the police were determined to stamp out the killing of policemen.

The police have reacted to the increased killings by issuing bulletproof vests for forces in unrest areas and developing counter-ambush techniques which, for security reasons, could not be elaborated on, Colonel Crewe said.

Red Cross given access to jails

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Government signed an agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross yesterday which will allow the committee to interview political prisoners privately to monitor their treatment.

The agreement was signed by Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok and head of the Red Cross in SA Tony Pfanner. B/Day

In terms of the agreement, Red Cross representatives will be allowed to visit prisoners who have been convicted of common law crimes linked to internal tension or of offences against state security, unsentenced prisoners in the same categories, and foreign nationals. 9/7/92

The committee may interview prisoners privately, and will have access to every part of prisons they visit. It will report on each visit and discuss its findings with the Department and Minister of Correctional Services, the agreement says. Focus will be on the treatment of prisoners and conditions in prisons.

Correctional Services Commissioner Lt-Gen Willie Willemse said in a statement yesterday: "The fact that the Red Cross is allowed access to SA prisons must be seen as evidence of the sincerity with which the department has been striving towards meeting internationally acceptable standards for the treatment of prisoners ..."

Whites warned of danger in Sebokeng

B/Day 9/7/92 (278)

WILSON ZWANE

LAWLESSNESS and anti-white sentiment had reached unprecedented levels in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng, police said this week.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday law and order in Sebokeng had deteriorated to such an extent that only "intensified" policing could restore normality. Crime and violence in the township surpassed that in other Reef townships, and Opperman warned whites against venturing into it.

There have been numerous incidents of white people being attacked and harassed in the area and scores of vehicles have been ambushed and set alight while travelling along the Golden Highway which borders Sebokeng.

At the weekend a human rights lawyer, in the township to defend an ANC member at a court hearing, was stoned and forced to flee from a mob.

Opperman said that until recently the township had been as bad as the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp and Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg. Now Sebokeng was the worst, he said.

He said the intensification of police anti-crime operations in Phola Park and Alexandra early last month had resulted in fewer unrest incidents in those areas.

Police were convinced that political leaders in the Vaal Triangle were unable to stop their supporters committing acts of lawlessness, such as the searching of motorists at makeshift roadblocks.

"And to make law and order prevail in the township, police need the co-operation of the people — which is not forthcoming because the people who give information to the police are assaulted," he said.

Recently, Business Day journalists travelling in the township were stopped by comrades at a roadblock. The car was searched for firearms.

One of the "comrades" told the journalists whites were not welcome in Sebokeng and would be targets for necklacing.

RAY HARTLEY reports that four people, including a police constable, died in unrest-related incidents yesterday.

The constable was killed instantly and his colleague seriously wounded in an AK-47 attack in Katlehong, Opperman said.

The bodies of a man and a woman who had been burnt after a bus was set alight by thugs were found at Vosloorus.

In another incident, a man was shot dead in Alexandra by unknown attackers. Spent AK-47 and .22 cartridges were found there.

Police have appealed to the public to assist in locating the weapons used in the Katlehong attack.

Repairs for violence-torn areas

B/Day 9/7/92

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee will ask local and regional dispute resolution committees to identify projects for reconstruction and development in violence-torn areas.

Major funding agencies have put their weight behind an initiative aimed at reconstruction and development in unrest flashpoints, committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday.

The committees would be asked to identify projects for reconstruction and development, and be invited to apply for funds for the projects.

It could not be established yesterday how much money the peace committee had allocated to socio-economic projects.

Pauquet said permanent sub-committees of the national peace accord, to be called socio-economic reconstruction and development committees, would soon be set up in SA's trouble-torn areas.

These committees would initially be chaired by the chairmen of regional dispute resolution committees.

This week three development agencies — the Independent Development Trust (IDT), the Development Bank of SA and the Kagiso Trust — said they had had discussions with the peace committee about helping violence victims.

IDT trustees had approved a "substantial" amount of money for reconstruction, spokesman Jolyon Nuttal said.

Mock trial dispute may be arbitrated

B/Day 9/7/92

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee has asked lawyers to arbitrate in a dispute between government and Inkatha, and the ANC.

The dispute was declared by Inkatha and government yesterday at a meeting of the committee executive. It arose from a mock trial held by an ANC official in Maritzburg on June 26.

President F W de Klerk, his government and 10 Inkatha leaders were allegedly sentenced to death at that trial. 9/7/92

Yesterday's meeting of the committee executive had been convened to — among other matters — discuss the ANC's response to the trial. The ANC communicated its reponse to the committee last Friday.

Sources at the meeting said the committee failed to resolve the matter, which they described as a serious infraction of the national peace accord, and referred it to arbitration.

The sources said Inkatha and government declared a dispute after rejecting the ANC's explanation that the purpose of the mock trial was to symbolise the demise of apartheid, not to offend De Klerk, government or Inkatha leaders.

A team of lawyers from the Transvaal Law Society, whom the national peace committee had recently enlisted to investigate infractions of the accord, had been asked to arbitrate "as a matter of urgency".

NEWS Hospital strike takes ugly turn ● Talkback Show on ice

7 hurt in attack

By Joe Mdhlela and Sonti Maseko

(278)

SEVEN PEOPLE - including a toddler - were seriously injured during a petrol-bomb attack on their home in Soweto on Tuesday night as the current hospital strike took an ugly turn.

In Port Elizabeth a nurse was attacked with an axe and other nurses were assaulted and a volunteer chased away at the Dora Nginza and Livingstone hospitals.

Four of the victims of the Soweto attack were yesterday battling for their lives at Baragwanath Hospital's Burns Unit, where they are being treated for severe burns.

A 63-year-old granny, Mrs Sanah Madikane, was also injured in the attack.

UGLY TURN Hospital strike becomes a terrifying nightmare as criminal elements launch attacks in Soweto and Port Elizabeth:

Sowetan 9/7/92

This is the third attack in the past three days on houses belonging to hospital employees in Soweto.

Speaking from her hospital bed, Madikane said two petrol bombs were hurled through the kitchen window about 8.30pm, while she and 13 members of her family sat around the stove in their two-room house.

"We heard two loud explosions and the next moment we were in flames," said Madikane, whose face was badly swollen and her arms swathed in bandages.

"I tried to take off my clothes which had caught fire and were clinging to my skin while, at the same time, putting out flames on the head of my four-year-old great-grandchild.

"The others ran out into the yard and rolled themselves on the ground in an attempt to put out the flames. I could see pieces of burnt cloth falling off them," she said.

Police suspect that the attacks might be linked to the hospital strike and were targeted at non-striking workers.

Four of the injured were in a critical condition, hospital authorities said yesterday. They were not able to speak and could not be visited by their relatives as the danger of infection was high.

Madikane said her daughter-in-law, who was no longer living with them, was employed as a clerk at Johannesburg Hospital. Her daughter-in-law was not on strike.

> **'I could see pieces of burnt cloth falling off them'**
>
> **Mrs Sarah Madikeane, from her hospital bed.**

She said she and her daughter-in-law were card-carrying members of the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party. She was also a member of the Soweto Civic Association.

Police said no-one was injured in the attacks on the other two houses in Mofolo and Zola.

Meanwhile *Sapa* reports that the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) has ended the week-long hospital strike in the Eastern Cape.

Criminal elements were responsible

Nehawu spokesman Max Madlingozi said the strike had been called off mainly for humanitarian reasons.

However, this decision had still to be confirmed at a meeting of representatives of the hospital workers.

Earlier, Nehawu sharply criticised the intimidation and violence at the Dora Nginza and Livingstone hospitals in the Port Elizabeth area and said criminal elements were responsible.

Seven hospitals in the Eastern Cape have been affected by the strike.

Survivors of petrol bomb attacks at Naledi Extension 2, Soweto, Lucky Khatledi (15) and younger brother Sibusiso (4). PIC:PAT SEBOKO.

Law of the mob rules Sebokeng, say police

(278)

CT 9/7/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Levels of lawlessness and anti-white sentiment had reached unprecedented levels in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng, police said this week.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday law and order in Sebokeng had deteriorated to such an extent that only "intensified" policing could restore normality. It was now the most notorious township on the Witwatersrand.

There have been numerous incidents of white people being attacked and harassed in the area and scores of vehicles have been ambushed and set alight while travelling along the Golden Highway which borders Sebokeng.

At the weekend a human rights lawyer, in the township to defend an ANC member at a court hearing, was stoned and forced to flee from a mob.

He said police were convinced that political leaders in the Vaal Triangle were unable to stop their supporters' lawlessness, such as the searching of motorists by "comrades" at makeshift roadblocks. "And to make law and order prevail in the township, police need the co-operation of the people – which is not forthcoming."

Recently Johannesburg journalists travelling in the township were stopped and searched by "comrades" at a roadblock.

One of the "comrades" told the journalists whites were not welcome in Sebokeng and would be targets for necklacing.

Hostel dwellers acquitted over attack on train pair

STAR 9/7/92

(278)

By Rochelle Gosling-Hughes

Three Merafe hostel dwellers were yesterday acquitted in the Johannesburg Regional Court on charges of attempting to murder two train passengers travelling to work from Soweto.

Magistrate C J van Heerden ruled that Icam Mazibuko (24), Michael Mnguni (26) and Phineas Shabalala (24) had not been positively identified.

Willy Khubekha, who told the court that three men had beaten him on the head with knobkerries on March 19, identified five men at a police identification parade, said the magistrate.

The discrepancy arose because Mr Khubekha insisted in court that he had only identified the three men in the dock, he said.

Mr van Heerden said the second complainant, Nelson Modibedi, presented no evidence in court which would link the three men to the crime.

Mr Khubekha said six men had boarded the train together at Merafi station. They moved to his carriage at Johannesburg station. "They asked me why I lived in the township instead of a hostel and then hit me on my forehead and the back of my head," he said.

He said he knew the men because they had travelled on the same train for at least three years. The men were arrested on March 23 and were refused bail because they could not prove that they would stand trial.

Cop killed in AK-47 attack

CT 9/7/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — A police constable was killed and his colleague seriously wounded in an armed attack in Katlehong yesterday.

Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said the two policemen were apparently driving in an unmarked police vehicle when a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles attacked them and then fled on foot.

The bodies of a man and a woman who had been burnt when thugs set a bus alight were found at Vosloosrus.

In another incident a man was shot dead in Alexandra by unknown attackers. AK-47 and .22 spent cartridges were found on the scene.

Police rushed to Mamelodi's Thuto-Mathlale Technical College, near Pretoria, yesterday to calm the situation after students forced open a gate following the institution's closure on Tuesday after a class boycott.

Education and Training Department spokesman Mr Thom Mekana said students were boycotting classes to demand a minimum pass percentage of 40%.

The college's governing council will meet today to resolve the issue.

In Natal, Practical Ministries of Port Shepstone yesterday joined a call by the ANC for the Goldstone Commission to investigate violence on the South Coast. — Sapa

'No quick fix for hostels'

STAR 10/7/92 (278)

STELLENBOSCH — Fencing off or isolating hostels would not be the answer to any problems, National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said.

"I do not want to cross swords with Mr Justice Goldstone, but would like to say that isolating the hostel dwellers could contribute to the conflict potential," he said at the National Party Federal Youth Congress yesterday.

He said only hostels in certain areas could be fenced off or isolated, but it was totally impractical in other areas.

"When we talk about upgrading hostels, it must take place through a process of negotiation and talks with the inhabitants of the hostels and the people living in the surrounding areas.

"There are no quick fixes to the solutions. It is our dream that the 16 million poor and homeless people of SA will have access to the most basic services and that South Africans will care about these people," he said. — Sapa.

The Guardian Weekly
July 10 to 16, 1992

SA judge chastises the state

278

Guardian W [Jim W Mail]

THE JUDGE investigating South Africa's political violence protested this week at the failure of the authorities to implement recommendations aimed at halting the carnage. Judge Richard Goldstone's complaint came as police reported another 27 people killed in political violence over this weekend, *writes David Beresford.*

In his first direct criticism of the government over the township violence, Mr Justice Goldstone expressed "regret" that a series of "considered and urgent recommendations" had been ignored by the state. 10/7 - 16/7/92

One set of recommendations was that steps should be taken to try to control the single men's hostels — regarded as the focus of the violence in the townships — with perimeter fencing and weapons searches at entrances. "The only response to date has been a statement on behalf of the government that 294 million rand [£57 million] has been allocated for the upgrading of hostels," said the judge. "No action had been taken to date."

Mr Justice Goldstone also protested at the government's failure to withdraw from township duties the controversial 32 Battalion — a unit drawn from the Nambian bush war and recently found responsible for rape and other assaults during "peacekeeping" operations.

Judge Goldstone said he did not expect his commission's recommendations necessarily to be respected or acted upon, but he did not expect them to be ignored. The judge softened the criticism a little by also announcing in a statement that his commission had not discovered, to date, any justification for allegations that the president, members of the cabinet, or high-ranking security force officers were involved in the township violence.

The Goldstone commission is to set up a special committee to investigate the recent Biopatong massacre, in which more than 40 people were killed in the Vaal triangle area, south of Johannesburg. The inquiry is to start on August 4.

Police warning on Sebokeng

STRANGERS of all races are warned to stay away from the violence-torn township of Sebokeng near Vereeniging. Sowetan 10/7/92 (278)

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that violence in the township had escalated to such an extent that it had become a danger area. - *Sapa.*

Clegg home for concert

AN exhausted Jonathan Clegg, leader of the band Savuka, arrived yesterday from the United States to prepare for the group's four appearances at the Sun City Superbowl.

They are due to perform at the Bophuthatswana venue on July 18 and 19 and on July 24 and 25.

"It is really hard to feel ready to go up and about after a 22-hour flight," he said after walking through the customs enclosure at Jan Smuts Airport. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Cops bicker over fees

Sowetan 10/7/92

ABOUT 230 black policemen at Vosloorus barracks have threatened to go on strike if huge deductions from their pay for food are not stopped.

The policemen said they were told that they "eat too much" when they complained about the deductions to a senior officer at the barracks.

Mandela 'no' to talks

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected President FW de Klerk's call for urgent face-to-face talks about the crisis in the country. Sowetan 10/7/92

"We would sit down to do no more than haggle about what should constitute the agenda of such talks, rather than the serious business of taking our country to a democracy and developing firm foundations for curbing and eliminating violence," Mandela told a packed international news conference in Johannesburg.

Appeal to civil servants

Following mounting tensions involving pension funds, Venda's military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana has appealed to embittered civil servants to act rationally. Sowetan 10/7/92

During a meeting with a delegation of trade union leaders this week, Ramushwana agreed to a demand that pension funds should be made available to contributors only.

SA spoils the post toasties yet again

(278)

W/Mail 10/7-16/7/92

After February 1990, South Africa's image abroad positively sparkled. Until Boipatong. **TONY HEARD** reports on how middle America views recent grim South African events

IT hardly seemed possible, but yet another image disaster looms for South Africa. The dramatic breakthroughs made with international opinion have been halted — or "Boipatonged".

That's the picture, as seen from an ordinary university town in an ordinary part of the United States. Folk who previously applauded events such as the release of Nelson Mandela are confused, even growing hostile again.

From Arkansas, it seems that South Africa could be going resolutely "back to the future" — as a headline over a very critical *Economist* article put it in the *Tulsa World* newspaper, published over the border in Oklahoma.

The central problems are continuing violence and stalled democracy. But hovering dangerously around is the unresolved question of police and security force complicity in the violence.

So far, the government's responses have made things worse. When its agents are charged with complicity, it comes across as suspiciously defensive. Like his predecessors, President FW de Klerk appears to blame all on the African National Congress. Proven cases of official complicity are passed off as merely the work of "rogue elements" in the security forces.

Has the government learnt nothing from past mistakes?

I have made many visits to the US over the past 20 years. Some were marked by a news drought on South Africa when, in spite of controversial politics, we had flipped off the radar screen of world attention.

I recall early in the 1970s when the lone South African item spotted in the press during a visit of several weeks was a paragraph about a white male audience storming out of an illegal showing of *Deep Throat* in a Reef garage as the police raided.

Generally, however, it was different. At times South Africa rarely left the TV screens and newspaper columns.

A case in point was 1977, the year John Vorster saved whites from chaos/communism for the umptheenth time, by obliterating black consciousness, banning prelates and editors and detaining people at random — while his eastern Cape police dispatched Steve Biko in a police van to Pretoria and death.

I found myself sitting in a Canadian TV studio at a breakfast news show when the Biko bombshell came through. It was immediately obvious how powerfully such events disturb foreign breakfasts. The news was megaphoned around the world.

The only way to respond to the Biko killing was to observe that it was a disgraceful illustration of apartheid's brutality. Attempts by South African spokesmen to dismiss an event such as this as isolated and of litte consequence — not to mention its leaving now-departed personages cold — fell on foreign ears like Hindenburgs.

From the mid-1980s period of States of Emergency, mass police shootings and township carnage, South Africa moved from the occasional to a permanent top slot in world attention. The tone changed only in February 1990, when De Klerk performed his about-face (from whose implications he now seems to be shrinking).

In those bold strokes in 1990, De Klerk garnered more positive than negative coverage for the country — for the first time in more than a generation.

Now it's looking bad again.

A flip through local newspapers — even outside the metropolis centres — confirms that there is sustained and critical interest in the deteriorating situation.

Have a look through Little Rock's *Arkansas Democratic & Gazette*, *Tulsa World*, the *Dallas Morning News*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, Fayetteville's *North-West Arkansas Times* or nearyby Springdale's *Morning News*. The coverage, while still reflecting the failure of black organisations to bury the hatchet (in the metaphorical sense), is no longer adulatory towards De Klerk. It is becoming highly critical with, for instance, front-page allegations of police complicity. Even if these charges are denied, the perception remains.

Judged from here, reform and Codesa have lost their way. Allegations of official complicity in the violence hang like the foul smell near Cape Town's power station at Athlone.

Ironically, it is erstwhile government critic Harry Schwarz who must carry Pretoria's dubious banner in this country. He can be offered sympathy, considering the impact of such events as Boipatong.

The horror of Boipatong did not stop with the hostel dwellers' allegedly assisted foray, but went into chilling overdrive when police opened fire on a crowd in full view of the world's media. That De Klerk was chased away from the area added point to the setback for his government; and the police seemed to be adding their own defiant *nog 'n piep* to De Klerk's protestations about reform and restraint.

Having seen politician Schwarz in full flight against the government in debate, it was instructive to watch ambassador Schwarz on the McNeil-Lehrer Report, post-Boitong and in stonewall defence. As usual, he was effective in his eloquent abrasiveness. But the grubby task of defending the indefensible would more aptly be performed, surely, by a glib-tongued Marais Steyn?

Schwarz was on the defensive, though pitted against an ANC opponent who cannot be described as formidable. But Schwarz could never have won the debate: the burden of evidence against the government is too heavy. It was like trying to go up Niagara in a barrel.

He tended to dismiss charges of official police involvement by referring to "rogue elements" against whom action had been taken. When pressed about government action in the 8 000 deaths since De Klerk came to power, Schwarz averred that there had been "hundreds" of trials and convictions. Hundreds? This surely clashes with the widespread perception of a government which is anything but a busy bee in dealing with the matter?

Fact is that the government is losing credibility fast by ducking the evidence of complicity. When top South African judges openly speak of deliberate police killings or urge that certain military battalions should be banned from township duty, to mention but two examples, the world is unlikely to listen to government evasion — even if De Klerk wins the odd tactical victory, as he did with the Goldstone Commission this week.

●Tony Heard, a former editor of *The Cape Times*, is a visiting Fulbright fellow at the University of Arkansas.

Panel moots new protest laws

B/DAY 10/7/92

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — New legislation to regulate demonstrations, which would include severe limitations on the use of force by the police, should be promulgated urgently, an international and local panel of experts appointed by the Goldstone commission has recommended.

Legal enactment of the panel's recommendations would bring SA practice into line with international procedures, the panel said. The panel's report on the lawful control of mass demonstrations was released yesterday.

Judge Richard Goldstone, in opening the presentation on the report, said the commission would consider setting up other multinational panels to investigate matters such as police training and the public accountability of the police.

He said the panel would hold three days of talks with the legal representatives of the ANC, Cosatu and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and after submissions from the public next week the final recommendations and draft legislation would be submitted to State President F W de Klerk.

The report strongly recommended that demonstrators be universally prohibited from carrying weapons or replicas of weapons. Police should have special powers to confiscate weapons carried at demonstrations, said the panel, which has sat under the chairmanship of Harvard Law School Centre for Criminal Justice director Prof Philip Heymann.

The fundamental principles of the report were that peaceful demonstration should be entrenched as a democratic right in SA and one of the central responsibilities of the police should be to facilitate the exercise of this right.

Lethal force could only be justified when delay in its use, and the use of anything less, would subject the police or others to severe risk of death.

"Our message to the SA police force is to avoid situations where self-defence or defence of others is necessary by planning, equipping and training," Heymann said. The panel believed shotguns firing birdshot should be regarded as lethal weapons.

The panel recommended that the use of non-lethal force must be proportionate to the need, reasonable in the circumstances and minimal to accomplish what was required. It suggested arrest as the preferable form of action.

The report urged that the police force be properly organised, trained and equipped to handle demonstrations without force. This new approach would mean the police would need skills in peacefully interacting with crowds, in negotiation and in human relations. To achieve this, police training would have to be reviewed.

The panel said respect for the right to demonstrate was especially needed in SA — despite its politically inflammatory conditions — as the majority of the population lacked voting rights. However, it noted that the police also had an obligation to prevent violent mass actions.

The panel believed those organising demonstrations, local authorities and the police all had a responsibility to ensure demonstrations were held without violence.

The Supreme Court should have wide powers to review local authority decisions.

The report acknowledged many demonstrations in SA occurred spontaneously.

The panel accepted an ANC recommendation that a commission be available to provide independent monitors of police conduct on request at demonstrations and said this could be an extension of the Goldstone commission. The report said a post-incident, independent review of police action would exert a powerful influence on police behaviour.

Three policemen die in East Rand unrest

THREE policemen had been shot dead in unrest-related incidents in Katlehong on the East Rand since Tuesday, police reported yesterday.

Police reservist Matli Mohale was shot dead and his firearm stolen by unknown attackers yesterday. Police are investigating. B/DAY 10/7/92

Two other policemen were killed in Kathlehong on Wednesday by a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles.

Police said yesterday they would investigate claims made this week by the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) that it had attacked and killed policemen.

In another incident, two men were killed when ANC and Inkatha supporters clashed using firearms and other weapons near Estcourt in Natal yesterday. — Sapa.

Vaal business feels the boycott

THEO RAWANA

BUSINESS in the Vaal Triangle is beginning to feel the consumer boycott launched by the Broad Forum, but has vowed not to be brought to its knees.

Business leaders in the area have hinted at retaliation for a boycott they view as senseless as it hits "apolitical business people and innocent consumers".

The Broad Forum, an alliance of community groups and political organisations, this week announced the intensification of the boycott against white business in Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Meyerton and Sasolburg. The boycott was launched after the Boipatong massacre to support demands which included the demolition of the KwaMadala Hostel, arrest and prosecution of all people involved in the violence, withdrawal of security forces from Vaal townships and compensation by Iscor for Boipatong residents.

Vereeniging Sakekamer chairman Hennie Olberts said smaller businesses were the worst hit. But the boycotters were also suffering.

"The boycott won't bring business to its knees. Blacks are suffering too, and it's time unions and political leaders saw what they were doing to themselves."

He said the business community was thinking of ways to "boycott the boycotter", like refusing township deliveries.

The Vanderbijlpark Sakekamer said it had dropped the word "Afrikaanse" from its name to accommodate other language groups. B/DAY 10/7/92

"We opened our hand to them and we warn that if we close it they won't be able to get in again."

"They must be warned."

Broad Forum spokesman Paul Sithole said he had had "confidential approaches" from some companies asking what to do. "I suggested they lobby big business to come and address the issue."

He said it was too early to say how effective the boycott was.

City of London Anti-Apartheid movement, which claims PAC and Azapo support, wants all sporting ties cut until "irreversible change is manifested in a

in of planning of violence by the state president or any member of his cabinet. The NP had less to say about some other Goldstone remarks that his rec-

APARTHEID BAROMETER

W/Mail 10/7-16/7/92

DEATHS AND INJURIES 278

SEVENTY-SIX people were killed and 82 were injured in the PWV, Natal and Free State during the first week of July, says the Human Rights Commission (HRC). The largest number of deaths, 39, occurred in the PWV area.

DETENTIONS

THERE are currently 83 people in detention under the Public Safety Act, according to the HRC. The majority are kwaMadala hostel residents who have been detained in connection with the Boipatong massacre. W/Mail 10/7-16/7/92

African National Congress member Japie Maphalala, who has been in detention since June 23, has reportedly been on a hunger strike for two weeks.

SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS

THREE people were killed in the PWV and six were injured in the western Cape and PWV area, reports the HRC. In Sebokeng on July 3, three people, including a child, were killed and at least three injured. Residents alleged that police were seen firing indiscriminately at houses. Later that day, when residents attacked police homes, police retaliated.

A total number of 24 people were arrested between July 1 and 7. On July 3, four men were arrested in Sharpeville for allegedly intimidating people into staying away from work.

On July 6, four senior members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) were arrested on charges of trespassing. 278

On July 7 the general secretary of the ANC's Vosloorus branch, Vuyani Mpofu, was arrested at his home.

VIGILANTE RELATED ACTIONS

FIFTY-EIGHT people were killed and 52 injured in the PWV and Natal during the past week, reports the HRC.

Two people died and five were injured in four train attacks in the Johannesburg area. On July 5 in the West Rand, four men were killed when their car was shot at as they drove out of Kagiso hostel.

In Durban on July 1, five people were killed and five injured in a train attack at the Effingham station. On July 3 in Pietermaritzburg, three men and a woman were shot dead and several people injured by an unknown man. The Inkatha Institute reported that the victims were IFP members and supporters.

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No convictions on carnage

W/mail 10/7 - 16/7/92 (278)

Weekly Mail Reporter

NOBODY has been convicted in connection with the more than 40 massacres on the Reef over the past two years, in which at least 1 200 people have died.

"Massacre" has been defined according to the Human Rights Commission's criterion of a mass killing claiming the lives of at least 10 people. This definition excludes the conviction of a man involved in the 1991 Braamfontein train attack, in which two people died.

Prior to the Boipatong massacre, 45 arrests had been made in connection with five massacres, according to police figures. Trials of some of these suspects are still in progress.

Last week John Zakwe, one of five men accused of slaughtering 13 mourners at an Alexandra night vigil in March 1991, was acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence.

This came hard on the heels of the acquittal of seven alleged Inkatha Freedom Party men on murder charges in connection with the Sebokeng night vigil massacre of January last year, in which 38 people died.

Delivering his judgment in that trial, Judge W Schultz dealt the South African Police a tongue-lashing, saying they "should have tried harder" to find incriminating evidence.

The SAP's credibility crisis in the townships had led to a situation where lawyers had to take over the job of the police, ensuring that witnesses went to court, providing them with "safe houses" and persuading them to testify, commented a lawyer representing one of the families affected by the Sebokeng slaughter.

But SAP media liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman has accused the media and political organisations of hindering police investigations.

Media allegations about the Boipatong massacre, for example, had made potential witnesses "confused, angry and even more emotionally charged," he said, stressing that the African National Congress had instructed residents not to communicate with the police.

Giving further details of progress made in investigating the massacres on the Reef, a police spokesman said:

- The attorney general had temporarily withdrawn charges against five people arrested in connection with a Johannesburg train attack two years ago which claimed the lives of 15 people.
- Twelve people arrested in connection with the May 1990 Swanieville massacre — in which 28 people died — had all been released on bail.
- Twelve people had appeared in court in connection with the deaths of 11 people at the Chamdor coalyard, on the West Rand, on August 21 last year.

KwaMadala men fear for their lives

BOIPATONG. — Residents of the KwaMadala hostel, home to the alleged perpetrators of the June 17 massacre that left 49 dead, say they fear for their lives if Iscor, the hostel's owners, carry out plans to move them.

Hostel residents said at the weekend the proposed move to the KwaMasiza hostel would "cause a lot of trouble". Sebokeng, where KwaMasiza is located, is a stronghold of the ANC and the PAC.

Hostel residents say they want to stay, in spite of the squalid conditions inside and the erection of a steel wall, also on Iscor's orders, barricading the hostel off from the township.

"Iscor didn't want to move us. They know we prefer being here," said George, who has worked for the company for almost 20 years. "But it's just because of the pressure from the Boipatong residents and the ANC. They say we must go away."

Boipatong residents, who predominantly support the ANC, accuse Zulu warriors from the hostel — a stronghold of the rival IFP — of carrying out the slayings.

George said the move to the KwaMasiza hostel — which is reportedly due to take place before the end of September — would be very dangerous for the 500 IFP-supporting KwaMadala residents.

George also said tensions at the Iscor plant — where hostel dwellers and township residents work side by side — were rising.

(278) CT 20/7/92

A total of 78 KwaMadala residents are due to apear in court today charged with murder and public violence in connection with the Boipatong massacre. — Sapa-AFP

Tembisa residents' march

(278)

TEMBISA residents on the East Rand will march on the local police station tomorrow to protest against violence in the township.

The march will also be a protest against a gang named "Toasters" which has been terrorising residents. Sowetan 16/7/92

The march starts at 10am at Mehlareng Stadium.

Betty Motlhanke at (011) 678-9122.

Police warning on Sebokeng

STRANGERS of all races are warned to stay away from the violence-torn township of Sebokeng near Vereeniging. Sowetan 10/7/92 (278)

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that violence in the township had escalated to such an extent that it had become a danger area. - *Sapa.*

Reservist one of five killed in unrest

(278)

ARG 10/7/92

PRETORIA. — Five people, including a police reservist, were killed in unrest mainly in the Transvaal, police report.

Two men were shot dead at Sebokeng near Vanderbijlpark. When police investigated, men armed with AK-47 rifles opened fire at them but no injuries were reported.

Police said they were branded the aggressors "by certain organisations, yet this type of unprovoked and criminal attack . . . is becoming a frequent occurrence".

"This will not be tolerated and members will take all the necessary measures to protect themselves."

A police reservist about to report for duty was shot dead in his home at Katlehong near Alberton.

The body of a man who had been hacked to death was found in Alexandra near Johannesburg. A second body of a man who had been shot and thrown from a moving train was also found.

Police arrested a man after a group of people stoned and damaged a delivery vehicle in Langlaagte near Johannesburg. Three people were arrested after members of the group freed the man.

● Police in Maritzburg yesterday fired a tearsmoke canister at protesting squatters and flat-dwellers.

Police said the tearsmoke was fired after people had begun stoning a police vehicle.

The crowd was dispersed with the help of Mr Rob Haswell, MP for Maritzburg South. — Argus Correspondent, Sapa.

Strikers arrested

JOHANNESBURG. — Police arrested several people near the Tastic Rice factory in Industria when strikers refused to leave the area. — Sapa.

GOLDSTONE COMMISSION

For their own ends

FM 10/7/92 (278)

Far from being used to promote the cause of peace, Judge Goldstone's statement at the end of his commission's preliminary hearing into the Boipatong massacre is being selectively exploited to suit various political points of view.

Judge Goldstone clearly reached no final conclusions but called for restraint all round until the matter is fully investigated by the Goldstone Commission into Public Violence to be convened on August 4.

Government appears to regard specific sections of his statement as conclusive exoneration that security forces were not involved in the bloody night of June 17 when 32 people died. The ANC questioned this preliminary finding.

What did Judge Goldstone say?

His 24-point statement issued on Monday commits the commission to a "full and exhaustive" investigation of the massacre and sets out the points of reference for the probe. They are:

- To identify those responsible for the atrocity;
- Why it occurred and how, where and when it was planned;
- What the SADF element was doing at the KwaMadala hostel after the incident; and
- What steps could or should have been taken to prevent the carnage.

The judge appealed to all sides to avoid making unsubstantiated claims about the massacre and who was to blame. It is in this context that he commented on allegations made by leaders and some newspapers concerning government and security force involvement. But, he pledged, "if such evidence is submitted to the commission, it will be thoroughly investigated."

He added, however, that evidence of their involvement in other serious violence and misconduct had been submitted and was being considered by the commission. He referred specifically to violence committed by 32 Battalion at Phola Park. He noted that the commission was also continuing investigations into allegations of ANC and IFP instigated violence and the alleged unwillingness or inability of the security forces to prevent violence.

And he feels that if government is to gain the respect and support of its citizens, it must demonstrate its control over its security forces. These forces, in turn, had to demonstrate that they could protect peoples' lives and property. This was not, however, possible without the co-operation of the vast majority of citizens and their political representatives.

"How to bring about such a state of affairs is the most urgent and daunting task of the commission," maintains Judge Goldstone.

But, these efforts, he believes, are being hampered by government ignoring, or doing little to implement, key recommendations of the commission — such as the securing and

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adequate policing of hostels; deployment of 32 Battalion in peacekeeping operations; and the Transvaal attorney-general ignoring or procrastinating over evidence of a *prima facie* case of police involvement in a failed conspiracy to murder an ANC leader at Schweizer-Reneke.

The police are quick to deny this. Police Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe claimed attention had been given to implementing commission recommendations.

"It is therefore not clear what the commission means when it states that its recommendations have been ignored. The commission will be contacted as a matter of urgency in this regard." ■

Residents in the dark over Forum

W/Mail 10/7 - 16/7/92

By RAY NXUMALO (278)

TERROR still stalks the rutted streets of the Vaal townships in the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre. But residents know almost nothing of the "Broad Forum", the anti-apartheid front which has allegedly taken control of their lives.

There is some evidence of abuse by local defence units who patrol the night streets, including the extortion of money from motorists and looting of delivery vans. Political leaders blame *tsotsi* elements and concede the units need constant monitoring.

Born out of the Boipatong crisis, the Broad Forum was set up to co-ordinate local business, civic, church and political bodies in seven townships around demands for a regional stayaway and consumer boycott.

Claims that its marshals were imprisoning reluctant residents in their homes hit the headlines at the weekend.

But Sebokeng residents interviewed this week shrugged their shoulders when questioned about the forum. "Truly speaking, I don't know who they are," said Shaka Radebe, a local violence monitor. And African National Congress member Watch Modibeng conceded that the forum "was not well organised".

Its official purpose, according to Azanian People's Organisation regional chairman Machone Marumo is to "build sound relations between various organisations".

On claims that people had been "incarcerated in their homes", Marumo said the forum was an advisory body. In the wake of the Boipatong massacre, residents had been advised to stay indoors while defence units patrolled the streets.

An unofficial dusk-to-dawn curfew is in force in Sebokeng, a *Weekly Mail* visit to the township revealed this week. But so keen is the fear of further attacks in the wake of Boipatong, that it appears to be voluntary.

The fears are not entirely unfounded. Activists say there were three killings last week, allegedly by assassins driving at high speed through the area.

The only visible evidence of defence units were small groups of young men who stopped some cars on the outskirts of the township, checking whether the occupants were locals.

Local leaders, however, concede that there has been abuse, and that defence units have to be continuously monitored. "We had complaints of misconduct and extortion, with motorists sometimes getting asked for R10 before they would be let through," Modibeng said.

He said a meeting had been called to discuss the duties of the defence units. "The *tsotsi* element, which was taking advantage of the situation was identified and isolated."

The ghost of Boipatong must be exorcised

Guardian (W Lin w/mail) 10/7 - 16/7/92 (278)

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

THE temptation is almost overwhelming, to call down Mercutio's curse on them: "A plague o' both your houses", for they have indeed made worms' meat . . ."

A photograph arouses the sense of fury and disgust. Taken with considerable courage by a (white) colleague at last week's Boipatong funeral, it shows a scrawny youth on his knees, with his naked back to the camera, being spoken to by four others bending down towards him. They are part of a mob and they are telling the youth he is about to die.

The four faces belong to Goya. It would be a relief to describe them as mad, but the expressions are only too human: of fake concern, incredulous interrogation and, worst of all, greedy anticipation as of a starving man being shown his seat at the banquet.

The condemned youth, subsequently identified as Stanley Nagaga, is a suspected Inkatha member. The murderers (for that they became, hitting, kicking, and hacking Stanley before driving over him with a mini-bus and setting him on fire) are ANC supporters. Was it for this we picketed Trafalgar Square?

Looking up from the photograph, the eye is caught by another colleague, laughing in a corner with a group of black journalists. He was meant to have been a victim of the other "house". The South African military brought a gangster up from Cape Town to Johannesburg to murder him. The killer fumbled the contract and he survived. But the sight of him brings back memories of others like him who did not survive; the gentle face of the anthropologist, Dr David Webster, before he was blown apart with a shotgun by a more efficient army assassin; the engagingly raffish figure of Anton Lubowski, before he was machine-gunned to death by another of Pretoria's professional murderers outside his house in Windhoek. As Mercutio had it: "And soundly too: your houses!"

The murderous line of thought has been precipitated by what might be described as an exercise of revisionism stemming from the latest atrocities in South Africa, which has caused some controversy here, as well as in the columns of the Guardian Weekly. Questioning the justification for the uproar arising from the Boipatong massacre, a number of journalists — both South African and foreign — have suggested that reporting and hence an understanding of the ma ssacre has been one-sided.

Specifically, they suggest the massacre may have been precipitated by the necklacing of Inkatha supporters in the preceding days; that security force responsibility for Boipatong may thus be "a figment of the ANC's imagination" and, at the very least, that "the traffic in township mayhem is not all one way".

Exactly where the dividing line lies between civil strife and civil war is a moot point, but it is certainly a line which South Africa is fast approaching. As ever in a conflict of its type, viciousness of an extreme order is being exercised increasingly by both sides. And in the state of anarchy developing in the townships it is a Herculean (specifically Augean) task to attempt to apportion a moral balance. But some sort of understanding is demanded as to where responsibility lies for the township carnage, particularly as this is South Africa, where recent history has shown that international opinion does have a significant impact on political developments.

There are different levels at which the township violence can be examined. There is the level at which those satanic faces leered down at Stanley Nagaga; moments out of which passionate indignation are born, but which provide elusive points of reference.

For example, the hypothesis that Boipatong could be blamed on the prior necklacing of Inkatha sympathisers overlooks the fact that the days preceding the massacre also witnessed the assassination of a white police commander by black gunmen in the area.

That killing could equally justify a hypothesis that the claimed presence of white gunmen among the killers, and the use of security force vehicles in the attack on the Boipatong township, was more than a "figment of the imagination".

Perhaps a more persuasive measure of responsibility lies in the tally tables offered by monitoring groups such as the Human Rights Commission, which last week published its accounting of 49 massacres, claiming some 1,250 lives over the past two years. By their reckoning, the massacres have been the overwhelming responsibility of Inkatha, with persistent evidence of collusion between members and the security forces.

"There can be little doubt that there is a design and purpose behind most of them that places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality," the Commission said.

The HRC is identified with the ANC by many who would regard their rhetoric of the gas chambers as exaggerated. But it is a reference which brings one to another level of understanding of the violence — a thread of history which provides perhaps the most telling perspective.

It is a thread which can be picked up as distantly as the Rhodesian bush war, when the South African military were involved in activities truly worthy of Nazi war criminals. They included experimentation (with black human guinea pigs) in the use of poison and the subsequent application as a weapon of war against Zanu and Zapu — episodes of infamy recorded by at least two veterans of the Rhodesian conflict, including Ian Smith's former intelligence chief, Ken Flower. The thread can be pursued to Mozambique with the development on an almost unprecedented scale of the strategy of destabilisation through the training, equipping, and promotion of Renamo by the South African security services.

The blatant use of state terrorism and murder as an instrument of policy was extended to the domestic front with particular effect in the eighties. One example of it was the murder (by burning) of the anti-apartheid leader, Matthew Goniwe, and his three colleagues in 1986.

It is now nearly two months since the present head of Military Intelligence, General Christoffel "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, was publicly branded as the man responsible for that particular massacre. Pretoria has not so much as denied the charge, much less acted against him.

It is a history which has bred an extreme and justifiable prejudice against the South African authorities in both the international and black, domestic communities. It is a curse worthy of Mercutio which Pretoria can only lay to rest by a sustained demonstration of its claimed, new-found principles. It is also a curse which the ANC would do well to bear in mind when faced with the deaths of such as Stanley Nagaga.

Steer clear of Sebokeng, police warn

STAR 10/7/92

Police yesterday described Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle as a "danger area" and warned non-residents to stay clear of the strife-torn township.

(278)

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said violence in the township had escalated to the point where strangers of all races took their lives in their own hands when they went there.

Crime in Sebokeng surpassed that in other Reef townships.

"Police in East Rand townships such as Phola Park and in Alexandra near Sandton have reduced the violence to some extent, but Sebokeng is especially volatile," he said.

Joan Bond at 702-1111.

SAP hopes its report on massacre seen as success

STAR 10/7/92 (278)

Police were hopeful their Boipatong massacre investigation would be recorded as a success story in spite of extremely difficult circumstances at the scene and the unprecedented involvement and interference of political interests, the chief investigating officer said yesterday.

Major-General Wouter Grove was briefing editors and senior journalists in Pretoria on obstacles facing detectives, and progress in investigations into the June 17 massacre.

More than 40 people were killed in the overnight attack, allegedly mounted by KwaMadala hostel dwellers.

Eighty-one residents of the KwaMadala hostel had been arrested and more than 1 000 sworn statements collected, General Grove said.

"A large number of weapons which we suspect were used in this tragic event have been seized."

A large team of detectives had been assigned to investigate every shred of evidence.

They had, however, faced almost insurmountable obstacles in the form of access to physical evidence at the scene and political propaganda discrediting the police.

General Grove said he believed many of those who refused to assist in the investigation had done so not out of distrust of the police, but because of political intimidation.

"In spite of these circumstances we hope this investigation will go down in our investigative history as a success story," he said.

"We trust that the British police experts monitoring our investigation will understand the background." — Sapa.

Third policeman dies at Katlehong

(278) CT 10/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Another policemen was shot dead in Katlehong on the East Rand yesterday morning, bringing to three the number of policemen killed in the township since Wednesday, a police spokesman reported.

Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said at 6.30am yesterday police reservist Mr Matli Mohale, 35, was shot dead in Ramakanopie East, Katlehong. His attackers took his gun.

In Wednesday's shooting at Katlehong a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles shot dead a policeman and fatally wounded another. The attackers, who took the policemen's guns.

● Seven other people were killed in four separate incidents of violence on Wednesday and Thursday, police said.

Two men were killed and two wounded when ANC and Inkatha supporters using firearms and other weapons clashed at Wembezi near Estcourt in Natal.

Police used tearsmoke to disperse the groups.

The body of a man who had been thrown from a moving train was found at Longdale station on the Reef.

Violence also broke out again in troubled Murchison on the Natal South Coast on Wednesday night and yesterday morning, leaving at least four people dead, police said.

They said two people were shot dead on Wednesday night and two others were killed early on Thursday.

● Police have called on the military wing of the PAC, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, to suspend its armed struggle. — Sapa

Control police, EC tells SA

STRASBOURG, France. — The European Parliament called on South Africa yesterday to exercise greater control over its security forces amid the mounting violence in the country.

The European Community assembly also appealed for a resumption of peace talks in Codesa, saying it was the forum most likely to lead to a genuine democratic, non-racial government.

The European Parliament said elements of the South African security forces appeared to be collaborating with violent extremists. EC countries should help train the SAP to respect human rights, it said. — Sapa-Reuter

London bobbies talk about the right beat

W/mail 10/7 – 16/7/92

British experts asked to assess police investigations into the Boipatong massacre are unable to release their findings yet, but they discussed with **LINDA RULASHE** *some lessons for restoring public confidence*

THE unexpected task of assessing a massacre investigation in a foreign country was an arduous one for London metropolitan policemen Commander Tom Laidlaw and Detective Superintendent David Don.

Asked, on 12 hours' notice, to fly to South Africa and undertake a week's audit of the police inquiry into the Boipatong killings was one thing. Then there was the question of being seen to be liaising with the South African Police.

But the two officers — accompanied by English academic Dr Peter Waddington, director of criminal justice at Reading University — believe their expertise stood them in good stead. Being outsiders, they also believe they were able to maintain a degree of objectivity essential to their task. "There are strengths as well as weaknesses in being an outsider," said Don. "The strong point is that is one can look at things from an objective point of view.

"We wouldn't presume to understand the political or historical circumstances in this country. It would mean living, eating, breathing and sleeping here to understand that. But we do understand policing ... We understand, from our perspective in England, the right and proper thing to do."

Waddington added: "That is what Judge Richard Goldstone wanted. He wanted an assessment of how well the SAP had responded to the circumstances measured against international standards."

The men were unable to discuss their report, which will only be released when the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre begins on August 2.

Though dealing with an inquiry of this nature was new to them, they said the process of auditing is a common one in the London police force.

Don explained that it is not unusual to initially use "a couple of hundred officers" in an inquiry. This eventually winds down to a "normal team" of about 30 officers, depending on the incident and how long it takes to solve.

"Any murder is considered a major inquiry by us. For a man in my position, this means dealing with the problems of running a large team of detectives all gathering information. That's something you gain by experience."

The closest England has come to an inquiry like Boipatong's was after the collision (later found to be an accident) between a passenger riverboat and another boat on the Thames, in which 152 people died. "We are very fortunate in that we don't tend to get as many deaths in public disorder," said Laidlaw.

The officers have been involved in protracted inquiries into rail disasters, aircraft crashes and serial murders. These inquiries are usually followed by internal investigations to assess the police progress, they said.

Laidlaw, who has investigated various demonstrations and riots, said: "There was a significant riot in central London in March 1990. The next year a large report was compiled to learn all the lessons that could be learnt from the subsequent inquiry. A rather lesser outbreak occurred some months later and a similar report was produced for that.

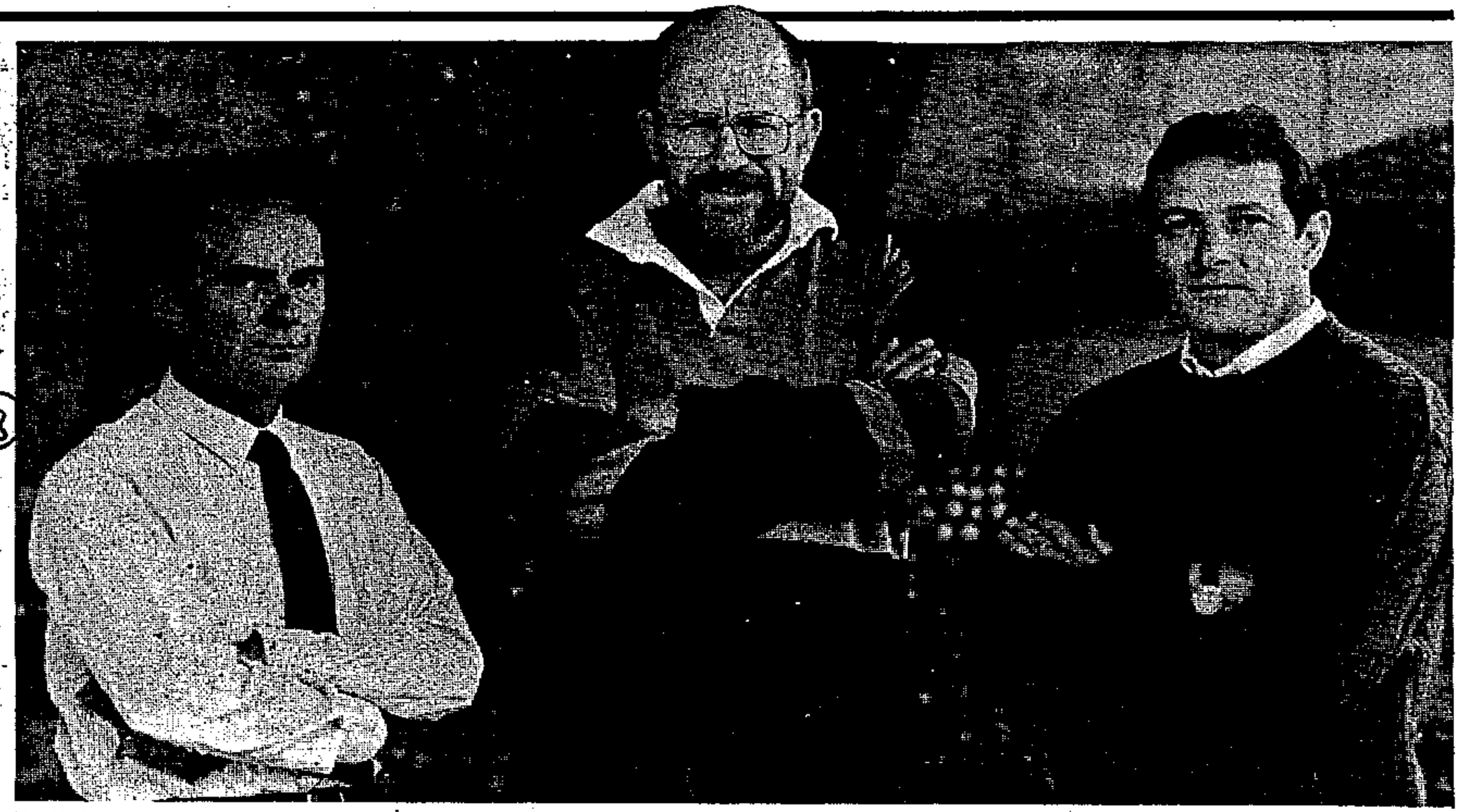
"This process of review and satisfying oneself about whether the right or wrong thing was done is something all police forces must do."

Ever conscious of the way they are regarded by the public, the English police constantly reassess their role, said Waddington.

Restoring public confidence in the SAP is a key task the Goldstone Commission has set itself. In a statement read at the commission's preliminary hearing into the Boipatong massacre this week, Judge Goldstone said: "The commission is of the view that in order for a government to gain the respect and support of its citizens whom they serve, it must be able to demonstrate that it has full control of its security forces.

"In turn, the security forces must be able to secure the lives and homes of the people. Such a state of affairs cannot be brought about without active co-operation between the security forces and the majority of the citizens and their political representatives.

"How to bring about such a state of affairs is the most urgent and daunting task of the commission."



Policing the police ... Commander Tom Laidlaw (left), Dr Peter Waddington and Detective Superintendent David Don Photo: KEVIN CARTER

W/mail 10/7 – 16/7/92

Soweto home-owners in crossfire as Inkatha, residents slug it out

STAR 11/7/92 (278)

VANDALS are slowly destroying the homes of Soweto families forced to flee by the continuing conflict between hostel inmates and residents. ABBEY MAKOE reports.

DOZENS of Soweto families forced out of their homes near Meadowlands hostel by the conflict between residents and hostel dwellers are having to continue high mortgage repayments while their houses are being slowly destroyed by vandals.

The home-owners are caught between hostel dwellers demanding that they become Inkatha members or die, and residents threatening them with death because they perceive them to be members already.

All that the families have been able to do is abandon their new houses they saved desperately to buy in the area known as Fox Lake.

In desperation, the families have written to the Allied Building Society for relief from bonds of more than R1 000 a month — but apparently to no avail.

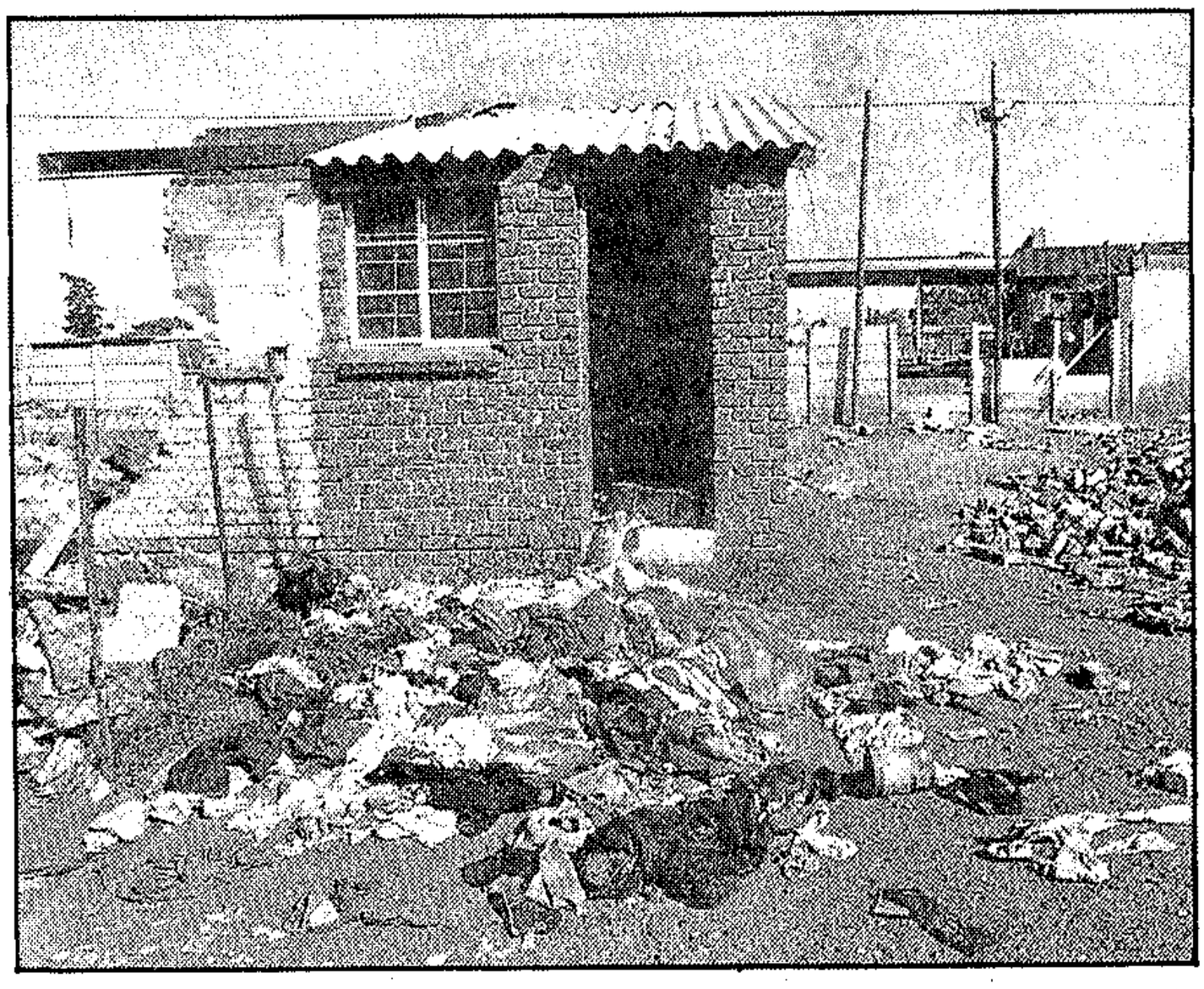
Mara Mosia said he was paying R1 025 a month. He is a member of the committee that has been urging the bank to suspend payments.

When approached for comment, a senior official at the Allied Bank said residents had only themselves to blame.

"They chose the area themselves; we were not involved," he said.

However, he went further and expressed sympathy, describing the situation as "unfortunate".

Mara and the other families fled the war zone at the height of the killing in adjacent Vincent Road, which has earned a name of "Death Road".



SCENE OF DEVASTATION: A Meadowlands home looted and broken down in the owners' absence. ● Photograph: MOTLHALEFI MAHLABE

The road separates Fox Lake from the township proper and the warring parties.

On the other side, a fence that used to separate Fox Lake from the hostel has been torn down.

Many of the families have rejoined relatives in the usual township four-roomed houses. Others were not that fortunate and went wherever they could lay their heads. Fewer than five families of the original 48 still live at Fox Lake.

Among them was Joyce Mudau. She said she spent her days carrying a plastic bag — containing a dress, a washing rag, a pair of shoes and perfume — wherever she went.

She slept at any convenient place that she could find overnight comfort and avoid winter's chilly nights.

She said of life next to the hostel: "We were like hostages. We were like people living in jail. You couldn't even take a walk to your gate and have a look around the street."

Mudau said she could not afford to rent a house or a back-yard room.

"I am considering moving to Dobsonville squatter camp," she said.

Nomsa Makhanya fled Fox Lake with her child to rent a back-yard room, but continued to pay her bank R942 every month.

She said of the hostel dwellers: "They said we must vacate our premises because they were promised to house hostel dwellers before we moved in."

Makhanya said hostel dwellers used to launch attacks on the township by "hiding in our premises and shooting from there. As if that was not enough, they then demanded that we take up Inkatha membership as proof that we sided with them.

"Often they knocked on our doors at night, instructing us to go out with them when fighting against the township youths," she said.

Neo Mamatela echoed similar sentiments. He said that one morning on his way to work, a bullet fired from the Killarney area narrowly missed him.

"Township residents said I should go and use taxis operating from where I stayed, in the hostel," he said.

Back where he lived, hostel dwellers accused him of being anti-Inkatha because he would not "donate" R50 to a group of hostel dwellers moving house to house at night, he said.

When asked what the donation was for, he said he was told that the money would be used to transport hostel dwellers to a rally in Ulundi, KwaZulu.

The only sum of money he remembered donating was R10 "which was to be used to buy bullets, we were told", Mamatela said.

Zimbabwe wants world to probe

Boipatong

CT 11/7/92 (278)

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — With the UN Security Council set to debate the negotiations impasse on South Africa next Wednesday, Zimbabwe is circulating a harshly worded resolution demanding the maintenance of existing sanctions and an international investigation into the Boipatong massacre.

Most of the council's permanent members, including the US, are expected to insist that the language be softened significantly. Intense diplomatic manoeuvring is expected at the weekend.

The US is pressing for an even-handed document that does little more than empower Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send his special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, to South Africa on a broadly defined and non-intrusive fact-finding mission.

The council has agreed to let representatives of all Codesa parties speak at the meeting, along with the nine African foreign ministers who have been sent to New York by the OAU.

The session coincides with the US Democratic Party's national convention, which could give ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela an added opportunity to present his case, but which could also drown out the debate.

At the moment, the principal effect of the coincidence is to make it difficult for the various delegations to find accommodation. South Africa's UN mission struggled to find hotel rooms for Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and his team.

US officials believe the session may be something of a time-wasting circus, but nonetheless see it as part of an elaborate minuet through which the parties should find their way back to the negotiating table.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen is expected to press the view that the government must conduct a completely transparent investigation into Boipatong.

Seeking refuge from violence-hit township

S/Times 12/7/92

(278)

By SHARON CHETTY

PHILEMON PITSO has lived all his 18 years in Evaton township. He is Sotho-speaking and says he has never been politically involved.

On Friday night, when he was hauled out of his township home and once again asked to join a self-defence unit on patrol, he decided he had had enough.

That night he fled his home and moved into Boipatong's Kwamadala hostel where he asked to join the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Kwamadala hostel-dwellers didn't want him there. They feared the nearby township residents would attack the hostel in revenge.

Philemon said self-defence units — often armed — were intended to protect township residents. Instead, they had been hijacked by *tsotsi* elements and were now undisciplined and a force of their own.

"I do not want to take sides. Yes, my people are being killed. But joining up with bands of armed youths who are always looking for trouble is not the answer," he said.

Friction

Like several residents in Vaal Triangle townships, Philemon questioned the existence and motives of an alliance of organisations called the Broad Forum.

Yesterday, residents of Boipatong, Sebokeng, Evaton and Sharpeville went about their business as usual. There were no signs of members of the Broad Forum, who had, over the past week, set up road-blocks and escorted residents out of the townships while extorting money from them.

"We refuse to let anyone control our lives — the people are fed-up with the violence and destruction," said a Sharpeville resident at a taxi-rank.

"All we want is to be left alone."

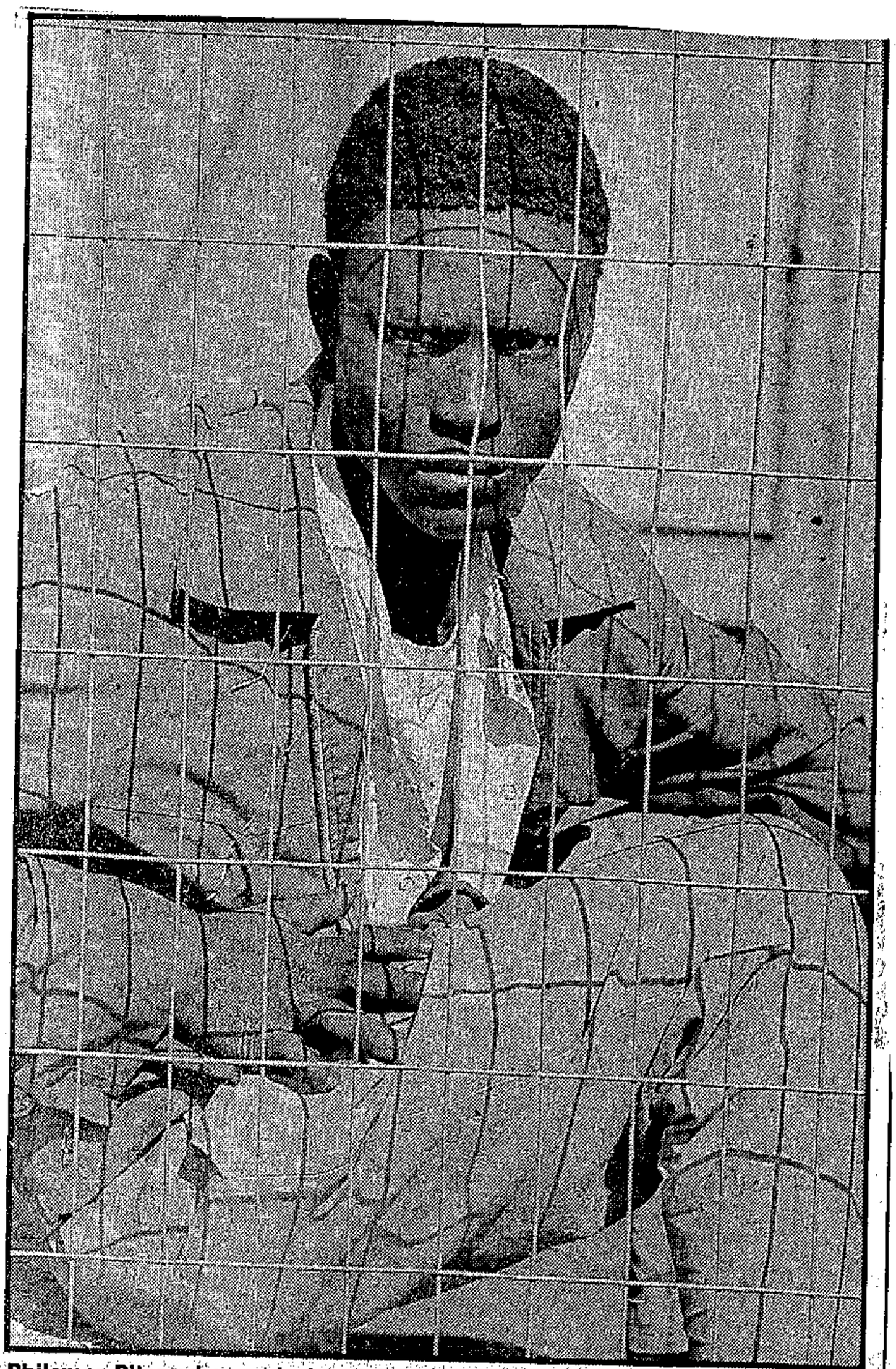
The Broad Forum, established two weeks ago as an alliance between the ANC, PAC, Cosatu and Azapo in the Vaal townships, also under fire from Sharpeville and Boipatong ANC members.

"We were not consulted about this group — if they are monitoring the situation here we were never told about it," said ANC member Ernest Sotsu.

"The Broad Forum is illegitimate. Unless residents know exactly who they are, there is going to be a lot of friction."

Residents said they had observed work stayaways and consumer boycotts earlier in the week, but hoped life would return to "normal" soon.

Police warned outsiders on Friday not to enter the township after two policemen were killed and several people were stoned. But yesterday the area was quiet.



Philemon Pitso, who says he is safe behind a hostel fence Picture: JOE SEFALE

Human cost of hospital strike

S/Times 12/7/92

SANNA MADIKANE sits on her hospital bed, pus oozing from her badly burned face, her eyes half-closed and her hands bandaged. She is a victim of the hospital strike propaganda war.

In the bed next to her is her daughter Portia, 17, who has burns to her neck and arm. Nearby, in Baragwanath hospital's burn unit, Mrs Madikane's three daughters, Adelaide, Victoria and Zodwa, and 13-year-old grandson Jewel, are fighting for their lives with 90 percent burns.

By CHARLENE SMITH

This week the Transvaal Provincial Administration and police said the Madikane family — who had two petrol bombs thrown through their kitchen window on Tuesday night as they sat around the table — were hospital workers attacked because they had not taken part in the strike.

But no one in the family is, or has been, a hospital worker. Mrs Madikane is a retired domestic worker, active in her local branches of the Soweto Civic Association, the SA Communist Party and the ANC.

Mrs Madikane said: "I'm confused. I can't imagine who attacked us, or why."

On Saturday afternoon, executive members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union, who are behind the five-week hospital strike, visited her.

General secretary Philip Dexter told her: "I can assure you that none of our workers were involved. If we can help you with anything, we will."

Allegations of violence and intimidation have been flying on both sides in the bitter strike. The TPA again suspended talks on Friday and is refusing to accede to Nehawu demands for third-party mediation.

Nehawu says striking hospital workers will occupy hospital administration and Transvaal and Free State provincial buildings if their demands are not met by July 17.

Threats

These demands include the reinstatement of about 7 000 sacked workers and a R16-a-month minimum wage increase.

Yesterday the TPA said it would not reinstate the workers despite Nehawu threats.

The Civic Association of Southern Transvaal has threatened to barricade hospitals from next Saturday if Nehawu demands are not met.

Death threat for cops

C/Press 12/7/92 (278)

By MOSES MAMAILA

SEBOKENG youths have a different view on the undeclared war on the police, according to local ANC Youth League leader Oupa Bojosi.

"This war started when people realised that the police were protecting the terrorists of the nation. Some of these bandits are based at KwaMadala hostel," he said.

"In fact, the residents are not fighting the police but are defending themselves against the police and these terrorists.

"The police have been accused of escorting the hostel dwellers on numerous occasions, including the attack on Boipatong residents in June. Whether they deny this, or not, we still have our doubts," he said.

"Some of us are able to produce self-made guns which are effective at close range.

"We have defence units which provide arms for the people. A few policemen are co-operating with the people and are participating in the building of our defence.

"Those who choose to stand against us will be judged most harshly."

Bojosi advised those policemen unwilling to defend the people to leave the township for their own safety.

'ANC must explain' — gran

By THEMBA KHUMALO (278)

A 76-YEAR-OLD East Rand pensioner whose two-year old granddaughter died, along with a relative, when her house was petrol-bombed in Vosloorus this week, wants an explanation from the ANC. C/Press 12/7/92

Angelina Selepe, who is a card-carrying member of the SACP, said she was in Ratanda when her house was attacked.

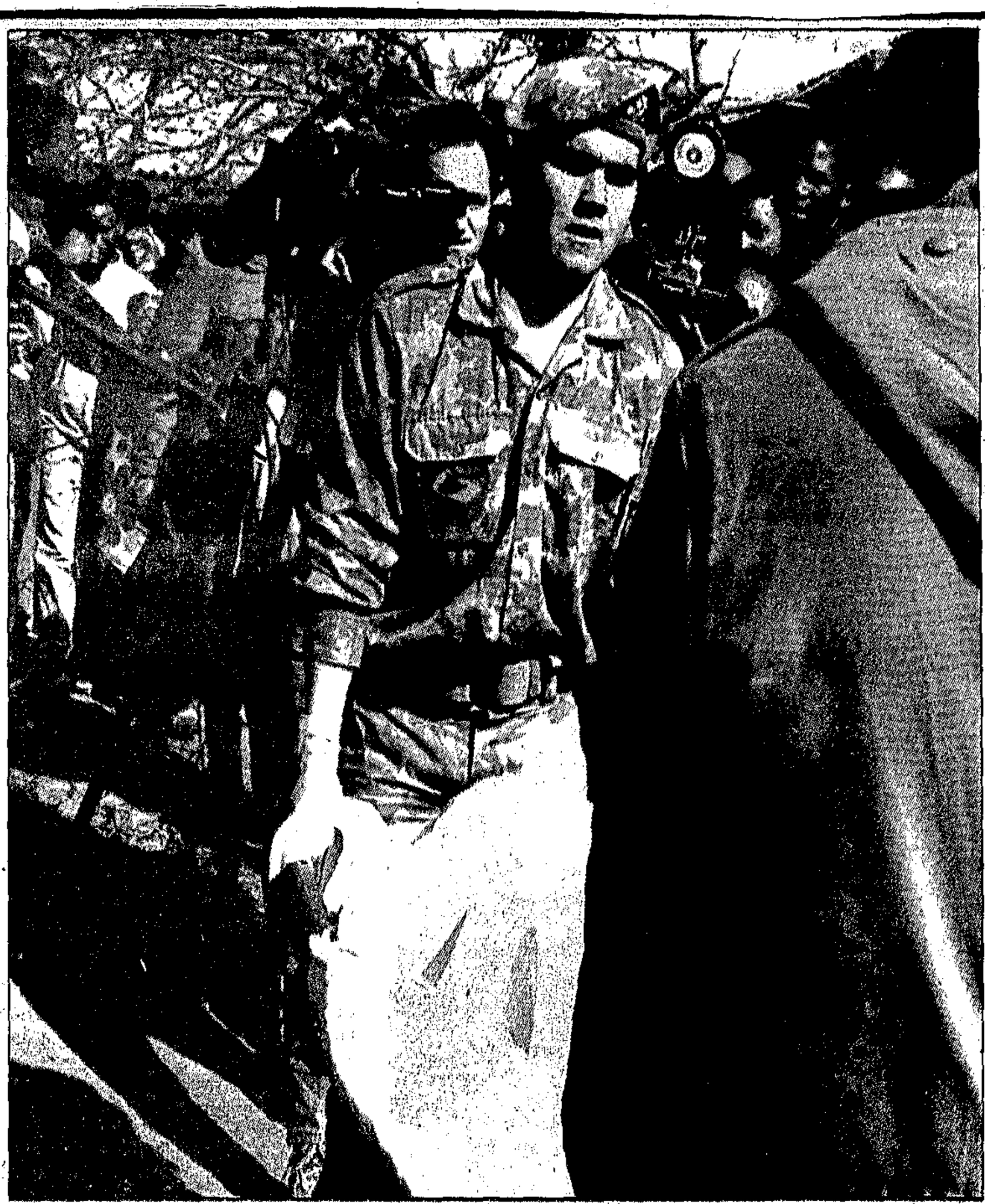
Little Mamotshehare Selepe and Khulu Radebe died after being trapped in the burning house.

Her children told her the house was attacked by local members of the ANC Youth League.

The tearful Angelina said: "I want to know from the ANC why they did this to me. How could they kill my family after they helped me bury my son last year?"

Her 27-year old daughter Talita, who was one of eight people in the house at the time of the attack, escaped death by wrapping herself in a blanket.

Witwatersrand Police spokesman, Capt Eugene Opperman, said four men had been arrested.



TWO VERSIONS ... Cops carry away the body of ANC guerilla George Mashele who was killed on Monday. The ANC dispute the police account of his death. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MOINEKA

Mashele death in dispute

C/Press R 17/92

By NOMVULA KHALO and SAPA

THE ANC and the government have crossed swords on events leading to the death of ANC guerrilla George "Sgomora" Mashele who died during a confrontation with police at his Vosloorus, East Rand home this week.

Mashele's mother, Lily Magosha, 45, was also killed in the clash.

The ANC said claims by the police that Mashele had blown himself up with a handgrenade when confronted were a lie.

The police said Mashele, a leading MK member, was a suspect in a case of murder after the bodies of a man and a two-year-old baby were found in the remains of a house which had burnt down after a petrol-bomb attack.

Reacting to reports accusing Mashele of the deaths, the PWV region of the ANC said police statements were only meant to "cover up the already known killers of Comrade Mashele and the real perpetrators of violence in Vosloorus".

12/7/92

The ANC said: "How could it have been possible for Mashele to shoot his mother when his body was so badly mutilated by the grenade of apartheid vigilantes?"

More than 20 people had been killed under mysterious circumstances in Vosloorus since June 16, the ANC said.

In a counter-attack, police accused the ANC of blatant inaccuracies.

(278)

The police statement said only one tearsmoke grenade was thrown into the house through an already broken window, and no shots were fired by police.

"All indications are that George Mashele was handling the grenade when it detonated. The remains of a Russian F1 handgrenade were found at the scene," the police added.

Police were not issued with handgrenades during the course of normal duties and went to the house openly.

"The autopsy revealed that there were no bullet wounds in Lilly Magosha's body, but a number of shrapnel wounds."

ANC cautions gang

THE Tembisa branch of the ANC has threatened to revive "people's courts" in the area to deal with the notorious Toasters gang if police did not act against the youths, who have mounted a reign of terror. 278

The threat was made by the branch's general secretary, Mr Chilly Magagula, who told residents after a march on the local police station at the weekend that the community would have to arrest, try prosecute the gangsters.

Star 13/7/92

NEWS ANC offers to bury blast dead ● 'Dibaba's luck runs out

Bomb attack — three sisters die

Sowetan 13/7/92 (278)

By Joe Mdhlela and Ike Motsapi

■ VIOLENCE Four people are still fighting for their lives at Baragwanath Hospital after blast:

THREE VICTIMS of last week's petrol bomb attack - three sisters - died at Baragwanath Hospital yesterday.

Their house was petrol-bombed in Naledi Extension 2, Soweto, last Wednesday in an attack police suspect is linked to the hospital strike.

The dead are Miss Zodwa Madikane (22), Miss Buyiswa Madikane (24) and Miss Nomqgibelo Madikane (40).

Those fighting for their lives at the hospital include Joel Madikane (13) Portia Madikane (16) Mbali Madikane (14) and 63-year-old grandmother, Mrs Sanah Madikane.

A family spokeswoman, Ms Monica Khatledi, said the ANC had promised to bear the cost of the funeral and had already repaired the house's damaged windows.

The Madikanes last week confirmed that their daughter-in-law was employed as a clerk at Johannesburg Hospital and was not on strike.

Another attack

In another attack in Katlehong on the East Rand, a matron at Natalspruit Hospital survived a petrol bomb attack on her house early on Friday.

Mrs Nandi Ngxoxo's house at Mofokeng Section was badly damaged after arsonists threw three petrol bombs at the house, causing extensive damage.

Mrs Ngxoxo said she believed the attack was the work of National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) members because she had not joined the strike.

"I had a close brush with them three weeks ago when they attacked me as I left for home after finishing my shift at the hospital," she said.

Police have detained two men in connection with the attack.

ARG 13/7/92 (278)

Policemen are hacked and stoned

Necklacing soars to 33 since May

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two off-duty policemen were hacked and stoned to death and two residents necklaced at the weekend in Vaal Triangle townships.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said the bodies of the policemen — Constables M A Sefatsa, 33, and S D Kona, 29, — were found partially covered with rocks at Kwaggastroom Station near Sebokeng Zone 10 at 11 am yesterday.

"They had obviously been stoned and hacked to death and were also robbed of their 9mm pistols and a private vehicle."

The constables, who were attached to the Vereeniging Crime Prevention Unit, "disappeared" on Saturday.

The killings bring to at least five the number of policemen killed since last Wednesday.

In Sharpeville, also in the Vaal Triangle, police found the charred bodies of two people who had been necklaced on Saturday night.

Colonel Malherbe said police believed one of the victims was a male aged between 15 and 18. One was burnt beyond recognition.

At least 33 people have been necklaced nationwide since May.

In other violence in the Sharpeville/Sebokeng areas at the weekend, the homes of three policemen were petrol-bombed. Police patrols also attacked on a number of occasions. No injuries were reported.

In their unrest report for the 24-hour period ending midnight on Saturday, the police reported finding a body in Alexandra near Sandton.

Four men were arrested in a follow-up operation and police confiscated a pistol.

At Dube, in Soweto, a man was killed in an attack by an unknown group and in Mapetla a house was damaged in a petrol-bomb attack.

Two people were shot dead and six wounded in an ambush at Kranskop near Greytown in the Natal Midlands.

Gunmen armed with AK 47s and 9mm pistols fired on a family of six and friends who were returning with the body of a relative killed on the Reef.

● In Durban, a member of the Dog Unit at C R Swart Square police HQ was allegedly shot dead last night by an off-duty Kwazulu policeman near Kwa Mashu.

● At Umlazi, the body of Lance Sergeant S Ntuli was found shot several times. Several spent R1 cartridge cases were found.

Strike: 3 victims die

Sowetan 13/7/92 (278)

■ FIERY DEATH A petrol bomb attack linked to the hospitals' strike claims the lives of three sisters:

THREE sisters died at Baragwanath Hospital's burns unit yesterday following a petrol bomb attack on their Naledi, Soweto, home last week.

The incident has been linked to the strike by general hospital workers.

Those who died were Miss Zodwa Madikane, Miss Buyiswa Madikane and Miss Nomqgibelo Madikane of Extension 2 in Naledi township.

The Madikane sisters were among seven people injured last Tuesday when two petrol bombs were hurled into their home.

Thirteen members of the family were sitting around a stove in their two-roomed home when they were attacked.

See story page 2

Cops hacked, stoned to death

By Kenosi Modisane

■ Rampaging mob rob policemen of their 9mm pistols and private car in a bloody Reef weekend:

Sowetan 13/7/92 (278)

TWO policemen were hacked and stoned to death and three people were necklaced in separate unrest related incidents on the Reef at the weekend.

The policemen, constables MA Sefatsa (33) and SD Kona (29) - were found partially covered with rocks at Kwaggastroom Station near Sebokeng Zone 10, in the Vaal Triangle, at 11am yesterday.

In Sharpeville, also in the Vaal Triangle, police found the charred bodies of two people who had been necklaced on Saturday night.

In Soweto, an unidentified man was killed and set alight at a football ground at Meadowlands Hostel yesterday afternoon.

The body of another man, who had been hacked to death, was found near Dube Hostel yesterday afternoon.

In Dube, Soweto, a man was killed in an attack by an unknown group while in Mapetla, a house was extensively damaged in a petrol bomb attack.

Witwatersrand policeman spokesman Colonel Malherbe said the two policemen had also been robbed of their 9mm pistols and a private vehicle.

"The constables, who were attached to the Vereeniging Crime Prevention Unit, had been missing since Saturday afternoon," Malherbe said.

In their unrest report for the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Saturday, the SAP's public relations division reported that the body of a man who had been shot was found in Alexandra Township.

Sapa reports that two people were shot dead and six wounded in an ambush at Kranskop near Greytown in the Natal Midlands on Saturday.

According to an initial police report, gunmen armed with AK-47's and 9mm pistols fired on a family of six and friends who had returned from Johannesburg with the body of a relative killed on the Reef.

Police swoop nets 60 ANC

(278)

ARG 13/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress claims police have arrested 60 ANC activists in a swoop on the Vosloorus home of an Mkonto we Sizwe member who died under controversial circumstances last week.

ANC Vosloorus branch secretary Mr Vuyani Mpofu said the activists, mainly youth league members, had last night been toyi-toying at the home of Mr George Mashele when police arrived and started assaulting them.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said he had no information on the incident but was checking the report and would respond later.

Earlier ANC regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said a funeral vigil was being held when the police took action. But Mr Mpofu later denied this.

He said that during the police action the home of Mr Mashele, who died last Tuesday, was ransacked.

"Everything is upside down. The police cordoned off the house and arrested the 60 youths."

Police said last week Mr Mashele' death had come after an attack on a councillor's home in Vosloorus.

They said he had died when a handgrenade — which he was preparing to toss at police who had come to arrest him — blew up.

The ANC has denied this, saying police opened fire, killing the activist and his mother.

Mr Mamoepa said five people injured during last night's police raid had been admitted to the Boksburg-Benoni hospital.

"We demand to know why the police acted this way, particularly in the light of recommendations by international experts at the Goldstone Commission."

The experts last week recommended police restraint in dealing with political protests. — Sapa.

Policemen slain in Sebokeng

(278)

STAR

Crime Staff 13/7/92

Two off-duty policemen were hacked and stoned to death and two residents were necklaced in Vaal Triangle townships at the weekend.

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The constables, attached to the Vereeniging Crime Prevention Unit, had both "disappeared" on Saturday.

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Colonel Malherbe said police believed one of the victims was a male aged between 15 and 18. The other body was burnt beyond recognition.

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According to an initial police report, gunmen armed with AK-47s and 9 mm pistols fired on a family of six.

2 cops hacked to death on Reef

(278)
CT 13/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Two off-duty policemen were hacked and stoned to death and two residents were necklaced at the weekend in townships on the Vaal Triangle.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said the bodies of Constables M A Sefatsa, 33, and S D Kona, 29, were found partially covered with rocks yesterday.

"They had obviously been stoned and hacked to death and were also robbed of their 9mm pistols and a private vehicle," he said.

The constables, who were attached to the Vereeniging Crime Prevention Unit, disappeared on Saturday.

The killings bring to at least five the number of policemen killed since last Wednesday.

In Sharpeville, also on the Vaal Triangle, police found the charred bodies of two people who had been necklaced on Saturday night.

Col Malherbe said police believed one of the victims was a male aged between 15 and 18. The other body was burnt beyond recognition.

At least 32 people have been necklaced countrywide since May 20.

In other violence in the Sharpeville/Sebokeng area at the weekend, the homes of three policemen were petrol bombed. No one was injured.

In an incident not mentioned in the official police unrest report for Saturday, two people were killed and six wounded in an ambush at Kranskop near Greytown in the Natal Midlands early on Saturday morning.

Liaison officer Captain Henry Budhram confirmed the incident, stating that a family of six and some friends had returned from Johannesburg where they had fetched the body of a relative killed on the Rand when they were attacked by a group armed with AK-47 rifles and 9mm pistols.

According to the official unrest report, police in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, found the body of a man with bullet wounds. In a follow-up operation four men were arrested and a pistol confiscated.

A man was also killed in Dube, Soweto, after being attacked by an unknown group, the report said.

A traffic official monitoring traffic in his patrol vehicle on the N3 highway near Heidelberg was shot dead by three men armed with AK-47 rifles on Saturday morning, police confirmed.

Meanwhile, according to the Human Rights Commission's Weekly Repression Report, 76 violent deaths and 82 injuries in South Africa were recorded in the first week of July — up on the 43 deaths and 23 injuries of the previous week.

The report to July 7 said vigilante-related actions accounted for 58 deaths and 52 injuries, with such incidents reported only in the PWV area and Natal.

For the first time in several weeks, the HRC said, the death toll of 31 and injury toll of 28 in Natal not only exceeded that in the PWV, but also exceeded Natal's weekly average of 20 over the past two months. — Sapa

Church, police talks 'success'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Vaal branch of the South African Council of Churches on Saturday labelled its meeting with members of the SA Police at the Sebokeng police station on Thursday as successful.

The SACC said in a statement the meeting, which also included the local ANC, discussed conflict which had arisen between the police and the community in Sebokeng township earlier this month.

At the meeting it was decided that:

- All parties should foster a cordial relationship and create an effective communication, and
- Members of police and their families who had left the township because of the conflict were free to return. — Sapa

Sowetans to start business boycott

278

CT 14/7/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Four Greater Soweto townships are to start a boycott of white business in Roodepoort and surrounding areas tomorrow to back demands for an end to violence and the closure of hostels.

And the Civics Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) sees the action as the initial stage of a boycott by the 2,5-million residents of Soweto in line with the rolling mass action campaign against the government.

The Consumer Boycott Committee of Dobsonville, Meadowlands, Mofolo and Killarney (Orlando West) said yesterday the boycott was a last resort after many efforts by residents to persuade the government and the police to end the violence.

The Alex Tale of Despair

Number of people killed since March 7: 630.

Houses destroyed through fire: 30

Shacks destroyed: 51 Sowetan 14/7/92.

Number of people displaced: 685 families

Many of the families are staying with relatives in Alexandra, East Rand, Soweto and Pretoria, but the following statistics are available

110 families at Alexandra Council chambers;
60 families at East Bank Hall;
30 families at Presbyterian Church;
20 families at Bovet Primary School;
18 families at Presbyterian Church;
15 families at Ikage Primary School;
10 families at Lombardy East Methodist Church;
children affected: 2740
600 workers staying at Zandefontein Vehicle Testing Unit, Sandton

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When witnesses tremble, what hope to end violence?

STAR 14/7/92 (278)

Witnesses' terror and a police force that lacks credibility force the courts to drop charges against people accused of violent political crimes. Without convictions, the courts have no deterrent to discourage future perpetrators. BRONWYN WILKINSON reports.

WITHOUT a solid, State-funded witness protection programme, convictions in political violence trials will remain the exception rather than the rule and the spiral of bloody violence will continue, human rights experts agree.

According to figures supplied by the Human Rights Commission (HRC), in trials completed in the first three months of this year, charges were dropped against two-thirds of people accused of political offences.

Not one of the investigations into the more than 40 massacres on the Reef in the past two years, in which more than 1 200 people have died, has resulted in a conviction.

Last week, three residents of Merafe hostel in Soweto were acquitted on charges of attempting to murder two passengers on a Johannesburg-Soweto train. The court was not satisfied that the accused had been positively identified.

Two weeks ago, one of five people accused of the slaying of 13 people at a night vigil in Alexandra in March last year was acquitted because of insufficient evidence.

Earlier, seven IFP members charged with murder after 38 people were massacred at a vigil in Sebokeng in January last year were acquitted because of insufficient evidence.

According to HRC co-ordinator Safoora Sadek, in the last year, six people have died under mysterious circumstances before they could give evidence in political violence trials.

Two of those people were members of local dispute resolution committees.

In certain cases, threats and intimidation from political adversaries have followed witnesses into court.

Sally Sealy of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said the board had monitored cases in which IFP supporters would pack into a court before an ANC member was due to testify.

Witnesses felt so intimidated that they came across as unsure of their testimony.

According to Ms Sealy, an overloaded and crammed legal system contributes to the likelihood of political offenders being acquitted. "Many prosecutors only get the dockets on the morning the case comes up. They do not have enough time to brief their witnesses.

"The prosecutors have to rely on the police investigation, so the police play a more important role in the judicial process than they should," she said.

Allegations of police involvement in violence, particularly in the Boipatong massacre, have led to a deep mistrust of the police and a reluctance to supply them with information.

Detectives investigating the Boipatong massacre charged that local political leaders had urged the public not to make statements to the SAP.

In a statement read at the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the massacre, Mr Justice R J Goldstone said: "It could not be expected of the victims of the violence to co-operate with the police in subsequent inquiries" when such allegations had been made.

In some cases where confessions have been made, confessors have later told the court that they confessed under duress.

A spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe, said the police were aware that confessions were sometimes made under duress, but this was not condoned.

Commenting on allegations that police did not conduct thorough investigations, Colonel Crewe agreed that witnesses were afraid to come forward with evidence, some fearing they could be killed by political opponents, and others because they did not trust the police.

If witnesses did not come forward, he said, it was impossible for the SAP to conduct a thorough investigation.

He agreed that until more people were convicted, others would not be discouraged from political violence, and attacks were likely to continue.

"But," he added, "in the end, the case is only as strong as the evidence of the witnesses." □

ACCOUNTING LIBRARY

'No proof of third force in Alexandra'

Sowetan 14/7/92 278

■ WAR OF ATTRITION Group told fights won't end until there's a winner:

A MEMBER OF the Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee yesterday told a Goldstone committee of inquiry he had found no evidence of a "third force" operating in Alexandra.

Deane Yates, a lay minister of the Anglican Church, told the committee the two warring parties seemed to be African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

The committee's terms of reference is to establish the circumstances in which people were forced by violence or intimidation to vacate their homes or hostels in the township; who was responsible; and if there should be compensation.

Yates told the committee certain IFP leaders had told him they intended challenging the ANC and gaining political mastery, not only in Alexandra but the whole country.

"During the last two or three years we have watched the IFP build up, consolidate and extend its political power in Alexandra through the bridgehead which it has established in this area."

He said many people in Alexandra were not politicised and were not members of any political party, but the potential for violence posed by para-military youth groups was very real.

He said there were at present 3 000 residents in the Madala hostel, most of whom were IFP members. He added that it had been the scene of most of the fighting since March 7.

It was not a "total war in which the inhabitants of Alexandra were fighting each other". He said the struggle would continue until one party won.

Most residents fled from the area of the Madala hostel, driven out by the fighting or leaving of their own free will because they were afraid.

Counsel for the IFP said she would submit evidence that IFP members had been forced to move into the hostel as a safe haven because their homes scattered around Alexandra were unsafe.

STAR 14/7/92

'I found no third force evidence'

A member of the Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee yesterday told a Goldstone committee of inquiry he had personally found no evidence of a "third force" operating in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

Deane Yates, a lay minister of the Anglican Church, told the committee the two warring parties seemed to be ANC and IFP supporters.

The committee's terms of reference is to establish the circumstances in which people were forced by violence or intimidation to vacate their homes or hostels in the township; who was responsible; and if there should be compensation.

Mr Yates told the committee certain IFP leaders had told him they intended challenging the ANC and gaining political mastery, not only in Alexandra but in the country as a whole.

He said the mass of people in Alexandra were not politicised and were not members of any political party, but the potential for violence posed by paramilitary youth groups was real.

"They are spoiling for a fight. It seems to be the policy of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) to keep a low profile. On the other hand, the supporters of the IFP seem to make a show of being militant and aggressive."

He said it was not a "total war in which the inhabitants of Alexandra were fighting each other". They were rather watching helplessly as a war they did not want raged in their township. — Sapa.

Petrol-bomb attack: 3 Soweto sisters die

(278) CT 14/7/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Three sisters — victims of hospital strike-related petrol-bomb attacks — died in Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto at the weekend.

Chief superintendent Dr Chris van den Heever said yesterday the sisters were among seven people injured in one of three petrol-bomb attacks on the homes of non-strikers last Tuesday night.

The sisters — Zodwa, 22, Buyiswa, 24, and Nomqgibelo Madikane, 40 — lived in Soweto.

Their 63-year-old grandmother, Mrs Anah Madikane, said she believed the family was attacked because her daughter-in-law — a clerk at a hospital which she refused to name for fear of her safety — refused to strike. — Sapa

Demolish massacre hostel now — ANC

(278) ARG 4/7/92

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress says Iscor must reply within a week to its demand that the hostel implicated in the Boipatong massacre be demolished, and will not take responsibility for the actions of township residents if the demand is not met.

ANC Witwatersrand leader Mr Tokyo Sexwale said the demand was one of several contained in a memorandum handed to Iscor by an ANC-led delegation after a march by about 4000 Boipatong residents yesterday.

The residents marched out of the township, but stopped short of the Kwamadala Hostel, said to house mostly Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, 81 of whom have been arrested in connection with the June 17 massacre of 40 people.

Iscor general works manager Mr Gerrie Hoffman said the company had already agreed to relocate the Kwamadala residents. — Sapa.

FEATURE: 'Violence will not stop until ordinary people become more tolerant'

■ RARE INSIGHT

In a police journal, an officer gives his views on the Witwatersrand train violence:

Train deaths not unique

Sowetan 14/7/92 (278)

A TOTAL of 155 black commuters died and 414 were seriously injured on Witwatersrand trains in the first three months of this year, according to the police in last month's edition of *Servamus*, the official police journal.

A rare public view of how police - involved in attempts to curb death stalking commuter trains - view train violence was obtained in the article based on an interview with Captain Thys du Plessis, in charge of the Mobile Unit at New Canada station just outside Soweto.

Captain du Plessis said media publicity on train deaths had created the perception that train violence had become unmanageable.

He did not think that the problem was the large number of people using trains daily. People had always died on trains, for various reasons: these days, due to the publicity, every case of death was linked to violence and crime, he believed.

Also, train deaths were not unique to South Africa: Chicago had a similar problem.

Captain du Plessis, formerly a railways policeman, told *Servamus* that because many people walked across the railway line, "often" under the influence of alcohol, they were sometimes hit by trains. Those who jumped onto moving trains lost their balance and ended up under the wheels.

The captain said violence on trains was not new - as long ago as 1963, fights between different ethnic groups occurred. But at the time it was better organised: agreement was reached in advance to meet at predetermined times and places and no women or children were present for the sortie, according to Captain du Plessis.

During the '70s renegade groups started terrorising passengers, he said.

Today's problems were mainly attacks on and molestation of passengers and it also happened that people were thrown out of trains, he said. There had also been cases at Nancefield and Jeppe stations where armed commuters shot from trains at people on platforms - but this happened seldom.

Even if such an individual had the same political affiliation as the group it did not necessarily mean that he would be accepted, the captain said.

Danger looms

When danger loomed, people would rather jump off moving trains than being murdered, said Captain du Plessis. Due to the speed of trains and "other factors", the chances of survival inside the train were bigger than jumping - "but these people usually choose to fall to their death than to be stabbed to death".

Passengers did not easily carry weapons because of the ban on weapons, he said.

"What happens, however, is that weapons are hidden in various places in the coaches in case of need."

The captain believed people who carried weapons could be more prone to get involved in confrontation whereas the unarmed would steer clear of such situations.

He saw a greater police presence as the only way to make trains safer. People also had to learn to be more tolerant of each other.

"When a stranger gets into a coach, he should not simply be thrown out. His right to be there should be respected by the other passengers."

He said there was also a strong possibility that violence was sometimes "created" for other reasons.

There were rumours that taxi owners could be involved: when too many people used rail transport, the taxi business was negatively affected.

He outlined various measures the police and the SA Rail Commuter Corporation had announced to safeguard passengers, including the erection of a police station on every railway station. But regardless of these measures, train violence would not be stopped until ordinary people become more tolerant and peace-loving, he said.

14 strikers sentenced for violence

(278)

STAR 14/7/92

By Rochelle Gosling-Hughes

Fourteen former employees of Clicks, who were dismissed after striking on December 4 1990, were convicted yesterday of public violence and each fined R300 or one year in jail.

Sentencing the 14, Johannesburg magistrate O Rautenbach said public violence was a very serious offence. "Picketing is supposed to be a peaceful, lawful means of settling disputes," he said.

Addressing the accused, he said: "The whole idea of picketing was totally misused here, with the sole intent of forcing your employer to adhere to your demands, with total disrespect for the rights of any other person."

Warrant-Officer Andre van Rhyn said he found similar situations at the Clicks stores in Jeppe Street, Pritchard Street and the Carlton Centre.

He described how strikers armed themselves with tins of spray paint and insecticide and barricaded the shop doors with cash tills. Management and police who tried to negotiate were chased away.

He said gas was sprayed from a tin and then set alight, like a "mini flame-thrower". Traffic police cordoned off the area and teargas was used to disperse the crowd.

Mr Rautenbach said he took into account that the trial began only in July — six months after the strikers had been arrested — and then lasted for almost a year.

"This caused a substantial loss of income on your part," he told the accused.

He said there was an increasing trend whereby demands were set and, if not met, were followed by violence.

"Society loses in the end," he said, adding a further one year in jail suspended for three years to the sentence.

The convicted are Stanley Skinasana, Gaworo Phokojoe, Ben Makhoti, Maria Morulono, Susan Mabata, Johanna Manthata, Ruth Malefetse, Debrah Hadebe, Zama Ndlovu, Ivy Moleko, Magdaline Motsoeng, Dorothy Mfuthi, Veronica Mashinini and Johannes Mngomezulu.

60 Vosloorus ANC members arrested

B/DAY 14/7/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

POLICE arrested 60 ANC members in Vosloorus early yesterday and seized two handgrenades, an AK-47 rifle and several rounds of ammunition.

And in two other actions in Natal at the weekend, police said they discovered SADF uniforms allegedly in the possession of ANC members.

The Vosloorus Civic Association claimed the 60 arrests followed a swoop by security forces on a night vigil at the Vosloorus home of Umkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashele, who died last week in a handgrenade explosion at his home.

Six of those arrested had been assaulted by the police, the ANC claimed.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe yesterday rejected the claims of a "swoop" and assaults by the police as "typical smear tactics" designed to cast suspicion on police activities.

He said a routine SADF-SAP patrol spotted a large group of men gathered around a fire in the East Rand township.

When the group was approached, it very suddenly broke up and people ran in different directions, Malherbe said.

The reaction of the group caused the security force members to believe that "something suspicious had been transpiring" and they decided to cordon off and search the area, he said.

Police found two handgrenades behind a fridge and 15 rounds of AK-47 ammunition hidden in a hole in a garden. At another house they found an AK-47 assault rifle, 9mm ammunition and 12-bore shotgun ammunition. The search party found 60 men hiding in the vicinity. They denied knowledge of the arms and explosives, he said.

They were taken to the Vosloorus police station where six men claimed they had been assaulted by police, but refused to make statements.

"At no stage during the operations did the search party have any reason to believe they were interrupting a night vigil. Had these men not reacted ... by running away and hiding, the security forces would not have done anything."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that police in Durban arrested an ANC member who was allegedly in possession of an SADF uniform.

The man was arrested at an ANC meeting at Glebelands Hostel south of Durban on Sunday.

The arrest followed the discovery of an assortment of SADF uniforms at Umlazi on Friday, also allegedly in the possession of prominent ANC members.

WILSON ZWANE reports Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday his government had no intention of ever arresting MK and Apla members for carrying weapons because it had "unconditionally" unbanned these organisations.

Holomisa said there were "informal" communication lines between his government, the ANC and the PAC which had been established to exchange intelligence and to ensure that members of the two liberation movements were not harrassed.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the arrangement — made in 1990 — between his organisation and the Transkei government minimised conflict.

In terms of the arrangement, MK and Apla members arrested by the Transkei police for carrying weapons are freed after their identities have been confirmed by their leaders.

A view from other side of the tracks

STAR 14/7/92 (278)

How do the police view violence on trains? CARINA LE GRANGE reports on the views of one officer.

A TOTAL of 155 black commuters died and 414 were seriously injured on Witwatersrand trains in the first three months of the year, according to last month's edition of Servamus, the official SAP journal.

A rare public view of how police view train violence is obtained in the article, based on an interview with Captain Thys du Plessis, who is in charge of the Mobile Unit at New Canada station near Johannesburg.

Captain du Plessis said media publicity on train deaths had created the perception that train violence had become unmanageable.

But he did not think the problem was "that big" considering the large number of people using trains daily. People had always died on trains, for various reasons, he pointed out, but these days, due to the publicity, every case of death was linked to violence and crime.

Also, train deaths were not unique to South Africa: Chicago had a similar problem.

Captain du Plessis told Servamus that because many people walked across railway lines, "often" under the influence of alcohol, they were sometimes hit by trains. Those who jumped on to moving trains sometimes lost their balance and ended up under the wheels.

The captain said violence on trains was not new — fights between various ethnic groups occurred as far back as 1963.

During the 1970s, renegade groups began terrorising passengers, he said.

Today's problems were mainly attacks on passengers and people bring thrown out of trains, he said. There had been a few cases where commuters on trains had shot at people on platforms.

It rarely happened that groups of attackers boarded trains. "Mostly," he said, "a single person gets into a coach in which there is a group which always travel together. Such an intruder makes the group feel threatened and usually that person is thrown off."

Even if such an individual had the same political affiliation as the group, it did not necessarily mean he would be accepted. "Before that happens, he has to 'buy membership'." When danger loomed, people would rather jump off moving trains than be murdered, he said. But due to the speed of trains and "other factors", the chances of survival inside the train were better than jumping.

Captain du Plessis said that despite the ban on the carrying of certain weapons, weapons were sometimes hidden in various places in the coaches in case of need.

He believed people who carried weapons could be more prone to getting involved in confrontation, whereas the unarmed would steer clear of such situations. "It is possibly better to ban all weapons," he said.

A greater police presence was the only way to make trains safer. People also had to learn to be more tolerant of one other. There was a possibility that violence was sometimes "created" for other reasons. There were rumours that taxi owners could be involved: when too many people used rail transport, the taxi business was negatively affected.

He outlined various measures the police and the SA Rail Commuter Corporation had announced to safeguard passengers, including the erection of a police station on every railway station. But regardless of these measures, train violence would not be stopped until ordinary people became more tolerant and peace-loving, he said. □

60 ANC members arrested

(278) CT 14/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Police arrested 60 ANC members and found a cache of grenades, AK-47 rifles and ammunition during a search of two houses in Vosloorus on the East Rand on Sunday night.

ANC regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa had earlier claimed that police swooped on a night vigil at the house of Mr George Mashele, a member of the ANC military wing uMkhonto we-Sizwe, who was killed last week.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said a combined police and SA Defence Force patrol cordoned off and searched a section of the township after encountering a group of men who fled from them.

Their suspicions aroused, the police called for reinforcements, Colonel Malherbe said.

Weapons were found at two houses.

Colonel Malherbe said 60 men were found hiding inside and among houses in the vicinity. Some were under beds and others inside cupboards.

They were taken to Vosloorus police station for further investigation.

Colonel Malherbe denied a police swoop on Mr Mashele's home as alleged by Mr Mamoepa. The entire area was searched, he said. — Sapa

Witness: No sign of a 'third force'

CT 14/7/92 (278)

PRETORIA. — A member of the Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee yesterday told a Goldstone committee of inquiry he had found no evidence of a "third force" operating in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg.

Mr Deane Yates, a lay minister of the Anglican Church, said the two warring parties seemed to be African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

The committee's terms of reference are to establish the circumstances in which people were forced by violence or intimidation to vacate their homes or hostels in the township, who was responsible and whether there should be compensation.

Mr Yates told the committee certain IFP leaders had told him they intended challenging the ANC and gaining political mastery, not only in Alexandra but in the country as a whole.

"During the past two or three years we have watched the IFP build up, consolidate and extend its political power in Alexandra through the bridgehead which it has established in this area."

The mass of people in Alexandra were not politicised and were not members of any political party, but the potential for violence posed by para-military youth groups was very real.

"They are spoiling for a fight. It seems to be the policy of the MK (uMkhonto weSizwe) to keep a low profile. On the other hand, the supporters of the IFP seem to make a show of being militant and aggressive."

Mr Yates said there were at present 3 000 residents in the Madala hostel, most of whom were IFP members. It had been the scene of most of the fighting since March 7.

It was not a "total war in which the inhabitants of Alexandra were fighting each other". They were rather watching helplessly as a war they did not want raged in their township.

Counsel for the IFP said she would submit evidence that IFP members had been forced to move into the hostel because their homes scattered around Alexandra had become unsafe.

She added that people had vacated their homes around the hostel in anticipation of three subsequent mortar-bomb attacks on the hostel, which hostel dwellers were convinced were perpetrated by ANC supporters. — Sapa

EWS Row over consignment of firearms allegedly delivered to IFP officer

news in brief

Clubs' offer

ORLANDO Pirates and Iwisa Kaizer Chiefs pledged to donate 30 000 to a trust fund still to be stablished for the Boipatong assacre victims.

The announcement was made y National Soccer League (NSL) hairman Mr Ashwin Trikamjee esterday.

Bucs and Chiefs decided to onate the money from the proeeds of their Coca-Cola Cup limination-game-turnedriendly. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Kobus in court

FORMER chief executive of the National Soccer League (NSL), Mr Cyril Kobus, is to appear beore a Johannesburg magistrate oday for sentencing following his onviction for theft last month.

Kobus (50) of Parkview leaded guilty last month to 23 harges of theft to the total of 4 462 838,12. The money was tolen from the NSL through two pecial accounts operated by Kobus and former colleague, Abdul Bhmajee.

Bhamjee is serving a 14-year ail sentence for his part in the heft. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

'Whites took arms to IFP's office'

Sowetan 15/7/92

■ Fire power. ANC claims six men, two in military uniform and three in SAP gear, delivered 152 firearms to Inkatha's Witbank office:

278

Sowetan Correspondent

A CONSIGNMENT of 152 firearms was delivered to an Inkatha Freedom Party/Uwusa office in Witbank on July 5, according to a high-ranking African National Congress official.

Eastern Transvaal ANC leader Mr Matthew Phosa said yesterday the information was supplied to the organisation's intelligence department.

The IFP has denied the allegation, and police are investigating.

The ANC information details the type and calibre of the weapons, serial numbers, and the dates and times of delivery. The ANC has handed a typed list of the weapons - which appear to be of old manufacture - to *Sowetan's* sister newspaper, *The Star.*

Delivery

The list details 92 rifles of various makes, 16 shotguns, two air rifles, nine combination guns, nine pistols and 24 revolvers.

Phosa said three panel vans were used for the delivery. It is alleged that six white men - two in military dress, three wearing South African Police uniforms, and one in civilian clothes - were present, escorted by three other white men driving a car without number plates.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos "totally and utterly" denied the claims. "The ANC has confused its own arms caches," she said.

IFP's Witbank chairman, Mr Wilfred Majozi, said the allegations were part of the ANC's propaganda "to cover up for their weapons in Angola". He denied knowledge of the weapons, saying he was not in Witbank on July 5.

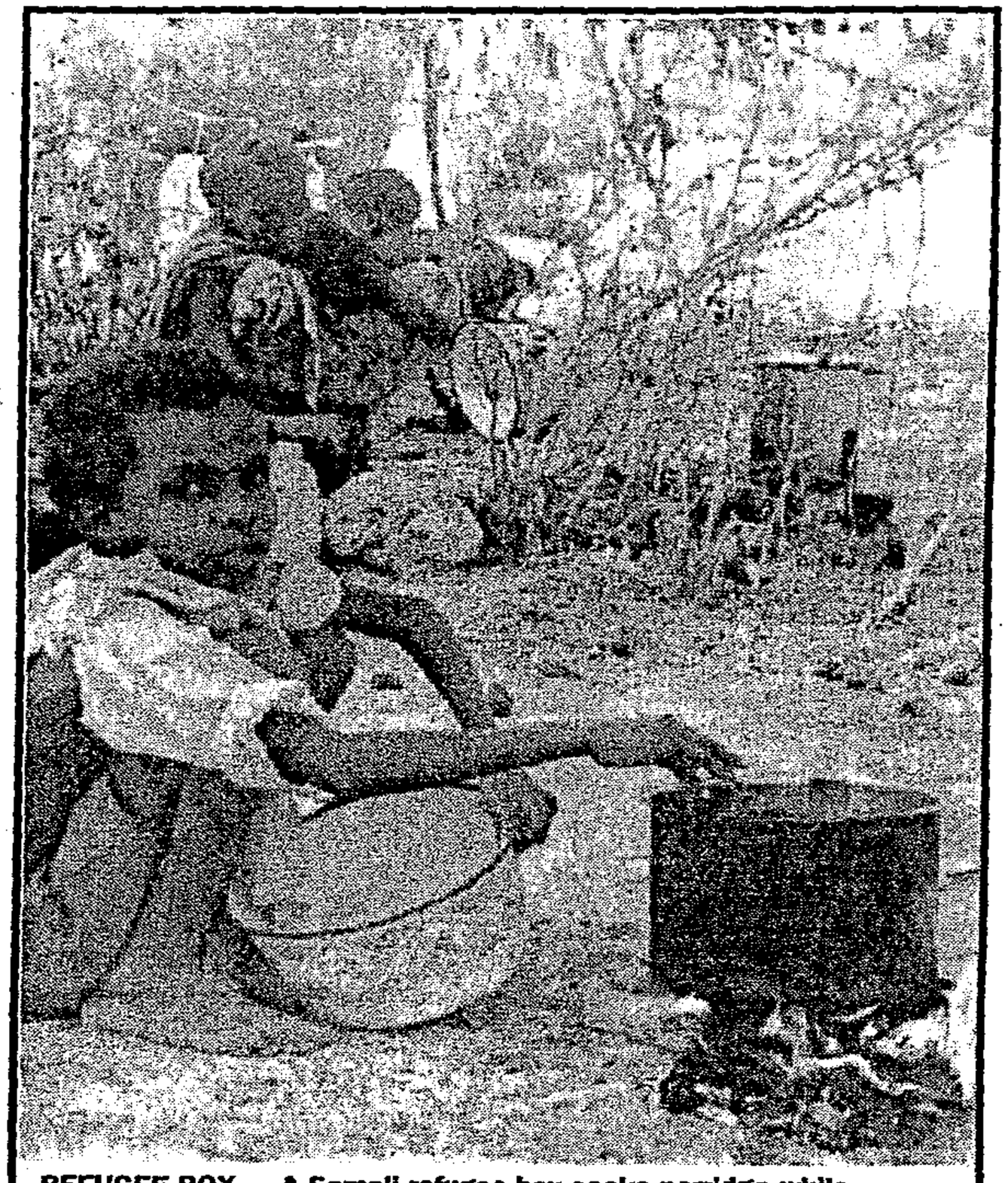
Distributed

Phosa said: "Our fear is that some of the weapons have already been distributed as some of the IFP members have been seen with pistols."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze challenged the ANC to produce evidence to back up its claims.

"If any real evidence emerges to justify these claims, the severest action possible will be taken," he said.

"However, the wearing of police or military uniforms cannot necessarily be seen as indicative of security force involvement as several ANC members have recently been arrested in police and military uniforms."



REFUGEE BOY ... A Somali refugee boy cooks porridge while waiting to cross the border to Kenya. Since guerillas of the United Somali Congress chased President Mohamed Siad Barre from the capital of Mogadishu in January 1991, anarchy has carved up Somalia into clan fiefdoms. Peter Fuchs, director general of the Red Cross, said last week that 500 000 people will die in the coming weeks unless international aid is doubled immediately.

Pot-pourri of writers

... part of our series on the displaced of Alex ■ Inmates tell story

Waiting for peace to return, according to the Sandton council, but these workers who ran away from Madala Hostel see themselves as refugees of the ongoing fighting and have no intention of returning to the Alexandra hostel.

Inmates caught in the crossfire

Sowetan 15/7/92 278

By Mathatha Tsedu

■ Madala inmates are forced to seek refuge in the hostel

MR Mthombeni Ximba and old man Jeremiah Zulu are residents of Madala Hostel caught up in the virtual war that has engulfed Alexandra.

Ximba was in the kitchen boiling water in a pot. He said he was unemployed and had never worked "for a single Boer all my life".

Ximba never went to school and does not know when he was born or when he left Msinga for Johannesburg.

He remembers that when the "power that destroyed the bars" (The 1976 uprisings) happened, he had just arrived in Alexandra from Krugersdorp where he had been staying.

Ximba said he had survived by doing piece jobs.

This has become difficult now with the fighting in Alexandra. He said the water he was boiling was to cook "a little mealie meal that I was given by someone".

Life is tough in here, he said, as he stared at us, dressed in an ominous overcoat that bulged at strategic spots. He said he had moved into the hostel "nearly two years ago".

"Violence brought me here. I was staying in a shack outside the hostel and my neighbour's shack was burnt by people I do not know.

"I am just staying here because there is nowhere else to go. It is not nice in here but even if you go out, there is nothing good you see."

Ximba, a father of two daughters who are both in Msinga in Natal, said he could not tell how the violence that brought him into the hostel would end.

"I trust God. He is the only one who knows," he added.

"We do not want to fight but what do we do when we are attacked?"

Zulu has been a resident of the Madala Hostel in Alexandra since 1972.

He said the only way to stop the violence was to "stop the contracts of selling guns".

"People think we cannot see but we see what is going on. I am not educated and I do not belong to anything.

"But this killing cannot end unless the supply of guns is stopped. We live hard here. You cannot even go to the toilet without being shot at. What kind of life is this?"

Slide into anarchy feared

STAR 15/7/92

(278)

106 police killed as slaughter takes unprecedented toll

Staff Reporters

The unprecedented slaughter of South African policemen continued yesterday with another bloody attack in Vosloorus by gunmen who shot dead a municipal constable and seriously injured his colleague.

The execution — carried out by two men, one armed with an AK-47 assault rifle — brings to at least 106 the number of policemen killed countrywide this year, and has prompted a warning by the Ministry of Law and Order that South Africa would slide into anarchy unless the killing of SAP members was stopped.

Police said the attack took place shortly after 11 am in the suburb of Mailula Park. Constable F R Rikhotso (33) died after being shot when the assailants burst into a house and sprayed gunfire into the kitchen.

Another municipal constable was wounded in the stomach and is reported to be in a critical condition in the Glynwood Nursing Home in Benoni.

A police spokesman said that due to his serious condition, his name would be released only when his next of kin had been notified. A third policeman, Constable R N Lubisi, escaped unhurt.

Yesterday's attack follows the discovery in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle at the weekend of the bodies of two off-duty policemen, Constables M A Sefatsa (33) and S D Kona (29).

The constables, attached to the Crime Prevention Unit in Vereeniging and both Sebokeng residents, had been hacked and stoned to death and their bodies partially covered with rocks.

Only a week ago, two policemen and a reservist were killed in Katlehong on the East Rand.

The police announced afterwards that they were investigating repeated claims by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) that it had targeted policemen in a campaign to bring the Government to its knees.

Apla firebrands have reportedly adopted a new slogan: "Kill a cop a day".

Reacting to yesterday's attack, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said 137 policemen were killed last year and 68 in 1986, when unrest was "at its height".

"Even in the darkest days of apartheid, policemen were not being slaughtered as they are now."

Captain Kotze said that while the SAP acknowledged it had image and communication problems in certain communities, the underlying cause of attacks on policemen was the "climate of hate and suspicion apparently deliberately created by certain organisations, especially post-Boipatong.

"This situation is utterly serious because, if policemen continue to be murdered willy-nilly, the next step is a slide towards anarchy."

He called on the ANC and the PAC to condemn "categorically and unambiguously" the killing of policemen.

SAP acting regional commissioner of the Witwatersrand Major-General Gert May condemned "the brutal and cowardly" attacks.

Alexandra fears brushed aside

WILSON ZWANE

THE need to settle homeless people in Alexandra's Far East Bank area outweighed concerns of nearby residents about property depreciation, Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) official Richard Mdakane said yesterday. B/DAY 15/7/92

East Bank homeowners have reportedly said they would boycott their bond repayments if squatters were settled on their doorsteps.

Reacting to complains that East Bank residents were not consulted, Mdakane said they had until recently not regarded themselves as part of Alexandra. But that was changing, he said, and the East Bank Residents' Association had now applied to join the Joint Negotiating Forum.

Alexandra administrator Andre Jacobs said shacks would not be erected on the 7 000 sites, of which 1 700 had already been serviced.

Meanwhile, STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that an application by the Laezonia Landowners Association to prevent the TPA from resettling Zevenfontein squatters in their area was struck off the Pretoria Supreme Court roll yesterday.

Judge J M C Smit removed the matter with costs on the grounds the squatters were not joined as parties to the application.

In a similar action lawyers representing the Diepsloot Residents Association yesterday afternoon argued the legalities of having the squatters joined as parties to their application. A finding is expected today.

FW to get petition on hospital strike

B/DAY 15/7/92

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

LEADING medical academics from Wits University and Baragwanath Hospital said yesterday they would petition President F W de Klerk and Health Minister Rina Venter to intervene in the six-week-old strike.

They said 75 hospitals and 40 000 workers had been affected by the strike, a backlog of semi-urgent cases was building up and patients were being prematurely discharged.

The dean, deputy-dean and subdeans of the Wits medical faculty and the chairmen of the Medical Advisory Committees of the PWV area's main hospitals said the strike had become a "national crisis".

"The ability of the medical and allied staff to continue under these cicumstances is extremely doubtful," they said in a statement.

It called for a halt to dismissals until the crisis was resolved, even if this meant compulsory arbitration. The dismissal of workers would "almost certainly place hospitals, staff, students and patients at further risk".

The SAP warned yesterday that plans by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu), which is leading the strike, to occupy hospitals and government buildings would be illegal and "would invariably lead to confrontation with the SAP". Nehawu secretary-general Phillip Dexter said that "if the police get involved then our membership will have to defend themselves".

Sapa reports that the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA has expressed its support for the strike, as had postal workers at Soweto's Power Park Telecommunications Yard. They have decided to stop installing and maintaining telephones at Baragwanath Hospital.

Amid new rumours of assaults and intimidations by strikers, Baragwanath's chief superintendent Chris van den Heever said that a fourth victim of last week's petrol bomb attack had died. The 13-year-old boy was the son of one of the three who died last week.

Dexter said an agreement which was reached yesterday afternoon in Cape Town between the Commission for Admininstration and employees organisations to give general assistants permanent status was "not concrete enough".

The commission also agreed to consider claims that public servants in the education sector had received over R1m more than they ought to have done and that other public servants might be reimbursed accordingly. Dexter, however, said that such a sum was totally insufficient.

ANC army on peace committee agenda

B/DAY 15/7/92

WILSON ZWANE

THE continued existence of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe is expected to be high on the agenda of today's national peace committee meeting.

A source close to Inkatha said yesterday Umkhonto's existence was a breach of the national peace accord, which outlawed private armies. The source said since talks between government and the ANC had broken down, the "unresolved MK issue" should be referred to arbitration in terms of the accord.

Inkatha had asked peace committee chairman John Hall to place the issue on the agenda for today's meeting of the committee executive.

It is understood Inkatha has also urged the committee to discuss statements by ANC Youth League officials, which it regards as violations of the accord.

League president Peter Mokaba was quoted by a newspaper as saying the intention of his organisation's mass action was to return townships to the era of "ungovernability", which characterised the mid-'80s.

Ploy to make burials a lever

B/DAY 15/7/92

WILSON ZWANE

ANGER at continuing political violence has shifted into high gear, with township civic organisations threatening to bury victims in white areas.

The civics are also threatening to stage marches through white surburbs unless government ends the violence.

Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Dan Mofokeng said yesterday civic organisations needed to carry "the struggle in all its forms" into the white suburbs because whites were apathetic about the violence.

"We are sick and tired of the ongoing violence ... and unless government acts and puts an end to it, we are going to bury victims in the white areas," Mofokeng said.

He said when the cemeteries were full, civics would have "to find space anywhere in the white areas".

"If they see us burying our people in their areas, the whites are bound to bring pressure to bear on people they have elected to power to do something about the carnage," Mofokeng said.

☐ A policeman died in an attack yesterday, bringing the total number who have died this year to 109.

Sapa reports acting regional police commissioner Maj-Gen Gert May said the attack occurred during an investigation of an assault in Mailulapark, Vosloorus.

Two men armed with AK-47 rifles burst into the house, shooting dead Const F R Rikhotso, 33. A second constable was seriously injured while a third escaped unhurt.

A shooting incident in Zone 11, Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle claimed the lives of two men on Monday night, a police unrest report said yesterday.

Two men were gunned down in Boipatong on Monday evening, said PAC national executive member Mark Shinners, but police were unable to confirm it.

Alex violence 'not about rivalry'

(278)

STAR 15/7/92

Pretoria Correspondent

An Alexandra clergyman has told the Goldstone Commission the assertion that the violence in the township is about political rivalry between the ANC and the IFP seems ridiculous in the face of his experiences and observations about the conflict.

The Rev Busani Ngubane of the Reformed Presbyterian Church said yesterday he did not believe the ANC as an organisation was any more responsible for the violence than the PAC, Azapo or DP.

However, the ANC had tried to portray the violence as an attack on it and had attempted to push all other parties and organisations to the side in an attempt to solve the violence.

Mr Ngubane said the ANC was not clearly defined in the community and could never present such a clear and identifiable target.

He said: "I believe the IFP has cynically attempted to win a portion of Alexandra by both intentionally isolating its potential supporters from the community at large (by referring continuously to ethnic divisions and then reinforcing them through violence and also by importing people from other regions to create the initial tensions)."

Lure

Mr Ngubane said he believed hostels had become armed fortresses which were manned by people who did not have a right to live there. He called for them to be closed down immediately and turned into flats for people who were long-time residents of Alexandra.

"I have been told by Zulu-speaking people in Alexandra that the IFP has been trying to lure them to the hostel alleging that Zulu people are under attack.

"This is not true because there are many Zulu-speaking people in Alexandra who have never been threatened because they are Zulus. In fact many Zulu people including myself are puzzled and angry that the IFP makes this assertion," Mr Ngubane said.

He told the commission of an IFP funeral held in Alexandra in March. The procession was attacked and the funeral abandoned. This brought a dramatic upsurge in violence, with many people being assaulted including members of his congregation.

This led to the Ministers' Fraternal reconvening the Alexandra Peace Forum to try to solve the conflict. However, these meetings were aborted when a member of the fraternal was kidnapped and forced to go to the hostel, where his car was stoned. The minister managed to escape.

People in the vicinity of the hostel began to leave the area as they were frightened of armed Inkatha supporters.

Another witness, who cannot be identified because of fears for her life, told the commission she was shot three times in March by people she identified as Inkatha members.

Stolen

She said she and her sister were shot and forced to leave their house after being discharged from hospital.

She now lived in another part of Alexandra with 15 other people. Her belongings were stolen by her assailants and new people occupied her former house.

She said she had reported the matter to the police but no action had been taken so far.

Another policeman killed on E Rand

CT 15/7/92 (278)

JOHANNESBURG. — The killing of policemen continued yesterday with the murder of another constable in Vosloorus on the East Rand.

Police said three members of the uniform branch were investigating an assault case in a house in the township when two men burst in shortly after 11am and fired at the policemen with an AK-47 rifle.

Constable F Rikhotso, 33, died instantly, another policeman was seriously wounded and the third escaped unharmed.

More than 100 policemen have been killed since the start of the year.

One person was killed and another injured when gunmen in a minibus opened fire on a group of Pan-Africanist Congress supporters gathered outside a house in Evaton in the Vaal Triangle on Monday night, PAC executive Mr Barney Desai said yesterday.

Also in the Vaal Triangle, two men died in a shooting incident in Sebokeng on Monday night, police confirmed yesterday. No details were available.

In Natal a five-year-old child and a 16-year-old youth were shot dead on Monday night when a minibus taxi carrying seven passengers was ambushed near Estcourt.

Durban police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said the motive for the killing was unknown but "it doesn't seem to be politically motivated".

Three other children escaped the attack unscathed.

● At least 82 people were killed in political violence in Natal in June, bringing the total number of deaths from political fighting in the province for the first half of the year to 523, said the Human Rights Commission. — Sapa

Arms raid on Inkatha office draws a blank

JOHANNESBURG. — Police raided an Inkatha office in Witbank on Monday night after an ANC official claimed 152 weapons had been delivered there with the help of SA Police members.

Only two licensed guns were found.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday that ANC Eastern Transvaal leader Mr Mathew Phosa had alleged that three men wearing SAP uniforms had been present at the delivery.

He had given a list of the guns' serial numbers — none of which matched the guns found. — Sapa

Vaal necklacing (278)

A WOMAN was killed by "necklacing" between Boipatong and Sharpeville townships and a youth was assaulted and killed near KwaMasiza hostel in the Vaal. Sowetan 16/7/92

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said yesterday the body of the woman who had been necklaced was found on a road between Boipatong and Sharpeville.

The body of an unidentified youth, aged about 16, was found on a road to KwaMasiza hostel.

Violence, train attacks claim another two lives

STAR 16/7/92 (278)

By Guy Jepson
and Melody McDougall

Violence flared in Alexandra's volatile "Beirut" area yesterday when gunmen shot and seriously injured two unidentified men.

And in yet another train attack, two commuters were seriously injured when they were thrown from a moving train on the East Rand.

The renewed violence followed the necklacing of a woman and the beating to death of a teenager in the Vaal Triangle overnight.

At 2.15 pm in Alexandra yesterday, near the intersection of Rooth Street and Sixth Avenue, police found a man who had been shot and seriously injured.

Seven minutes later a critically injured gunshot victim was found in Fourth Avenue.

Police reinforcements were deployed in Alexandra yesterday afternoon.

In the first Reef train attack in several days, two men — not yet identified — were seriously injured after being thrown from a train between Katlehong and Wadeville stations.

The men are in a serious condition in Germiston's Willem Cruywagen Hospital.

Police said the remains of a woman — aged between 25 and 30 — who had been necklaced and beaten were found on the road between Sharpeville and Boipatong yesterday.

The youth is believed to have been killed near the KwaMasiza hostel near Boipatong, bringing to six the number of people who have died violently in Vaal Triangle townships over the past three days.

Police said several SAP vehicles were stoned in the area.

Two people were yesterday killed and one wounded in an attack on a house in Bruntville, near Mooi River in Natal, according to an unconfirmed report.

STAR 16/7/92

Lawyers to get info on massacre

Staff Reporter

Information gathered by monitoring group Peace Action (PA) about the Boipatong massacre will be handed to lawyers for submission to the Goldstone Commission.

Outlining the sequence of warning telephone calls received by PA before the massacre, the latest PA bulletin has repeated earlier claims that the police were fully warned of the imminent attack.

PA claimed that troubling questions had been raised by information gathered after the massacre about the involvement of the security forces in the attack, both through omission and commission.

Although the organisation was still in contact with the community in order to shed more light on the events of the night of June 17, it had become clear that the people were fearful of giving evidence, it said.

"The people's fear is not without foundation. Over the years, people who have been witnesses or who have attempted to give statements to the police have experienced harassment, intimidation and sometimes death."

● Peace Action has been monitoring violence in the Vaal for a year.

Shop steward shot outside factory

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CT 17/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu shop steward Mr Bennett Mafuyeka was shot dead in Alroad, south of Johannesburg, early yesterday morning.

He was 32.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Colonel Frans Malherbe said Mr Mafuyeka was killed between 5 and 6am outside the Wespico factory where he worked.

The gun, a 9mm pistol, was wielded by one of four men who fled after the killing.

● Meanwhile in Vosloorus, police maintained a strong presence as about 3 000 mourners gathered to bury ANC guerilla Mr George Mashele and his mother Lilian, who died in a hand-grenade blast in controversial circumstances last Tuesday.

Police maintain Mr Mashele blew himself up when they arrived at his home; the ANC blame police.

● In the Magoda area near Richmond, police were involved in a gun battle with residents about 1.30am yesterday morning.

Police finally stormed the house from which they were being fired on and arrested two men — one of whom was armed with an R4 rifle.

A crowd of about 1 000 people gathered in the area around 7.30am while police were still investigating. According to police, they demanded that police release the two arrested men.

The crowd, described as aggressive, began stoning police but were eventually dispersed.

● In Empangeni in KwaZulu, between nine and 10 ANC members were injured when a bus was fired at by a group of balaclava-clad gunmen on Wednesday afternoon.

The ANC said one man was killed in the incident. Spokesman Mr Zipho Mkhize said the attack was part of a campaign to intimidate workers into not taking part in ANC mass action.

Earlier in the morning, a man was stabbed to death in Matshana reserve, while another was injured in an attack on his house by unknown gunmen.

In the same area, a man's house was set alight when a group of people asked him what his political affiliation was. — Sapa-AFP, Own Correspondent

GUNNED DOWN ... A woman looks at the covered body of trade union leader Mr Bennett Mafuyeka, who was gunned down by four men outside a factory near Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: AP

NEWS FEATURE For 685 families, displaced by IFP violence, life is a living hell

Alex, a place of never ending sorrow

...sietsi Kungoane...the solution is occupation of houses belonging ...whites.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

■ BIG CRUNCH Spasm of suffering and pain for people living in squalor:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

Sowetan 17/7/92

Was there ever the best of times for Alexandra township?

This is the question that begs to be asked as this small area of land that houses nearly half a million people goes through one more spasm of pain and suffering.

Squalid with piles of garbage all over, and shacks built on top of rubbish heaps and among graves, life at the best of times in Alex is one long crunch.

It was here that old and abandoned buses were turned into homes by many people as the inhabitants became trapped in the never ending story of the housing shortage in Alex.

The cesspools formed by leaking sewerage pipes and the accompanying smell, the overcrowded houses and the yards bursting with shacks, have now become the long lost golden years of plenty for 685 families who have been displaced by the fighting between Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members based in the Madala and Nobuhle hostels, and residents who live in the township.

For these people, 90 of whom share the Presbyterian Church hall, life has become even more unbearable. Some, such as Mrs Emily Dikgotho (49), share the church hall with 16 other families while her former home from which she and her family had to run to save their lives, is occupied by IFP members.

> **"We went through hell at the hands of the IFP. We saw people being chopped every day"**
>
> **Mrs Aida Matlou, East Bank resident**

"It is a very trying life here. The church is very cold. We no longer have electricity and are using candles. We are grateful to the church for housing us as none of us is a member of this church.

"However, we sleep knowing that we are safe. While still living in our houses before escaping, we were prisoners of Inkatha. They came in and raped women, also killing people for not being members of the IFP.

"It is tough here because the children cannot even study. There is no privacy for the family and you have to forget about many things in life," Dikgotho said.

Others lost more than just their homes and possessions. Mrs Aida Matlou who owned a house and a shop had to forgo both.

When she last ventured into "Beirut" (the area near the hostel) to check on her properties, she found the shop was just a shell with only one fridge remaining simply because those trying to take it out couldn't because of its size. The house had also been ransacked.

"We went through hell at the hands of the IFP. We saw people being chopped every day. The minds of our children were being scarred by the violence. Life here at the East Bank hall is tough but we are safe," she said.

Matlou is a member of the Displaced People's Committee which is having talks with the TPA and the council over the resettlement of the refugees.

She said that a survey was underway to assess damage and costs of repairs to the houses. She, like all the others, was emphatic that a condition for their return was the demolition of the Madala Hostel which was the cause of all the trouble.

Then their houses have to be renovated and in some cases rebuilt. Many have been destroyed.

In what used to be the council offices we met Mr Tsietsi Kungoane (25).

He is an angry man who had to flee his flat to save his life and in the process lost all his possessions.

"The people here are calling for action. We are tired of meetings that produce nothing. We are not prepared to continue to fight Inkatha when we know that they are being used by the police and the Government to destabilise our community.

"What we are going to do now is to move into Sandton and occupy houses there and wait and see if these impartial police who escorted us out of our homes do the same to the whites there," Kungoane said shaking with rage.

He said the issue was no longer one of turning Madala Hostel into family units. "That hostel already has family units," he said.

"Our political organisations, ANC, Azapo, PAC and others, are not doing enough to help people who have lost their homes," Kungoane said.

Early exposure to sexual practices because of the crammed conditions is having its effect on children, especially girls. Already four aged between 14 and 16 have fallen pregnant.

These displaced people want the hostel to be demolished or evacuated and then turned into family units for local people.

Hostel residents, however, reject this and are in the process of renovating the place as their permanent home.

Is there a way out that can see these displaced people back in their homes soon? Not from the evidence that we could gather last week.

NEWS Police did not investigate displaced resident 'because they didn't complain'

Cop is quizzed on refugees

Sowetan 17/7/92

■ DISPLACED FAMILIES The Goldstone Committee asks why police "sat back" and did not interview displaced residents in strife-torn Alexandra township:

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By MONK NKOMO

THE Goldstone Committee yesterday quizzed a policeman about "inaction" in connection with the displacement of more than 600 families in strife-torn Alexandra township.

The chairman of the committee, Mr R Nugent, asked a witness, Captain Albertus Britz, why police "sat back" and did not interview displaced residents some of whom are now staying at the local council office.

Britz told the committee that police had received very few complaints of intimidation from residents since violence flared in the township last year.

The hundreds of families who fled their homes - some even helped by police - never reported to police that they had been intimidated or forced out of their houses, Britz said. Nugent told the police officer he was not suggesting any wrongdoing on the part of the police.

He said: "There is a big crisis in Alexandra. And there has been evidence that the township is now a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"I want to know why the police did not visit the dispossessed residents and ask them why they fled their homes."

Britz said police did not investigate the matter because they did not receive any complaints. He said police could help dispossessed families return to their houses only if they produced proof of their residential sites or that their houses were bought or rented.

There would be no difficulty in arresting people who were occupying those properties and charging them for trespassing, said Britz.

Answering another question, he said it would be difficult to identify rightful hostel inmates as hostel registers had been confiscated by unknown persons.

Asked how he proposed to assist dispossessed families regain their properties peacefully and safely, Britz said: "That can be done with the mass presence of police, security forces and regular patrols."

The committee was informed yesterday that a member of the IFP who was arrested during a funeral procession in Alexandra on March 7 this year carrying an AK-47 rifle had been granted R5 000 bail.

He is due to appear in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court on August 11.

OPINION *A whole community is in the grip of fear ● Union blames agents of the state*

Anger - but people fear to speak

Sowetan 17/7/92

■ BOMB ATTACKS *Neighbours have been angered by the petrol bomb attack which killed four people but fear to speak openly about it:*

(278)

THE BLACK COMMUNITY is in the grip of fear. No matter how strongly people feel about issues that affect their lives, they are terrified of publicly voicing their opinions.

This became apparent when we did a survey on what people thought about the petrol bomb attack on Mrs Sannah Madikane's house in Naledi Ext 2 where four people died.

The attack, which has been linked to the strike by general workers at hospitals, has sparked off a lot of anger but most people did not want to be quoted. They were afraid of being victimised by unionists.

Those who agreed to comment would not have their names and pictures published.

A 64-year-old man who lives in the neighbourhood said; "We are shocked. We have never seen anything like this before. Words can never express our feelings.

"We have known Madikane and her children for years. We have lived together and shared our joys and sorrows. It's terrible."

Another neighbour who did not wish to be identified said she was among those who helped the family put out the fire and get the injured to hospital.

"My husband used a fire extinguisher to put out the flames. Those who were injured were taken to hospital in a neighbour's car.

"There were pieces of human flesh left on the car seats. I never want to see something like this again," she said.

A third neighbour said: "This is the first time something like this has happened in our area. We hope it is the last time. We have formed a neighbourhood watch to protect ourselves."

A woman we spoke to in Dube recalled a similar incident which took place during the previous strike at Baragwanath Hospital.

"A whole family died when their house was petrol-bombed. There were five people in all. These were people we knew. It was very painful. I do not know Madikane and her family but I feel sad.

"We live in fear. Even if you don't have enemies you still fear. We are afraid to speak about how we want to live our lives. The only thing left to do is to follow orders.

> **"We live in fear. Even if you don't have enemies you still fear. We are afraid to speak about how we want to live our lives"**
>
> **Anonymous Dube woman**

"If somebody says don't go to work, don't go. It makes no difference whether you believe it is the right thing to do. Do it to save your skin."

A young woman who identified herself as Nobathembu said the incident was too painful to talk about. "I would rather not say anything."

A woman who used the name Joyce said: "It gives me a lot of pain when something like this happens because we are supposed to be fighting for human rights among other things.

"Human rights include freedom of expression, freedom of movement and freedom of choice of belief. Nobody has the right to try and force other people to change their beliefs or ideology or religion.

"You would have thought that the patients' lives would be the priority. But the Government has dug in its heels and let the situation get out of hand. It makes me feel very bitter."

A man who wished to be known only as Boykie said the fact that hospital authorities were not doing everything in their power to resolve the strike was "disgusting".

Sannah Madikane ... a survivor of a bomb attack where four died.

CAST threatens to take struggle to white areas

STAR 17/9/92

(278)

By Brian Sokutu and Stan Hlophe

The Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (CAST) yesterday threatened to "take the struggle to white areas" if the Government failed to end the violence.

Addressing thousands of mourners at the Vosloorus Stadium during the funeral of slain Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre George Mashele (31) and his 44-year-old mother, Lilian Magosha, who died in a hand grenade explosion last week, CAST secretary-general Dan Mofokeng said blacks were "tired of burying our dead".

The East Rand township was tense yesterday as police and SADF members closely monitored funeral proceedings after cordoning off parts of the township.

Also addressing the funeral, SACP general secretary Chris Hani called for the withrawal of the SADF and security forces from the townships.

Mr Mashele and his mother were killed last Tuesday at their Mohlala Street home in a grenade explosion shortly after police had arrived to question him in connection with a petrol-bomb attack in which two people died.

Referring to the death of Mr Mashele and his mother, Mr Hani said: "Police went to his home, raided it and threw a teargas canister through the window. Then we were told he was killed in a grenade explosion."

Sapa reports that the Vosloorus branch of the ANC praised the police for co-operating with it in making the funeral incident-free.

● A group of youths yesterday intimidated Stan Hlophe of The Star during the funeral. The youths questioned and manhandled him, grabbed his notebook and threw it on the ground.

NEWS Mothers and babies shot by gunmen wrapped in blankets

Babies among casualties of latest Reef violence

Sowetan 17/7/92

By Victor Tsuai and Abbey Makoe (278)

■ **Residents baffled by seemingly motiveless attacks in quiet residential streets:**

TWO babies were killed in separate incidents of violence in Kagiso on the West Rand and Katlehong on the East Rand.

Scores of people were injured when gunmen allegedly wearing blankets ran amok in Katlehong's Nhlapo Section on Wednesday night.

In Kagiso Miss Neliswa Yonkwe (28) and her six-month old baby were shot dead in Dinizulu Street.

The shooting occurred shortly after more than 30 vehicles were either set alight or damaged and a bottle store looted. The violence precedes Monday's stayaway and consumer boycott in Kagiso.

A spokesman for the family of Yonkwe, Mr Simphiwe Zozo, said that they could not explain the motive behind the attack.

In Katlehong Ms Puseletso Phalane, the mother of the 17-month-old child who died, is being treated at the Natalspruit Hospital for gunshot wounds.

Her boyfriend, Mr Sipho Mwelase (30), said he survived by hiding under the bed when gunmen sprayed their shack with bullets.

By 4pm yesterday, police did not know of the incident. Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman asked: "Who reported the matter to the police?"

Residents spoken to by the *Sowetan* at the scene did not know the motive for the attac. Most said the incident had left them "baffled".

Mass action continues

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■ **March in KwaZulu, while third class ticket holders travel first class in Cape Town**

Sowetan 17/7/92

THE ANC-led mass action campaign centred around the Western Cape and Natal yesterday with more sit-ins, marches and "mock trials".

At least five people have laid criminal charges since Wednesday's mock trial and the occupation of National Party offices in Cape Town by members of the ANC Youth League.

At least 40 ANCYL members occupied the NP offices for about an hour while supporters sat outside blocking Church Street and disrupting traffic.

The group left the NP offices and burnt a South African flag.

ANC-supporting women from townships around Port Shepstone on Natal's South Coast marched through the town yesterday in protest against killings in the area and the failure of the police to apprehend perpetrators of violence.

Joint working committee co-ordinator Mr Thabo Nikwe said the march was also part of the mass action campaign.

The march began from the KwaZulu Transport bus rank to the Port Shepstone police station where a memorandum was handed in.

Most of the marchers came from Murchison where renewed violence has claimed the lives of at least 20 people over the past month.

The ANC-led protest against third-class ticket holders being treated as "third class citizens" went off without a hitch yesterday. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

'State agents killed non-strikers', says union

Sowetan 17/7/92

■ **Nehawu secretary denies its members were responsible for attack on Soweto family:** 278

By Joe Mdhlela

GOVERNMENT agents, and not the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union, are responsible for the killing of community members.

Nehawu general secretary Mr Phillip Dexter said media stories which seemed to indicate that the killing of at least four Soweto family members were linked to the strike were mischievous.

The four victims are the Madikane sisters Zodwa, Buyiswa and Nomgqibelo. The fourth is Joel Khatleli (13) who died in hospital on Tuesday.

They were among the seven, including a 63-year-old grandmother, who were seriously injured and suffered severe burns following a petrol bomb attack on their home in Naledi, Soweto, last week.

Another non-striking Natalspruit Hospital employee, matron Mrs Nandi Ngxoxo, had her house petrol bombed last Friday.

"The whole idea of associating these attacks with the union is to incriminate us. Our people are not responsible for these attacks. The Government and its agents are," said Dexter.

Asked to confirm if they visited the burnt victims at Baragwanath Hospital, he said they only did so to express their sympathy with those killed and attacked in the incident.

Dexter said the recruitment of "scab labour" at Baragwanath Hospital was responsible for the tension.

He said authorities should realise that "workers have the right to protect their livelihood hence the use by the workers of sjamboks and kieries".

"We are quite unhappy about the way the Press goes about believing allegations that our people are involved."

The police have linked the attacks on at least eight people during the past week to the strike action by Nehawu.

Dexter, a final BA student at the University of Cape Town, vowed that if the 7 000 sacked workers were not reinstated, they would take over the running of the affected hospitals.

Weapons ban in unrest areas

B/DAY 17/7/92

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — New regulations on violence and intimidation in unrest areas would include a ban on the carrying of weapons in public, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Other aspects of the new regulations, announced by President F W de Klerk on Tuesday, would be announced as soon as practically possible, he said.

The outlines of the regulations provided by De Klerk indicated a hardening of government's attitude to township violence.

There were currently 14 declared unrest areas, all of which fell in central and southern Natal and the PWV area.

Details of the new regulations remained vague but they would include measures to criminalise opposition to the authority of the security forces and measures to combat intimidation.

Severe penalties were envisaged for the use of certain weapons in crimes, with sentences ranging from five to 25 years.

De Klerk also announced that a simplified form of criminal procedure would be introduced to combat crimes involving violence and intimidation.

Kotze could not say when the new regulations would be implemented.

ANC funeral 'peaceful'

B/DAY 17/7/92 THEO RAWANA (278)

THE funeral of ANC member George Mashele, who was killed in a handgrenade blast last week, went ahead without incident yesterday at Vosloorus on the East Rand, police said.

Police have maintained Mashele blew himself up when they arrived at his home to arrest him in connection with an attack on a Vosloorus town councillor, but the ANC has disputed this version, claiming police lobbed the grenade into the house.

Sapa reports SACP secretary-general and ANC executive member Chris Hani attacked the anti-violence measures President F W de Klerk announced on Wednesday.

The measures were "not only silly, but frivolous," Hani said, and accused De Klerk of "playing to the gallery of the international community".

Hani said he doubted whether De Klerk really intended disbanding three controversial security force units.

"These mercenaries will continue killing people as part of the SADF," he said.

☐ Two train commuters were seriously injured when they were thrown off a moving train in Katlehong on the East Rand. Police also found the bodies of two men with bullet wounds in Katlehong, and a body which had been hacked and burned in Thokoza near Germiston.

Man denies order to kill

SENIOR ANC member John Nhlanhla has rejected the allegation that he ordered a member of the organisation to kill policemen. (251) (331)

He said he believed a senior security force member was behind the allegation, which re-emerged during the sentencing of a returned ANC exile in the Ermelo Magistrate's Court yesterday. B/DAY

Kgatso Brendan Samson, 25, was sentenced to 18 months in jail for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. 17/7/92

Nine months of Samson's sentence were suspended for five years.

A police spokesman said Samson was first arrested in Piet Retief for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. — Sapa.

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The new slogan: Kill a cop a day

W/Mail 17/7-23/7/92 (278)

More than 100 policemen have died in 'unrest incidents' this year alone, reports **JACQUIE GOLDING**

ATTACKS on policemen in the townships have reached unprecedented heights, amid rumours that Reef activists have adopted the slogan "Kill a cop a day".

This year alone 108 policemen have died in "unrest incidents", according to Pretoria police public relations officer Colonel Reg Crewe. "In July alone, 12 policemen have already been killed."

Last year 137 policemen died in "political violence", said Crewe, "and 42 of those killed were in the Soweto region".

The highest number of deaths occurred in Natal and the PWV, Witwatersrand police media liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman added. "The trouble spots are Katlehong and the Vaal township of Sebokeng."

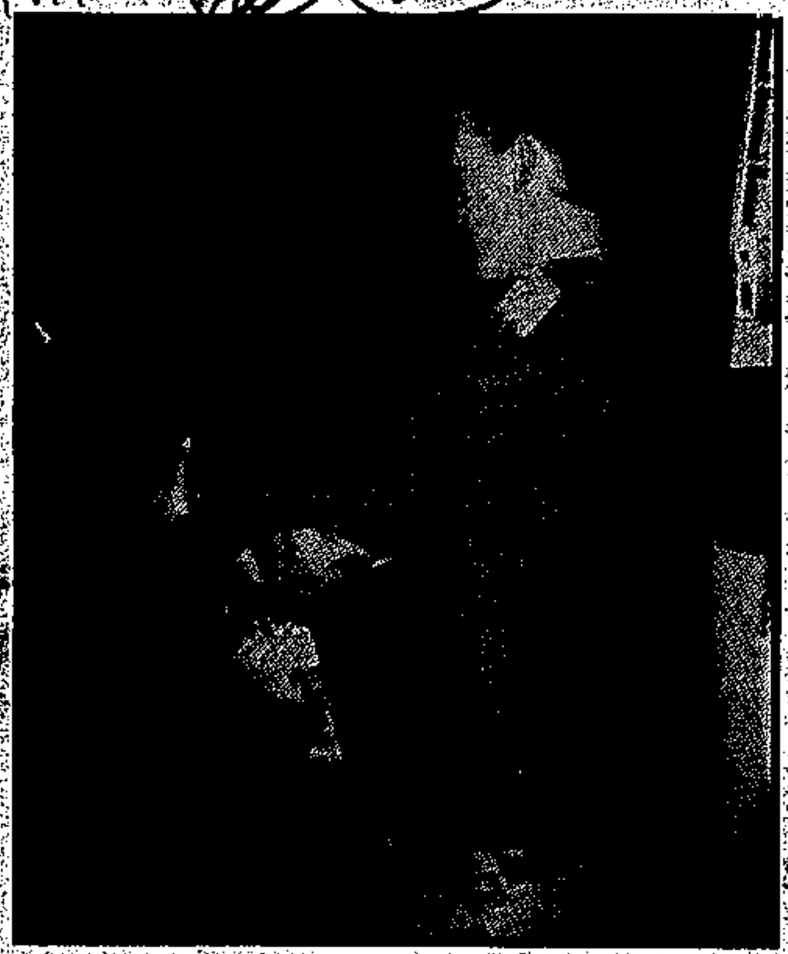
On Wednesday two more policemen were gunned down in Katlehong, on the east Rand, by unknown men armed with AK47s. One died instantly and another was admitted to hospital in a critical condition.

The previous day, the bodies of two policemen who had been hacked and stoned to death were found in Sebokeng. Their pistols and private vehicle had been stolen.

The "kill a cop" slogan has reportedly been adopted by cadres of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

However, PAC publicity and information director Waters Toboti said he did not know the slogan and "was not accustomed to it".

According to the police, Apla had "very recently again claimed responsibility for a number of attacks on policemen".



On guard in Sebokeng ... two more policemen died this week

Opperman said the police were investigating Apla's claims. He added that the organisation was free to carry out its political activities, but asked why it was necessary for it to carry on with "such despicable attacks on the SAP".

Opperman appealed to Apla to follow the African National Congress' example and suspend the armed struggle.

In a Pretoria Supreme Court trial this week, alleged ANC member Brendan Samson claimed he was instructed by the ANC to murder policemen. The ANC dismissed the allegation as "absurd" and "government and police propaganda".

In response to the wave of attacks, the police were launching "a more intensive security programme", said Opperman. The number of armoured vehicles was being increased and members of the police force were wearing bullet-proof vests more often.

However, Crewe stressed that many policemen were being attacked at home while off duty.

Fifteen killed in two violent days

STAR 17/7/92

Staff Reporter

At least 15 people have been killed and 23 injured — including six policemen — in escalating political violence around the country since Wednesday.

In the most recent attack reported by the police, an SAP member was injured and two men were arrested when police were shot at and stoned when they attempted to search a house for illegal weapons in Richmond, in the Natal Midlands, yesterday.

On the Reef, since Wednesday at least three people have been killed in Brakpan's Tsakane township in two separate attacks, five people have been killed in the war-torn Vaal Triangle townships, and firebrands in Kagiso on the West Rand have burnt or stoned at least 27 vehicles.

278

Necklaced

Police said two men were necklaced in Tskane township on Wednesday night. One unidentified victim died on the scene and the other died in hospital yesterday.

Police are investigating claims that the two men were victims of a "people's court".

In a separate attack in Tsakane on Wednesday, another man — identified as Albert Sibanyoni — was gunned down at close range by one of three men. He later died in hospital.

In Vaal Triangle townships, continuing violence claimed another five lives since Wednesday.

SAP spokesman Captain Pieter van Deventer confirmed that the bodies of two men were found in Sebokeng, and that three bodies were found in Evaton on Wednesday night. All the victims had bullet wounds.

In another shooting incident in Sebokeng on Wednesday night, an assistant constable was wounded in the foot when unknown gunmen opened fire on him and other members of the SAP in Zone 7. Constable M S Ntsala was treated at the Vereeniging Hospital and later discharged.

And in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, at least seven vehicles have been gutted and 20 vehicles slightly damaged in stoning attacks since violence erupted in the township on Wednesday morning.

A police spokesman blamed the violence on a spate of meetings held in the township this week to discuss the ANC's mass action plans.

● Where dusk means fear — Page 11

The Direct... South African Labour Research Unit

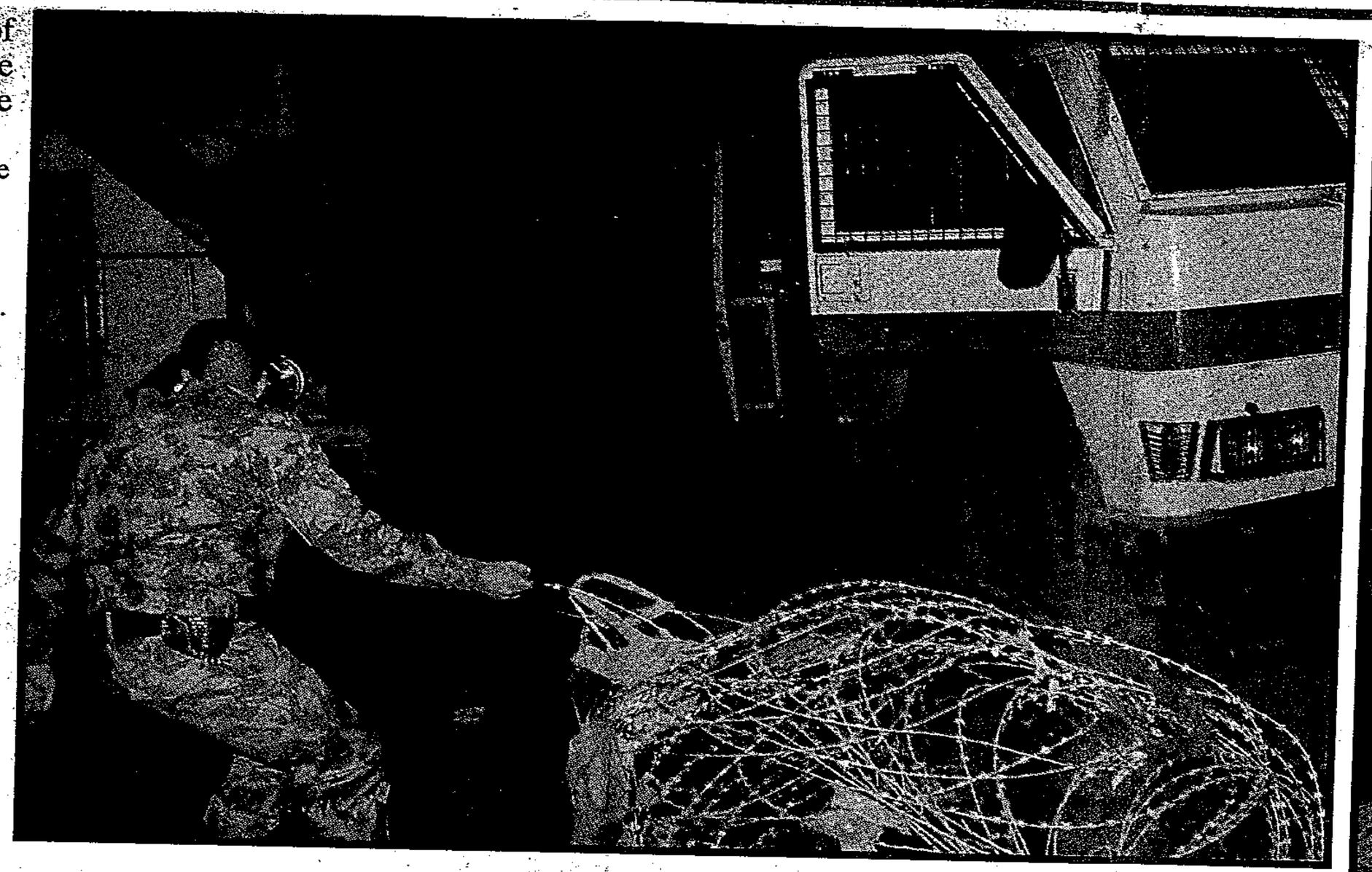
In the pitch dark, people are firing at us. But where?

wlmail 17/7-23/7/92

(278)

A SHOT cracks out, stones fly — but in the deep shadows of the unlit township streets, the attackers are nowhere to be seen. The police are losing the battle of the barricades in the Vaal townships.

As the armoured vehicles crawl between the matchbox houses, we are constantly aware that we are being watched.



The further the Nyala drives into Sebokeng, the more silent the policemen inside become. This is a war zone. And to many of the people who live here, police are the enemy. Soon the patrol will stumble into trenches and razor wire and face a hail of rocks and small-arms fire. BAFANA KHUMALO and KEVIN CARTER join a late-night police watch

It's Tuesday, and a *Weekly Mail* team is going on patrol with the Vereeniging Internal Stability Unit (ISU).

As we struggle into our bulletproof vests a police constable jokingly asks us why we are bothering to put them on — the ISU men don't use them.

Minutes before the team heads off to Sebokeng the unit's commanding officer, Colonel BV "Recce" Roos, dashes out of his office, points towards the township and says: "There's the first one. They've started already." It is the first of many shots to be fired that night.

The six men climb into the light green Nyala, seemingly undisturbed by this report so early in their eight-hour shift.

But as the Nyala, its windows bulletproofed and covered with a wire mesh, snakes past Power Park, the industrial area on the outskirts of the township, the atmosphere becomes tense. There is little conversation over the drone of the engine.

The brief, according to the officer in command, Warrant-Officer John Otto, is a simple one — to stop any violence in the township.

In the dusk of the early evening, smog churns from thousands of stoves, engulfing the township. Visibility drops to a few metres. "This makes the job of patrolling the streets more difficult," says Otto, a stocky man in his twenties.

The Nyala draws up on the outskirts of the township, waiting for reinforcements. "Although we don't have orders to go in two vehicles, we feel it is safer that way," Otto explains. If the one vehicle breaks down the other acts as protection.

At about six a Casspir appears through the gloom, and the two police vehicles drive into the township. The further we go, the quieter it becomes inside the cramped Nyala. But in the distance, sporadic gunshots can be heard.

A group of people are standing on the main road, but they are "nothing to worry about", says Kgotso Moemeng, a 26-year-old constable. "It's just a group of workers waiting for taxis to take them home."

The unit watches warily through the windows, their R5 rifles clasped between their legs.

Moemeng tells us he once lived in the township, but was forced to leave after he and his family were threatened.

Barricades of burnt-out cars, rocks, and razor wire block every road, but the activists who erected them are nowhere to be seen. Trenches — some so deep the Casspirs cannot pass — have been dug across some of the streets, including the tar roads.

Otto looks around: "Although it seems quiet tonight, one never really knows what might happen. Every time I go out I hope for a quiet shift."

At about seven the radio crackles and a voice announces that rocks are being offloaded from a bakkie close to Sefatso's Garage, in Zone 13, as it drives along the road.

The unit immediately makes for the garage, but by the time we arrive, 20 minutes later, the bakkie has disappeared.

This is to be a familiar pattern for the night, with calls coming in and the unit arriving to find nothing.

"They see us coming and they stop. As soon as we leave they start doing it again," says 20-year-old Constable Stanley McKenna. He wouldn't mind being stationed in Durban, he says, chuckling.

The vehicle enters Zone 7, the storm centre of persistent violence in Sebokeng dubbed by locals "the battlefield". Across the street is a metre-deep trench. "This is a shallow one," Otto said. "I've seen some much deeper than this."

The policemen climb out of the Nyala. Otto walks towards the trench, while the other five surround the vehicle, facing outwards with their rifles at the ready. The trench is empty.

"This is the most troublesome spot," says Deon O'Kelly, an Afrikaner born in Port Elizabeth, despite the Irish name. The 20-year-old police constable has been on riot duty for almost two years now.

He tells us how the side of his face was badly burnt in a petrol bomb attack while on patrol two years back, forcing him to spend three months in hospital.

Three weeks after returning to duty he saw his first necklace victim. "I threw up. I couldn't stand it," he says.

We pass a burnt-out shell of a building, with the slogan "One settler, one bullet" scrawled on one of its walls.

Then, as we stop once again and the police prepare to clear another barricade — this time of razor-wire originally brought in by the police themselves — comes the most menacing moment of our patrol. Without warning, a shot rings out and rocks rain down from the darkness on the Casspir.

"It's small arms fire, please get down," says O'Kelly, tensely scanning the houses nearby. "They're near, in these houses. We can see them running to hide but we can't go and try and arrest them. That's what they're trying to get us to do — lure us out and then shoot at us."

Leaving the razor-wire barrier, the unit turns round and moves to another section, pushing barricades out of the way. A burnt-out car is forced off the road, but five minutes later, on our return, we find it is back in place. This time the unit simply drives round the obstacle.

"I don't know why these people are doing this. It's stupid," says O'Kelly. "We aren't going out to remove it again. They're probably waiting for us to come out so they can shoot at us."

After Sebokeng, the unit briefly patrols Boipatong and Sharpeville.

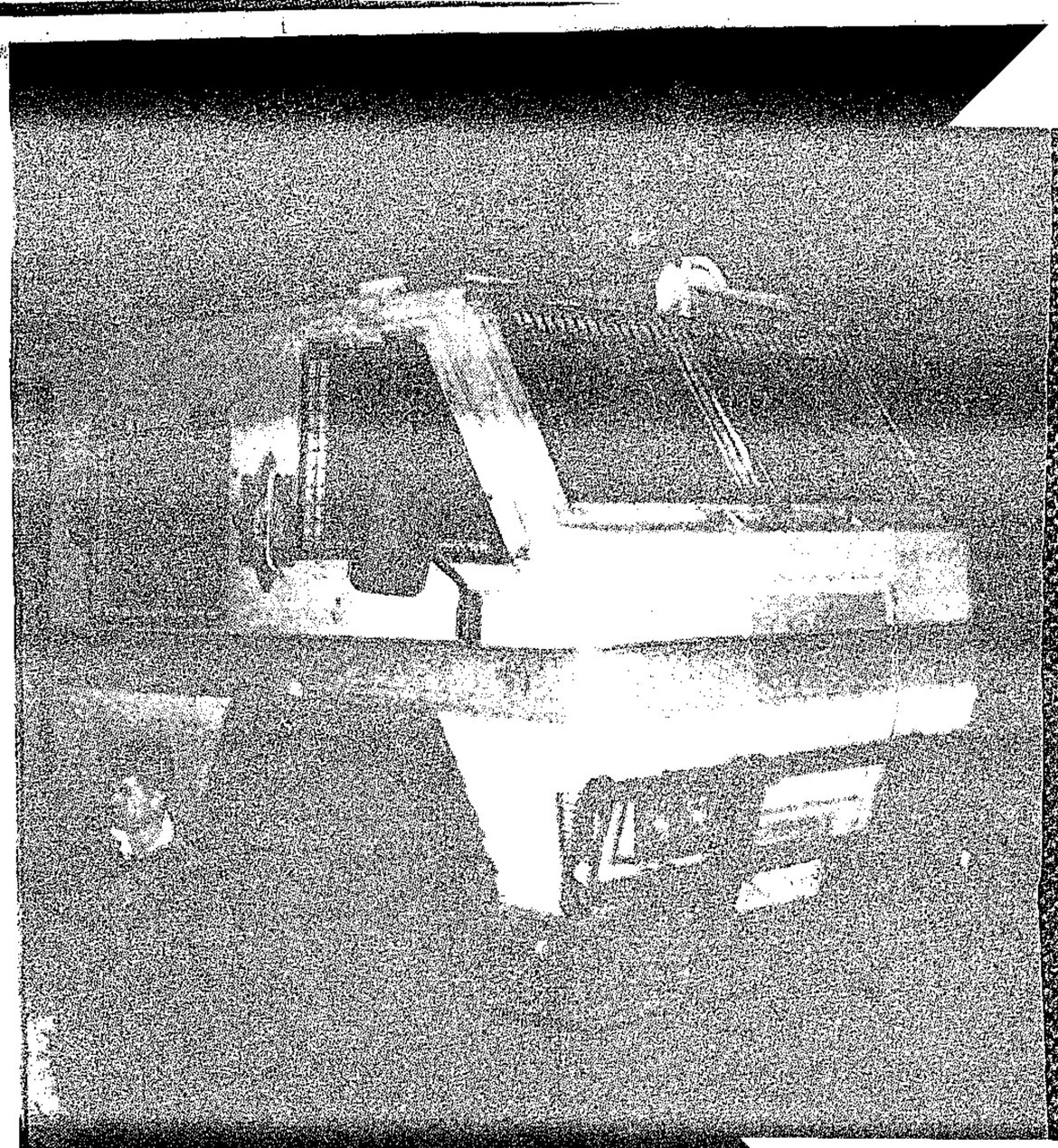
The barricades here are far less elaborate and an eerie peace prevails.

It is 8.45pm, towards the end of the shift, and the men start to unwind. At the outskirts of Boipatong, they stop at a garage to buy cool drinks and start to chat.

McKenna says he is afraid of having to kill, even in self-defence or to protect a colleague. "I don't want to kill a man. The only time I shot someone was after he'd thrown a petrol bomb at me. But I'll shoot if I think someone's going to kill me."

The Nyala drives slowly back to the Park police station. Six men stare wearily the windows.

"Well, it's the end of another day. It' home to sleep for a few hours. Let's hope row is as quiet as today," says McKenn bing his eyes as he climbs from the vehic



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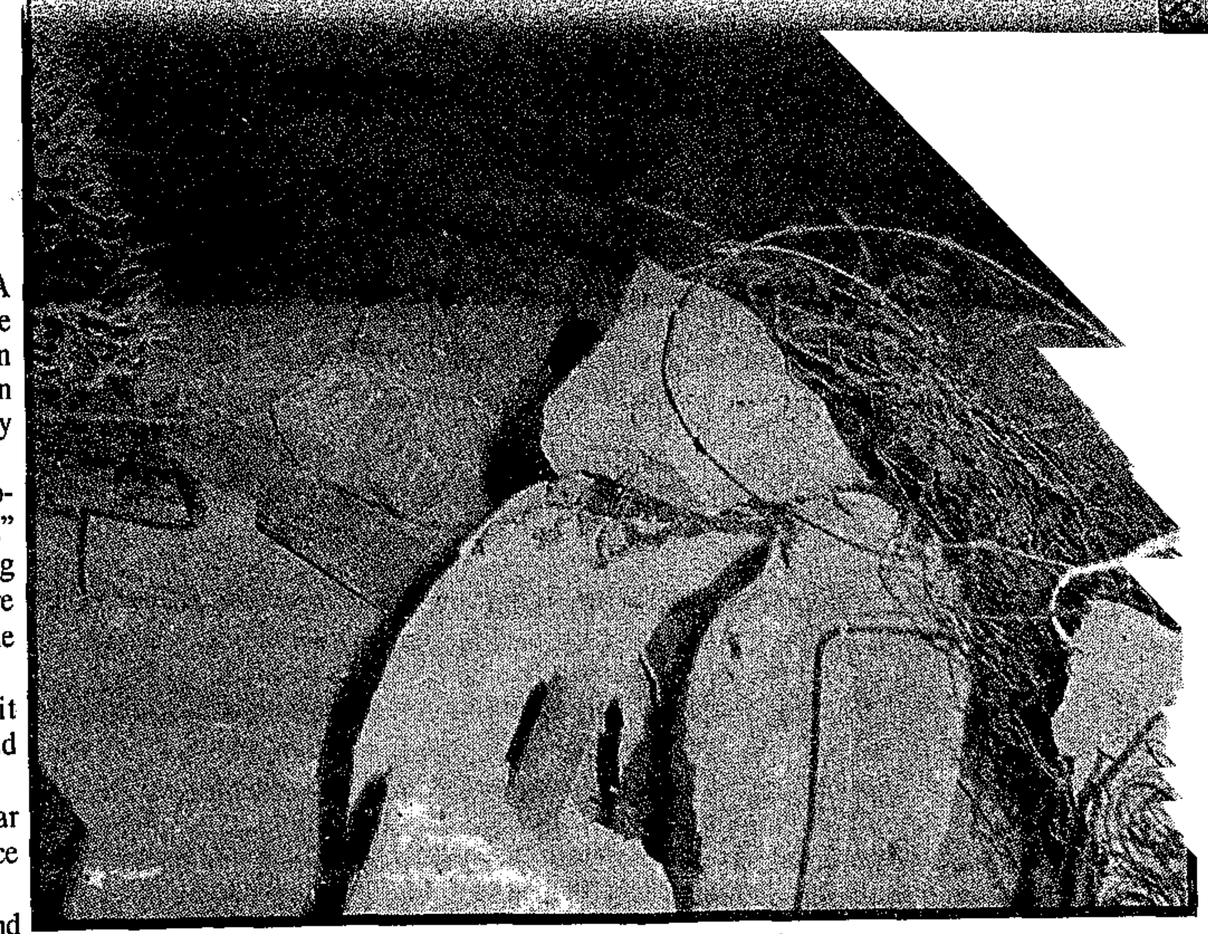
The Nyala drives slowly back to the Power Park police station. Six men stare wearily out of the windows.

"Well, it's the end of another day. It's back home to sleep for a few hours. Let's hope tomorrow is as quiet as today," says McKenna, rubbing his eyes as he climbs from the vehicle.



While gunshots ring around them, police confront a barricade ... made from their own razor wire. While a policeman pulls the coils out of the road, a colleague (above) keeps watch
Photos: KEVIN CARTER

racist practices and inherent dangers. At present the union is

and into Zone 7 — known alternately as "Beirut", "Lebanon", "Vietnam" or "Angola".

But nicknames from long-forgotten and faraway wars cannot capture the complex mix of anarchy, fear and fury that pervades the streets and backroads of Zone 7.

Minibuses and cars hurtle across a dusty, corrugated soccer field to bypass the barricades that mark this as no-man's land.

During the day, the barricades are opened enough to allow one vehicle through at a time and traffic snarls to a halt while drivers negotiate their way around the rubble. At night the roads are sealed.

In Sebe Street, a pile of rubble cut through by semi-erect walls marks the home of "The Monster of Sebokeng".

The house was set alight and torn down by residents who believe the owner masterminded the December 1990 Sebokeng massacre, which left 35 mourners dead when gunmen opened fire on a vigil.

Broken bricks and twisted iron have been strewn from the house into the street, where about seven young men prepare for their night duty.

The barricade is completed by a twisted reel of razor-wire and a gutted car which has been turned onto its roof and dragged into the road.

At another checkpoint, a young man leaps out from behind an enormous steel drum in front of a taxi, which skids to a halt on bits of rubble.

The driver stares ahead in silence while the youth peers through the windscreen and eventually lets the taxi pass.

In Vilakazi Street, children see strangers in an unknown car and, mistaking journalists for police, they run off into the smog.

Called back, the children return, and chase after the car.

"Will you tell Comrade Mandela to bring me a shotgun?" pleads a barefoot 10-year-old.

He is too young to know how to use the gun he so desperately wants, but he says he has a use for the weapon: "Police are killing our people."

In the gathering darkness, the children watch the labours of a group of "comrades" who attack the tarmac road with a pick-axe. They are digging deep and wide trenches called "Hippo traps" because they stop police Hippos in their tracks.

Police vehicles, which constantly rumble through most of Sebokeng, seldom venture here. The area is policed instead by the children.

At a meeting last week between local community leaders and SAP, the police asked that the barricades be removed, but, according to ANC PWV Violence Monitoring Group member Shaka Radebe, they promised not to break them down.

"The police removed them and now we've seen more deaths," Mr Radebe says, referring to three people who were shot dead in Moshoeshoe Street on Monday night.

Now the barricades are back and, according to the "comrades" who man them, they are here to stay. □

War zone . . . a child passes a wrecked car that will be used as a roadblock at night.

Where dusk means time for barricades and fear

(278) STAR 17/7/92

The police have named Sebokeng a no-go area, warning non-residents to stay away if they place any value on their lives. BRONWYN WILKINSON and BRIAN SOKUTU went to the Vaal Triangle township to see why.

DUSK IN Sebokeng brings a thick pall of smoke which clings to the skin, clothes and lungs of the township's battle-weary residents.

A wintry sun, filtered through a permanent dust cloud during the day, sinks behind shacks and houses, casting the barricaded streets into pale, hazy shadow.

This is the time of the "comrades".

Sunset is their signal. Armed with crowbars, twisted metal, tyres and rocks, they stream into the dusty streets to set up the barricades which they will man from 6 pm until dawn.

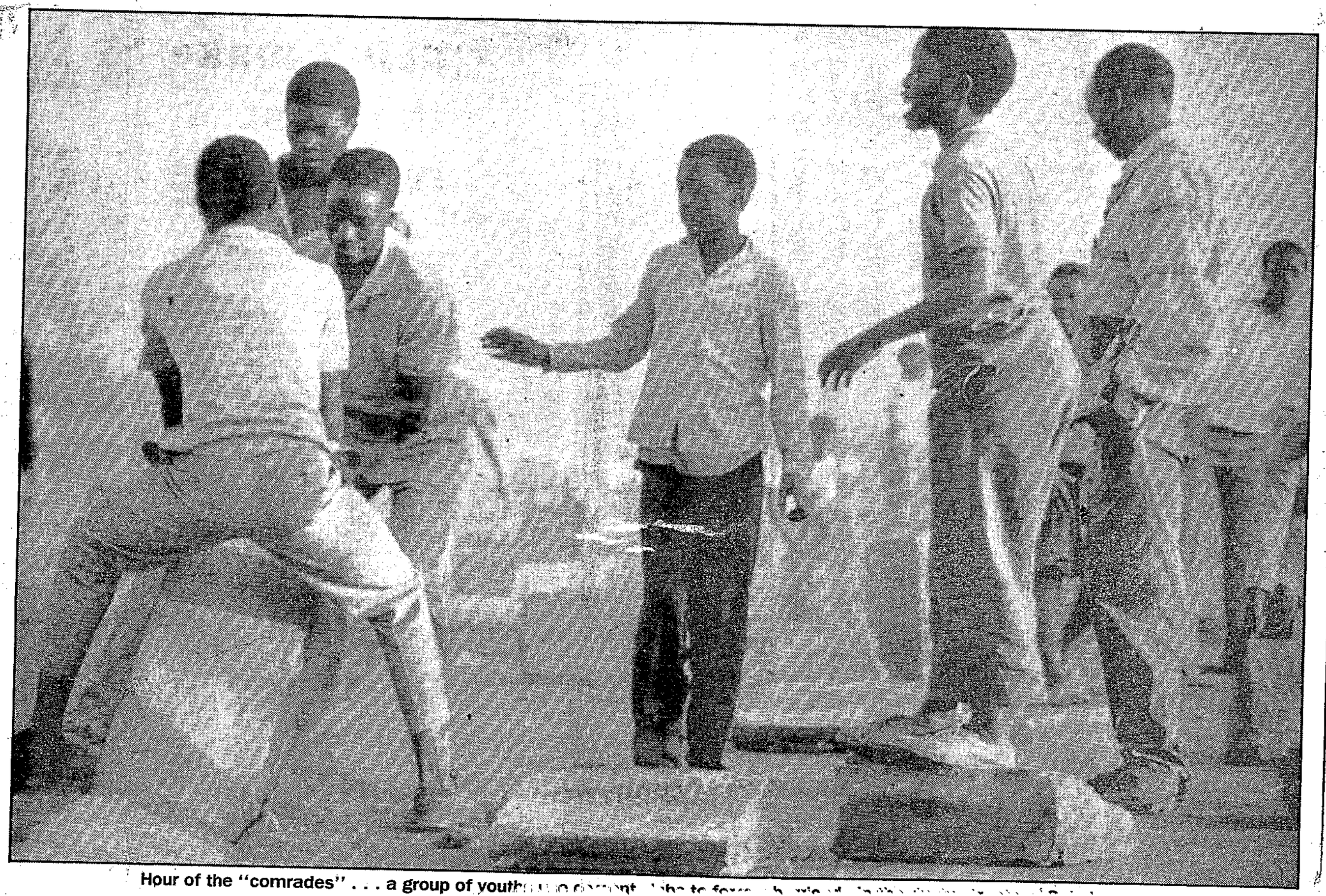
It is all in the name of defence, they say. A pitiful attempt to save themselves from the gangs that speed through the township streets at night, spraying bullets at random.

As long as they cannot drive through the dark streets, the monsters in their minibuses cannot kill.

"To defend ourselves we erect barricades, dig trenches and patrol in the evenings," explains a young volunteer member of the area defence committee.

"Shops close after 6 pm and vehicles and pedestrians are searched," he says.

To drive off Moshoeshoe Street, the main road through the township, is to head past the defunct Armstrong social club



Hour of the "comrades" . . . a group of youth [illegible]

1988 township killing: policemen suspected

By Guy Jepson STAR 17/7/92

Police are investigating a murder case against three current and two former municipal policemen in connection with the killing of a Daveyton resident nearly four years ago.

The murder of Aaron Moshokoa may never have been discovered without a tip-off.

An inquest court found that he had died of natural causes in September 1988.

Acting on information received, investigators subsequently established that he had been murdered, said SAP spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman.

"Mr Moshokoa was a private citizen. He was apparently picked up as a suspect on September 26 1988. His body was found the next morning in Tlokwa Street, Daveyton.

"On February 22 1989 an official inquest found that he had died of natural causes.

"Police received certain information and after investigations were completed, cases were opened against three members of the Daveyton municipal police and two ex-members."

Captain Opperman said on Wednesday that two of the three municipal policemen under investigation had been suspended from the force. The two former municipal policemen had previously resigned from the force.

The cases against the five men had been referred to the Attorney-General for a decision.

Legal access to Malawian activist denied

STAR 17/7/92

HARARE — Lawyers have been refused access to detained Malawian democracy activist Chakufwa Chihana, one of his defence team said yesterday.

Harry Chiume said he had confirmation that Mr Chihana had been re-detained by police but that attempts to see him had been unsuccessful.

He said he believed Mr Chihana, who had been on bail on charges of sedition, was being questioned in Blantyre.

Mr Chihana was arrested on April 6 when he returned to Malawi. He was released last Saturday and on Monday was committed for trial on charges involving seditious documents. Oh Tuesday he was again taken into custody. — Sapa-AFP.

Fired pair join St Lucia campaign

STAR 17/7/92

Dr Ian Player and Dr Nolly Zaloumis, recently dropped from the Natal Parks Board, have joined the Campaign for St Lucia.

In a special meeting of the campaign, Dr Zaloumis was elected as the new chairman of the year-old campaign and Dr Player agreed to join its board of patrons.

Outgoing chairman Oliff d'Oliveira said he was disappointed that Natal Administrator Con Botha saw fit to remove "two champions of enlightened environmental conservation". "If this is intended to thwart the campaign and to smother the voices of Dr Player and Dr Zaloumis, it will not work."

Mr d'Oliveira's future role in the campaign would be to focus on the Wetland Conservation Bill, which is being supported by the ANC, CP, DP, members of the House of Delegates and individual NP MPs.

At the meeting, members welcomed new Parks Board chairman Pat Goss's statement that the board was opposed to the mining of the eastern shores.

Alex: 'Police on the beat bring stability'

(278)

PRETORIA. — Police foot patrols have proved effective in stabilising a trouble-torn area such as "Beirut" in Alexandra, Captain Carel Theron van den Bergh of the SAP Internal Stability Unit said yesterday. CT 18/7/92

Captain van den Bergh told the Goldstone Commission committee inquiry into problems of displaced people of Alexandra that the SAP recently deployed policemen to patrol Beirut on foot, and the move proved successful.

He said Beirut was not a well-structured place and it was difficult for the police to patrol in vehicles. But police on foot could walk among the residents, making policing effective.

The hearing continues on Monday. — Sapa

'Killer' hostel to close

278

CT 18/7/94

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaMadala hostel, from where the Boipatong massacre was allegedly launched, is to be closed.

Iscor, which owns the hostel, announced yesterday that residents would be moved to another hostel.

Iscor said it hoped to have moved all the residents out by September 21.

Iscor said this decision was taken recently at a meeting with the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa).

Iscor said it had also been agreed with Numsa that KwaMadala hostel would meanwhile be divided by a steel wall and the section of the hostel closest to the road would be closed. — Sapa

● **Boipatong: 78 to be charged — Page 2**

SAP patrols soothe 'Beirut', probe told

STAR 18/7/92

(278)

POLICE foot patrols had proved effective in stabilising the trouble-torn area of "Beirut" in Alexandra, Captain Carel Theron van den Bergh of the SAP Internal Stability Unit said yesterday.

Van den Bergh told the Goldstone Commission committee inquiry into problems of displaced people of Alexandra that the South African Police had recently deployed policemen successfully to patrol "Beirut" on foot.

"Beirut" was not a well-structured township, and it was difficult for the police to patrol in vehicles.

Policemen on foot could walk easily among the residents, making policing much more effective.

Van den Bergh said he believed that if residents worked hand in hand with the police, they could be easily protected and would not have to flee their homes.

However, he could not say that if people returned to their homes in "Beirut" they would not be shot at.

He believed that the continuous police presence would curb shootings and intimidation in the area.

The chairman of the committee, R Nugent SC, asked Van den Bergh if it was possible for the police to solve the crisis in "Beirut" without first identifying the problems that had led the residents to leave their homes.

Van den Bergh said a crisis committee of representatives of the police and community leaders, including African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party officials, had been formed and given the task of identifying the problems.

He said that people were not prepared to make statements to the police.

He said that the township was overpopulated, and that the police were working with others to help clean up the area and repair broken water pipes.

Conflict in the township was partly the result of militant speeches by political leaders at rallies, he added.

The hearing continues on Monday. — Sapa.

Police plan to make 'Beirut' safe

(278) ARG 18/7/92

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Police had made plans to secure the "Beirut" area of Alexandra so that residents who fled the trouble-torn area could return, a senior officer told the Alexandra committee of the *Goldstone Commission*.

Captain Carel van den Bergh of the Witwatersrand Internal Stability Unit said yesterday in his evidence that 400 members of the unit would stay in the area to establish observation posts at the M1 hostel.

Foot patrols would be deployed in the Beirut area during the day. There also would be vehicle patrols throughout Alexandra.

He told the commission that on June 1 this year, police launched a large-scale operation in Alexandra to normalise the situation. He said 800 members were deployed in the area on a 24-hour basis.

Violence and intimidation continued in the Beirut area in spite of the police presence. This was due to a large number of firearms in a congested area.

He said foot patrols were more effective than vehicle patrols and now would be possible since the situation had stabilised.

Large numbers of residents had left the area because of intimidation and would return only once they felt it was safe.

Boipatong: 78 in court on Monday

STAR 18/7/92. (278)

JOE LOUW and SAPA

A TOTAL of 78 KwaMadala hostel residents will appear in court on Monday in connection with charges of murder and public violence, after an intensive police investigation into the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The men, being held under unrest regulations, will be released but re-arrested immediately to appear in connection with fresh criminal charges.

In another development, Iscor yesterday indicated that KwaMadala hostel, from where the massacre was allegedly launched, would be cleared and its residents moved to another hostel.

There was confusion last night after two apparently contradictory police statements on the 78 hostel suspects had been issued.

The first indicated that the accused would be charged with public violence and released. Later clarification confirmed that the men would have to appear in connection with murder charges as well.

The first statement announced that the police investigation had reached "an advanced stage" and that the docket had been referred to the Attorney-General for his decision.

It went on to say that the Attorney-General had decided that the suspects would be released and all 78 then charged with public violence.

No mention was made of any charges in connection with the deaths of the people killed at Boipatong.

Correction issued

The suspects, the statement concluded, were in custody and would appear in court in Vanderbijlpark on Monday.

Several hours later a second statement was issued, apparently correcting the first. It stated: "A case of murder and public violence was investigated in consultation with two advocates attached to the Attorney-General's office."

Police had decided to release the 78 detainees but would bring them before court in Vanderbijlpark on Monday. It went on to say all 78 were still in custody.

This was taken to mean that the men would immediately be re-arrested on criminal charges after being released under the unrest regulations — a point later confirmed by the Attorney-General's office.

Major-General Wouter Grove of the SAP, briefing journalists and editors on July 9, expressed the hope that the investigation would be recorded as "a success story".

He said 81 KwaMadala hostel residents had been arrested and over 1 000 sworn statements collected.

On the closure of KwaMadala, Iscor said in a statement that he target date for the full integration of the KwaMadala residents into its official hostel, KwaMasiza, has been set for September 21, 1992.

Police say it's a smear – but it could backfire

Ancient guns on ANC list of 'IFP weapons'

STAR 18/7/92

CHIEF Reporter JOHN PERLMAN examines a mysterious "weapons delivery", and tells why the claims and counter-claims surrounding it have an Eastern Transvaal town on a hair-trigger.

(278)

WITBANK — A consignment of handguns and rifles which the ANC said had been delivered to Inkatha's Witbank office this week consisted of antique firearms.

Some dated back to the 1800s and none was less than 50 years old.

Hardly the stuff to fuel a modern civil war, but then stranger weapons have been used in the township conflict.

Still stranger is the fact that, according to the ANC, the weapons were delivered to offices which are next door to the local headquarters of the National Union of Mineworkers and a stone's throw from an office used by the ANC's local leadership.

The ANC furnished a list of the weapons, including serial numbers, which included Martini Henry rifles (first made in 1869), Webley pistols (1883 onwards) and Mausers (1871).

Included in the consignment were four Tower .577 muzzle-loaders.

Yesterday, police said they could prove the ANC's claims were pure fiction.

Captain Craig Kotze said investigation had revealed that the guns on the list had been put together by Andrew Soutar, the owner of a gunshop in Witbank, and shipped out of the country to a dealer in antique arms in Britain.

The dealer, Service Arms (UK), confirmed that Soutar's gunshop had acted as a local agent for the dealer.

The gunshop is across the street from the KwaZulu government offices.

"Smear"

"These weapons were exported quite legitimately and were delivered to the shop-owner's home, which is six kilometres away from the KwaZulu offices," Kotze said.

"Yet the ANC has tried to use this to smear the police and Inkatha."

ANC Eastern Transvaal leader Mathew Phosa said the ANC stuck to its story.

"How are the police able to work out that these are the guns when they do not yet have the serial numbers?" he said.

"I personally handed over a list but they complained that the numbers were not clear, so we agreed to show them the original on Sunday."

Phosa said the police would also have to explain how the list of weapons had ended up in Inkatha hands.

"It was leaked to us from inside Inkatha," he said.

In the KwaZulu government's first-floor offices — which were set up a year ago — Wilfred Majozi and Casper Makhaye laughed roundly at the ANC's claims.

"None of us was here on that day," says Majozi, who runs the United Workers Union of South Africa office in Witbank but does recruiting for the IFP.

"Who would buy those old guns?" says Makhaye, who is a security man for the KwaZulu office.

The police did raid the KwaZulu government offices, Makhaye says, and found three weapons there, a shotgun and two pistols. All three had licences issued by the KwaZulu government.

"The ANC is just trying to destabilise our conference this weekend," says Majozi. "They also want to cover up their own arms caches in Angola."

It might be tempting to dismiss the whole thing as an eccentric propaganda war if it were not so dangerous, and the ANC in Witbank is taking it all in deadly earnest.

In the townships of Lynnville and Ackerville and the settlement of Hlalanikahle, where there have been no clashes with Inkatha to date, the first signs of bad blood are brewing.

Meetings were planned in every area last night to discuss a proposed march on the town today — for which authorities had refused permission — action in support of striking hospital workers, and the alleged arms deal.

"We have had no qualms about Inkatha organising in the area," says ANC Eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu.

"We have been trying to avoid violence in Witbank. But now our members are feeling threatened and are asking if an Inkatha office should be allowed to exist in the light of these revelations.

"There were also the disclosures that Koevoet was based in this area. The tolerance of our people is being tested to the limit."

Majozi says Inkatha has a very good relationship locally with the ANC. "This thing is just high-ranking ANC officials trying to create problems. This need not create tensions here, but the ANC must substantiate its claims and prove that we have these weapons."

The details on the three-page list of weapons — which itemises calibre, make and in most cases serial numbers — could settle the issue once and for all.

It has been sent to the Goldstone Commission, which is likely to investigate further.

BOPA hold 78 off charges

JOE LOUW, Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Seventy-eight Kwamadala Hostel residents are due to appear in court on Monday in connection with charges of murder and public violence after intensive police investigations into the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The men, being held under unrest regulations, will be released but immediately re-arrested in order to appear in connection with the new criminal charges.

The latest development followed confusion last night after two apparently contradictory police statements were issued indicating, firstly, that the accused men simply would be released and, secondly, that they would be charged only with public violence.

Later clarification confirmed the men also would have to appear on murder charges.

Last night's first statement by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, announced that the investigation had reached "an advanced stage" and the docket had been referred to the Attorney-General for his decision.

In the next sentence, the statement said the Attorney-General had decided that the suspects, who had been held under unrest regulations, be released and that all 78 would be charged formally with public violence.

No mention was made of any charges in connection with the deaths of 39 people at Boipatong, allegedly killed by Kwamadala Hostel dwellers.

The suspects, the statement concluded, were in custody and would appear in court at Vanderbijlpark.

Several hours later, a second statement was issued, apparently "correcting" the first.

It stated: "A case of murder and public violence was investigated in consultation with two advocates attached to the Attorney-General's office."

It said the police had decided to release the 78 detainees being held in terms of unrest regulations and to bring them before court at Vanderbijlpark on Monday.

It went on to say that all 78 were still in custody. This was taken to mean the men would be re-arrested immediately on criminal charges after being released under the unrest regulations — a point later confirmed with the Attorney-General's office.

Police Major-General Wouter Grove, in a briefing held on July 9 in the presence of senior journalists and editors, expressed the hope that the investigation would be recorded as "a success story".

He said 81 residents of the Kwamadala Hostel had been arrested and more than 1 000 sworn statements had been taken.

"A large number of weapons which we suspect were used in this tragic event have been seized. A large team of detectives has been assigned to investigate every shred of evidence."

■ Iscor yesterday said Kwamadala would be vacated and its residents moved to another hostel, reports Sapa.

Iscor, owner of the controversial hostel, said in a statement: "The target date for the full integration of the Kwamadala residents into the Kwamasiza Hostel has been set for September 21 1992."

Iscor said this decision was taken recently at its meeting with the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

ARGUS 18/7/92 (278)

'Cops paid me to kill'

C/Press 19/7/92.

By DAN DHLAMINI

A N alleged hitman from Randfontein has stirred up a hornets' nest for the western Transvaal police, whom he has implicated in the Klerksdorp taxi violence which has claimed at least three lives.

Despite the fact that police were given a clear description of the vehicles and individuals involved in the murders of taxi driver George Tinini, and passenger Williard Mareko, as well as the fatal shooting of July Mpambaniso and the attempted murder of Kortman Maikana, the police – who are alleged to have a finger in the pie regarding the incidents – this week said no one has been arrested.

Now Jack Mthembu has opened a can of worms for the police by making a sworn affidavit saying that he was paid R2 000 to kill prominent Klerksdorp taxi men who were involved in a taxi faction clash.

Klerksdorp lawyer Puna Moroko, to whom Mthembu has confessed, has sent the affidavit to the regional commissioner of police in the Western Transvaal, Brig SP Nienaber, the ANC and the PAC.

In his affidavit Mthembu claims that in May this year, he was at his home in Luipaardsvlei when he was approached by a member of the block committee of a Jouberton squatter camp, who said taxi men Shakes Tshwaedi, Brand Balete and Khalipe wanted to see him.

He said he joined the men and they proceeded to Capt Viljoen's office in Potchefstroom.

Welcome back home Vaal policemen!

By SOPHIE TEMA

COME back; all is forgiven, Vaal residents have told police who fled their homes during unrest.

Community leaders said an agreement for the return of the police was reached at a meeting held this week between police officials, residents and ANC members in the Vaal.

Police who regarded themselves as part of the community are welcome to return to their homes with their families and settle in the townships, said community representatives.

Recently ANC spokesman Carl Niehuas described the increasing number of police killings as "a sad situation" because they were victims of apartheid and had been used by the government in a political role in addition to their normal duties.

BROTHERS ... Defence unit stalwarts Sam Ntepe and Modise Seqhobane call on police to return to the township. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Cipress 19/7/92 (278)

Sharpeville Defence Unit chairman Samuel Ntepe criticised the police killings and confirmed the agreement for their return.

"We have agreed that police who fled the township in fear of their lives should return to their homes together with their families. Let them come back, these people are our brothers,and they are members of the township communities," said Ntepe.

"Although we know some of the police are victims of the violence that results from their own actions, others simply do not deserve this outrageous kind of treatment.

"Those who had wronged members of the community could return if they were ready to apologise for their actions," he said.

Sharpeville commander of the ANC's defence units, Modise Joseph Seqobane, said: "It is time black police in the townships realised they are part of the community and should work in close co-operation with residents.

"We cannot chase the police out of the townships because they also have a right to stay wherever they wish – but they must serve the community impartially."

The terrible cost of the struggle

Cpress 19/7/92 (278)

THE struggle for peace and democracy has taken a heavy toll on the life of Reverend Ernest Sotsu.

Like marriage, his dedication to these goals is a lifetime commitment.

Rev Sotstu lost his wife and two family members in a single violent attack.

"Peace in this country will be preceded by democracy. The struggle for lasting peace is, in the final analysis, the struggle for democracy," he said.

But who is this old man who has such a hold on the Vaal community?

Sotsu was born of a peasant family on November 19 1928 in the remote village of Qumbu in the Transkei.

The son of a miner, Sotsu was the last child in a family of six. He had four brothers and a sister.

His first encounter with a classroom was at Somerville Mission School where he passed Std 6 before enrolling as a student teacher at Hilltown college in Kimberley.

Orders

However, he did not complete his course as he had to return home on his father's orders.

In 1945 he registered at Tigerkloof College hoping to study for his matric certificate – but again his father called him back home.

The following year he went to the Transvaal where he worked on a state-owned mine in Brakpan as a clerk for about two years before returning home.

The young Sotsu joined the Iron and Steel Corporation (Iscor) in 1948 but his political activities, and the leading role he played in the labour movement, led to his dismissal in 1953.

As a student Sotsu was interested in history – expecially mounting oppression and disempowerment of blacks under the apartheid regime. It was no accident that he joined the ANC in 1954.

In 1956 he settled in Vanderbijlpark in the township of Tsirela, better known as Boipatong. He was employed by the local town council.

After the pan africanists split from the ANC, Sotsu was one of the few in the Vaal – which had become a strong base for the PAC – who stuck it out with the ANC.

The banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960, following the massive pass campaign led by the PAC, drastically changed Sotsu's operational methods.

His went underground, giving up his job to become a fulltime revolutionary.

Some of his tasks included smuggling youths out to neighbouring countries to join the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, and smuggling in weapons.

FIGHTING ON ... Rev Ernest Sotsu continues to soldier on for peace and democracy in SA.

CITY PEOPLE

By MOSES MAMAILA

Sotsu, with his innocent appearance, was one of the first MK guerrillas to be trained inside the country.

His most important underground period was smuggling out hundreds of youths following the 1976 black consciousness-inspired insurrection.

The Black Consciousness Movement, he maintains, was the only public political mouthpiece of the oppressed during the 70s.

Then came the United Democratic Front era, and Sotsu re-emerged into the open as a UDF activist in the Vaal.

In the mid-80s, he fled to Lesotho to avoid being arrested as part of the Delmas treason trial.

"During that trial, the prosecutor kept on referring to 'the old man'. That old man was me," he says smiling.

Before fleeing the country, he had engineered the rent boycott in the Vaal which started on September 3 1984.

While in Lesotho, the ANC ordered him to migrate to the Transkei to form underground units. It was not an easy assignment as the Matanzima brothers strove to eliminate the liberation movement with a vicious passion.

Camouflage

The energetic Sotsu was able to camouflage his activities by posing as a "farmer" in the rural villages.

Following a number of sabotage acts by MK cadres which claimed several lives, he was arrested by Transkei police along with 19 others.

They were charged with murder and terrorism. However, the State lacked evidence against them and charges were withdrawn.

Yet he was later convicted of terrorism and jailed for five years.

In jail he met Bantu Holomisa, later to become the homeland's military ruler. He was released a year later after Holomisa came to power in a bloodless coup.

Sotsu returned to Boipatong to agitate for the ousting of the local council in 1989.

He said most councillors identified themselves with the warlords based at Kwamadala and other hostels.

During the ANC conference in Durban last year, Sotsu learned of an attack on his home.

His wife, a daughter and a grandson had been killed in a hail of bullets pumped out by men believed to be from Kwamadala.

"It would be a waste of time to rebuild my house now because I know there are people who want to see me dead," he says from his room at the pro-ANC Sebokeng hostel.

"I am a reverend in the Church of God. I am a man of peace and that is the reason why I am in the struggle for liberation. However, to be peaceful does not mean giving up our right to self defence," says the man who has been dubbed the spiritual leader of the Vaal.

side on the ground while

Feared hostel a prison

(278)

Argus 19/7/92

By SOPHIE TEMA

HUNDREDS of men, women and children are trapped inside KwaMadala with nowhere to go.

The serious conflict between KwaMadala hostel inhabitants and Vaal residents became evident this week when a young woman — believed to have lived at KwaMadala — was necklaced when she visited her parents in Sharpeville.

The uncertain future of the displaced KwaMadala inhabitants — who fled the townships and cannot return to their homes for fear of reprisals — has caused mammoth problems for both Iscor officials and the IFP following demands for the closure of the hostel.

Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza said: "The government will have to provide homes and protection for these people."

ANC 'spy' confesses

S/Times 19/7/92 (278)

By TERRY VAN DER WALT

AN ANC member confessed at yesterday's IFP annual meeting in Ulundi that he was recruited to spy on Inkatha members at Kwamadala hostel.

The 17-year-old youth, Matanzima Nosenga, spoke to the Sunday Times after a scathing three-and-a-half hour attack on the ANC by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"I was asked to come here, but I was not forced," he said showing no signs of fear or intimidation.

He said that on Tuesday, he and four others were given instructions by a leading ANC figure from Evaton.

"I was advised that I must go to Kwamadala and say that I had been thrown out of Evaton because my father is a councillor.

"I did this and I was accepted by the hostel dwellers and was given food and a place to stay.

"I was told to follow five IFP members living in the hostel and work out their daily movements and get their car registration numbers," he said.

Asked what the aim of the mission was, Nosenga said: "So they can be assassinated".

NEWS Some of the Boipatong survivors have still not come to terms with reality of the situation

Haunted by slaughter

Sowetan 20/7/92 (278)

■ **Boipatong survivors of the June massacre are still having nightmares a month after the event:**

By Ruth Bhengu

IT'S a month since the night hordes of hostel dwellers descended on the small community of Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle butchering men, women and children, leaving 39 dead and the whole world stunned.

The fuss has died down but those who survived the attack and watched in horror as their loved ones and relatives were hacked and stabbed to death are still bewildered and grief stricken.

To many the reality of that fateful night has still not sunk in. Those who are supposed to be "lucky" because they got off with injuries are not only dealing with their grief but also with the feeling that they lived when others died.

So helpless

"One feels so helpless," says Mr Fillip Msibi (42) who lost his wife and three children. "You wish there was something you could have done but you know there was nothing you could possibly do." On the night of June 17 when the attackers fell on the unsuspecting residents, Msibi and his family were asleep. There were eight people in the four-roomed house - two adults and six children.

Msibi was saved by the fact that he was the first to get up when he heard the commotion. While the attackers stabbed and axed his family he was crouching under a car in the yard. He crept out only when the screams stopped and the attackers' voices got fainter as they moved on to other houses.

Forever

Msibi said: "That picture will stick in my mind for ever. It is the picture that comes up every time I close my eyes.

"My mother is taking my daughter to the psychiatrist. I think her mind has been disturbed.

"As for me, I cannot sleep at night. I see the pictures.

The doctor gave me tablets to help me sleep. It's the same for the other boy too.

"When relatives and other sympathisers stayed with us it was better.

Now they have all gone and now the pain has started afresh. Ah, sisi, you have no idea what it's like," Msibi said.

NEWS Returning displaced families in Alexandra, say

Cops to help evacuees?

(278)

■ For permanent peace to prevail in Alexandra, socio-economic problems such as the shortage of housing must first be addressed, according to a police captain:

Sowetan 20/7/92

SOCIO-ECONOMIC problems, including overcrowding and lack of essential services, should first be addressed before displaced Alexandra families could return to their homes, the Goldstone Commission was told on Friday.

Captain Carel van den Bergh of the Witwatersrand Internal Stability Unit, told the commission police were prepared to help the more than 600 families go back to their homes because the area was now calm "although I do not guarantee people will not be shot at".

He said, however, the area was now overcrowded, dirty, without essential services and there were sewerage blockages throughout the township.

He also proposed that because the area was overcrowded, the authorities should identify a new residential area for displaced families.

The chairman of the Goldstone Committee, Mr R Nugent, expressed concern that although police gave assurances that families could return to their houses, they (police) still did not know why these people fled.

The Director
African Labour Development &

Hostel men charged

Sowetan 20/7/92

■ BOIPATONG SEQUEL After the deaths of about 40 people Madala Hostel residents are to appear in court today: Sowetan 20/7/92.

By Abbey Makoe (278)

SEVENTY-eight Kwa-Madala Hostel dwellers are set to appear in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court today in connection with the massacre of more than 40 Boipatong residents on June 17.

Five other inmates were freed last Friday.

Police media liaison officer, Captain Nina Barkhuizen, said there was insufficient evidence implicating the released five, who were detained under unrest regulations.

The 78 suspects were also released with the other five on Friday but police immediately threw them back in jail.

They cleared the 78 under unrest regulations, which stipulate a maximum detention period of 30 days, but their freedom abruptly ended when police hastily re-detained them under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

Fourteen of the men had brought an urgent application for their release against the Minister of Law and Order.

The suspects, including a 15-year-old youth were on their 17th day in detention when they filed their applications. They are being held at John Vorster Square under Section 23 of the Unrest Regulations Act which allows for 30 days' detention without trial.

Their application for release was postponed and was to have been heard in the Rand Supreme Court at a future date but this is now doubtful as they are to be charged.

The applicants have been identified as: Bhekisiza Mbhata, William Ganzu, Tebogo Magubane, Thomas Songweni, Mghobodo Mongele, Elpheus Nkosi, Mazibuse Sodas Ngwezi, Madonsela Sibusiso, Hunter Ndlovu, Maghuzumana Ndwandwe, Philemon Motsei, Johannes Ndwandwe, Phillip Mgcina and the 15-year-old youth.

Barkhuizen could not give the names of the freed five. She said police investigations were continuing and that more arrests were possible.

Meanwhile Iscor, the owners of the controversial KwaMadala Hostel, has set September 21 as a deadline for the full integration of the inmates into another hostel, KwaMasiza.

At the moment, KwaMadala Hostel would be divided by a steel wall, which was already under construction, Iscor said.

The iron and steel giant added that a section of the hostel adjacent to the road would be closed.

In a statement issued to the media, Iscor accused the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) of a "breach of good faith" for going public about the plans.

Strike of hatred

Sowetan 20/7/92

■ **A woman lives in fear after in-laws' house is bombed:**

By Ruth Bhengu (278)

Investigations Staff

While 64-year-old Mrs Sannah Madikane is fighting for her life in hospital, her daughter-in-law Mrs Zanele Khatleli (28) is fighting to keep her sanity.

A clerk at the Johannesburg Hospital, Khatleli has been living in fear since her mother-in-law's house was petrol bombed a fortnight ago.

Some of her in-laws believe that she might be the reason they were attacked because they say she did not go on strike.

Khatleli, however, says she is a former shop steward of Nehawu and an active member in the Cosatu structures. She is also a member of the ANC and the SACP.

"I am so confused because I don't even live with my in-laws and I have been on strike," said a tearful Khatleli.

"If the attack was carried out by union members why did they not go to my house. Why did they attack my mother-in-law? There are so many unanswered questions.

"People are pointing a finger at me and blaming me for this tragic situation. They are saying, 'she is the one who caused it. She should have gone out on strike like other workers'."

Students with DIPLOMAS

Call-up remains 'for transition'

GERALD REILLY B/DAY 20/7/92

PRETORIA — The present military establishment would be maintained as an interim measure during the transition to a new dispensation, SADF chief of personnel Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn said at the weekend.

The current system with compulsory military service for whites created frustration but it was impractical to phase it out overnight.

The future structure could be a nucleus of permanent force members to man infrastructure where continuity and specific skills were needed.

A service component would provide for voluntary members.

Also in the concept was a part-time force which would be supported by some kind of military service.

"But until agreements are reached at a political level the defence force has to make the best of its present manpower system," Steyn said.

On national service, Steyn said the number who reported for national service in 1992 was 97%, in accordancewith expected needs.

In the July intake, 58% applied for exemption or deferment. Every case of failure to report was investigated.

Those involved would be called up and if they failed to report, criminal prosecutions would be instituted against them.

"The uncertainty about objections to military service has been removed. Anyone who has received call-up instructions can apply ... to be classified as a conscientious objector," he said.

Hostel dwellers in fear of their lives

B/DAY 20/7/92. (278)

RESIDENTS of KwaMadala Hostel, home to the alleged perpetrators of the June 17 massacre at Boipatong that left 45 people dead, say they fear for their lives if the hostel's owners carry out plans to move them.

A total of 78 KwaMadala residents are due to apear in court today charged with murder and public violence in connection with the Boipatong massacre.

Residents of the ramshackle, migrant labour hostel complex, situated on the edge of the township that gained infamy as the scene of last month's grisly massacre, told AFP on Saturday that the proposed move to the KwaMasiza hostel, in nearby Sebokeng, would "cause a lot of trouble".

Boipatong residents, who predominantly support the ANC, accuse Zulus from the hostel — a stronghold of the ANC's bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party — of being responsible for the deaths.

Iscor, which owns the KwaMadala hostel and employs many of its residents in its nearby plant, announced on Friday it had agreed to close the hostel, after negotiations with the ANC-aligned Numsa.

But hostel residents say they want to stay, in spite of the squalid conditions inside and the erection of a steel wall, also on Iscor's orders, barricading the hostel from the township.

AFP reporters were not allowed inside the hostel on Saturday, but spoke to two residents in a nearby petrol station.

"Iscor did not want to move us. They know we prefer being here," said George, who has worked for the company for almost 20 years.

"But it's just because of the pressure from the Boipatong residents and the ANC. They say we must go away."

He said the move to the KwaMasiza hostel — reportedly due to take place before the end of September — would be very dangerous for the 500 Inkatha-supporting, Zulu-speaking KwaMadala residents.

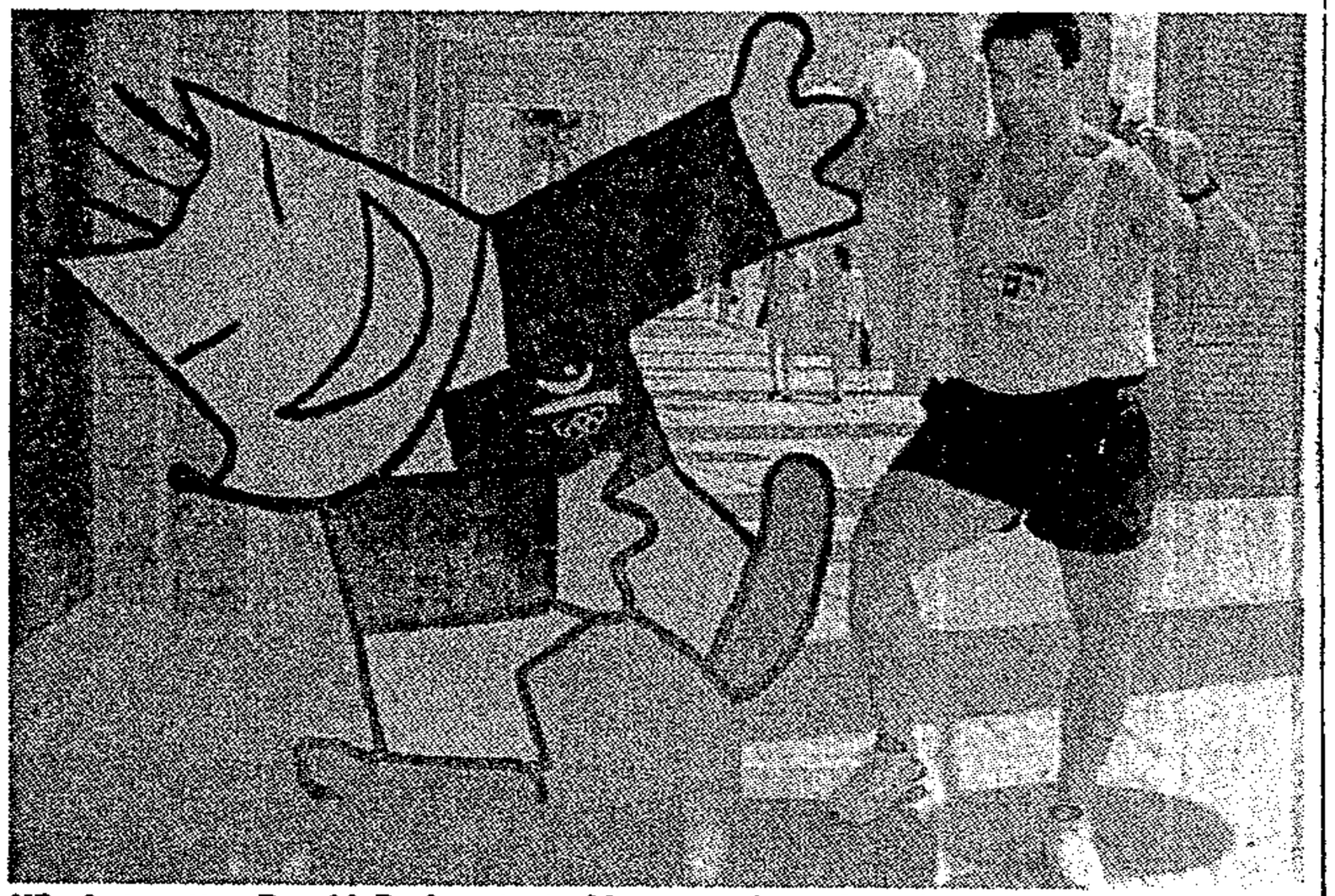
Sebokeng, where KwaMasiza is located, is a stronghold of the ANC and the extremist Pan-Aficanist Congress. Neither man would comment when asked if hostel residents were involved in the massacre. But George said tensions at the Iscor plant, where hostel-dwellers and township residents work side by side, were rising.

There had been no incidents at work, George said, but a stony silence prevailed between the two sides.

"It's sad, it's really sad, because many Boipatong residents and hostel residents used to be friends. We still want to speak to each other, but we can't.

"If an ANC guy speaks to someone from the hostel one day, that ANC guy is going to be found dead with a burnt tyre around his neck the next day," George said.

George used to live in the KwaMasiza hostel until tensions became so great, after a strike at the plant, that non-strikers and Inkatha supporters fled in terror, he said. — Sapa-AFP.



US shot putter Ronald Backes tests his strength against Olympics mascot Cobi in Barcelona's Olympics village at the weekend. Picture: AP

SABC, union meet in bid to resolve strike

THEO RAWANA

SABC's management and the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) met yesterday in a bid to resolve the eight-week wage strike gripping the corporation, SABC spokesman Carel van der Merwe said yesterday. B/DAY 20/7/92.

No statements were issued after the meeting, which followed the resumption of talks between management and Mwasa on Friday after a PAC delegation headed by publicity secretary Barney Desai met SABC's management.

The PAC had threatened to press companies to withdraw advertisements from the SABC and "ban" SABC crews from the townships unless the corporation worked to resolve the strike.

Sapa reports the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) said on Saturday it would continue lobbying for banning the SABC from televising the Barcelona Olympics. However, if the SABC re-entered bona fide negotiations with Mwasa by Wednesday, the campaign could be stopped, Nactu spokesman Mudini Maivha said.

PAC mourners killed in shooting at funerals

JOHANNESBURG. — Three PAC supporters were killed in an exchange of gunfire by mourners at PAC and police funerals which took place simultaneously at the Evaton township cemetary here yesterday.

Both sides, however, say the other began shooting first. Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said PAC mourners shot at SAP mourners, who then returned fire.

CT 20/7/92 (278)

PAC NEC member Mr Mark Shinners said there had been no provocation by his organisation.

Police and a Sebokeng Hospital official, who both confirmed the deaths, could not confirm an allegation by Mr Shinners that four PAC supporters were also injured and later treated at the hospital. — Sapa

Ruling on held hostel

(278)

STAR 20/7/92

78 awaited

Crime Staff

Police have said that 78 detained inmates of KwaMadala hostel will appear in court in Vanderbijlpark today in connection with the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

Captain Nina Barkhuizen yesterday said Transvaal Attorney-General Dr Jan D'Oliveira would decide before the court appearance whether to prosecute the 78 for public violence, murder or both. This follows a police statement on Friday that cases of murder and public violence against the 78 had been handed to the A-G's office.

Captain Barkhuizen said charges against the 78 under the unrest regulations were dropped on Friday and that they were being held in terms of section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which provides for detention for up to 48 hours.

● In a statement on Friday, Iscor accused the National Union of Metalworkers of SA of a "breach of faith" for making public details of sensitive negotiations being conducted around the closure of KwaMadala hostel and the relocation of its residents. Iscor expressed concern that "incorrect assumptions" could be drawn from the premature release of details before consensus had been reached on all points.

Iscor stressed, however, that it would not allow the "lack of good faith" to jeopardise the process of finding a solution to all aspects of the problem.

"For the record", it had been agreed that the hostel would be divided by a steel wall, that a section of the hostel closest to the road would be closed, and that residents from this section would be moved to the western side of the hostel.

3 die as mourners shoot at each other

JOHANNESBURG. — Three Pan Africanist Congress supporters were killed in an exchange of gunfire between mourners at PAC and police funerals which took place simultaneously at Evaton near Vereeniging.

Both sides said the other began shooting first.

Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweel said PAC mourners fired shots at a military funeral for a policeman at Evaton cemetery, and police mourners returned fire.

Spent 9mm cartridges were found at the two points where the mourners had been standing, she added.

PAC national executive committee member Mr Mark Shinners said there had been no provocation on the part of his organisation.

Police and a Sebokeng hospital official, who both confirmed the three dead, could not confirm that four people were also injured, as alleged by the PAC.

Mr Shinners said four people were treated at Sebokeng hospital, and that there were even more wounded people who had not gone to the hospital.

He said that one of the four injured was Miss Rebecca Setabela, sister of Mr Lipiki Setabela, who was allegedly killed by police last week. — Sapa.

AIG 20/7/92

Trust will bring us out of darkness

STAR 20/7/92 (278)

The United Nations has revived hopes for a negotiated settlement after the Boipatong massacre. But its constructive intervention will come to naught if South Africans themselves do not abandon their sectarian agendas. PATRICK LAURENCE interprets the situation since Codesa became deadlocked in May.

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha chose to end his address to the UN last week with the moving words of C Louis Leipoldt: "Out of the darkness comes the dawn." His choice was prescient.

Hopes for a negotiated settlement did emerge from last week's UN meeting, called after the terrible bloodletting at Boipatong and the recriminatory exchanges it precipitated.

The UN, once the target of bitter denunication by the National Party, provided the ember which rekindled hope.

The Security Council's special debate on South Africa, the constructive approach of the council's members and its decision to send a special representative to South Africa underlined a simple message: South Africans must resolve their differences at the negotiating table.

As the prospect of a new round of negotiations came into focus at the weekend, a central question commanded attention: how far apart are the main interlocutors, the De Klerk administration and the African National Congress?

From one perspective, a mere sliver seemed to separate them and the prognosis for a durable agreement appeared good; from another vantage point, the differences appeared to be vast and almost insurmountable.

When Codesa ended in deadlock in May, the narrow margin of difference between the De Klerk bloc and ANC axis was dramatised by a mere five percentage points. The two sides had agreed that the final constitution should be drafted by a popularly elected constitution-making body or constituent assembly. They could not agree, however, on the size of the majority required for acceptance of the new constitution.

Eventually, after much haggling, they agreed on the majorities needed for all clauses except one. They agreed that in general the majority should be 70 percent, but 75 percent for clauses relating to the proposed bill of rights.

They differed, however, on clauses relating to regionalism: the ANC would not budge beyond a 70 percent majority, while the De Klerk administration would not accept less than 75 percent.

On July 2, however, the De Klerk administration, in a bid to induce the ANC to return to the negotiating table, offered to accept a 70 percent majority for regional issues. The ANC had meanwhile retreated to its original offer of a two-thirds majority for all clauses except those relating to the bill of rights, where it still sought a 75 percent majority.

Even so, the difference was less than 5 percent — 3,3 percentage points — although it was spread over a wider range of constitutional clauses, instead of being concentrated on those pertaining to regionalism.

Moreover, the De Klerk administration, jolted by the ANC's decision to withdraw from negotiations after the Boipatong massacre of June 17, had moved to meet ANC objections on two further issues which divided them at Codesa.

The ANC, understandably fearful that the "De Klerk regime" would use the high majorities to delay adoption of a final constitution indefinitely, had insisted on a deadlock-breaking mechanism. It wanted the constitution to be adopted by popular vote in a referendum if the constituent assembly could not meet the prescribed majorities within six months.

The De Klerk administration, after stalling at Codesa in May, offered its own time-frame: if, after three years, fulfilment of the required majorities still eluded the constituent assembly, a general election should be held under a (not yet drafted) transitional constitution.

The De Klerk administration originally proposed that the upper House or senate should be elected under a system of what it described as "disproportionate representation", an arrangement which would give all parties achieving a low percentage of the poll an equal number of representatives.

The ANC, sensing a bid to thwart majority rule, balked, labelling the proposed senate a "loser-takes-all" system.

But in the wake of Boipatong, the De Klerk administration modified its stance: it belatedly agreed that the upper House, like the lower house, should be elected by proportional representation. Thus, in a sense, the seemingly small differences which divided the two sides at Codesa had shrunk even further. It was not quite as simple as that, however.

The ANC remained determinedly committed to the immediate installation of a government of national unity to oversee free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

The De Klerk administration agreed, as Mr Botha made clear in his UN address, that a transitional government should be established as soon as possible, but insisted that there could be no "constitutional vacuum". It wanted Codesa to draft a transitional constitution, in terms of which all South Africans would elect a transitional government.

Under these proposals, a popularly elected lower House or national assembly would function as a constitution-making body for the final constitution.

Each side distrusted its adversary. Differences of terminology and approach had not yet been eliminated as major impediments to progress.

The ANC suspected that the De Klerk administration wanted to ensure that the transitional constitution would become the final constitution, except for a few frills.

As SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo put it, the strategy of the "De Klerk regime" after Mr de Klerk's July 2 reply to the ANC was to marginalise the popularly elected constituent assembly. Under the plan of the "regime", the function of the constituent assembly would be confined to choosing "a short title for the final constitution and selecting a new flag", he remarked.

As the ANC saw it, the De Klerk administration wanted Codesa — an unrepresentative body composed largely of discredited "bantustan leaders" and "collaborators" in the present tri-racial Parliament — to usurp the role of the constituent assembly and become the de facto constitution-making body.

The De Klerk administration, however, had its own fears: that the ANC was manoeuvring to establish an interim government unimpeded by constitutional restraints and that its "deadlock-breaking mechanism" was a subterfuge to ensure the final constitution was adopted by a simple majority.

Even as both sides edged back from the brink, mistrust and fear — rather than divergence on constitutional detail — remained the real obstacles to a negotiated settlement.

The ANC still saw Mr de Klerk as a devious politician, seeking to establish a white minority veto, but trying to conceal his plans in "intricate formulae".

The De Klerk administration still suspected the ANC of striving to monopolise power rather than share it, and even of flirting with "insurrectionist thinking".

As the UN prepared to send an envoy to South Africa, it was clear that one of his primary tasks would be to free South Africans of all colours and all ideological hues from the bonds of suspicion and distrust.

Failure to rise above their fears would cause South Africans to recall the words of Sol Plaatje, first secretary-general of the ANC: "Alas my country! Thou will have no need of enemy to bring thee to thy doom." □

3 PAC mourners killed at funeral

STAR 20/7/92

Staff Reporters (278)

Three mourners at a PAC funeral in Evaton on the Vaal Triangle were yesterday shot dead by police attending a funeral of two policemen.

Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said her information was that both the PAC and the police funeral were held at the Evaton cemetery and that the trouble started when shots were fired at the police mourners at about 2.25 pm.

"The police returned fire and three members on the PAC side were hit. Two died on the scene and one seriously injured person died in hospital.

Earlier yesterday PAC official Mark Shinners gave a fundamentally different version of the tragedy, saying that two people were wounded when they were allegedly shot by police after a funeral in the township.

"We were burying our member, Lipiki Sithabela, when the incident occurred. As our people were leaving the cemetery, there was a rumpus and the police then opened fire, wounding two people.

"There was clearly no provocation on our part," Mr Shinners said.

Captain van Zweel denied the allegations outright.

She appealed to members of the public who witnessed the clash to contact the police at (016)—55120.

The shooting brings to at least five the number of people killed in violence at the weekend. Several others, including three policemen, were injured.

Boipatong: 78 men in court today

(278) ARG 20/9/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The 78 detained men from KwaMadala hostel will appear in court in Vanderbijlpark today in connection with the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

Police spokesman Captain Nina Barkhuizen said yesterday it was for Transvaal Attorney-General Dr Jan D'Oliveira to decide whether to bring charges of public violence or murder or both.

This follows a police statement on Friday which said cases of murder and public violence against the 78 had been handed to the Attorney-General's office.

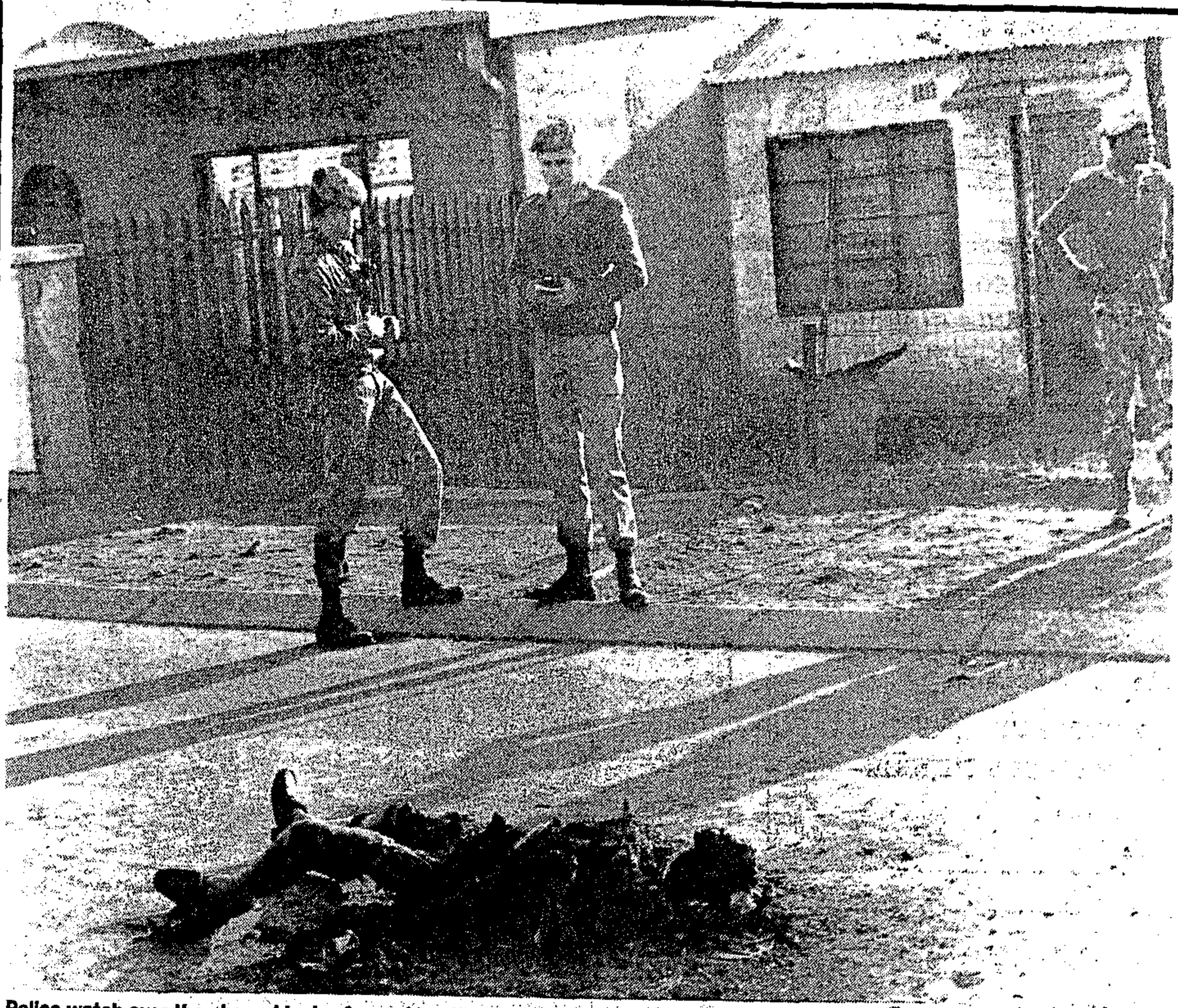
Captain Barkhuizen said charges against the 78 under unrest regulations were dropped on Friday and they were being held in terms of section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act, which provided for suspects to be detained for a maximumum of 48 hours.

● In a statement on Friday, Iscor, which owns the hostel, accused the National Union of Metalworkers of SA of a "breach of faith" for making public details of sensitive negotiations being conducted around the closure of the hostel and the relocation of its residents.

The Iscor statement expressed the concern that "incorrect assumptions" could be drawn from the premature release of details before consensus had been reached.

Iscor said it had been agreed that the hostel would be divided by a steel wall, that a section closest to the road would be closed and that residents from there would be moved to the western side of the hostel.

The Iscor statement added that September 21 had been set as the target date for the moving of KwaMadala residents to KwaMasiza hostel.



Police watch over the charred body of an unidentified man believed to be from Mzimhlope Hostel, Soweto. The man was burnt early yesterday morning. PIC: PATTY MOENG

Hostel men in court

COURT DRAMA The Vanderbijlpark magistrate's court comes to a near standstill as police prevent scuffles when suspects appear in connection with the Boipatong massacre:

Sowetan 21/7/92

By Abbey Makoe

SEVENTY-SEVEN KwaMadala hostel dwellers, among them three youths, appeared in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the massacre of more than 40 people at Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle on June 17.

They were not formally charged, no evidence was led and their second appearance was set for August 10. The magistrate, Mr GJ Reynders, ordered that they be kept in custody.

A 78th suspect did not attend the hearing. The prosecutor, Mr Erik van der Merwe, told the court the suspect was ill and in hospital.

The proceedings started shortly after 10.30am when a police officer shouted: "Laat hulle kom" (let them come) and the men entered the court silently from the cells below.

The court proved too small and spectators were ordered out to make room for the 77 suspects.

Almost all wore green and blue overalls and a few were dressed in what looked like prison uniforms and brown boots.

Magistrate Reynders asked the State to provide more details on each individual. He said, for example, the men's ages were not provided in the papers presented to him.

Outside the court members of the riot squad prevented a potential clash between Vaal residents and a few Inkatha Freedom Party supporters who had arrived in a minibus and a car.

Dressed in T-shirts with slogans such as "Boipatong calls us to action", most of the youths were militant and chanted in Sotho: "Ha ba bolawe," (let them be killed) referring to the 77 suspects.

Mr AS Burger, Mrs Anina van der Westhuizen and Advocate B Botha appeared for the 77 men, who have been kept at different jails since their arrest.

Burger requested that the group be held at one central prison until Thursday to facilitate consultation with the defence team.

He said he wished to place on record that a bail application would be filed on behalf of all the accused on August 10.

The majority of the men had already been in custody under emergency regulations for almost one month, he said.

Boipatong: 77 in court

Sowetan 21/7/92 (278)

CLASH DEFUSED Police stopped a potentially violent clash between IFP supporters and residents:

RIOT Police defused a clash between Inkatha Freedom Party supporters and Vaal residents when 77 men appeared in the Vanderbijlpark court yesterday in connection with the Boipatong massacre. The men are due in court again on August 10 when an application for bail will be made. They have been in detention since their arrest last month and are kept in various police stations in the PWV complex. Outside court yesterday a group of youths shouted that the men should be killed. Their appearance follows the killings of more than 45 people in Boipatong.

See page 2

:x ● Missing child found in mortuary

So that is how it looks like before we eat it, grandma? Tiny tots Mpho, Lerato and Palesa Mokoena of Mapetla in Soweto look with amazement at a fowl which is safely clutched by their granny, Mrs Johannah Mokoena. - Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

A father's gruesome find

■ A Soweto man says he will never get over the terrible sight of the mutilated body of his missing son: (278) Sowetan 21/7/92

By Sowetan Correspondent

AN ORLANDO East father yesterday told of the horror of having to identify the mutilated body of his four-year-old son at the Government mortuary.

Busisiwe Vilakazi who went missing on June 22 had his genitals hacked off, his tongue cut out and a large screw driven through his head.

He disappeared two weeks after a 22-month old toddler, Nhlanhla Mkwanazi, survived a similar attack in the township.

Busisiwe's father, Mr Themba April, believes the vicious attacks are connected and that a group of muti-murderers is responsible.

Mr April yesterday warned parents to keep a very close watch on their youngsters.

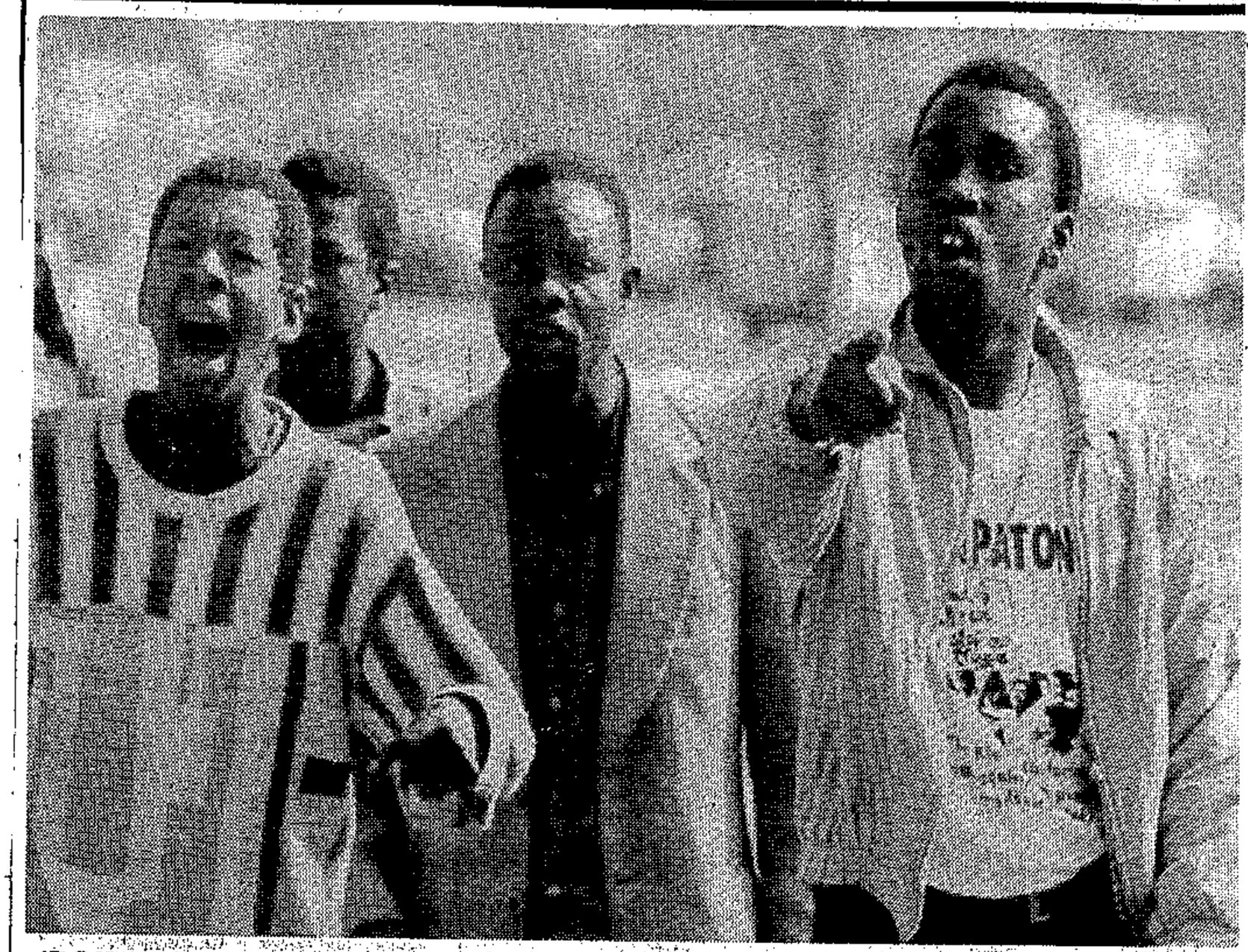
He said he was watching television at their home in Orlando East on that Saturday afternoon while his younger sister watched over the children.

When the child was allegedly snatched from their front yard, Mr April said he reported the incident to the police.

He got friends to help him search the neighbourhood, telephoned other police stations and checked all hospitals but to no avail.

"I didn't want to go to the mortuary when social workers at Baragwanath Hospital suggested it on the Monday morning because I didn't even want to think my child was dead," he said.

"I will never get over the terrible sight of my son at the mortuary. What kind of barbaric person can do that to a child? Why are people doing this? How can I cope with seeing my son like that?" the grief-stricken man said.



'BOIPATONG BOYS' . . . Boipatong residents hurl abuse at Inkatha supporters outside the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's court yesterday. Picture: AP

278 C 21/7/92

Hostel accused packs out court

VANDERBIJLPARK. — Seventy-seven Kwa-Madala Hostel inmates packed the Magistrate's Court here yesterday when they appeared in connection with 38 murder charges and 38 counts of public disturbance following last month's Boipatong massacre.

No charges were put and no evidence was led. A 78th suspect is in hospital.

The people who had packed into the public gallery were forced to leave as the accused, dressed mostly in green and blue overalls, filled the public seats, overflowing into the front of the court.

Defence counsel Mr A S Burger requested that the accused be held at one central prison until Thursday to facilitate consultation with the defence team. The case was postponed to August 10 for a bail application.

Outside the court police kept an eye on the small crowd, mostly made up of members of the Boipatong Boys — the township's young self-defence unit. — Sapa

Iscor denies KwaMadala transfers, retrenchments

B/DAY 21/7/92. (278)

WILSON ZWANE

NOT all Iscor employees at present residing at KwaMadala Hostel in the Vaal Triangle would be integrated into the local community, a senior Numsa official said yesterday.

Some of the employees would be transferred to other Iscor plants while others would either be pensioned off or retrenched.

He said the integration of KwaMadala hostel dwellers into the community of the Vaal Triangle would be "very" difficult.

At least 42 people were killed and scores injured when hundreds of allegedly KwaMadala hostel dwellers attacked Boipatong residents last month.

The official said Numsa had no objections to an Iscor plan to move more than 300 KwaMadala Hostel inmates to KwaMasiza Hostel. "But all parties — including KwaMasiza and KwaMadala inmates — have to agree to such a move," he said.

However, Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt said Iscor had reached no agreement with any organisation on retrenching, pensioning off or transferring employees who did not want to be moved to KwaMasiza hostel.

Howatt said the agreement between his company and other organisations, including Numsa, was that KwaMadala Hostel inmates would be moved to KwaMasiza Hostel on September 21.

"But details of how the people will be moved are still to be discussed," he said.

But as an interim measure, a steel wall would be erected to barricade the hostel from Boipatong, Howatt added.

Expert wants to see hostels upgraded

B/DAY 21/7/92

PRETORIA — A forum should be established to address the basic needs of hostel dwellers, including upgrading of single-sex hostels, says Suzan Barbara Rubenstein, social researcher for a group of private housing and development consultants.

Rubenstein was giving expert evidence before a Goldstone commission committee inquiry into the displaced people of Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

Rubenstein told committee chairman R Nugent, SC, yesterday it would not be proper to demolish hostels, as had been demanded by communities living outside the hostels. The interests of hostel dwellers should be established by means of surveys, and the inmates' problems should be addressed properly.

Money had already been made available for upgrading hostels, she said. — Sapa.

Bodies of 10 more unrest victims found

(278)

ARG 21/7/92

The Argus Correspondents and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have found the bodies of 10 more unrest victims — including three youths — in violence-racked Vaal Triangle townships.

The discoveries were not related to the fatal shooting by police of three mourners at a PAC funeral in Evaton during an exchange of gunfire on Sunday.

In addition to the Vaal Triangle deaths, police yesterday reported that a five-year-old child was killed and two other people injured when gunmen fired on a minibus on Sunday in Alexandra, near Sandton.

Police said only two of the Vaal Triangle victims — fatally wounded in separate attacks by unknown gunmen who burst into their homes early yesterday — had been identified.

They were Joel Mateu, 32, of Adams Road, Evaton, and D Maloka, 35, of Sharpeville.

Police said at least five other men and three youths died in continuing violence in Vaal townships at the weekend.

The bodies of an unidentified youth and middle-aged man were found with bullet wounds in Zone 3, Sebokeng. The bodies of another two unidentified youths were found by police in a veld at the Slovo Park squatter camp in Boipatong. Both had been attacked with stones and chopped with pangas.

The body of a man was found with stab and hack wounds near the Sharpeville Pan while the burnt remains of an unrest victim were also found at Evaton Small Farms.

Police discovered the bodies of two unidentified men in Zone 12 Sebokeng. Police believe both men were shot with AK-47 assualt rifles.

The motives for the attacks are unknown and no arrests have been made.

In Daveyton near Benoni on the East Rand a man was seriously burnt when homes were gutted in petrol bomb attacks.

At Lamontville in Natal two policemen were killed and another wounded when gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles fired a number of rounds at them.

● The body of a Camperdown policeman who went missing during an investigation into a rape case in Umbumbulu, south of Durban, was discovered on Sunday.

The bodies of the complainant and a suspect in the case were found with the body of Constable Titus Maphanga, 23. They had all been shot dead in the policeman's vehicle, which was found burnt in a deep gorge in the Umbumbulu area.

Police said Constable Maphanga left Camperdown on Thursday to investigate the rape case. Detectives launched a search and discovered his police minibus in the deep gorge on Sunday.

219 held in alliance campaign

(278) STAR 21/7/92

Staff Reporters

At least 219 people were arrested in the Transvaal yesterday as the ANC alliance's regional mass action campaign rolled into action with a spate of predominantly peaceful sit-ins across the Reef.

An ANC spokesman said last night that Pretoria civic leader Titus Mafolo and four other ANC demonstrators were arrested at 8.30 pm during a sit-in at the SABC's Pretoria offices.

The ANC's media department regional head Aubrey Mokoena and Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal member Mohammed Dangor staged a sit-in at the SABC's Auckland Park offices, leaving only at 9.30 pm when the Media Workers' Association of SA reached a wage settlement with the SABC.

ANC national executive member Rockey Malebana-Metsing and three other activists conducted at sit-in at the offices of the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation (BNDC) in Rivonia, Sandton.

They left after handing over a memorandum protesting against alleged repression in Bophuthatswana and urging the release of political prisoners and the homeland's reincorporation into South Africa.

Earlier, Mr Malebana-Metsing and nine others were locked out of the Bophuthatswana Consulate in Johannesburg, where they staged a brief sit-in protest.

Another five protesters were shut out of the BNDC offices in Pretoria.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC was "fairly optimistic" that the campaign had started with a "great measure of success — save for the arrests which we think were unnecessary". He said the protests were non-violent.

However, a police spokesman said some protesters "were not only part of illegal gatherings but in some instances serious crimes were committed".

The SAP warned that "uncontrolled and illegal gatherings" could heighten the potential for violence.

A total of 109 demonstrators, including the president of the Central Transvaal Civic Associations, Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, were arrested outside the Transvaal Provincial Administration building in Pretoria.

And in Diepkloof, Soweto, police said 80 protesters were arrested at the local police station for trespassing and were in custody last night.

Twenty-five youths were arrested after they occupied the town council's offices in Mohlakeng, near Randfontein.

Five National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) members were arrested after staging a sit-in protest at the Hillbrow Hospital, the TPA said.

The protest followed a meeting between Hillbrow Hospital's senior superintendent Dr Trevor Frankish and Nehawu, at the union's request, to discuss the violence related to the strike.

NEWS FEATURE *Even police Casspirs are not immune to attack by the 'comrades'*

Home-made firearms...teenaged comrades display the weapons they use in their 24-hour patrols in the streets of Sebokeng. PIC: LEN KUMALO.

Where comrade 'Nduna' and his boys are the 'lawmakers'

Sowetan 21/7/92 (278)

■ IN CONTROL *They patrol the streets of Sebokeng openly carrying guns, and hold regular residents meetings while police Casspirs race away from them:*

By Abbey Makoe

TEENAGE boys have seized control of parts of Sebokeng. Some are only 14 years old and still at school.

They patrol the streets - day and night - openly carrying home-made quash guns.

The boys are also the core of self-defence units in these areas, known as "blocks".

We found them digging trenches in the block called Solomon Mahlangu, saying that their mission was to ensure police and vigilantes did not gain easy access.

Only local motorists know which routes to follow, said the boys. Residents were up-dated about new developments at meetings, held at least once every two days, the boys said.

They man roadblocks on routes leading to various blocks.

Meanwhile, police seem helpless about the situation. When the boys attacked the *Sowetan* team in Zone 7, police in a Casspir drove away when hiding residents threw stones from yards.

And when reporters drove in front of the police Casspir, officers inside blew a hooter continuously and shouted at reporters: "Drive faster we need to pass."

Indeed, their heavy Casspir drove past a barricade, leaving reporters under attack from surfacing youths who wanted to take *Sowetan's* car, shouting: "Ke ya makgowa." (The car belongs to whites.)

Four weeks ago youths in Solomon Mahlangu block burnt down a house because the owner, a policeman known only as Pule, was suspected of spying for the SAP.

> **"They give us bullets from time to time. They know what we are doing and they don't spy on us"**
>
> **Leader of a Sebokeng defence unit**

In a block called Joe Slovo, youths also set alight a house after one of the girls living there was accused of being an Inkatha member.

The house belonged to an unemployed woman who earned her living by casually doing washing for whites in Vanderbijlpark.

The woman's other daughter, Sophia Mosie (18), said she has since joined "the comrades" to assure them no one in her family belonged to Inkatha.

At a roadblock, mean-looking youths demanded details of our identities and reasons for being in the area. The day was saved by the popularity of photographer Len Kumalo.

The leader of the defence unit was initially reluctant to grant us an interview. It was only on condition that his indentity was not disclosed that he started to budge. His code-name is Nduna.

"There is war going on here, Mfowethu," Nduna started. "We will survive," he said, looking impressively at the boys digging yet another trench.

Nduna made it clear that his boys were not against every policeman. "There are some who are living in this area and we don't attack them," Nduna said.

When asked where his boys got the bullets, Nduna smiled and said: "As I have told you, Mfowethu, some policemen here are very co-operative.

"They give us bullets from time to time. They know what we are doing and they don't spy on us," Nduna said.

His boys were patrolling the streets in three shifts, he said. "The first one goes in at 6am to 2pm. The second from 2pm to 10pm and the last group take up arms from 10pm until the next morning at 6am."

The one thing Nduna stressed was discipline. He said boys who misbehaved, like moving around asking for "protection fee" from residents, were sjamboked.

"Depending on the seriousness of the crime, I can give one lash, two lashes, three lashes and so on," Nduna said.

He said all laws governing the blocks were made at the 20-man "council", comprising representatives from all the 13 zones in Sebokeng.

The two-months-old council is based at zone 14 and "it is the highest law-making body," Nduna said.

There was no one in Sebokeng who disobeyed the laws because they were formed in consultation with the residents.

Sophia Mosie joined the comrades to prove that no-one in her family is an IFP member

STAR 21/7/92

10 more die in violence-racked Vaal

Staff Reporters and Sapa (278)

Police found the bodies of 10 unrest victims — including three youths — in violence-racked Vaal townships yesterday and at the weekend.

These death were not related to the fatal shooting by police of three mourners at a PAC funeral in Evaton on Sunday.

Police said only two of the Vaal victims — fatally wounded in separate attacks by unknown gunmen who burst into their homes early yesterday — had been identified.

They are Joel Mateu (32) of Adams Road, Evaton, and D Maloka (35) of Sharpeville.

Police said at least five other men and three youths died at the weekend.

The bodies of an unidentified youth and a middle-aged man were found with bullet wounds in Zone 3, Sebokeng. The corpses of another two unidentified youths were found by police in a veld at the Slovo Park squatter camp in Boipatong. Both had been attacked with stones and pangas.

The body of a man was found with stab and hack wounds near the Sharpeville Pan, and the burnt remains of an unrest victim was found at Evaton Small Farms. Police also discovered the bodies of two unidentified men in Zone 12, Sebokeng. They are believed to have been shot with AK-47 rifles.

The motives for all the attacks are not known and no arrests have been made.

Police also reported that a five-year-old child was killed and two people were injured when gunmen fired on a minibus on Sunday in Alexandra.

In Daveyton, near Benoni, a man was seriously burnt when his home was gutted in a petrol-bomb attack.

● The PAC yesterday called on Vaal police to resign in view of the fatal shooting of three PAC supporters by policemen attending the funeral of two of their colleagues at the weekend.

PAC Vaal branch spokesman Thami Plaatjies warned the police that they had started an "unjust war which they will not win".

Disputing the police version of events, Mr Plaatjies said the killings had shown that State violence would not end. "Is this the climate and milieu in which the United Nations Resolution 765 is to be implemented?" he asked.

PAC publicity and information secretary Barney Desai said the killings would be discussed with UN Security Council special envoy Cyrus Vance this week.

Official harassed, claims PAC

STAR 22/7/92

By Guy Jepson

(278)

The PAC yesterday claimed that police harassed its Vaal region spokesman Thami Plaatjie at his Sebokeng home on Monday night after a report on SABC television in which he blamed police for Sunday's Evaton cemetery shooting.

Three PAC mourners were killed in the attack. Police said they opened fire after shots were fired at them. The PAC says police acted without provocation.

The PAC said yesterday about 50 armed policemen had surrounded Mr Plaatjie's home and ordered him outside saying they were there to "teach him a lesson following his claims on TV news". They left after shooting in the air.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Pieter van Deventer was yesterday unable to confirm the incident. "If the PAC feels that the police acted beyond their powers, they must come forward and make a statement which will be thoroughly investigated."

West Rand unrest areas

278

SEVERAL West Rand townships were declared unrest areas yesterday. Sowetan 22/7/92

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, gazetted a notice in Pretoria declaring Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanieville squatter settlement and Bekkersdal unrest areas.

TV blackout threat withdrawn

A THREATENED blackout of the Olympic Games by the Nactu has been called off following the interim agreement reached by Mwasa and the SABC.

Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana yesterday said the lifting of the blackout threat could be reimposed if the SABC board failed to approve the settlement that brought the 10-week-old strike to an end.

The agreement has been hailed as a significant victory for Mwasa. Sowetan 22/7/92

King speaks of difficulties

THE ANC yesterday failed to set a date for talks between its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. Sowetan 22/7/92

At a meeting in Ulundi, Zwelithini said: "In terms of Zulu culture and those who share with us ubuntu/botho as African brothers, the consequences of the kind of statements that Dr Mandela has reportedly made about a meeting with me give rise to difficulties. There is anger around me about these statements and I would have to respond to any request by Dr Mandela for a meeting with me in the circumstances this anger is creating".

Numsa strike vote delay

ANC plans to 'open' cells

B/DAY 22/7/92 (278)

WILSON ZWANE

MASS action-linked arrests are set to rise today, with the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance planning to march on Johannesburg's John Vorster Square to "symbolically open cells".

The alliance's PWV region is also planning to occupy businesses, including chain stores "especially those which are presently in dispute with workers".

About 700 people have been arrested since the campaign to occupy government buildings began in the Transvaal at the weekend.

Police said they arrested 450 people yesterday for obstructing traffic outside Hillbrow Hospital, and other arrests were made in Carletonville and Soweto.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said in an interview yesterday the symbolic opening of cells at John Vorster would highlight his organisation's demand for the release of all political prisoners.

He would not explain how this symbolic action would be carried out.

"The actions are a buildup to two major marches to be staged in Johannesburg and Pretoria this Saturday," Mamoepa said. The marches would be on John Vorster Square and the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Applications had been made for permission to stage the marches.

Mamoepa said the PWV campaign would continue even if Cosatu and business

☐ To Page 2

Mass action

B/DAY 22/7/92 (278)

☐ From Page 1

did agree to call off a general strike. "The general strike is part of the mass action ... not the culmination of it," he said.

Meanwhile, people continued to be arrested in the Transvaal yesterday as they participated in sit-ins and demonstrations at government buildings. An ANC spokesman said 75 people were also arrested in Carletonville, western Transvaal, for occupying a local magistrate's court and Home Affairs Department offices.

Sapa reports that more than 1 000 Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association (Potwa) members downed tools in northern Johannesburg yesterday as part of the mass action campaign.

Potwa general secretary Mlungisi Hlongwane said the strike followed a recent attack outside Soweto's Meadowlands Hostel on a bus ferrying Telkom workers to work in Johannesburg.

The striking workers were demanding that Telkom management play a role in ensuring that hostels be demolished as soon as possible.

Mamoepa said five people occupied a police station in the Pretoria township of Mamelodi yesterday, while another five were arrested for occupying a magistrate's court in Orlando East.

Sowetan 22/7/92

Strike over hostel

MORE than 1 000 Post and Telecommunication Workers Association members went on strike at North Rand branches of Telkom, according to the union.

Potwa general secretary Mr Mlungisi Hlongwane said the strike followed a recent attack outside the Meadowlands hostel on a bus ferrying Telkom workers to their places of work on the North Rand.

The striking workers were demanding that Telkom management play a role in ensuring that hostels are demolished as soon as possible. Telkom said it would issue a statement later. — *Sapa*.

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Sizing up the cost of holding protests

(274) ARG 22/7/92

CITY HALL

Clive Sawyer

RECOMMENDATIONS by an international panel on methods of controlling protests could have wide-ranging implications for local government — as usual, mainly in the pocket.

The panel's report to the Goldstone Commission said responsibility for controlling protests should be shared by the organisers, police, and local authorities.

Organisers would have to give six days' notice to the council, which would have primary responsibility for amenities and services such as toilets and traffic.

The recommendations include scrapping the need for magisterial permission for marches and protests.

Press scrutiny of arrangements and events should be encouraged, as should public exposure of any breach of agreements by any party, the panelists said.

Commenting on the recommendations, deputy city administrator Mr Alan Dolby — a veteran of talks about walks — said a "stronger sanction" should be available if organisers did not give proper notice.

He welcomed the possibility of joint meetings between the council, organisers and police, and the idea of a Supreme Court judge resolving deadlocks over planned demonstrations.

Items which worried Mr Dolby included a seeming lack of emphasis on the rights of those not taking part in protests, not to be inconvenienced or have their working day disrupted.

He noted that the panelists opposed charging deposits against damages.

"It must be noted that in some instances adverse results occur despite the best efforts of organisers, but in other cases they could be the direct result of inadequate control or failure to abide by conditions," Mr Dolby said.

He is right. I do not see why those who pour money into this city's coffers should be expected to pay for damage and extra cleansing bills caused by hooliganism.

Controlling people in an indignant and emotional state after a protest is problematic, but the real trouble comes — according to a friend of mine in the civic movement — from criminals who tag along to create some dirty fun.

Rightly too, the panelists looked closely at the role of the police and allied forces.

Last Wednesday, the faces of some of the soldiers arrayed in Adderley Street were bleak with nervous tension, the kind that at some tragic moments in history has pushed fingers on to the wrong side of the trigger guard.

If the question of compensation arises, if people are hurt and property wrecked, careful investigation will be needed before someone is sent the bill.

Asking organisers to pay deposits might seem to be an elitist strategy to put a price tag on protest, but the alternative does not seem acceptable.

If uniformed State personnel caused the trouble, a public liability fund should be created for compensation.

Of course, a novel solution could be to revive the idea of a municipal police force.

City councillors approved the creation of such a force, with powers of arrest, more than a decade ago but the idea has been beaten down by successive Ministers of Police.

A metropolitan force could be trained specifically to handle inner-city issues such as demonstrations, while daily tackling problems such as mugging and crime against property.

One of their main advantages would be the opportunity to build a metropolitan force without the political baggage borne by the long-established blue and brown armed men.

Some might call the idea of a metropolitan police force a proposal for a private army, but it is no more likely to be that than any similar outfit.

The creation of a community-based and professional city force would cost money, but could be a long-term investment in times of turbulent expression of political feeling.

□□□□

SELLING off naming rights and sponsorships for council venues is a good way of finding money to balance the municipal ledgers.

Cash in hand to stabilise rates bills is compensation enough for living with, say, the Wheatiekrunchy Athlone Stadium, or the Fizzfizz Denture Fluid Green Point Stadium.

An idea well worth extending, no doubt, to sponsored T-shirts for councillors to wear at monthly meetings, signwriting on CA1 and other council vehicles and advertisements to brighten up the more tedious standing committee agendas.

250 arrested in demos on Reef

Political Staff (218) ARG 22/7/92

AT least 250 people were arrested during illegal sit-ins and demonstrations on the second day of the ANC alliance's regional mass action campaign.

Yesterday's move follows the arrest of more than 200 in the Transvaal on Monday, when several government-owned buildings were occupied.

Yesterday about 200 demonstrators were arrested at the Hillbrow Hospital.

And more than 50 people were arrested for trespassing after occupying the Carletonville Magistrate' Court and police station.

About 2 400 Post and Telecommunication Workers Association (Potwa) members began a strike at North Rand branches of Telkom.

ANC team gets a hostile reception

WILSON ZWANE

AN ANC-SACP-Cosatu delegation received a hostile reception yesterday when it visited Iscor's KwaMadala hostel to check on the evacuation of inmates.

Numsa official Alfred Woodington said yesterday the alliance had alerted Iscor's management and KwaMadala's leaders of their intended visit to the Vaal triangle hostel.

"But when we got there, about 200 people toyi-toyied towards us, calling us killers," Woodington said, adding that such a reception did not bode well for the spirit of reconciliation.

The delegation was able, however, to talk to the hostel dwellers' leaders. According to Woodington, it was agreed that a meeting of Inkatha, Iscor and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance should be convened today.

The meeting would discuss, among other things, what was going to be done about Boipatong residents who had been displaced by violence in the township and the reintegration of hostel dwellers in the local community, Woodington said.

Asked about the process to evacuate KwaMadala hostel dwellers, he said the delegation was satisfied with steps taken to date. One-third of the hostel had been emptied and a wall would be built between that portion and the rest of the complex, he said.

Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt has said his company intended moving all KwaMadala hostel inmates to KwaMasiza hostel by September 21.

Call for help in tracing killers

DURBAN — Natal's regional police commissioner has appealed to political organisations and communities to help the SAP trace and apprehend people who attacked and killed policemen, following the deaths of four around Durban recently, Sapa reports.

In a statement yesterday, Maj-Gen Colin Steyn referred specifically to three policemen killed at the weekend: Const F J J Venter, Const Tyrell Tyrone Samuels and Detective Const Titus Maphanga.

Just hours before his statement, Durban police reported the killing of Const Jabulile Gumede, who was shot dead at point-blank range in Umlazi while waiting for a bus to take her to work yesterday.

Steyn described the killings as "clearly politically motivated".

He said a meeting had taken place between the ANC and Natal police last week to address rumours that the SAP intended withdrawing from certain areas. The ANC had demanded that police remain.

"The latest attacks on members of the SAP can be seen as a contradiction of the sentiments and concerns voiced by the ANC," Steyn said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that 112 policemen had been killed so far this year.

In his response to Steyn's remarks, the ANC's southern Natal secretary Sibusiso Ndebele rejected "the general's insinuation that the ANC is responsible for the killings in Lamontville".

Ndebele said it was not ANC policy to kill policemen, adding that the organisation had suspended its armed activities.

President F W de Klerk has requested the Goldstone commission to investigate attacks on the SAP. Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday the commission fully shared De Klerk's concern about the large number of policemen killed and injured in recent months.

Goldstone also said the commission had received "disturbing reports" from the Vosloorus Local Dispute Resolution Committee concerning violence in that area. The commission was also concerned at the renewed outbreak of violence at Bruntville and Mooi River.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel gazetted a notice in Pretoria declaring the West Rand's Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanieville squatter settlement and Bekkersdal unrest areas.

RAY HARTLEY reports gunmen killed two men outside Selby Hostel in Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC spokesman Wally Mbhele said the attack followed the stabbing of a hostel dweller yesterday and the shooting of a worker on Friday.

In another incident, at least two people were killed in a shooting at an Umlazi home yesterday, police said.

And a burned body and a stabbing victim were found in Soweto.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus, who attended yesterday's SAUJ-sponsored conference on journalists' safety

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Politicians promote journalists' safety

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

POLITICAL organisations, including the ANC, Inkatha, SACP, NP and DP, yesterday signed a declaration promoting the safety of journalists.

They were attending a conference organised by the SA Union of Journalists. SAUJ president Peter Malherbe said that since January, one journalist had been killed, 21 assaulted and 12 threatened.

The ANC said it had begun setting up a network of media marshals to act as guides for journalists in townships.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the marshals would relay complaints from journalists to the ANC.

Inkatha information officer Errol Goetsch agreed that guides were needed.

NP information director Piet Coetzer said it was necessary "to change society's attitude towards freedom of expression".

The PAC and Azapo did not sign the declaration, which PAC spokesman Barney Desai said the national working committee had to discuss. Azapo's Steven Peter said it "needed to be broadened".

Hostellers drop case

(278)

An urgent application by 14 KwaMadala residents against the Minister of Law and Order has been dropped following yesterday's court appearance by 77 hostellers on 38 charges of murder and public disturbance, related to the Boipatong massacre. STAR 22/7/92

Anina van der Westhuizen, acting for the hostellers, said yesterday's appearance amounted to a concession by the police to the applicants. — Staff Reporter.

3 Reef townships 'unrest areas'

278

Three West Rand townships were yesterday declared unrest areas by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. STAR

They were Bekkersdal near Westonaria, and Kagiso and Munsieville near Krugersdorp. 27/7/92

Also declared an unrest area was the squatter settlement of Swanieville near Krugersdorp.

57 violent deaths since June 17

STAR 22/7/92. (278)

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

At least 57 people have died in violence-ridden Vaal Triangle townships since the Boipatong massacre, which claimed the lives of about 43 men, women and children on June 17.

This figure includes three members of the SA Police, shot dead in unrest-related incidents in the area, and two men, apparently PAC supporters, killed in Boipatong last week. Police have so far been unable to confirm these two deaths.

At least four of those killed in the latest wave of unrest in the Vaal were youths. Two of them were shot dead and the other pair died of hack wounds.

—Confirming preliminary figures, obtained from the police's Unrest and Violent Crime Investigation Unit in the Vaal Triangle, a police spokesman said violence-related deaths had shown a marked increase during the past few months in the Vaal.

He added that attacks on members of the police force had risen dramatically, with local policemen being the target of unrest-related incidents on a daily basis.

According to the preliminary statistics relating to the overall death toll since the Boipatong massacre, the majority of the killings occurred in Sebokeng, followed by neighbouring Evaton and Sharpeville.

Most of the victims died from gunshot wounds. At least 10 of the dead were necklaced or burnt. The remaining victims died from stab and hack injuries.

The police spokesman said the SAP was unable to speculate on whether the victims were mainly ANC or Inkatha supporters or sympathisers.

However, he conceded that as far as necklacings were concerned, it was generally accepted that this killing method first originated within the ANC after its "people's court" sessions.

But this did not mean that every necklace murder in the area had been committed by ANC-aligned supporters or sympathisers.

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CATHERINE ROSS

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Squatters' resettlement unlawful, hearing told

PRETORIA — Losses suffered by Diepsloot landowners as a result of property devaluation after the resettlement of the Zevenfontein squatters should be sufficient grounds for halting the move, the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

H Steyn, counsel for the Diepsloot Residents and Landowners Association, told Judge I W B de Villiers that the Transvaal Administrator had not exercised his discretion properly when he had decided to relocate the Zevenfontein squatters to Diepsloot, north of Johannesburg.

In terms of legislation, Steyn said, the administrator was also not entitled to resettle the squatters at Diepsloot. B/DAY 22/7/92.

Steyn said the relocation of the squatters would unlawfully interfere with the rights of Diepsloot residents and landowners.

The squatters would create a nuisance and landowners feared that the ground water supply would turn into a health risk as there were no facilities or services available at the proposed resettlement site..

Residents in the surrounding area also feared that crime would increase once the squatters were resettled at Diepsloot.

Two companies, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment and Eloff Street Farms, as well as three representatives of the local authority dealing with the squatters, were on Monday joined as parties in the court application to halt the resettlement.

Although the squatters had also been joined as a party, they were not represented. — Sapa.

Operation Alpo cuts deaths

B/DAY 22/7/92 (278)

STEPHANE BOTHMA

AN intensified SAP and SADF crime prevention campaign in two unrest plagued Reef townships — Alexandra and Phola Park — has led to nearly 1 000 arrests since it began in June.

More than 50 firearms, including AK-47 rifles and submachine pistols, have been confiscated in Operation Alpo, Witwatersrand police spokesman Frans Malherbe said yesterday. Several hand grenades and stolen goods valued at thousands of rands were also seized.

He said the media and certain political organisations had given the impression recently that the SAP was incapable of protecting the public.

But violent deaths in Alexandra, which in recent months had totalled more than 200 a week, were now down to an average of two a week.

The situation at Phola Park and Alexandra — where police were marked as targets — was "almost back to normal", Malherbe said.

'Not enough police to stop massacre'

CT 23/7/92

UK expert's report leaked to BBC

LONDON. — A report on the police's role before and after the Boipatong massacre has been leaked to the BBC.

The report, commissioned by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, was compiled by British academic Dr Peter Waddington and two London Metropolitan police officers. It is due to be officially published today.

Yesterday Mr Justice Goldstone expressed his regret that the report had been leaked ahead of time.

Copies of the report were given to interested parties on Tuesday to allow them to prepare for a commission committee hearing on the massacre on August 5.

"On past occasions, the commission has been concerned that public statements have been made, not on the context of its reports and statements, but on second and third-hand reports on them," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

This had resulted in misrepresentation of his commission's reports and statements and their being used out of context.

"It (the report) does not represent or reflect any findings or opinions of the commission or committees investigating the Boipatong massacre, whether in general or in relation to the conduct of the South African Police," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

According to the BBC, the report will say a shortage of police manpower "allowed the massacre to be perpetrated unhindered".

The report is believed to contain "a catalogue of shortcomings and failures" in the police planning and command, but provides no evidence that the SAP was directly involved in the attack.

Dr Waddington's findings, according to the BBC, said that police allowed weapons used in the attack to be piled together — making it impossible to link individuals to their weapons.

But Dr Waddington also reported that police efforts were "frustrated" by township residents' unwillingness to co-operate with the police, apparently at the behest of the ANC, said the BBC.

In what was described as a "badly handled investigation" by the SAP, the BBC reported that they "seemed unable or unwilling to establish what action was taken by whom with what result". They were neither trained nor equipped for the task. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Vaal faces total collapse of services

STAR 23/7/92

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

A serious health problem could be looming in strife-torn Vaal Triangle townships as local residents face what could become a total collapse of municipal services in the area.

The non-payment of rent since the Boipatong massacre is one of the main reasons for the brewing problem. Another factor is that rampaging mobs are making it nearly impossible for local councils to enter certain areas.

Roads are being blocked and municipal vehicles stolen or hijacked. When The Star visited some of the townships yesterday, it was clear that serious problems were already being experienced with sewerage systems, refuse removal and water supply in the area.

Sewage-lined streets and accumulating rubbish were a common sight throughout the area.

Also conspicuous were a large number of barricades in Sebokeng and Sharpeville roads, severely hindering normal traffic flow.

Stoned

(278)

An armoured police vehicle transporting members of the media on a tour of the area was stoned several times during the course of the afternoon.

According to a statement released yesterday by MEC for Constitutional Development and Negotiations Olaus van Zyl, local councils are unable to continue supplying normal services as it is almost impossible to enter certain areas in the townships with their vehicles and equipment.

Mr van Zyl stated that some of the sewage flow in the Vaal was already on its way to the Vaal River. He added that at various places, streets were inaccessible, and warned that the lack of refuse removal could create a health hazard.

Cement blocks were also being thrown into manholes in the sewerage system. The blockages in the system could result in some of the pipelines having to be replaced — at a cost of about R3 million.

Mr van Zyl warned that the current situation could cause a total collapse of municipal services in the area. Payment of accounts had dropped to a mere 11 percent since the Boipatong massacre.

It also appeared that damage to property was being done without taking into account the implications of these actions.

Tolerate

"Local residents can certainly no longer tolerate these actions in the townships. It is now necessary for them to stand together against elements that do not have the interest of the residents at heart. It is also necessary that local negotiations be resumed," he said.

Hundreds held in police crackdown on protesters

(278) STAR 23/7/92

Staff Reporters and Sapa

Police continued their crackdown on protesters yesterday as the ANC-led alliance intensified its mass action campaign, targeting Reef chain stores, the Rand Supreme Court, the Pretoria Central Prison and Government buildings.

Arrests ran into hundreds countrywide. In the Port Elizabeth area 243 demonstrators were apprehended, nine people were allegedly injured by the police and several vehicles were burnt.

At least 146 people were arrested in the Pretoria area. The ANC has alleged that two people were shot dead and two injured by police in Heilbron in the Free State when demonstrators attempted to march on the local court.

The Government yesterday lashed out at the countrywide campaign. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman said in Durban that the campaign had created an explosive situation and could lead to a serious escalation of violence.

The Star was unable to reach the ANC's directorate of information and publicity for comment last night, but PWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said mass action on the Witwatersrand had so far been overwhelmingly peaceful.

Scuffles broke out yesterday outside the Rand Supreme Court between demonstrators and policemen. Mr Mamoepa said 39 people had been held but police put the figure at 21.

Mr Mamoepa said 40 people were arrested in Sebokeng and 14 at the Katlehong Magistrate's Court.

At Pretoria Central Prison former political prisoners Carl Niehaus and Derek Hanekom staged a sit-in to demand the release of political prisoners.

At the Rand Supreme Court, ANC Women's League activists handed a memorandum to the Attorney-General's office.

Scores of demonstrators in central Johannesburg and Pretoria occupied chain stores, causing congestion, said Mr Mamoepa.

Pretoria police said 41 people were arrested at Rosslyn police station, another 41 at the Rosslyn offices of the Department of Internal Affairs and 64 at the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The ANC said nine of its members occupied TPA offices in Pretoria for the second time. Earlier, five people were detained.

Eastern Cape News agencies reported that in a move related to the mass action campaign, a planned visit to Port Elizabeth by the State President's wife, Marike de Klerk, was cancelled after ANC threats to disrupt the visit.

In Korsten, police fired stun grenades into a crowd of toyi-toying ANC supporters as they prepared to march to the municipal housing offices to hand over a set of demands.

IFP stand on stayaway

ARG 23/7/92

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has urged business to distance itself from Cosatu's planned stayaway action.

Business should not become involved in the stayaway action even for one hour, let alone a day, Inkatha said yesterday.

"Appeasement is not going to assist. If there must be showdowns, let there be showdowns because they will come anyway," Chief Buthelezi said.

He was addressing members of the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola).

He said "endeavours by businessmen to reverse the process of destruction and enlighten the ANC/Cosatu alliance to the consequences of their irresponsible actions", was strongly supported by the IFP.

The IFP was concerned, however, that the economy was becoming the battleground where the ANC-led alliance was "waging its war". — Sapa.

'Boipatong report raps police'

(278)

VICTORIA HOLDSWORTH

LONDON — The Boipatong report commissioned by Judge Richard Goldstone will say the SAP failed to prevent the massacre because of a shortage of manpower, the BBC reports.

The report, compiled by British academic Peter Waddington and two Metropolitan police officers, will be published today. Goldstone says the report on the June 17 killings was leaked to the BBC.

It is believed to contain "a catalogue of shortcomings and failures" in the police planning and command, but provides no evidence that the SAP was directly involved in the attack.

Goldstone yesterday appealed to all parties to refrain from commenting on the leaked report until today, Sapa reports.

The most damning evidence cited yesterday by the BBC was the unavailability of manpower, "which allowed the massacre to be perpetrated unhindered".

The police are accused of relying on "forceful suppression" instead of negotiations with community leaders, and criticised for having no contingency plan to deal with emergencies such as Boipatong.

More than 40 people died in the attack, which resulted in the suspension of talks between government and the ANC.

Goldstone was also requested by government to evaluate the police investigation of the massacre. The task was handed to Waddington, of Reading University, and two British police officers.

Waddington's findings disclosed yesterday that police allowed attack weapons to

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B/DAY 23/7/92

Boipatong

B/DAY 23/7/92

☐ From Page 1

be piled together — making it impossible to link individuals to their weapons.

But police efforts were also "frustrated" by township residents' unwillingness to cooperate with the police — apparently at the behest of the ANC, said the BBC.

In what was described as a "badly handled investigation", the BBC reported that the SAP "seemed unable or unwilling to establish what action was taken by whom with what result". They were neither trained nor equipped for the task.

Yesterday, a spokesman for Waddington said he had been asked not talk about his findings until the report was officially released, but the impression gauged by the BBC was that SAP activity was "less a conspiracy and more a crisis of organisation at the highest level".

Goldstone told the BBC in an interview yesterday the initial findings do not amount to a final verdict. He said the issues raised would be investigated.

"There is only one main item on the commission's agenda — to expose the truth. If that makes any party uncomfortable so be it," he said.

Mass action campaign jams retail outlets

B/DAY 23/7/92 (278)

WILSON ZWANE

ANC, Cosatu and SACP members jammed checkout points and inconvenienced hundreds of customers at retail outlets in Johannesburg and Pretoria yesterday.

As the mass action campaign continued police arrested 240 people in Port Elizabeth after an illegal demonstration at Livingstone Hospital. And in Pretoria 146 people were arrested after various protests.

These arrests, together with others on the Reef, bring the number arrested to 1 000 since the start of the mass action campaign this week, Reuter reports.

In Pretoria senior ANC officials Carl Niehaus and Derek Hanekom occupied a Pretoria Central Prison office for more than two hours to highlight the ANC's demand for the release of political prisoners.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said ANC Women's League regional secretary-general Lindiwe Maseko led the action at Clicks, OK Bazaars and Pick 'n Pay in protest at food prices.

A Pick 'n Pay spokesman said people entered the store, filled up baskets and trollies with goods and came to the tills where their purchases were rung up.

"They then refused to pay, saying they did not have money," the spokesman said. Goods were then abandoned at the tills.

A Clicks spokesman confirmed that a similar incident occurred at the chain-store's outlet in central Johannesburg.

No arrests were made in connection with protests at the chain stores.

A Correctional Services spokesman said Niehaus and Hanekom did not stage a sit-in at Pretoria Central. He said the ANC officials were on a visit to the prison when they asked the prison's commander to forward their memorandum of demands to the commissioner of prisons.

Niehaus said they had refused to leave the prison after visiting a prisoner until

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Retail outlets

☐ From Page 1

(278)

their petition had been faxed to the Commissioner of Prisons.

Meanwhile, people continued to be arrested on the Reef yesterday as they participated in sit-ins and other demonstrations at government buildings.

Mamoepa said 39 people were arrested for demonstrating outside the Rand Supreme Court building. ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu's wife Albertina and 12 other ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance members who had occupied the court building were not arrested.

He said the 13 left the court after they had secured an appointment to see Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres today to discuss the violence.

However, police said only 21 people were arrested for demonstrating outside the court.

The ANC PWV region yesterday said it had not planned to march on the Johannesburg's John Vorster Square yesterday to demand the release of political prisoners. A march on the police station and another on the Union Buildings would be held on Saturday, the organisation said.

● Picture: Page 3

B/DAY 23/7/92

SOWETAN Thursday July 23 1992

President FW de Klerk (second from right) and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha welcome US special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance and United Nations delegates at the Union Buildings.

Expert analysis ready

■ Report by Dr Waddington of England on police investigation into Boipatong now open to scrutiny:

Sowetan 23/7/92

278

THE chairman of the Goldstone Commission announced yesterday that an independent expert evaluation of police investigations into the Boipatong massacre had been completed.

The evaluation, headed by Dr PAJ Waddington of Reading University in England, was available in Pretoria for any party wishing to challenge material or the relevant findings.

The committee, on request, would hear such contrary evidence.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in Pretoria the report was being made public to allow parties appearing at the Boipatong Inquiry on August 5 to prepare adequately. 23/7/92

Sketching the background to the report, Goldstone said he was requested by President FW de Klerk on June 24, at the suggestion of the SA Police, to appoint one or more experts to evaluate the police investigation into the massacre.

However, the report was not one in which the commission or any staff member participated.

"It (the report) does not represent or reflect any findings or opinions of the commission or committee investigating the Boipatong massacre, whether in general or in relation to the conduct of the South African Police," said Justice Goldstone.

He added the findings and opinions in the report were those of experts appointed by the commission and were based on untested information given to them. Thus, the commission, the Committee of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and the SAP were in no way bound by the report.

Mass action hits stores, motorists

ARG 23/7/92 (278)

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds of protesters jammed checkout counters at retail stores here and in Pretoria as the ANC alliance's mass action campaign continued.

Several hundred people were arrested nationwide yesterday as police intensified their crackdown on protesters who occupied government buildings, the Rand Supreme Court and the Pretoria Central Prison.

In the Port Elizabeth area, 243 demonstrators were held and nine people were allegedly injured by police. Several vehicles were burned.

At least 146 people were arrested in Pretoria, where senior ANC officials Carl Niehaus and Derek Hanekom occupied a Pretoria Central Prison office for more than two hours to demand the release of political prisoners.

In Johannesburg, members of the ANC Women's League crammed into Clicks, OK Bazaars and Pick 'n Pay to protest against food prices.

The women filled baskets with food and took them to tills where they were rung up. The "shoppers" then said they had no money and goods were abandoned.

According to the ANC's PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa, the shopping action, which was duplicated in Pretoria, was led by the Women's League regional secretary-general Lindiwe Maseko.

The government yesterday lashed out at the countrywide campaign. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman said in Durban that the campaign could fan violence.

The Argus was unable to reach the ANC's directorate of information and publicity, but Mr Mamoepa said mass action on the Reef had been peaceful.

Scuffles broke out yesterday outside the Rand Supreme Court between demonstrators and police. Mr Mamoepa said 39 people had been held; police said 21.

Mr Mamoepa said 40 people were held in Sebokeng and 14 at Katlehong Magistrate's Court.

Pretoria police said 41 people were arrested at Rosslyn police station in Pretoria, another 41 at the Rosslyn offices of the Department of Internal Affairs and 64 at the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The ANC said nine of its members occupied TPA offices in Pretoria for a second time. Earlier, five people were detained.

A visit to Port Elizabeth by the State President's wife, Marike de Klerk, was cancelled.

In Korsten, police fired stun grenades into a crowd of toyi-toying ANC supporters as they prepared to march to the municipal housing offices.

In East London traffic flowed normally across the Kei Bridge today after a warning to motorists yesterday not to travel through Transkei.

The warning was issued by officials at the Kei Bridge border post after crowds in Transkei had barricaded roads with burning cars and rocks.

But an official at the border post said this morning that the troubles of yesterday seemed to have subsided.

In Qumbu a crowd of demonstrators burnt the Transkei flag outside the Magistrate's Court and replaced it with an ANC flag.

Incidents were blamed by the Minister of Police, Colonel V Ntshanga, on "criminal elements."

UK findings: Kriel orders police action

ARG 23/7/92 (278)

Political Staff

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has ordered immediate police action in the wake of damning findings today on the police response and subsequent investigation into the Boipatong massacre.

Both the government and police took the 50-page report, by British academic Dr Peter Waddington, "very seriously indeed and will approach the issue with the necessary gravity", he said.

The report, released today by the Goldstone Commission, contained severe criticism of police command at Boipatong, lack of intelligence and contingency planning, and lack of awareness of the importance of community relations.

But it put paid to ANC allegations of police complicity in the killings.

Mr Kriel had called for an urgent, comprehensive response to the report from police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe. He was already studying a preliminary report.

Acknowledging Dr Waddington's observations of severe police shortcomings before and after the Boipatong incident, he highlighted some of the findings "in the interests of balance and perspective":

- Police had no forewarning of the attack;
- They were not involved in the attack in any way; and
- the ANC's decision to advise against co-operation with the SAP would serve to perpetuate violence and intimidation, with which the police would have to deal.

Alleged E Tvl assassin isn't our man – ANC

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

278

The ANC yesterday vehemently denied that a man arrested in the eastern Transvaal in connection with the murder of an 18-year-old schoolboy, a Secunda cafe owner and four Inkatha Freedom Party members was an ANC-trained assassin.

ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu was reacting to a report in an Afrikaans newspaper yesterday that Mzwandile Gushu (29) had been a trained assassin working within the ANC Youth League in Secunda.

Mr Mthembu confirmed that Mr Gushu had been arrested at a hospital in Secunda shortly after 18-year-old Morgenzon schoolboy Dawid du Bruin was shot dead with an AK-47 rifle in Evander on July 1.

But, he added, the ANC "never hired Mr Gushu or any other person to engage in the alleged activities, it has no assassins within its ranks and it has no policy of engaging its members in assassinations".

He charged that the report was "dangerously misleading, sensational and downright malicious". STAR 23/7/92

According to police, Mr Gushu allegedly admitted in a statement made to a magistrate that he had attempted to murder Ali Ntsibi, the mayor of a township near Piet Retief, who was shot last year. Mr Ntsibi's brother-in-law was killed in the attack.

He also allegedly admitted that he killed Sabata Zwane of Wesselton last year, Chris Mgwanya and his wife in April this year and Advice Kwala of Langverwacht in November last year.

Mr Gushu is also accused of taking part in the killing of a cafe owner in Bekker, near Secunda, last year in an attempted robbery by a group of men. It is alleged that Mr Gushu identified his five accomplices as Lucky Mbuqe (24), Lucky Mbokane (23), Brian Ngwmpela (23), Willie Nkosi (28) and a 16-year-old youth.

The six appeared in court in Evander on Monday and the case was postponed to August 3.

3 die in unrest

(278)

POLICE said three people were shot dead in unrest-related incidents on Tuesday.

The SAP said in the daily unrest report released yesterday that the bullet-riddled body of a white man was found at Zonk'izwe squatter camp in Katlehong.

A body with bullet wounds was also found at Bruntville near Mooi River. Sowetan 23/7/92

The third man was shot at Evaton near Vereeniging during an alleged attempted robbery. Police arrested two other attackers in the incident.

Police were injured at Sebokeng near Vanderbijlpark in incidents of stone-throwing.

(278)

Goldstone adopts strong line on leak

STAR 23/7/92

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, yesterday issued a statement about the leaking of the Waddington Report to the media. The statement reads:

"To my regret I learnt this morning that aspects of the report of Dr P A J Waddington on the SA Police investigation into the Boipatong massacre were leaked to the BBC.

"On past occasions the commission has been concerned that public statements have been made, not on the context of its reports and statements, but on second and third hand reports on them.

"This has resulted in misrepresenting the commission's statements and reports and their being used out of context.

"In order that considered responses be made to the Waddington Report, copies were given (on Tuesday) to appropriate parties on their assurance that the embargo until 10 am (today) would be respected. The source of the leaked report is not known to me.

"I request that no comment ... be made on the basis of the incomplete leaked information, which is out of context, and that interested parties reserve comment until the full report has been made available tomorrow."

British experts slam SAP actions at Boipatong massacre

278 STAR 23/7/92

● From Page 1

● No cover shift on the night of the massacre, so no effective or immediate response was made to Boipatong residents' calls for help.

● Too few officers to protect the many scenes of crime so that proper detective work could be done.

● Inadequate intelligence systems failed to discover the intention to attack.

● No contingency plan to deal with a possible attack by the hostel dwellers.

● During President de Klerk's visit to Boipatong, police made no effort to control crowds and secure road junctions.

● In the subsequent police shooting on crowds, the report criticises the SAP for "lining police officers in front of hostile crowds, unprotected and holding a lethal weapon in both hands". This "seems to be a recipe designed for over-reaction".

● No system for deploying rapid reinforcements and alerting senior officers on the night of the massacre. Two police sergeants were in command.

● Only limited efforts were made to contact members of the community who could use influence to calm the situation.

● Suggesting discrimination, the report says police investigators negotiated with the KwaMadala hostel dwellers but used tear smoke, bullets and birdshot on Boipatong residents.

Probing the investigation of the massacre, the report identifies many mistakes:

● When police seized weapons from suspects in KwaMadala hostel they threw them on one heap which made it impossible to link individual weapons with individual suspects.

● Throughout the Vaal Triangle and northern Free State there are only 10 forensic investigators.

● The "confession-oriented" investigation, without sufficient supporting forensic evidence, was doomed to failure.

● There was no system for making individual policemen accountable for their action in the handling or the investigation of the incident.

Experts slam SAP actions at Boipatong

(278)

STAR 23/7/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

British experts on the Goldstone Commission have criticised the SAP's handling and response to the Boipatong massacre as "woefully inadequate" and "seriously incompetent".

A damning report to be released by the commission today blames a "failure of leadership at all levels" and the "incompetence" of the SAP's general systems and organisation structures.

It rejects widespread accusations of police complicity in the massacre.

"Omissions arose, not from deliberation, but from incompetence," it says.

The report also criticises the ANC for encouraging Boipatong residents not to co-operate with the police investigation and urges it to reverse its stance.

It criticises the police handling and investigation of the massacre for:

- Inadequate command and control of officers.
- A lack of effective intelligence and contingency planning.
- Unstructured investigative procedures which inhibited the gathering of evidence.
- Poor community relations.

"If the defects are to be addressed, it will require thorough reappraisal of the entire organisation, backed by the political will to ensure sufficient funding."

The comprehensive 50-page report was written by Dr P A J Waddington, director of Criminal Justice Studies at the University of Reading, England, who was commissioned, along with two senior British police officers, to investigate the SA Police's handling of Boipatong.

Their inquiry began on July 2.

The report identifies several specific failures in the police handling of Boipatong:

● To Page 3 ●

New bid to end taxi war

Staff Reporters (278)

A 12-strong interim committee has been appointed to supervise taxi operations in Springs over the next three months in an effort to end the protracted taxi wars in the area.

Violence in the Springs taxi industry has recently claimed the lives of 40 people.

Springs Taxi Association (STA) spokesman Sam Hlope said the committee consisted of five members of the STA, five of the Sinamuva Long Distance Association and two from the KwaThema Civic Association.

He said the situation would be reviewed after three months if there was no improvement in the feuding.

The dispute began last July over routes and the use of facilities at the Springs station.

A prayer for peace in the Springs taxi industry will be made by the KwaThema Mothers' Union, ministers of religion and members of the civic association at the main taxi rank in First Street, Springs, today.

Mr Hlope said taxis would transport people to the prayer meeting from the KwaThema Civic Centre free of charge at noon.

STAR 23/7/92

not living in as township violence continues to wreak havoc in Soweto

Fox Lake deserted as war rages

(278)

By Abbey Makoe

■ **HELPLESS VICTIMS** Caught in the middle, owners still pay mortgage:

Sowetan 24/7/92

FAMILIES WHO fled their houses during clashes between Meadowlands hostel inmates and residents are still paying their bonds - although they are not staying in those houses.

The homeless families are residents of Killarney, Mzimhlope and Meadowlands in Soweto.

They fled the war zone at the height of violent confrontation in the area, leaving behind their newly-built houses. Some of the houses are now vandalised and empty.

Some home-owners said they were forced to pay R1 025 towards their bonds to the Allied Building Society every month.

They said they have tried on numerous occasions to persuade the bank to suspend payments but in vain.

A memorandum was presented to the bank's management to urge it to heed their call, but it fell on deaf ears.

The residential area, known as Fox Lake, is separated by a wire from the hostel. On the other side, Fox Lake is divided from the township by Vincent Road, which has been nicknamed "death road" following many killings on the street.

When approached for comment, a senior official at the Allied Building Society said the media liaison officer was out of town and there was no one else to comment on the matter.

In the past weeks, *Sowetan* went out to trace the whereabouts of the displaced Fox Lake families. Many have rejoined their families in the usual old matchbox township houses.

Others had nowhere to stay. Few were found performing their daily household chores at Fox Lake. There were fewer than five families and fear of publicity restrained them from talking to *Sowetan*.

In interviews with some of those who fled Fox Lake, two points which instil fear in the minds of residents of that area were most expressed: "Inkatha" and "hostel dwellers".

Among them was Joyce Mudau. She said she was spending days carrying a plastic bag wherever she went.

She had a dress, towel, a pair of sleepers and a perfume in her plastic bag.

She slept at any place where she could find overnight comfort and avoid winter's chilly nights.

A cleaner at a post office in Johannesburg, Miss Mudau used to share her house with her unemployed son.

Her recollection of life next to the hostel is summed up in her description: "We were like hostages. We were like people living in jail. You couldn't even take a walk to your gate and have a look around the garden," she said.

She said she left the area after three hostel dwellers shot two women inside her house. "They were accusing the women of being ANC sympathisers who had infiltrated the ranks of Inkatha in the hostel," she said.

"But now," she said, "I can't afford to rent a house or a backyard room. Instead, I am seriously considering moving to Dobsonville squatter camp," Miss Mudau said.

"As if that was not enough, they then demanded that we take up Inkatha membership as proof that we sided with them"

Nomsa Makhanya, Fox Lake resident

Insurance worker, Nomsa Makhanya, fled Fox Lake with her child to rent a backyard room. She was paying her bank R942,00 every month, she said.

Miss Makhanya, who grew up in the township, said she could not blame township youths for attacking residents of Fox Lake. She said hostel dwellers used to launch attacks on the township, "using our premises".

Fox Lake residents were also "asked" by hostel dwellers to donate R2 every time they came home, claiming it was a "protection fee" against the township residents, Makhanya said.

"As if that was not enough, they then demanded that we take up Inkatha membership as proof that we sided with them," she said.

"Often they knocked on our doors at night, instructing us to go out with them when fighting against the township youths," said Makhanya.

Neo Mamatela, who also fled Fox Lake, echoed similar sentiments. "I just could not take it any more," he said.

He said he was missed by a bullet fired from the township side one morning while on his way to work. "Matters got worse when I was thrown out of a taxi queue in Meadowlands," he said.

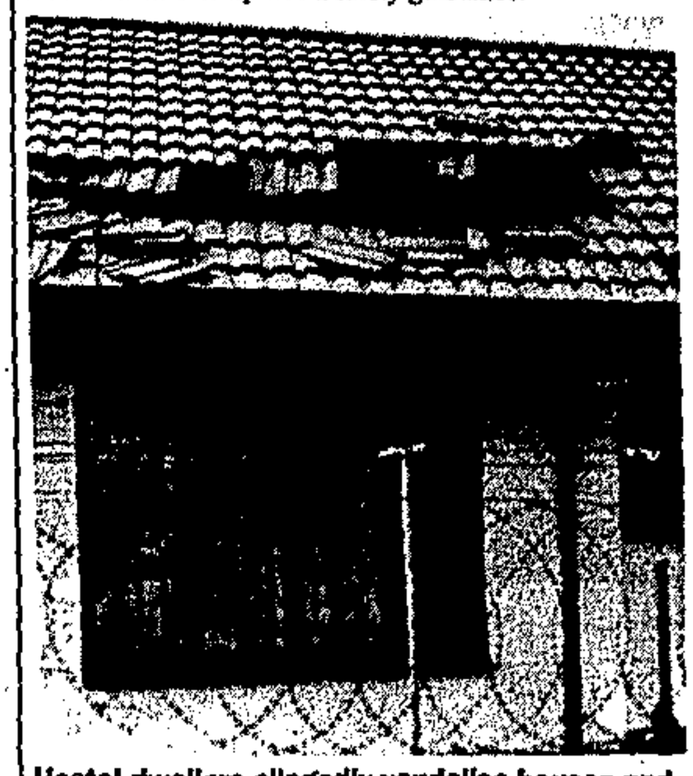
"Residents said I should go and use taxis operating from where I lived, in the hostel," Mamatela said.

Back in the trapped land where he lived, hostel dwellers accused him of being anti-Inkatha because he would not "donate" R50.

When asked what the donation was for, he said he was told the money was going to be spent on transport ferrying hostel dwellers to a rally in Ulundi.

The only money he remembered donating, he said, was R10, which like the R50, had to be donated by every householder.

"The R10 was going to be used to buy bullets," Mamatela said. He said they were frequently reminded that taking up Inkatha membership was a safety guarantee.



Hostel dwellers allegedly vandalise houses and steal whatever they can get their hands on.

It's the Keystone Cops, says Goldstone expert

WM Mail 24/7-30/7/92. (278)

A British policing expert has slammed the SAP investigation of Boipatong as 'inadequate' and 'incompetent'.

By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** *and* **PAUL STOBER**

THE demand for a fundamental reform of the South African Police's methods of policing, organisational structure and style of community relations is likely to follow the scathing critique delivered this week by British academic Dr Peter Waddington.

Waddington's report is all the more damning because the police investigation of the Boipatong massacre was a best-case scenario, conducted knowingly under the international spotlight.

Waddington, director of Criminal Justice Studies at University of Reading, was invited by Judge Richard Goldstone to scrutinise the police investigation after President FW de Klerk had opened the way for an international review.

It was the first time that a foreign observer has been allowed such a close-up and complete view of an SAP investigation. Being the first of its kind, with the eyes of the world focused so closely upon it, the expectation was that the SAP would pull out all the stops to perform as competently and fairly as possible.

Still, the SAP failed to convince the British policing expert that they were anything other than deficient and grossly inept.

After 24 pages of detailed and blistering criticism, Waddington described the SAP's response to the Boipatong massacre and their subsequent investigation as "woefully inadequate" and "incompetent".

He found that the police operation had "been bedevilled by a failure of leadership at all levels; contingency planning was inadequate; non-commissioned officers were left at the scene of a rapidly unfolding disaster to make fateful decisions as best they could.

"Command has been notable for its absence for much of the time; junior officers have not been adequately debriefed and lessons have not been learnt; and all the while community relations have suffered."

Waddington found that if the obvious failures of the investigation were in any way representative of policing, they suggest "the SAP is an unaccountable police force."

"The difficulties encountered by this inquiry team in uncovering the most routine aspects of the police response and investigation suggest that systems do not exist for either internal or external accountability."

The report backhandedly clears the police of complicity in the attack or a covering up state involvement, saying: "Omission arose, not from deliberation, but incompetence."

However, Waddington stresses that the movements of Defence Force units which were seen to escort kwaMadala Hostel residents across the road between Boipatong and the hostel was still under investigation by the Commission.

Peter Waddington ... scathing report

He said that two military vehicles from the SADF witnessed the group of hostel dwellers crossing the road on their way to perpetrating the massacre and "blocked the highway so as to prevent the traffic flowing across it. Their reasons for taking this action must be a matter of speculation for the inquiry team".

The report criticises the African National Congress and its allies for "orchestrating a campaign of non-co-operation designed to frustrate the investigation" and censures the press for reporting gossip and unsubstantiated rumour.

However, Waddington found that the police took only limited steps to contact those members of the community who could have used their influence to calm the volatile situation.

"The investigating officers have repeatedly complained about the hostility and obstruction of the township residents, apparently at the behest of the ANC, but the police have explicitly abstained from any steps to liaise with the ANC or any other local influential bodies and personalities except through formal channels which continue not to function."

Waddington contrasts the eagerness of the police to negotiate with the hostel dwellers of kwaMadala to their hardline approach to the township residents, commenting on the lasting danger to community relations in this discrimination.

"Boipatong residents might justifiably conclude that whereas their understandable anger and resentment was met with teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot, a similarly forceful attitude was not adopted towards the hostel-dwelling suspects."

Despite recognising the validity of many of the critiscisms in the report, police reaction was extremely defensive.

Yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, provided "balance and perspective" to the report by emphasising that the inquiry had not found information indicating police complicity in the attack and condemning the ANC's call to Boipatong residents not to co-operate with the police.

Moving to pre-empt renewed calls for the restructuring of the police, SAP Commissioner Johan van der Merwe, has announced that "serious attention" is being given to aspects of the report. He pointed out that a Police Board had been recently appointed to look into the training, efficiency and the command and control of the police.

The ANC said the report confirmed police responsibility for the massacre, "by neglect and indifference". It called for the SAP to be placed under multi-party control so that the re-orientation of the police could begin. The organisation also demanded more international monitoring and an immediate review of all police structures.

In a statement on Thursday, the Policing Research Project at the University of the Witwatersrand, said report confirmed the "rhetoric of police reform had not been matched by real change in police practice and attitudes. We hope the SAP review its structures and practices in the interests of better policing".

● See PAGE 2

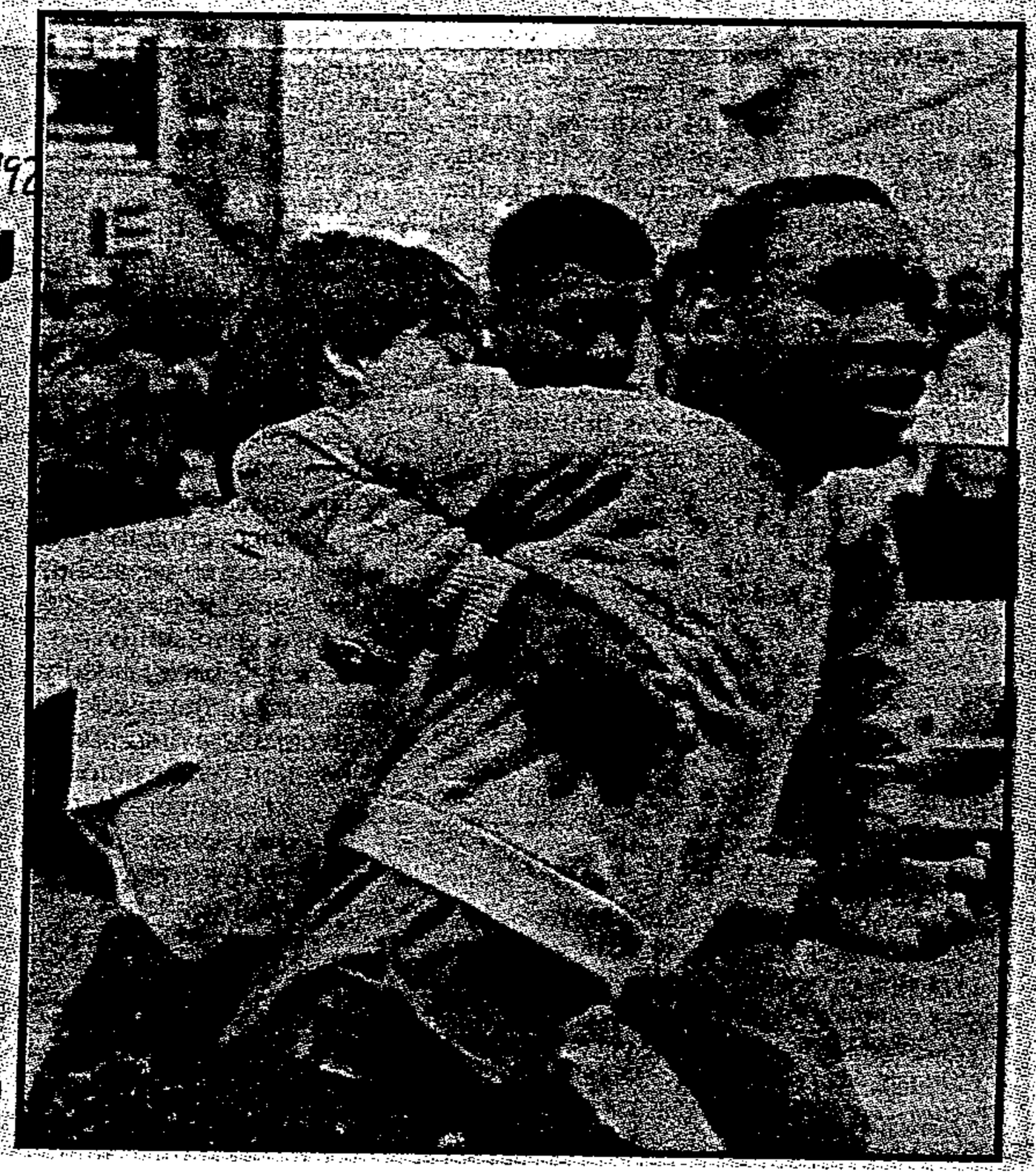
Speaking softly and watching for the big stick

W Mail 24/7-30/7/92

(278)

MASS action reached the Transvaal this week. But both the mass and the action were supplied by squads of ever-vigilant police, rather than the straggly knots of protesters. Here a little group gathered outside Johannesburg's Supreme Court (left) are speedily strong-armed into waiting police vans (right) by a no-nonsense plain-clothes policewoman

Photos: GUY ADAMS and KEVIN CARTER



Nowhere to go ... IFP hostel dwellers demonstrate and chant outside the soon-to-be-closed kwaMadala Hostel this week

Photo: GUY ADAMS

First the rage, then a shaky peace at hostel

W/Mail 24/7-30/7/92

Iscor's decision to close the controversial kwaMadala Hostel could have been a spark for conflict. But cool heads and negotiations saved the day, reports

BEATHUR BAKER

'DOWN with Mandela!" "Numsa job thieves!" yelled the hostel dwellers — it looked as if we were about to witness another bloody episode in South Africa's unending political war.

Bristling tensions initially marked the encounter between inmates of the kwaMadala hostel in Vanderbijlpark — the alleged launching-pad of the Boipatong massacre and numerous other attacks on surrounding townships — and a team from the National Union of Metalworkers and the African National Congress this week. But "a quiet word turneth away anger": subsequent negotiations defused the violent emotions and may have built a tenuous bridge between the two profoundly alienated groups.

The hostel, an Inkatha stronghold, had become a virtual no-go area, sealed off from Boipatong since the massacre almost a month ago. The visitors from Numsa and the ANC were checking on the progress made in evacuating the hostel, after Iscor's announcement that it is to close by September 12.

As they stood outside the building, waiting for representatives of the hostel to arrive, the Numsa team was surrounded by more than 200 angry, slogan-shouting hostel inmates. Others — including a large number of women and children — carried placards saying "Keep away from our hostel" and "You may destroy kwaMadala but you will not destroy the mighty Zulu".

The leader of the Numsa delegation, Alfred Woodington, found himself being backed against his car while a group of men, all carrying knobkieries, stamped around him.

Violence was averted when each side allowed the other to state its case — to the hostellers' complaint that Numsa had no members at kwaMadala, Woodington replied that the visit had been arranged with Inkatha Freedom Party officials.

After a 15-minute discussion, the two sides agreed that the Numsa/ANC delegation be allowed into a section of kwaMadala facing Boipatong which has been sealed off by a steel wall. This has been constructed by Iscor in response to township residents' pleas. An Iscor worker cut a man-sized hole in the steel curtain to give the delegation access.

Closing the hostel is only the beginning of an enormously difficult and delicate process. Iscor has announced that the kwaMadala inmates are to be reintegrated with the 4 500 residents of nearby kwaMasiza, its main hostel and an ANC stronghold.

In the aftermath of the massacre, Numsa officials indicated the kwaMadala men would not be welcome. And the IFP members are convinced that a return to kwaMasiza, which they fled in late 1990, will be suicide.

This week IFP, ANC/Numsa and Iscor set the wheels in motion at a meeting to decide how to evacuate the hostel and where to move the residents. Walking around the empty part of the hostel, senior Numsa official Bernie Fanaroff asked accompanying IFP members what they suggested be done about the move to kwaMasiza. One man answered: "We must just sit around the table and talk about this thing. We can't go back to the other hostel, we will be killed."

IFP central committee member and urban organiser Vitus Mvelase added emphatically: "kwaMadala is the only place our people can flee to; we believe our people must stay together."

The hostel dwellers faced huge and daily problems, he added. "Because they are known IFP supporters, they say they are not safe from township residents, which adds to their isolation."

Afterwards Fanaroff summed up the problem from Numsa's side: "The reality is that kwaMasiza people do not want them. They are very suspicious because they feel the kwaMadala people have been involved in massacres." Although the community of Boipatong initially wanted kwaMadala destroyed, Fanaroff said: "We felt that we cannot put kwaMadala residents in the veld."

During the tour of the hostel, some of the inmates described how they had to walk around in groups of six or more for protection. "We cannot even catch taxis, because the drivers are stopped from picking us up," said one man.

Despite these fears, Iscor is adamant that the move must go ahead. Said Iscor spokesman Ernest Webstock: "The main aim still remains to integrate kwaMadala people into kwaMasiza."

Iscor is also insisting that only its workers will be housed, and has excluded non-employees from kwaMadala. This has created a mini-crisis — these men have nowhere to go — but has ironically placed Numsa and the IFP in the same camp. Both agree that temporary accommodation must be found.

This week's encounter may have taken another small step towards reconciliation. At the end of the three-hour visit representatives shook hands, nodded in agreement over the agenda and set the date of the next meeting — July 22.

NEWS FEATURE Report is grave

Kriel reacts to criticism of SAP

Sowetan 24/7/92

STANDING ACCUSED Police had a more accommodating approach to hostel dwellers than to township residents:

(278)

THE GOVERNMENT AND police took Dr PAJ Waddington's severe criticism about the police's handling of the Boipatong massacre very seriously indeed.

They would approach the issue with the necessary gravity, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Waddington, director of Criminal Justice Studies at Reading University, was appointed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to evaluate the SA Police's investigation into the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Waddington's report was officially released yesterday morning, following earlier media leaks.

Shortcomings on command

Kriel said Waddington maintained his inquiry into the SAP response to and investigation of the Boipatong massacre revealed severe shortcomings concerning command and control, intelligence and contingency planning, investigative procedures and a lack of awareness of the importance of sound community relations.

However, said Kriel, in the interests of balance and perspective, it should also be noted that:

The SAP had no forewarning of the attack;

The SAP was not involved in the attack in any way whatsoever;

The decision by the African National Congress and its affiliates to advise township residents not to cooperate with the police would serve to perpetuate violence and intimidation, with which the police would have to deal.

"The finding that the SAP was not involved in the massacre will now hopefully lead to the halting of the campaign.

Kriel said he had requested the Commissioner of the SAP, General Johan van der Merwe, to provide him with an urgent and comprehensive report on the matter.

Kriel had already received a preliminary report which he was studying intensively.

Kriel had also requested of Van der Merwe that the Management Board of the police, the general staff and other members of the SAP top management give further urgent attention to the Waddington report in order to provide Kriel with recommendations in this regard within seven days.

A wide range of experts should be consulted for comment and possible recommendations.

According to the executive summary of the report, the inquiry had identified a number of flaws and mistakes of both police procedure and judgment.

This suggested that the SAP suffered from "serious organisational problems".

Unavailability of manpower

These could be summarised under four headings: inadequate command and control, ineffective intelligence and contingency planning, unstructured investigation, and insufficient awareness of community relations.

Under the first heading of Inadequate Command and Control, the report noted: "The unavailability of manpower and the deployment of those that were available allowed this massacre to be perpetrated unhindered."

It added: "Senior officers showed a lack of basic strategic planning and tactical implementation."

Regarding the SAP's "Ineffective Intelligence and Contingency Planning", the report said the routine assessment of variations in tensions in sensitive areas was underdeveloped.

The police lacked adequate contingency plans to deal with the KwaMadala hostel situation, that had been a source of policing problems for some time, or any other possible scenarios.

"The debriefing that has so far taken place has been grossly inadequate and lessons seem not to have been learned," the report said.

It continued, "Indeed, to judge from Boipatong, the SAP lack adequate mechanisms for internal and external accountability, since they seem unable or unwilling to establish what action was taken by whom with what result."

Discussing the police's ""Unstructured Investigation", the report said superficial scenes of crime investigation seemed endemic, since there were few grossly overburdened officers to do this work in the area, and they lacked adequate management.

The SAP's "case docket" approach to investigation was inadequate for an inquiry of this complexity. - *Sapa*

Boipatong: FW 'warned'

(278) CT 24/7/92

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk was warned not to visit Boipatong, the Waddington report on the police's role in the massacre investigation says.

He had to leave the township when confronted by angry residents.

Yesterday the Waddington report, which was commissioned by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, was presented. It was drawn up by Dr P A J Waddington and two London Metropolitan Police officers. The report will be investigated by the Goldstone Commission.

The investigators sharply criticised the police's handling of the Boipatong massacre, saying the SAP suffered from "serious organisational problems". But there had been no evidence of direct police complicity in the massacre.

According to the report's summary, the inquiry had identified a number of flaws and mistakes of both police procedure and judgment.

"The unavailability of manpower and the deployment of those that were available allowed this massacre to be perpetrated unhindered," the report said.

Superficial scenes of crime investigation seemed endemic, since there were few grossly overburdened officers to do this work in the area, and they lacked adequate management.

The investigators said the police seemed to take a "more accommodating approach" towards hostel dwellers than township residents.

Seized weapons at KwaMadala hostel "cannot be linked to individual hostel-dwellers because of the decision to allow weapons to be placed on a pile".

● Mr De Klerk's office last night denied that he was advised not to visit Boipatong after the massacre. — Sapa

SA Police announce urgent improvements

THE South African Police, reeling in the wake of sharp criticism from British experts on its response to the Boipatong massacre, has announced a wide range of urgent steps it is taking to improve its investigations.

Police Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe announced last night that "urgent attention" was being given to:

● An investigation by the Police Board into all aspects of training, efficiency, command and control as well as relations between the police and the community.

● Upgrading operational rooms and providing them with computers and "other sophisticated equipment".

● An investigation into information documentation systems used by police elsewhere.

● Having an experienced member of the force co-ordinate the handling of documents where the extent of an investigation required it.

● Increasing the "numerical strength" of the Internal Stability unit.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel yesterday also ordered immediate police action in the wake of the release of the findings by the Goldstone Commission.

Howver, Mr Kriel welcomed the findings that the SAP had no forewarning of the attack and was not involved in the attack.

General Van der Merwe said there were aspects of the report on the Boipatong investigation by Dr P A J Waddington of the University of Reading that he did not agree with.

The ANC yesterday charged that the report was a damning indictment of the standards of policing. — Sapa

State is blamed for attack

■ ANC and Union tell mourners that agents attacked Madikane family

Sowetan 24/7/92

By Isaac Moledi (278)

GOVERNMENT agents were yesterday blamed for the petrol bomb attack which killed four members of the Madikane family in Naledi, Soweto.

Speakers from both the ANC and National Education, Health and Workers Union who addressed more than 1 000 mourners at their funeral at Avalon cemetery, accused State agents.

The four who were buried, Zodwa Madikane (22), Buyiswa Khahledi (24), Nomqibelo Khahledi (40) and Joel Khahledi (13), were among seven, including a 63-year old grandmother, seriously injured during the attack.

Mrs Sannah Madikane, who is still recovering from burns at Baragwanath Hospital, attended the funeral.

ANC Women's League spokesperson Thandi Modise said it was high time that the Government resigned.

Nehawu spokesperson Mrs Joyce Mabudhafasi also said the Government, and not Nehawu, was responsible for the attack.

"It is our experience that the Government will always exploit our differences in order to use its agents to attack us," Mabudhafasi said.

She said she was amazed that Nehawu was held responsible for the killings while the union understood Government tricks against the black community.

'Suspend cops'

By BAFANA KHUMALO (278)

WORKERS at AECI's Modderfontein plant are demanding the suspension of two policemen allegedly involved in the death of a colleague in custody. A group of workers marched to the local police station last Friday to lodge their demands.

And in a joint statement issued this week, AECI and the South African Chemicals Workers' Union said "a high-level delegation will meet with the South African Police to express its concern regarding the safety of employees at Modderfontein".

A police spokesman has confirmed that a police reservist is a suspect in the investigation of the murder case arising from the death of Mpebela Salukazana. (Mail 24/7-30/7/92.)

Salukazana (46) was arrested on July 11 while walking to work with a colleague. It is alleged that during the arrest he was beaten by the reservist, who says Salukazana resisted arrest and "compelled him to use force to overcome the resistance". Salukazana later died in the Hillbrow Hospital.

His companion, Bransby Nkohlo, this week described the incident: "We were walking around the area of Illiondale and a car drove up behind us. We just ignored it and kept on walking." The car followed the men and then stopped on the pavement, he said. "The man questioned us, but did not tell us that he was policeman. He ordered us to get into his car. We refused and walked away. He then got out of the car and we ran."

Nkohlo said the man chased them and tackled Salukazana, "kicking and punching him, and shouting 'bloody maXhosa'". Nkohlo ran back to help his colleague, but was himself assaulted and fled when their assailant pulled out a gun.

East Rand police liaison officer Captain JA van Zweel said Salukazana was suspected of earlier attempting to break into the Illiondale home of the reservist, who was accompanied by a Constable LR Naicker at the time of the arrest.

"It has not been established whether he died as a result of the injuries sustained during the arrest.

"Suspension of the member/s involved will depend on the outcome of the investigation of the case," Van Zweel said.

More policemen to be deployed in unrest areas

STAR 24/7/92.

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Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent

The SA Police is to boost the number of specially trained men in unrest areas in an effort to combat violence, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe announced yesterday.

He was reacting to a report released yesterday by British experts appointed by the Goldstone Commission to probe the police's handling of and response to the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The report, released after an investigation by British academic Dr Peter Waddington and two London police officers, was sharply critical of the police but discounted allegations of police complicity in the slayings.

It was also critical of the ANC for asking Boipatong residents not to co-operate with the police investigation.

General van der Merwe said the internal stability division of the SAP would be enlarged in unrest areas, "especially as far as officers are concerned".

He said police had studied the report, and conceded that some of the criticism was valid. The SAP disagreed with other aspects — the steps taken by the police to eradicate shortcomings had not been considered. The report was valuable, however, and urgent attention was being given to aspects needing adaptation.

The new Police Board was studying police training, efficiency, command and control, and it was also looking at police-community relations, General van der Merwe said.

Earlier yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said he had ordered his generals to give him recommendations within seven days on addressing problems in the police force identified in the report.

The ANC said the report on police conduct was a damning indictment of the standards of policing in South Africa. "It underlines a wide range of systematic faults in policing operations and attitudes," it said in a statement.

The report not only underlined the disastrous effect of apartheid on police-community relations, but also the lack of SAP concern, initiative and effort devoted to improving them, the ANC said.

On the finding that the police failed to gather information which could have prevented the massacre, the ANC said it was all the more glaring seen against the regularity of violence coming from the KwaMadala hostel.

The ANC believed the SAP should be internationally monitored and put under multiparty control.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "alarming" that international experts viewed the SAP as inadequately organised. He welcomed Mr Kriel's initial reaction to the report.

● SAP in dock — Page 13

FW's Boipatong visit 'was cleared by police'

(278)

ARG 24/7/92

PRETORIA. — The State President's office and the Commissioner of Police have strongly denied that Mr De Klerk was advised not to visit Boipatong after the massacre last month.

They were reacting last night to a news report on the Waddington inquiry into the police reponse to the June 17 massacre, which said Mr De Klerk had disregarded advice not to visit the township.

"The President was advised against making a visit. However, he decided to go ahead," said the news report on the Waddington findings.

The report said the inquiry, headed by Professor P A J Waddington of Reading University, put the date of the President's visit to Boipatong as June 19, when in fact it was June 20.

Quoting the Waddington report, the report said police had described the township as reasonably quiet, and went on to describe how stones and other missiles were hurled at the President's convoy.

The President's office said last night: "It is not correct that the State President was advised not to visit Boipatong.

"He consulted the Minister of Law and Order (Mr Hernus Kriel), who advised him that the visit was in order, after he (Mr Kriel) had consulted senior police officers.

"The orchestrated demonstration against the visit of the State President suddenly manifested itself while the President was there.

"After consultation with the State President, the Minister of Law and Order instructed that the President's programme should be revised in order to prevent incidents."

In an additional comment, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said police "categorically deny that any senior officer or member of the force ever advised President De Klerk not to visit Boipatong". — Sapa.

SAP in dock over Boipatong bungle

STAR 24/7/92.

Top brass in the SAP are furious because, although an expert has cleared them of negligence or complicity in the Boipatong massacre, he has harshly criticised them for incompetence, writes PETER FABRICIUS.

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AN EMINENT former ambassador to South Africa once observed that most government failures were due to bungling (he used a stronger expression) rather than conspiracy. Nothing could more forcibly illustrate this observation than Dr Peter Waddington's report for the Goldstone Commission of the police handling and investigation of the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

The most striking thing about the 50-page report by Dr Waddington, director of criminal justice studies at Reading University in England, is the high contrast between his exoneration of the police for any moral blameworthiness and his total indictment of them for professional incompetence.

Not only does he clear the police of charges of complicity, but also of indifference and negligence. Nor does he find evidence that the police had any forewarning of the attack, as alleged by the ANC and other critics.

"Amid all this gloom and negative appraisal, there is an important source of relief to the SAP, and that is that this inquiry has uncovered no information that suggests any complicity on the part of the SAP in the attack.

"Indeed, all the evidence suggests a genuine desire to identify the perpetrators and prosecute them."

But what thwarted the individual policeman trying to do his job was the system he was obliged to work in.

"There is no doubting the commitment and dedication of individual officers, especially those in lower ranks.

"They have been hindered by the absence of effective systems."

No wonder that the Commissioner of Police and his generals are hopping mad.

It is they, rather than errant rogue elements, who are fingered here.

If they missed the point, Dr Waddington underscores it heavily with the observation that the Boipatong operation betrayed a "failure of leadership at all levels". In general he lists the systemic failures as:

- Inadequate command and control of officers.
- A lack of effective intelligence and contingency planning.
- Unstructured investigative procedures which inhibit the gathering of evidence.
- Poor community relations.

And, seeking the cause of the specific problem in the whole history and ethos of the SAP, he says: "It was not a lack of will that plagued this operation but a failure of imagination.

"Perhaps after decades of enforcing apartheid laws the SAP must learn afresh how to cultivate relationships and adapt their tactics in order to achieve public responsibility."

He makes it clear that the solution will have to be fundamental.

"If the defects are to be addressed, it will require thorough reappraisal of the entire organisation, backed by the political will to ensure sufficient funding," he said.

Dr Waddington — who was assisted by two senior officers of the British police — then goes on to offer a detailed critique of the systems and methods which failed in Boipatong — and which will, by implication, fail elsewhere.

In so doing, he offers the SAP the foundation on which to start restructuring itself if it desires to do so.

STAR 24/7/92

The report identifies several specific failures:

- There was no overlap of police shifts on the night of the massacre, so the guard was changing — and therefore disorganised — at the time of the 10 pm attack. This meant no effective or immediate response was made to Boipatong residents' calls for help.
- There were too few officers to protect the many scenes of crime and allow proper forensic examinations to be done.
- Inadequate intelligence systems failed to discover the intention to attack.
- No contingency plan was made to deal with a possible attack by hostel dwellers which ought to have been expected, given the history of such attacks.
- The police failure to prepare operations was made "embarrassingly clear" when President de Klerk visited

Recipe designed for disaster . . . Dr Waddington's report for the Goldstone Commission criticises the SAP for "lining police officers in front of hostile crowds, unprotected and holding a lethal weapon in both hands".

STAR 24/7/92

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Boipatong bungles

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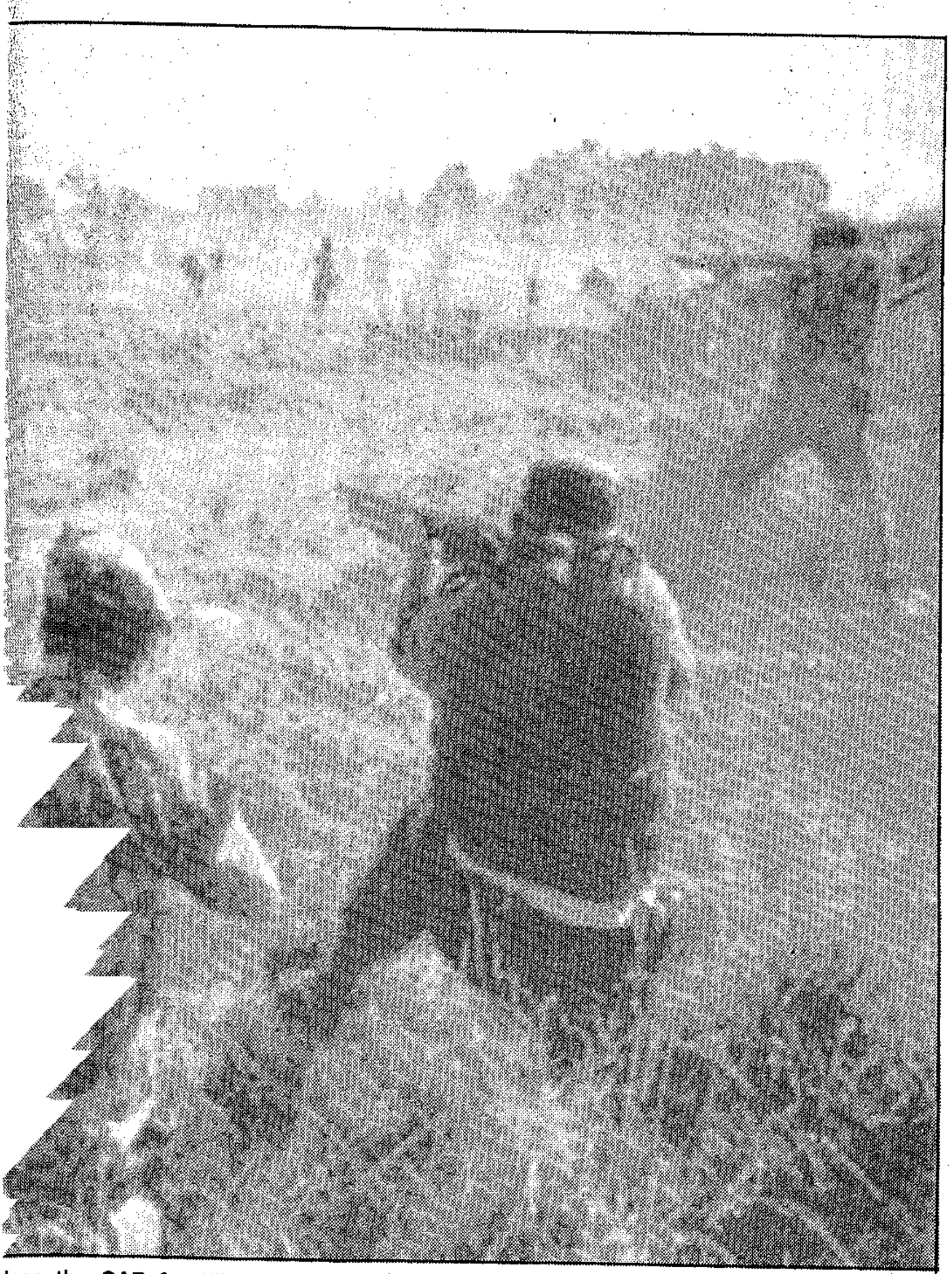

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- No contingency plan was made to deal with a possible attack by hostel dwellers which ought to have been expected, given the history of such attacks.
- The police failure to prepare operations was made "embarrassingly clear" when President de Klerk visited Boipatong days after the massacre to show sympathy.

Police failed to control crowds and allowed people to "mass in an uncontrolled and ultimately uncontrollable melee". Junctions on Mr de Klerk's route were not secured, which allowed residents to block them with barriers.

"As a result there was a hasty, ill-prepared and ignominious retreat with disastrous political consequences for the Government."

- In the subsequent police actions, the report criticises the SAP for "lining police officers in front of hostile crowds, unprotected and holding a lethal weapon in both hands". This "seems to be a recipe designed for overreaction".
- No system for deploying rapid reinforcements and alerting senior officers on the night of the massacre. Two police sergeants were left in command.
- Only limited efforts were made to contact members of the community who could use influence to calm the situation.
- Suggesting discrimination, the report says police investigators negotiated with the KwaMadala hostel dwellers but used tear smoke, bullets and birdshot on Boipatong residents.

Probing the investigation of the massacre, the report identifies many mistakes:

- When police seized weapons from suspects in KwaMadala hostel they threw them on to one heap which made it impossible to link individual weapons with individual suspects.
- Throughout the Vaal Triangle and northern Free State there are only 10 forensic investigators.
- The "confession-oriented" investigation method - which did not place enough stress on gathering supporting forensic evidence — was doomed to failure in the courts.

Dr Waddington ends on a hopeful note. Just because the problems identified are so fundamental, they are also remediable since they entail not the replacement of individuals but the establishment of structures and methods of policing that are "familiar elsewhere in the world". □

E Tvl bears brunt of mass action

STAR 24/7/92

Staff Reporters (278)

The ANC alliance stepped up its mass action campaign in the eastern Transvaal yesterday, when thousands of people marched on the Witbank police station and the Witbank Receiver of Revenue offices.

ANC regional spokesman Jackson Mthembu said between 60 000 and 80 000 people took part in the protest action and that a 100 percent stayaway was in effect in townships around Witbank, but police said about 12 000 protesters had marched on Witbank. No clashes were reported.

The protesters' demands included an end to VAT and the Government's "unilateral" restructuring of the economy, as well as elections for a nonracial democratic government.

Mr Mthembu said Witbank and Middelburg residents would embark on an indefinite consumer boycott on Monday for the reinstatement of dismissed hospital workers.

Centres on the Witwatersrand were relatively quiet yesterday, after a sit-in blitz at courts, chain stores and Government buildings on Wednesday.

In the only reported violence, police and workers clashed in Rosslyn, Pretoria, during a mass meeting called over the arrests of 82 participants in Wednesday's mass action campaign.

Meanwhile, the Pretoria City Council yesterday approved an application by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance for a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria tomorrow.

In central Johannesburg yesterday, Bophuthatswana People's Progressive Party Youth League general-secretary Alfred Moss staged a sit-in protest at the offices of the Bophuthatswana Consulate.

Fifteen people were arrested at the Bekkersdal Council offices on the West Rand after occupying the building.

Twenty-five ANC Youth League members who were arrested on Monday after occupying the Mohlakeng Council ofices appeared in the Randfontein Magistrate's Court yesterday.

● The Far Northern Transvaal Mass Action Committee yesterday called for a consumer boycott of white businesses in Louis Trichardt and Messina as well as national chain stores and Government shops in Gazankulu and Venda.

SAP in dock over Boipatong bungles

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STAR 24/7/92

Witnesses scared, parade cancelled

By Charmeela Bhagowat

The identity parade of 10 Vosloorus youths, arrested in connection with the burning of local councillors' homes and harassing them during the June 16 protests, was called off yesterday because witnesses were too afraid to attend an open parade.

East Rand police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said the witnesses, including Vosloorus councillors, refused to attend the parade because they did not want to be harassed and victimised.

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The parade was supposed to be held at the Vosloorus police station. The youths, who were released on bail last month, are expected to appear in the Vosloorus Magistrate's Court on Monday.

The 'pattern behind the pain'

tudy of the violence on Witwatersrand has con-ded that the timing of the ngs suggests that there is thod to the madness. (278)

entin Wilson reports.

TH 25/7 - 29/7/92

EHIND the statistics of brutality is clear evidence that the violence erupts when it is most likely to weaken the ANC and its allies, and dies down dramatically when it will the government.

cording to Dr David Everatt, deputy or of the Community Agency for Social ry, there is a clear pattern that emerges he ongoing political violence.

's suggests that the timing of the violence 's the political agendas of the NP and ccording to Everatt.

is recent survey into the "low-intensity t" on the Reef, Everatt claims that an e of six people have been killed every political violence since July 1990.

survey, "Reef violence: Tribal War or Strategy", was used by ANC president elson Mandela to support his arguments week's United Nations Security Coun-ate on South Africa.

att was assisted by Ms Safoora Sadek, inator of the Human Rights Commis-n compiling the report

claims Reef violence "appears to be ed on and off at strategic moments", ding on national political events.

e highest monthly fatality figures for the ccurred in August 1990, as the ANC the Pretoria Minute to suspend armed e and tie itself to the negotiations.

hen the government was manoeuvred e National Peace Accord, which threat-overnment control by creating indepen-rbitrators (church and business), the ce increased significantly," Everatt

contrast, when President FW de Klerk Europe's two staunchest proponents of ns (Denmark and Ireland) in October the death toll on the Reef dropped from 56; on his return, it rose again to 157."

ording to Everatt, these connections are ncidental and reflect "the near symbi-ationship which exists between violence political calendar in South Africa".

ys March, the month of the white ref-m, is another example of this relationship. There was a dramatic increase in train attacks. In 45 attacks on train commuters at least 71 people were killed, while 84 were injured (Human Rights Commission figures).

"These attacks were far from random, they were aimed at heightening tensions, and this is shown from the fact that multiple attacks began occurring on the same day," Everatt argues.

March 2 witnessed four attacks, followed by two on March 3, three on March 4 and one on March 5.

"As polling day approached, so the attacks intensified, with 15 attacks between March 11 and March18, and 16 attacks between March 19 and March 25.

"Immediately after the NP won its landslide 'yes' vote, the government announced a massive clampdown on train attacks. After 20 months of attacks, in which hundreds of people had killed or injured, the idea of searching train commuters for weapons is nothing other than appallingly belated," Everatt says.

He says the ANC "remains helpless in the face of violence while the NP appears once again to have benefited from the loss of black lives".

He sees Inkatha as being "the second major beneficiary of the violence".

"While Inkatha has a black support base of one percent, Inkatha nonetheless succeeded in creating the impression that they were one of 'the big three' political players and an essential part of any settlement," Everatt says.

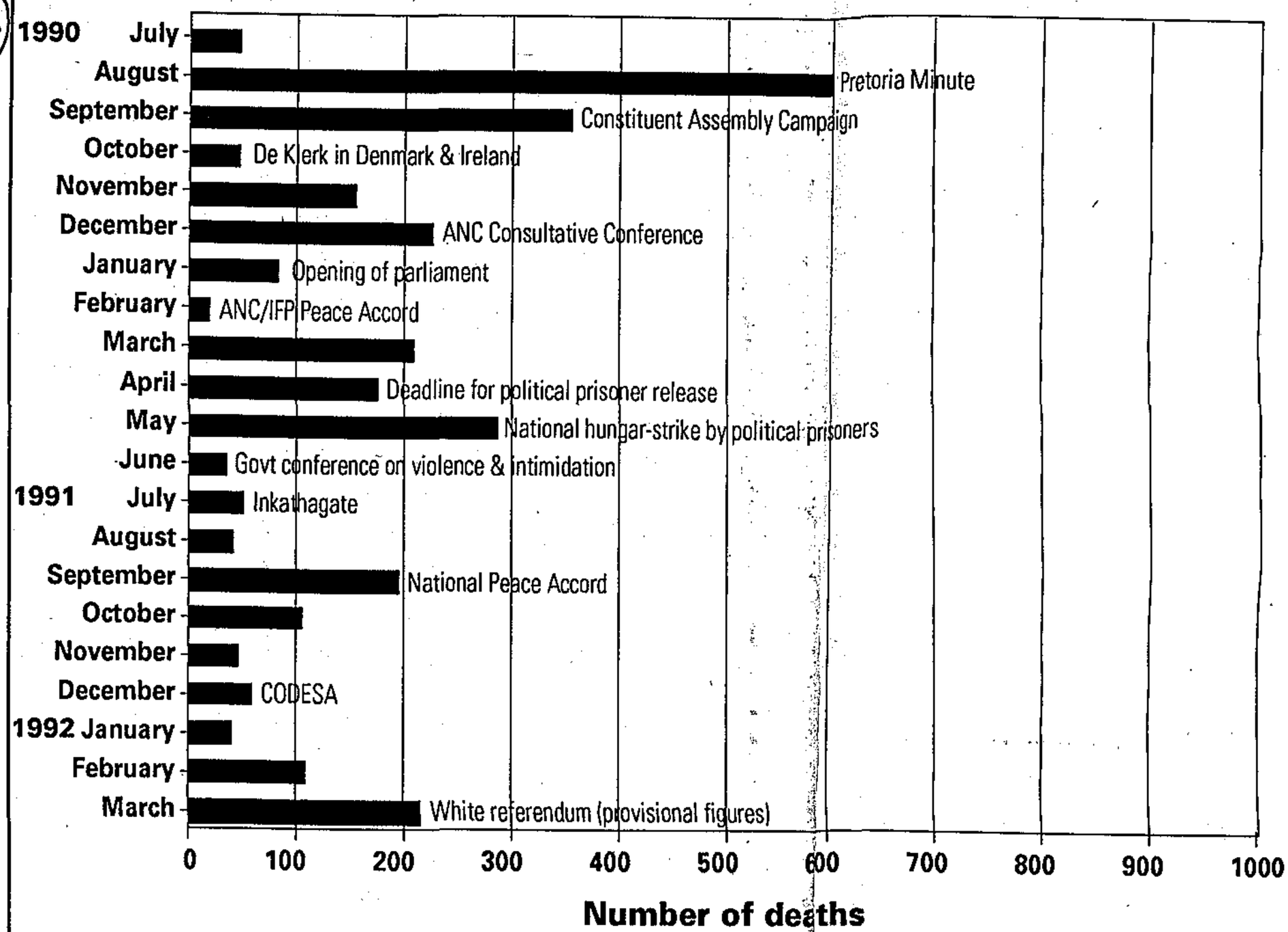
On the other hand, he says: "The ANC is clearly the major loser. The violence makes it extremely difficult for the ANC to translate its support into an organised membership.

"Being unable to respond to calls for defence, the ANC is in danger of appearing weak and ineffectual in the eyes of township residents."

The solution to the violence lies with rapid political change, a democratic election and the removal from power of the minority white government, Everatt says.

"It is only in this way that the channelling of taxes into Civil Co-operation Bureau-type hit-squads, or into the purses of small black parties which seek only to attack the liberation movements, can be stopped," he says.

Violence and the political calendar
CASE/HRC Research statistics



Boycott threat for 2 businessmen

STAR 25/7/92 (278)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party alliance's mass action committee in Witbank has threatened two local Indian businessmen with a consumer boycott unless they evict the KwaZulu government from offices in their building.

The businessmen — Rashid and Moosa Bhamjee, owners of the Triangle building which houses the KwaZulu offices — say they have also heard that plans are being made to burn down another of their buildings near the local black township.

They feel that the decision to target them for boycott is unfair because it is a result of incorrect information. They say it is based on allegations by the ANC that a local gun dealer had delivered arms for the Inkatha Freedom Party to the Witbank offices of the KwaZulu government.

Acting on the ANC's information, police raided the KwaZulu Witbank offices last week and discovered that the arms consignment consisted of antique firearms — some more than 100 years old — destined for a collector in Britain.

A gun shop across the street from the KwaZulu offices had acted as local agent for the British collector, although the arms had been delivered to the gun dealer's home many kilometres away, police said.

Despite this discovery, the ANC says it is sticking to its story that arms were delivered to the KwaZulu offices.

Moosa Bhamjee said the decision to boycott his businesses had been taken by the local mass action campaign committee on Monday. He said he did not discriminate in letting office space and that the National Union of Metalworkers — a Cosatu affiliate — also rented space in the Triangle building.

ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Tembu confirmed yesterday that the Witbank mass action campaign committee had decided to boycott the Bhamjee businesses, but said he believed their fears of their building being burnt down were unfounded.

He said the ANC eastern Transvaal regional committee would be meeting the ANC Witbank branch and the Bhamjees on Tuesday to try to resolve the problem.

Tembu said the ANC eastern Transvaal region would tell the Witbank branch that it was opposed in principle to taking action against a businessman for renting offices to the KwaZulu government, as this amounted to political intolerance.

Even if the allegations of guns being supplied to the KwaZulu offices proved true, this would not justify such action, said Tembu. He gave an assurance that no action would be taken against the Bhamjees' businesses until the matter had been thoroughly discussed.

White policemen urged to quit Vaal townships

STAR 25/7/92. (278)

JOE LOUW

A NEW, deepening township crisis is blowing up south of Johannesburg in violence-torn Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton.

Community leaders are demanding the removal of all white policemen from black townships.

They see this as a necessary part of the solution to the problem of the recent escalating violence.

Since the Boipatong massacre, in which an estimated 43 people were killed on June 17, a further 58 people, including three members of the SA Police and two members of the Pan Africanist Congress, have been killed in the area.

Talks between the police and the community leaders falling under the Broad Forum — an umbrella organisation comprising the ANC, the PAC, Azanian People's Organisation, the Vaal Civic Organisation and the South African Council of Churches (Vaal) — were suspended after last week's shooting of PAC mourners in an alleged clash with policemen attending a police funeral.

"Relations between the community and police are at an all-time low," said the Rev Isaac Kolokoto, general-secretary of the SACC (Vaal).

"Most of us feel that what is needed is a cooling period for talks so that we can all go back and consult our constituencies and do some homework. Our people feel these talks were having less and less meaning."

Kolokoto said a consistent pattern of police not honouring agreements undertaken in the meetings had led to the crisis. In one case in Sebokeng, he said, the occupants of a white Cressida were alleged to have been "seen chatting to police in a Casspir and later gunfire from that same Cressida killed four innocent residents".

Incidents like these, he said, tended to damage the credibility of leaders going to the community with a message of peace. "If these things are not honoured, there is no point in continuing talks," he said.

The clergyman said last week's killings were particularly unfortunate. "Negotiations for the return of the families of black policemen and their re-integration into the community was quite near.

"Many of us have come to believe that policing in the black community should be left to black police," Sello Morake of the Vaal Civic Association told Saturday Star. "We believe a lot of our present problems emanate from those parts of the police force, like the Internal Stability Unit, that are controlled from outside the area.

"If control is centralised locally and co-ordinated through, for example, Colonel Mazibuko, then we could work much better. He is regarded as a 'toothless' colonel because he is not in control of police in the non-uniformed branch."

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer blamed the breakdown on "outside forces" and cited the ANC's alleged call to residents of Boipatong not to come forward to be interviewed by police and present evidence in the SAP investigation.

"We have always done as much as we could for our black police and their families, and we have listened to their complaints," he said.

Meanwhile, the refusal of sanitation workers to enter the various townships has led to a serious threat to the health of residents. Huge piles of garbage and stinking sewage from blocked drains and leaking water pipes are evident in many places. Municipal workers refuse to enter residential areas because of the threat of violence posed by gangs of youths roaming the townships.

FEAR-SHROUDED TOWNSHIPS: Relations between the community and police are at a low ebb, says a churchman.

Police move in to arrest demonstrators who had occuppied the Jeppe Street Post Office in Johannesburg on Saturday. Those arrested appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court the same night.

Pic: PAT SEBOKO

ANC 400 charged

Sowetan 27-7-92

(278)

■ **Sit-in staged at Johannesburg's main post office:**

MORE than 400 ANC supporters arrested for staging a sit-in at Johannesburg's main post office were being released yesterday with a warning to appear in court in two weeks time.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said the 460 protesters arrested on Saturday faced charges of trespassing.

The ANC said 500 people had been arrested in the hour-long occupation of the central Jeppe Street Post Office.

The protesters, who are residents of Palm Springs in the Vaal Triangle, were highlighting demands for health and educational facilities in the area, a spokesman said.

Vaal townships now a 'war zone' and health hazard

(278) CAPE TIMES 27/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The crisis situation in Vaal Triangle townships has deteriorated since the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

A tour through Sebokeng and Evaton at the weekend established that the area had become a war zone and a health hazard.

The ANC-led campaign of mass action has taken over in the townships — Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Boipatong and Bophelong.

Journalists were invited by the Administrator of Sebokeng, Mr Herman Immelman, to join him on a tour.

The group "cruised" two townships — mostly Sebokeng — under armed municipal police guard in two TPA casspirs.

Fewer than 20% of residents in Vaal townships were paying for municipal services, Mr Immelman said.

Barricades varied from ditches dug across roads to huge boulders, burnt out vehicles, rolled up razor wire and piles of rubbish — anything to stop security force patrols.

Sebokeng and Evaton showed how municipal services had broken down. Sewage at one point was estimated to be gushing out at about 8 000 litres a minute from a "sabotaged" manhole.

Mr Immelman said the situation was so serious in Sebokeng's Zone 7 he would instruct his engineers to switch off the water to the area.

Health officers on contract to Sebokeng from Vanderbijlpark accompanied the tour. They were anxious that the 13 clinics in the townships remained open.

The only two mobile clinics in the area had stopped operating.

Mr Immelman said he was at his wit's end about getting municipal services resumed.

"The problem is the youth. They don't respect anybody."

He estimated the cost of repairing the damage so far at more than R8 million.

Piles of refuse littered the streets and open spaces.

One of Mr Immelman's staff said about three weeks ago Eskom negotiated a deal with the "comrades" in Sebokeng to enter a no-go area to repair a transformer. When the job was done and the Eskom employees wanted to leave the "comrades" held them to ransom and demanded R200 a head. In the end a ransom of R4 000 was paid, the staff member said.

● Minister of Health Dr Rina Venter said in a statement in Cape Town at the weekend that conditions in Vaal Triangle townships could not be tolerated. She had requested the government to find ways and means to get essential health services resumed. — Sapa

Man set alight and killed in Boipatong

(278)

CT 27/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A man died after being set alight in the Vaal Triangle township of Boipatong on Saturday night, police confirmed last night.

The killing took place outside a shebeen.

The police could not confirm reports that shots were fired in the township on Saturday night.

A planned visit to Boipatong yesterday by UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance has been rescheduled for sometime this week.

Mr Vance had talks at the weekend with Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana.

Mr Vance was "extremely satisfied" with his mission, said UN High Commissioner for Refugees in South Africa Mr Kallu Kalumiya.

If ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrives back in South Africa from his overseas trip on Thursday as expected he may also meet the UN envoy.

This week Mr Vance is scheduled to meet business and labour leaders, and organisations, as well as other political parties. — Sapa.

2 policemen hurt in stoning

CT 28/7/92

PRETORIA. — Two policemen were slightly injured when they were hit by stones during mass action at the Medical University of Southern Africa yesterday, according to police.

At Pretoria University, 500 black workers gathered in front of the administrative building waving placards to demand salary adjustments. — Sapa (278)

ing enrolled at Tembisa Hospital.

protest at Medunsa University in solidarity with striking Nehawu

march would be held in sympathy

future."

Gluckman made his allegations.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Blacks hate the police, says PAC

RAY HARTLEY

THE PAC blamed the growing number of police deaths on a general climate of hatred and mistrust of the security forces, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

"The black population has a very poor impression of the SAP. You cannot isolate 1 700 blacks killed since the signing of the peace accord from the killing of policemen," he said.

He said he condemned all killings, but while they did not have the ballot, the bullet could not be abandoned.

Desai said he could not speak for the PAC's military wing Apla. People claiming to be members of Apla recently claimed responsibility for the campaign to kill policemen.

But Desai said he could not understand why the PAC had been accused of being behind the so-called "Kill-a-Cop-a-Day" campaign.

He said ANC supporters had been seen carrying placards with the slogan, but the ANC had not been blamed for the campaign.

Desai said recent revelations of police complicity in the death of prisoners were evidence of how the police raised the anger of blacks.

"Against that background, how must the people feel when they think about this?" he asked.

Sapa reports that police commissioner Gen Johann van der Merwe said individuals or organisations threatening or harming policemen would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. B/DAY 28/7/92

Reacting to a claim purportedly made by "the national commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army in SA", one Karl Zimbiri, Van der Merwe said the SAP had no evidence Apla had been responsible for the killings. "But an intensive investigation into the murder of each and every policeman is taking place.

"I want to warn those individuals and organisations concerned to refrain from making such threats (against policemen). Members of the SAP will defend themselves, and those who encourage or attempt to carry out such attacks will have to bear the consequences of their actions," Van der Merwe said.

18 people die in weekend unrest

(278) RAY HARTLEY

POLICE reported yesterday that 18 people died in unrest in Natal and the Transvaal at the weekend.

Five people were killed near Heidelberg in the southeastern Transvaal, while another five died in the Vaal Triangle. B/DAY

Eight people were killed and three were injured after violence broke out between residents and taxi operators at Folweni near Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast on Sunday.

The bodies of two men who had been stabbed and shot were found in the East Rand squatter camp of Zonkeziswe on Sunday. 28/7/92

The body of a 21-year-old man who had been shot was found in an outside room of his parents' house in Sharpeville yesterday morning, police said.

In Sebokeng the body of a municipal police constable who had been shot was found on Saturday, while in Orange Farm a man was shot dead.

Two men were killed — one shot and the other burnt — in Boipatong on Saturday night.

Cholera threat to Vaal Triangle

ADRIAN HADLAND

AN OUTBREAK of cholera was imminent in the Vaal Triangle following the vandalism of municipal water mains and sewers, Vaal Triangle Negotiating Forum secretary Nigel Mandy said yesterday.

An urgent meeting of the forum this week will discuss the services crisis in the region together with possible measures to prevent vandalism to municipal installations. B/DAY 28/7/92

The forum's activities were suspended recently following the withdrawal of the Vaal Civic Association but the calling of an urgent meeting had been authorised, Mandy said.

Mandy said about R8m, "which the councils do not have", was required to repair damaged water mains, sewers and roads.

He said all services in Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Bophelong and Boipatong would continue to deteriorate and break down, while money to pay municipal workers was running out.

Electricity supplies in virtually every township in the region were likely to be disconnected following the continuing non-payment of services levies, Mandy said.

Levy payments for June in the Vaal Triangle had dropped to below 20%.

Sapa reports the Vaal Civic Association agreed to attend the forum meeting tomorrow..

But the civic body was prepared to discuss only a resumption of sanitation services and repairs to mains, said association general secretary Talitha Jona.

The ANC-linked civic group, through its contacts in Vaal townships, was prepared to ensure the safety of workers brought in to make repairs and to resume the services. "But the same does not apply to the collection of refuse, which has not been done since 1984," said Jona.

Meanwhile, DP spokesman Douglas Gibson yesterday blamed the ANC's mass action for the breakdown of the townships' essential health services.

He said the ANC leadership should ask itself which was more important — their political agenda or the health and perhaps the lives of ordinary people.

"The ANC will have to learn the responsibilities of power — power can be abused and political mass action, which harms the people instead of helping them, is surely an abuse of power."

Seven die in union clash

B/DAY 28/7/92

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

SEVEN people have been killed in recent violence involving the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) and the Cosatu-affiliated Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) at the Escort Bacon Co-op in Heidelberg.

On Friday night the house of an Inkatha member of the Ratanda Town Council was attacked. Three Uwusa members and four Fawu members are believed to have been killed in the subsequent fighting, which continued on Saturday. At least 10 people were seriously injured.

A limpet mine was placed in a nearby hostel but no casualties were reported, said Heidelberg police commissioner Lt-Col S J le Grange.

Violence between Uwusa and Cosatu-aligned unions has cost more than 25 lives this year.

Meanwhile, Uwusa spokesman Duke Senakgomo said a drive by the union to recruit hospital workers in the PWV had netted 200 new members at Baragwanath Hospital over the past three days, with new members also being enrolled at Tembisa Hospital.

Council gearing up for disruption of services

B/DAY 28/7/92

ADRIAN HADLAND and RAY HARTLEY

THE Johannesburg City Council is gearing itself for a possible drastic reduction in services next week as thousands of municipal workers are expected to take part in the week of mass action.

Public transport, cleansing, garbage removal, traffic, water and waste services could all be affected.

Town clerk Graham Collins said each of the council's departments had prepared contingency plans in the event of a high absentee rate. The council's departments would continue to function, he said.

A spokesman for the Cosatu-affiliated SA Municipal Workers Union, which has 10 000 members in the city council and another 13 000 elsewhere in Transvaal, said all its members would stay away from work on Monday and Tuesday next week.

In the event of a large stayaway, the council's public transport service could be particularly badly hit, said Transport director Stan Verrier.

Meanwhile, the ANC PWV region's Johannesburg action council met last night to plan the next phase of the area's mass action campaign which showed signs of fizzling out yesterday.

ANC spokesman Ronny Mamoepa said he had received reports of two activities by yesterday evening — a protest at Medunsa University in solidarity with striking Nehawu workers and a sit-in at the Katlehong City Council offices. A police spokesman said 32 protesters were arrested and charged with trespassing.

Mamoepa said mass action appeared to involve few people because of an ANC strategy to infiltrate government buildings with small numbers in order not to alert authorities.

He said weekend marches had seemed small because there were many of them across the PWV.

In a separate statement, Mamoepa accused the business community of adopting "intimidatory and coercive measures".

He said pamphlets distributed by the Pretoria business liaison forum calling on workers not to support the Cosatu stayaway proved business was biased in favour of government.

"We appeal to business to join hands with our people to bring about a speedy end to minority rule."

Meanwhile, up to 20 000 workers are today expected to march on the Pretoria North Magistrate's Court where 82 Numsa members are due to appear on charges stemming from arrests made after mass action in Rosslyn, Sapa reports.

ANC Pretoria action committee chairman Peter Maleleka said the march would be held in sympathy with the unionists.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry has advised its 5 000 members that final written warnings and dismissals are appropriate actions to take against workers observing the August 3 and 4 stayaway.

JCCI members should also adopt a "no work, no pay" policy.

Meanwhile, the ANC/Cosatu-/SACP alliance's eastern Cape region has targeted two local daily newspapers for an indefinite boycott as part of its mass action drive.

ANC eastern Cape spokesman Phila Nkayi said yesterday the action against the EP Herald and the Evening Post, both owned by Times Media Ltd, was in protest against adverse publicity which the newspapers gave the alliance.

ANC national spokesman Gill Marcus said that while her organisation agreed that editors had a right to print what they liked, it was necessary to point out that consumers had the right not to buy their newspapers.

EP Herald editor-in-chief Derek Smith said the ANC had objected to editorials against mass action.

Said Smith: "To single us out just because we wrote against the mass action campaign and about its effect on people's lives amounts to political bullying. It doesn't look good for the future."

Gang rule sows fear in Tembisa's Umthambeka

■ **FEAR SIEGE** *Most townships are ruled by fear as thugs take over.*

Phangisile Mtshali *visited Tembisa and found Umthambeka section cowering in terror:*

Sowetan 25/7/92 (278)

FEAR, tension and uncertainty meet any stranger visiting the besieged Umthambeka Section at Tembisa, near Kempton Park.

The bustle and buzz that characterises townships during school holidays are lacking.

As we drove along the main taxi route people peered suspiciously at us, taking note of every detail of our car, their anxiety apparent.

We asked youths in one of the streets where a woman was killed and two unknown bodies were discovered on the night of April Fool's Day.

"There are people who are out to kill us, especially ANC supporters," answered an eight-year-old boy before his two older brothers could.

An older brother added: "A lot of people have died. Some were shot in their homes, others on the streets. Some died in hospital. At night when the shooting starts, we hope it is not coming our way. We wait to assess the damage in the morning."

ANC officials and the police blame gangsters for the continuous random killing in the homes, shops and streets.

Since the beginning of the year at least 15 Umthambeka section residents have been killed.

The gangs have also been accused of raping schoolgirls, stealing cars and robbery. The gangs were formed nine months ago.

On one Saturday thousands of Tembisa residents marched on the local police station, demanding the arrest and prosecution of the gangsters, some of them known.

"We will take the law into our hands if the police fail to arrest and charge these thugs," threatened ANC Tembisa assistant general secretary, Mr Chilly Magagula.

"In October an ANC member shot and killed one gang member. He was arrested and his case is still pending. Other members then joined the local rival political organisation branch at Vusumuzi hostel. Since then the gang has continued to harass and murder residents."

> **"At night when the shooting starts we hope it is not coming our way. A lot of people have died."**
>
> **Tembisa township youth**

"We are sick and tired of their actions. If the police do not act, we the people, will arrest, try and execute them in our people's courts as we did 10 years ago."

● Seven members of a gang are now appearing in court.

Diary of death at Umthambeka section:

July 10 - ANC Youth League member known as Pantsula died in a hail of bullets.

April 12 - Six men aged from 18 to 52 were shot dead with AK-47 rifles in front of a local butchery. Three women and two men were also injured.

● The body of Mr Absalom Mayo was found with gunshot wounds in the vicinity of the butchery. He died in hospital.

The police in their report alleged the Toasters gang was responsible.

April 5 - Mr Mafika Mhlanga was shot at his home.

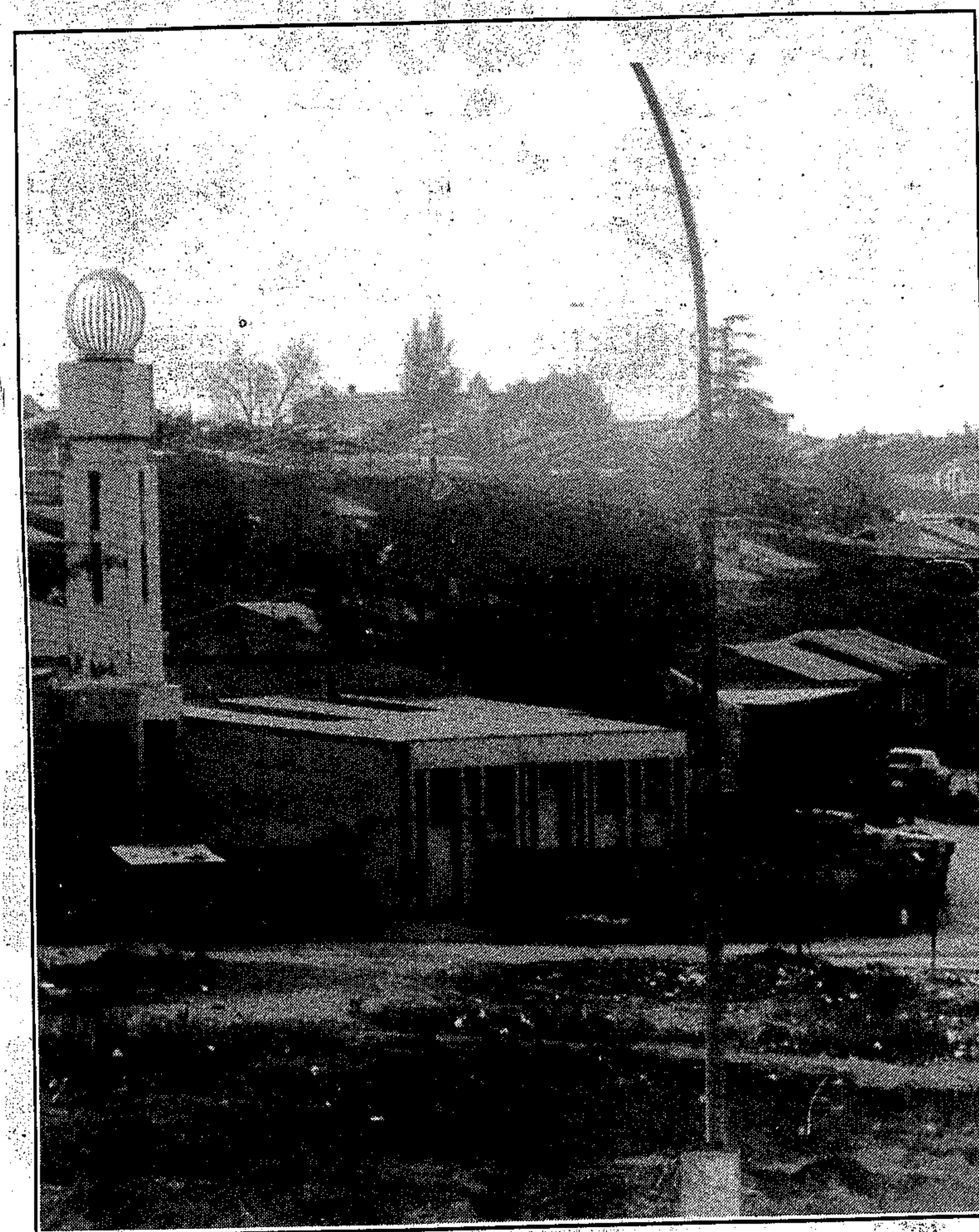
April 1 - Mrs Lefinah Dlamini was shot inside her home. A youth visiting the family was injured.

March 9 - Mrs Nomathemba Bingo was shot dead at the gate of her home.

March 7 - Three people allegedly died in crossfire between police and the Toasters at the funeral of Mr Abel Manana.

February 28 - Mr Abel Manana was shot on his way to investigate a car accident that occurred next to his home.

NEWS ANALYSIS *The spate of killings just goes on*



Tembisa's death section ... where residents live in fear.

Pretoria chamber fights back

ROY COKAYNE CT 28/7/92 (278)

PRETORIA. — Thousands of pamphlets published by the Business Liaison Forum are being circulated in Pretoria's black townships in an attempt to minimise participation in the mass action campaign engineered by the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

The Pretoria Chamber of Commerce and Industry has sent eight different pamplets to its members and other businesses containing guidelines on the treatment of workers during the mass action campaign.

They stress the possible repercussions of taking part in an illegal strike — employees losing their jobs, homes, regular meals, dignity and a chance to negotiate their future — that negotiation is the only answer to the political problems of the country, to build and not break South Africa and what mass action really means.

The Business Liaison Forum was established in 1986 by business organisations, including the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in an attempt to bring about peace and stability in the workplace and address socio-economic issues.

It is focussed on Pretoria and surrounding areas and liaises with government and all other relevant organisations.

Among the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce and Industry's guidelines are that the no work, no pay rule should apply, and that disciplinary action taken against any employees involved in stayaways should be restrained owing to intimidation.

Companies should allow employees to take unpaid leave at their discretion.

Employees should be notified immediately about management's policy towards this or any further stayaways via notice boards.

Companies are urged to communicate with employees to discourage disruption, and to make them aware of the advantages of fringe benefits provided by the company as opposed to the promises made by Cosatu.

These include service bonuses, training programmes, sports facilities, subsidised transport, free meals during working hours, company housing and company products at staff prices.

Man 'necklaced', nine killed in Vaal

Staff Reporters (278)

The body of an unidentified man who had been "necklaced" was found in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle on Sunday and no motive could be established for the killing, police said.

At least nine people have been murdered in Vaal Triangle townships over the past few days.

In the SAP unrest report for the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Sunday, police said the bodies of two men had been found stabbed and shot in the Zonk'izizwe squatter camp on the East Rand.

Seven people were killed during a spate of attacks by unknown gunmen on houses and a supermarket at Folweni, near Umlazi in KwaZulu, on Sunday night.

KwaZulu police spokesman Colonel Lindelihle Khanyile said yesterday that four people were killed and two injured when a supermarket was attacked. The victims are believed to have been sleeping in the supermarket where they were hiding.

Three other people died in separate gun attacks on their homes in Folweni's section A on Sunday.

● Sapa reports that the ANC Western Transvaal region threatened to pull out of all regional peace accord structures yesterday after clashes between its supporters and Inkatha Freedom Party members in Tigane, near Hartbeesfontein, at the weekend. At least seven people were injured.

STAR 28/7/92

Over 70 arrested in mass action protests

(278) CT 28/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday swiftly snuffed out protests by ANC-aligned organisations, arresting more than 70 people as the country braces for next week's general strike.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry added its voice to threats of no pay for workers joining the Cosatu-led strike planned for August 3 and 4.

"The business community's endorsement of a positive outcome to the referendum was a mandate for all politicians to negotiate," JCCI president Mr Stuart Morris said yesterday.

Police arrested 42 people, including 35 teachers, who staged a sit-in protest at J C Merkin School for the handicapped in Soweto. They have been charged with trespassing. Officials of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union said the group was highlighting demands for the reinstatement of a teacher at the school.

The teacher was fired earlier this month for defying an order to hand over minutes of a Sadtu meeting, according to a copy of a dismissal letter.

Cosas has called on pupils to boycott classes on August 3 and 4.

Cosas national president Mr Moses Maseko said here yesterday pupils would also be urged to partake in sit-ins and demonstrations on August 5, 6 and 7.

"We believe that before being students we are members of the society and therefore all problems affecting the society also affect students.

"Our participation in resolving the South African problems is of vital importance. We call on all our students to fully participate in all activities organised by the broad democratic movement," read a statement by Cosas' national executive committee.

Final examinations are due in two months.

Also yesterday, police arrested 32 members of the ANC Youth League who occupied the offices of the Katlehong Town Council.

Eighteen other members of the ANCYL were scheduled to appear in court yesterday in connection with a sit-in protest last Friday, a spokesman said.

Planned countrywide marches by the Construction and Allied Workers' Union (Cawu) scheduled for tomorrow have been called off following successful talks between the union and various employer bodies. — Sapa

Business against stayaway

EAST LONDON. — Transkei's Chamber of Industries has come out against the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance's plan to embark on a one-day stayaway in Umtata and Butterworth today, saying such action could cost more than R5 million a day in Butterworth alone.

An alliance spokesman said the decision to call for a stayaway had been taken in terms of a "local initiative" allowed to alliance members in individual areas in Transkei and formed part of the mass action campaign.

Meanwhile, Natal businessman Mr Les Kayle said in Umtata on Monday two of his lorries had been stoned by demontrators in Qumbu.

Mr Kayle said he had been told by a businessman a barricade of burning cars had been placed across the road in the town.

The extent of the damage to the vehicles was not known on Monday night, but Mr Kayle said he was considering keeping out of Transkei.

On Monday Transkei shopkeepers complained that South African suppliers had said they would not be delivering goods today. — Sapa

arrested

Sowetan 29/7/92

News inbrief

'People's justice'

POLICE have arrested 27 men who allegedly assaulted a man after they held a "people's court" at Etwatwa on the East Rand early yesterday.

A police spokesman said a man was abducted from his home yesterday and taken to a squatter's hut where 27 people accused him of robbing trucks carrying coal.

Kids fight for their lives

■ Third petrol-bomb attack on Garankuwa hospital non-strikers as violence spirals to new heights:

Sowetan 29/7/92

By Alinah Dube

TWO children aged three and 12 years are fighting for their lives at Garankuwa Hospital following a pre-dawn petrol bomb attack on their home in the township yesterday.

This was the third such attack on non-striking workers at the hospital in less than three days.

The latest victim is a middle-aged mother of two, who is a cleaner at the hospital and a non-member of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu).

She suffered severe hand burns in a frantic attempt to save her children from the burning house.

The hospital's chief medical superintendent, Dr JJ Crous, confirmed yesterday that the children suffered third-degree burns.

For fear of reprisals, the woman's name and those of her children are being withheld at the family's request.

Speaking on condition her identity was not disclosed, the woman said she was awoken by a loud bang about 1.30am.

Going up in flames

"As I struggled to work out where the sound came from, I saw my curtains going up in flames. The bed I shared with my son and daughter also caught fire," she said.

"There was panic everywhere. I did not know what to do when I saw my defenceless kids and the entire room engulfed in flames," she added.

The three - trapped in the burning house - were rescued by a relative who was sleeping in an adjacent room who was wakened up by screams. He smashed the bedroom door and whisked the children outside.

"Although he managed to rescue us, the children were already severely burnt. We were rushed to hospital in a neighbour's car," she cried.

The incident is one of spiralling attacks on non-strikers by alleged Nehawu members since the strike started.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration announced on Monday that two Garankuwa Hospital employees were treated for burns after their houses were petrol-bombed at the weekend.

A spokesman for the TPA said the incidents took place on Saturday after dismissed workers from the hospital had threatened to burn down houses of non-strikers. Names of the victims were not available.

Train deaths baffle Goldstone

Sowetan 29/7/92

278

ANCYL voices its concern and is unhappy with the ANC's 'inconsistency' in handling the negotiations:

Sowetan Correspondent

A COMMITTEE of the Goldstone Commission has found that it cannot be determined who is to blame for the violence on trains on the Reef, with the killings being seen as a spill-over of the unrest in black townships.

The committee, which released its findings in Pretoria yesterday, was appointed to investigate the train violence that claimed 138 lives between July last year and April this year.

The committee said, however, that secondary causes had been identified.

These included poor entrance control at stations, packed trains and the carrying of weapons in public.

The committee said there was a decided lack of control over entrance to stations.

Overloaded trains during peak periods also made it impossible to maintain law and order, while the absence of interleading doors between carriages made it impossible for passengers to flee from attackers, causing them to leap from doorways and out of windows. Moreover, poor control at exit points made it possible for assailants to escape easily, the committee found.

The committee said although witnesses frequently blamed hostel dwellers for the violence, other unidentified groups had also been involved.

In a separate interim report, the commission said the most obvious steps to alleviate violence in the taxi industry in the Midrand area between Johannesburg and Pretoria would be to recognise Ivory Park as a township. The roots of the discord were to be found in the in commercial competition betwen rival taxi organisations.

Sowetan 29/7/92

Benoni an unrest area

THE magisterial district of Benoni on the East Rand, including the areas Wattville and Daveyton, was yesterday declared an unrest area by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. (278)

The announcement was made in a special Government Gazette. According to Kriel, the move was decided on because "public disturbance, disorder, riot and public violence were occurring or threatening in the area". — *Sapa.*

NEWS Why aid is not getting through

Millions in aid funds lying idle

Sowetan 29/7/92 (278)

By Mathatha Tsedu

VICTIMS of violence cannot make use of the R10 billion donated for their assistance because local authority structures in many communities have collapsed.

This was revealed by Mr John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee (NPC), in an interview with *Sowetan* on Monday.

"Billions of rands are available to meet the needs of communities whose homes have been ravaged by violence," Hall said.

"The delivery of the money is blocked by a lack of management structures in townships which are capable of receiving money and administering it.

■ Victims of violence cannot be helped:

"The biggest crime is that there is money to be injected into the townships but this cannot be done because of political cynicism. Unless they get political credit, they obstruct.

"You can imagine the amount of jobs and relief for the displaced people if this money could be unlocked and utilised," the NPC chairman said.

over a sequined bodice and a long, sequined belt as part of Emanuel Ungaro's 1992-93 season haute couture fashion collection in Paris.

Soweto homes razed after pupils' rampage

Sowetan 29/7/92

■ **'Revenge attack' after molesting incident:**

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By Abbey Makoe

PUPILS from Soweto's Thomas Mofolo High School yesterday ran amok, setting alight at least two houses in Naledi township.

The incident occurred on the first day of the re-opening of schools. Damage caused to the houses was estimated at about R100 000. There was no-one at one of the houses when the youths struck.

The other house belonged to Mrs Alinah Mosia, a mother of three, who was hastily called from work to find her house completely razed.

The motive for the incident was unclear, but the Mosia family believed the attack was targeted at their son, Floyd, a final-year Bachelor of Arts student at Vista University, who had rescued a girl from a group of boys trying to molest her last Sunday.

Floyd had rushed out armed with a knobkierrie after the family heard the girl screaming for help outside their home. The boys ran away.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said the motive for the attacks was not known.

news in brief

Meet demands first - ANC

Sowetan 29/7/92

THE African National Congress will not resume negotiations until the Government addressed its demands, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He was speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg on his return from Barcelona, the Middle East and the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa.

Asked to comment on reports that the Government had come up with new proposals at its secret strategy meeting last week to break the negotiations deadlock, Mandela said it was better to wait until the ANC had received the Government's latest proposals.

He said, however: "We would be relieved if the Government has addressed the demands we put forward, because we are keen to resume negotiations."

Sanco softens bond stance

IN an apparent softening of their stance on the rent and bonds boycott, the South African National Civic Organisations (Sanco) said yesterday is was up to individuals to choose whether they would support the boycott. Sowetan 29/7/92

Reacting to criticism by various organisations, Sanco vice-president Mr Moses Mayekiso was, however, adamant that his organisation was independent and would go ahead with the boycotts. He said Sanco would press ahead with the boycott since far too many people could not get bonds because of the high costs and prices involved.

"Several organisations which criticised our decision are out of touch. The simple fact is that the people are affected by high interest rates while others will never have access to bonds because they are not within reach," he said.

Cops search ANC offices

POLICE searched the ANC's offices in Alexandra, Johannesburg, and the nearby M1 Hostel yesterday morning. Sowetan 29/7/92

(278)

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed the searches and said the action was a continuation of the police's efforts "to stop violence and the high rate of crime in Alexandra".

It was part of the "intensifying of policing in the area which was started in June". Much of the violence in the township has been blamed on conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and dwellers of the hostel, who are allegedly members of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party.

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Killings on trains seen as 'spillover'

(278) CT 29/7/92

PRETORIA. — A committee of the Goldstone Commission has found that it cannot be determined who is to blame for the violence on trains on the Reef, with the killings being seen as a spillover of the unrest in black townships.

The committee, which released its findings here yesterday, was appointed to investigate the train violence that claimed 138 lives between July last year and April this year.

The committee said, however, that secondary causes had been identified.

These included poor entrance control at stations, packed trains and the carrying of weapons in public.

The committee said there was a decided lack of control over entrance to stations.

Overloaded trains during peak periods also made it impossible to maintain law and order, while the absence of interleading doors between carriages made it impossible for passengers to flee from attackers, causing them to leap from doorways and out of windows.

Moreover, poor control at exit points made it possible for assailants to escape easily, the committee found.

The committee said although witnesses frequently blamed hostel dwellers for the violence, other unidentified groups had also been involved.

The victims were also of different ethnic groups.

The committee, chaired by Mr G Steyn, said whenever a group of attackers was identified they turned out to be hostel dwellers, but added that there had also been other, unidentified assailants.

The report said: "Hostels have for some time been a cause of concern in the violence situation.

"It is the view of the committee that this aspect has to date not enjoyed the attention it deserves."

The committee was particularly perturbed about the apparent lack of control over the hostels and also the lack of clarity as to who exercised authority over them. — Sapa

Rivalry blamed for violence

PRETORIA. — The most obvious steps to alleviate violence in the taxi industry in the Midrand area between Johannesburg and Pretoria would be to recognize Ivory Park as a township and to upgrade the police presence there.

These were the main recommendations of the second interim report of the Goldstone committee investigating taxi violence in the area.

The committee, chaired by Mr D J Rossouw, said there were suggestions that the dispute had not died down and that further violence may be experienced if the root causes were not addressed with alacrity.

The roots of the discord were to be found in the commercial competition between taxi associations. — Sapa

(278) CT 29/7/90

cy of buses was expected on some routes. — Sapa-Staff Reporter.

Action on camp urged

(278)

STAR 29/7/92

The Goldstone Commission has recommended that the Ivory Park squatter camp at Midrand be proclaimed a township, and policing be improved to help curb the taxi war there.

An interim report of the committee probing taxi violence found that Midrand municipal enforcement agencies enjoyed no official recognition in the camp because it was not an official township.

The Midrand municipality's application for it to become a township had not been approved after eight months.

The committee found the cause of the violence was competition between two taxi associations for the new market among the 70 000 residents of Ivory Park. — Political Correspondent.

Transkei mass action

STAR 29/7/92

Transkei's capital, Umtata, and Butterworth, the main industrial centre, were brought to a halt yesterday by a mass action stayaway in which thousands of people marched on the two towns.

Trade boycott to start

STAR 29/7/92

A two-day consumer boycott of white businesses in the northern Transvaal towns of Louis Trichardt, Levubu and Messina begins tomorrow.

Telkom exhibits in Zambia

Telkom SA will exhibit its products at a show in Lusaka this month. Telkom said in a statement yesterday it would show the Magnolia telephone and the T1000 telex machine at Zambex '92 from tomorrow to Monday.

Mother: I killed my child

A woman admitted in Durban Regional Court yesterday she killed her 22-month-old daughter by driving into the harbour with the child in the vehicle. Pamela Anne Drennan (36) of Pinetown was nearly inaudible as she pleaded guilty before Mr G J Maree to culpable homicide.

Bid to upgrade train security

Sowetan 30/7/92 (278)

■ Government to spend R25m on stations but needs R200m to implement recommendations of commission:

STEPS had already been introduced to upgrade security on trains, Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed said yesterday.

Reacting to the release of a Goldstone committee's report on train violence, he said negotiations were being conducted with a company, which is representative of the community, to assist the SA Rail Commuter Corporation in establishing a rail guard corps to combat violence on trains.

Welgemoed accepted the interim report regarding train violence and the Commission's proposals for curbing such violence.

He said a number of matters raised had already been addressed and proposals which had not been attended to should be implemented "expeditiously".

A guard corps, which will help safeguard entry to railway stations, will be recruited from the community and will have its own, recognisable uniform.

This project will initially be limited to the Southern Transvaal.

To meet the Goldstone committee's recommendation of establishing a rail guard at all stations countrywide will cost R200 million a year. Therefore this will be phased in on a priority basis, Welgemoed said.

Approval had already been obtained for increasing the number of security officials providing services to the SARCC from 377 to 731.

In addition, with the co-operation of the SARCC, the deployment of the SAP at commuter stations had been streamlined and the police had already been empowered to conduct searches, as recommended, Welgemoed added.

Along with progress in the upgrading of railway stations, permanent and more adequate facilities would be provided for the SAP countrywide at an additional cost of R25 million.

The corporation endorsed the necessity for a national strategy to curb violence and would assist in the formulating and implementation of such a strategy.

Issues highlighted by the Goldstone committee's interim report and subsequent reports would be addressed immediately, said Welgemoed.

However, some of the recommendations were dependent on the availability of funds authorised by Cabinet. As funds became available, these matters would be addressed expeditiously, Welgemoed said.

Measures already in operation included toll free numbers that had been provided countrywide.

Troops out — ANC, PAC

(278)

ARG 30/7/92

The Argus Correspondents and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's mass deployment of troops in 16 strife-torn townships on the Reef — ordered yesterday amid last-ditch attempts to ensure next week's two-day national strike will be peaceful — was firmly rejected by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress today.

But the Inkatha Freedom Party conditionally welcomed government plans to move 5 000 policemen and soldiers into the townships.

The government said the forces would be deployed in a "peace and stabilisation" operation.

In the countdown to the country-wide strike on Monday and Tuesday, church leaders and political parties yesterday tried to draft a code of conduct to ensure next week's mass action runs peacefully.

Announcing the huge deployments at a press conference in Soweto yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said violence in the affected townships had reached such levels that local authorities could no longer provide essential services such as refuse removal, water, sanitation and health services.

The townships covered by the deployments are Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville, while similar operations described by Mr Kriel as being successful would continue in Alexandra and Phola Park.

Mr Kriel said the deployment was not planned as a contingency against next week's planned general strike and mass action called by the ANC alliance, but said there was no particular time schedule for the police action to end.

Welcoming the move, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the party's approval of the steps depended on police performance in the townships.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke slammed the plans, saying other ways of dealing with the problem existed.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus called the move "intimidatory", adding that it would add to tension in the townships and create fear of possible police action next week.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation decided yesterday to boycott the mass action.

Township youths kill ANC leader

AN ANC member in Naledi, Soweto, died after being attacked by youths on Tuesday night, the ANC said yesterday.

Soweto police liaison officer Capt Joseph Ngobeni confirmed Shasha Mereohle's death, but could not verify the ANC's claim that there was a link between the killing and an earlier arson attack on another ANC member's home.

"At this stage a case of murder is being investigated. The motive has not been established," Ngobeni said.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said Mereohle, the Naledi branch secretary, was shot by youths when he went to investigate an arson attack at the home of Katang Masemola. Two ANC members with Mereohle escaped unhurt.

The youths were allegedly pupils at the Thomas Mofolo Secondary School.

Mamoepa said the attack seemed to stem from a weekend incident in which two Thomas Mofolo schoolboys tried to rape a girl at Masemola's home. The girl was rescued by Masemola's brother, but the boys returned with a group of friends and allegedly attacked the Masemola family with beer bottles. Two schoolboys were killed in the confrontation. Masemola, his father and "other children" were injured, Mamoepa said. (278)

He said the boys had returned on Tuesday night "and set alight Mr Masemola's home and another house nearby".

An ANC team of regional organisers is investigating the incident. Mamoepa appealed to Naledi residents "not to engage in acts of revenge as this can only lead to a cycle of violence." — Sapa.

Coetsee's invitation to Gluckman

B/DAY 30/7/92

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday he had invited independent pathologist Dr Martin Gluckman to supply him with a list of inquests Gluckman considered contentious.

Coetsee said such a list and any evidence Gluckman might have which would not have been available to the presiding judicial officers at the time of the inquests would be forwarded immediately to the attorney-general of the region concerned.

The attorneys-general could decide to have any inquests reopened, Coetsee said.

Meanwhile another robbery suspect died while in police custody yesterday "by jumping to his death" from the eighth floor of a Hillbrow flat, police said.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

The death of the 29-year-old suspect was the second this week in police custody and came in the wake of the storm caused by Gluckman, who claimed regular killing of detainees continued.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer W/O Andy Pieke said the suspect, taken to a block of flats in Hillbrow by detectives, allegedly jumped over the bannister on the eighth floor to his death.

Meanwhile, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers yesterday joined the call for an independent investigation into Gluckman's allegations.

Massacre probe by police is under fire

MOOI RIVER — Police investigations into the massacre of 18 people in Mooi River's Bruntville township in December last year came under severe criticism at a Goldstone commission inquiry yesterday.

A legal representative for the Bruntville peace committee described as "a monumental blunder" omissions in the investigation that led to the withdrawal of charges against 172 suspects. B/DAY 30/7/92.

At the commission's second sitting in Mooi River this year to investigate political violence in nearby Bruntville, the investigating officer into the massacre said he had not seen or acted on evidence led during the first Goldstone inquiry into the December 3 and 4 killings as he did not think it would have relevance.

It was pointed out to W/O Johan Benade, by Howard Varney representing the Bruntville peace committee, that 24 affidavits had been presented to the first commission's sitting in January that would have helped his investigation since he had been unable to obtain statements from ANC supporters.

Lack of evidence caused violence charges against 172 Bruntville hostel dwellers to be provisionally withdrawn.

Benade at first said he was unaware what the January Goldstone sitting was investigating, but under stern cross-examination by the commission's J J du Toit he conceded he knew it would be looking into the massacre.

Several other flaws in his investigation were highlighted during cross examination, many of which Benade agreed should have been better attended to.

Among others he failed to take blood samples, collect evidence at the scene or carry out forensic tests in an attempt to identify the killers. His investigations at the scene were confined to taking photographs.

Benade said investigations were continuing and he would make the necessary adjustments.

The three-day inquiry ended uncompleted with chairman Prof Dirk van Zyl Smit adjourning proceedings until September 2. — Sapa.

ANC official is shot dead

Sowetan 30/7/92

■ **Killing allegedly carried out by revenge seeking youths:**

By Abbey Makoe and Sapa

AN official of the African National Congress was shot dead by youths at Naledi, Soweto, on Tuesday night. (278)

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation's Naledi branch secretary, Mr Shasha Mereohle, was shot by youths about 11pm when he went to investigate an earlier arson attack at the home of another ANC member, Mr Katang Masemola.

Two ANC members who accompanied Mereohle, Mr Benjamin Tau and Mr Tsietsi Tsholo, escaped unhurt.

Mamoepa said the attack seemed to be linked to an incident at the weekend in which two pupils from the nearby Thomas Mofolo High School allegedly attempted to rape a girl at Masemola's home.

The girl was rescued by Masemola's brother, but the boys returned with a group of friends and allegedly attacked the Masemola family with beer bottles.

Two schoolboys were killed in the ensuing confrontation. Masemola, his father and "other children" were injured, according to Mamoepa.

On Tuesday, "the boys returned and set alight Masemola's home and another house nearby".

A team of regional ANC organisers led by Mr Strike Ralegoma has been sent to the scene of the attack to investigate.

Mamoepa appealed to Naledi residents "not to engage in acts of revenge as this can only lead to a cycle of violence in the area".

Soldiers patrol the streets of Evaton, Sharpeville and Sebokeng closing trenches and removing barricades. Scraps of cars block some of the roads and hijackings are rife.

Putting end to taxi war

Sowetan 30/7/92 (278)

■ Recognising the Ivory Park squatter settlement as a township and upgrading of police are 'necessary to end violence, says Goldstone investigating committee:

THE most obvious steps to alleviate violence in the taxi industry in the Midrand area between Johannesburg and Pretoria would be to recognise Ivory Park as a township and to upgrade the police presence there.

These were the main recommendations of the second interim report of the Goldstone committee investigating taxi violence in the area.

The report issued in Pretoria on Tuesday said Ivory Park did not seem to receive any official recognition in the sense that the municipality's application to have it declared a township had not, after eight months, been approved.

Ivory Park is a fairly new squatter community of some 70 000 people.

The result was that the municipal law enforcement agencies did not enjoy official recognition in the area.

The mayor of Midrand complained that the SA Police were understaffed and ill-equipped to deal with some 200 000 people in the whole Midrand area.

No armoured vehicles were available and the area was policed from Halfway House, some 20km away, when Olifantsfontein, a mere 2km away, would be the natural command post.

The committee, chaired by Mr DJ Rossouw, said there were suggestions that the dispute had not died down and that further violence may be experienced if the root causes were not addressed with urgency.

The roots of the discord were to be found in the commercial competition between taxi associations for the new market opening up there.

The committee also noted complaints that the Local Road Transportation Board's permit system was ineffective and a contributory cause of tension.

The committee's efforts to involve the South African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) to which all taxi association were affiliated, were fruitless. - *Sapa.*

news in brief

Sowetan 30/7/92 (278)

Cops in 'peace' operation

AN estimated 5 000 policemen and soldiers will conduct a "peace and stabilisation" operation in 16 violence-wracked Witwatersrand and Vaal triangle black townships from yesterday.

Announcing the renewed effort by police to restore peace and stability in the townships at a Soweto news conference, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel cited the success of the recent police stabilisation operations in Phola Park on the East Rand, and Alexandra, northwest of Johannesburg.

The 14 new townships to be affected by the police action are: Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville. Police operations at Alexandra and Phola Park will continue. - Sapa.

Cosatu warns business

WITH four days left before the start of a week-long period of rolling mass action the Congress of South African Trade Unions has warned employers from intimidating workers. Sowetan 30/7/92

Yesterday, Cosatu briefed editors of several Johannesburg morning newspapers on the threats levelled at workers by employers if they stayed away from work on Monday and Tuesday next week.

Cosatu, which is part of the African National Congress-South African Communist Party tripartite alliance, said: "To now victimise workers from participating in a peaceful protest action contributes an abuse of employer power."

NP 'like a black banana'

THE National Party is like a banana - the older it gets the blacker it gets, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais has charged in a letter to NP Transvaal leader Mr Pik Botha.

The HNP will contest the Florida seat, vacated by former Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, in a coming by-election. Sowetan 30/7/92

In his letter, Marais also accused Botha of making it a precondition for NP members to recruit their black domestic servants as NP members.

Marais cited a letter from a cabinet minister's wife, who allegedly wrote that, "In our wards, domestic servants are an obvious target group to recruit as members".

Marais challenged Botha to debate this "policy" of recruiting domestics with Marais on television or in the Roodepoort Town Hall on August 10. - *Sapa*

Mass action protests taper off

STAR 30/7/92 (278)

Mass action-related protests tailed off in the Transvaal yesterday with isolated sit-ins in Soshanguve, outside Pretoria.

ANC PWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said one protester was arrested during sit-ins by small numbers of demonstrators at the Soshanguve commissioner's office, police station, post office, DET offices and town clerk's office.

Twelve protesters also staged a sit-in at the Rietgat police station.

Mr Mamoepa said the PWV region action committee had planned a number of protest actions for next week.

These included a march from Alexandra to the Kew police station led by Alfred Nzo on Saturday, and mass rallies in Atteridgeville and Daveyton on Sunday. — Staff Reporter.

Nafcoc calls for UN force

(274) B/Day 30/7/92 (98)

THEO RAWANA

NAFCOC is to ask UN special representative Cyrus Vance to recommend that an international force be sent to monitor violence.

The resolution, which called for "formidable numbers", was one of several taken at the end of Nafcoc's 28th annual convention at Sun City.

The organisation also called on the corporate sector to address its social responsibility in relation to unemployment by initiating training schemes and granting education loans.

Nafcoc should occupy a position where it would lead the formulation of a code of conduct for multinational investors. The organisation would help to prioritise investment.

Nafcoc also resolved to draw government and political parties together to resolve the present impasse in negotiations.

Custody death 'murder'

STAR 30/7/92 (278)

By Brian Sokutu

A senior policeman says he has reason to believe that Simon Mthimkulu — whose death in custody resulted in Dr Jonathan Gluckman going public with accusations against the police this week — was murdered.

Vaal district criminal investigating officer Colonel Joseph du Ponte said yesterday that police would next week summon witnesses to the Sebokeng police station where an identification parade of policemen allegedly involved in the killing would be held.

He said a breakthrough in the police investigation depended "on when we get statements from witnesses".

Colonel du Ponte said he hoped the investigation into the death of Mr Mthimkulu (19) would take two months to complete.

The results of the investigation would then be referred to the Attorney-General for a decision.

Statements

The teenager's death was the "final straw" which prompted State pathologist Dr Gluckman to make public on Sunday his belief that police had been reponsible for about 90 percent of the 200 deaths in custody he had investigated.

Legal Resources Centre lawyer Ellem Francis has provided Colonel du Ponte with statements made by members of the Mthimkulu family and three youths allegedly tortured by Sebokeng policemen while in detention with Mr Mthimkulu on July 14.

One of the youths, Sakhalo Maseko (16), claims in his statement that police at Sebokeng police station ordered Mr Mthimkulu to squat, kicking him several times.

"Simon was (then) instructed to lie down and as he was going down, he was kicked by a policeman, and he landed on his face," Sakhalo said.

● To Page 3

Custody death 'murder'

STAR 30/7/92 (278)

● From Page 1

"I was told to lie down and ... a policeman wearing blue canvas boots jumped about six times on my back.

"I then saw the other policeman pick up a huge rock behind the door and throw it three times on Simon's rib-cage. Blood came out of Simon's nose.

"The other (policeman) grabbed me by the scruff of my neck and pulled me to a basin," Sakhalo's statement said. "He dipped my head three times into the water. The other was still hitting Simon with a rock.

"A third policeman entered the toilet and hit me with a sjambok about three times around my neck and told me to go home," the statement said.

"I tried to lift Simon but the police continued hitting me and I left. Simon was groaning."

Sakhalo said he and his friends were accused of burning down houses.

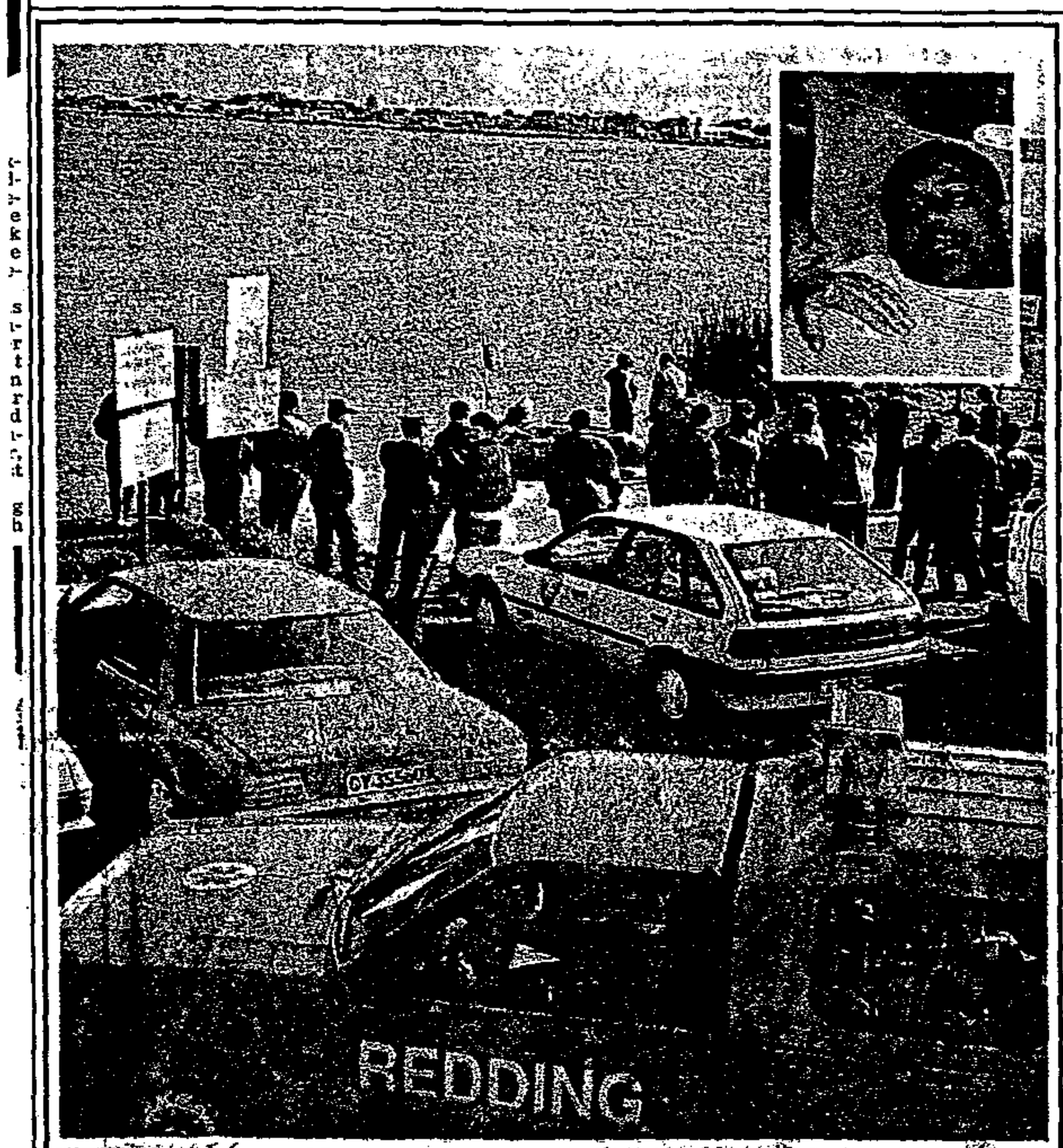
"The police wanted us to say that Mr Mthibedi of the ANC had instructed us to burn down police houses. We denied this," he said in the statement.

● Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has invited Dr Gluckman to supply a full list of prison death inquests the pathologist regarded as contentious.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Coetsee said: "Should Dr Gluckman make such evidence available, it will immediately be submitted to the Attorney-General concerned. The Attorney-General may on the strength of such evidence decide to have any inquest reopened."

Cops move in

(278) CT 30/7/92



WITNESS . . . A group of Ottery firemen watched helplessly from the banks of Zeekoevlei as their colleague, Mr Gerhard Cleophas, sunk below the icy waters after a boating accident yesterday. **INSET:** Mr Errol Anthony, who tried for 30 minutes to save Mr Cleophas. *Picture:* HAROLD KING

Agony of a long drowning

Staff Reporters

AN Ottery fireman, who could barely swim, told how in a vain bid to save the life of a terrified colleague, he had held the man above the icy water in Zeekoevlei for an agonising 30 minutes before he was forced to let him go.

The firemen had landed in the water in a boating accident yesterday. A third had swum ashore.

Interviewed shortly after he had been brought to shore, an exhausted Mr Errol Anthony, 32, of Ottery said: "I tried to keep him up but I couldn't any more."

Late yesterday police divers called off the search for Mr Gerhard Cleophas, 39, of Grassy Park. The search will resume today.

Mr Anthony, Mr Cleophas and Mr Nick Labuschagne, 40, had been trying out Mr Labuschagne's new speedboat when the boat jacknifed, pitching them into the icy water. They were not wearing lifejackets.

A large group of off-duty firemen from the Ottery fire station witnessed the incident from the

To page 2

5 000 in govt 'peace move'

JOHANNESBURG. — The government yesterday ordered more than 5 000 police and troops into 14 Transvaal townships on an operation described as a "peace offensive".

However, the move immediately drew fire from the ANC, which accused the government of intimidating people in townships on the eve of next week's general strike.

The government's move was announced yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel.

The plan is to "saturate" the townships on the Rand, in the Vaal Triangle and in Soweto with police and soldiers who will conduct cordon and search operations.

Mr Kriel said this followed the success of similar operations in Alexandra and Phola Park.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus called the operation "sheer intimidation designed to create an atmosphere of tension and allowing the police to get involved in repressive activity".

Mr Kriel said it was a "peace offensive" which would create conditions in which government agencies could restore essential services and upgrade infrastructure and living conditions.

Intensified policing in Phola Park and Alexandra some weeks ago had allowed local authorities once again to render essential services, he said. The crime rate had also come down, criminals were arrested and political violence had been prevented.

The operations are still in force in these areas at a reduced level.

There had been concern that the current situation posed a serious health hazard to the towns.

The townships where the operations were started yesterday are Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Kathlehong, Thokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville.

Mr Kriel stressed that the operation was not planned as a contingency for next week's national stayaway and mass action. "If needed we will be ready and able to handle that too."

Some of the policemen being used in the operation were yesterday addressed by Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe. He told them to approach their task with impartiality and to act with due regard for human dignity.

Speaking in Soweto at the launch of the task force, the general said the public eye was now focused on the police, and their every act would be scrutinised. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Pupil stayaway: Black ranks split

PRETORIA. — A row has erupted in black liberation ranks about pupils staying away from school during next week's two-day general strike.

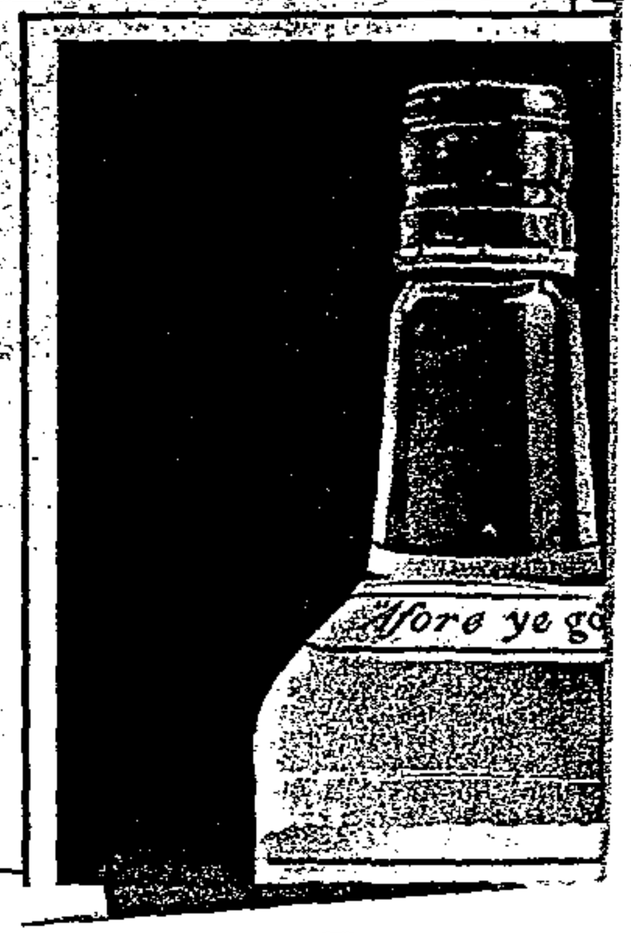
While the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), SA Students' Congress (Sasco) and the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) called for a closing of schools, the Azanian Students' Convention (ASC) and the ANC's education desk oppose the move.

Yesterday ASC national publicity secretary Mr Mark Mfikoe said the call violated an agreement signed at the National Education Conference this year. No single white child would be coerced into staying away from school.

He cited ANC member and former DP MP Mr Jan van Eck as an example, saying Mr Van Eck's child would be at school.

"But he himself is proud to be seen on television addressing black youth who are kept from going to school."

● Business as usual next week — Page 2



Boys kill ANC official

(278)

T 30/7/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress branch secretary for Naledi, Soweto, was shot dead by youths on Tuesday night.

His death was not among those reported by police, who said four people died on Tuesday.

Soweto police liaison officer Captain Joseph Ngobeni confirmed Mr Shasha Mereohle had died.

ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said Mr Mereohle had been shot while investigating an arson attack on the home of ANC member Mr Katang Masemola.

His assailants are allegedly pupils at the Thomas Mofolo Secondary School.

Mr Mamoepa said the attack seemed to stem from an attempt by two Thomas Mofolo schoolboys to rape a girl at Mr Masemola's home at the weekend and the deaths of two boys in the confrontation that followed.

Police said 15 people, one of them a policeman, had been injured and 17 arrested on Tuesday.

● Thirty-eight deaths and more than 168 injuries were recorded between July 22 and July 28, the Human Rights Commission said.

Vance visits Boipatong

STAR 30/7/92

278

United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance visited Boipatong and Crossroads townships yesterday, according to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

The judge said Mr Vance had informed him at their first meeting that he wished to visit areas which had been the focus of recent violence.

"I arranged to accompany him on a visit to Boipatong and Crossroads," said Mr Justice Goldstone. — Sapa.

STAR 30/7/92

ANC official shot dead by youths

278

By Montshiwa Moroke

A high-ranking member of the Soweto Civic Association and official of the ANC branch in Naledi, Shasha Mereyotlhe (42), died after he was attacked by youths on Tuesday, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Soweto police liaison officer Captain Joseph Ngobeni condemned the killing and appealed to residents not to take the law into their own hands.

Captain Ngobeni confirmed that Mr Mereyotlhe, a father of three, had been killed at about 11 pm on Tuesday.

He said a case of murder was being investigated. No arrests had been made.

Mr Mamoepa said Mr Mereyotlhe was shot by youths when he went to investigate an arson attack at the home of an ANC member, Katang Masemola.

Two ANC members who accompanied Mr Mereyotlhe, Benjamin Tau and Tsietsi Tsholo, escaped unhurt.

Mr Mamoepa said the killing seemed to follow an attack at the weekend in which two schoolboys from the Thomas Mofolo Secondary School in Naledi attempted to rape a girl at Mr Masemola's home.

Plan for rail guard corps

STAR 30/7/92.

Crime Staff (278)

The South African Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC) plans to establish a special rail guard corps in a move to protect embattled train commuters from attack, Transport Minister Dr Piet Welgemoed announced yesterday.

Dr Welgemoed, reacting to the Goldstone Commission's interim report on train violence, said the SARCC had already approached a company "representative of the community" to establish the corps.

The establishment of a special guard corps was one of the recommendations made in the interim report, which was released this week.

The commission was unable to apportion blame on any party, but was critical of the SA Police for failing to effectively prosecute the perpetrators of train attacks. It also cited poor access control at stations as a cause of the violence.

The police had not commented at the time of going to press.

Dr Welgemoed said the special guard unit would initially operate in the southern Transvaal. To meet the recommendation of establishing a rail-guard at all stations countrywide would cost an additional R200 million a year.

Dr Welgemoed said issues highlighted in the report would be addressed immediately.

The need for interlocking doors between coaches was being urgently investigated by the SARCC and the question of controls at station entrances had received attention.

He stressed that a number of security measures had already been implemented.

With the co-operation of the SARCC, the deployment of policemen at stations had been streamlined and the police were already empowered to conduct searches.

In its reaction to the report, the ANC said in a statement it was an "outrage" that the statistics of the incidents of violence kept by the police were incomplete due to the "routine destruction of records".

Mixed reaction to peace initiative

Troops poured into townships

(278)

Staff Reporters and Sapa STAR 30/7/92

The Government's mass deployment of troops in 16 strife-torn townships on the Reef on the eve of next week's two-day national strike was firmly rejected by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress today.

But the Inkatha Freedom Party conditionally welcomed Government plans to move 5 000 policemen and soldiers into the townships.

The Government said the forces would be deployed in a "peace and stabilisation" operation.

In the countdown to the countrywide strike on Monday and Tuesday, church leaders and political parties yesterday tried to draft a code of conduct to ensure next week's mass action runs peacefully.

● Playing the one-card hand — Page 22

Announcing the massive deployments at a press conference in Soweto yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said violence in the affected townships had reached such levels that local authorities could no longer provide essential services such as refuse removal, water, sanitation and health services.

The townships covered by the deployments are Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville, while similar operations described by Mr Kriel as being successful would continue in Alexandra and Phola Park.

Mr Kriel said the deployment was not planned as a contingency against next week's planned general strike and mass action called by the ANC alliance, but said there was no particular time schedule for the police action to end.

Welcoming the move, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the party's approval of the steps depended on police performance in the townships. The IFP hoped that the police would strive for good police/community relations which would make the exericise constructive, she said.

She added that next week's programme of mass action would certainly be accompanied by intimidation and it was the responsibility of the State and the police to protect citizens.

● To Page 3

Troops pour into townships

STAR 30/7/92 (278)

● From Page 1

But PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke slammed the plans, saying other ways of dealing with the problem existed. One such way was to normalise the political situation and create a climate for free political activity.

Moving security forces into the townships would lead to confrontation, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus called the move "intimidatory", adding that it would add to tension in the townships and create fear of possible police behaviour next week.

He said it would not help in creating stability.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation decided yesterday to boycott the mass action, saying it was aimed at getting Codesa negotiations back on track rather than forcing the Government out of power.

The IFP had earlier urged its members to go to work on Monday and Tuesday.

The church delegation which saw national leaders this week in a bid to avoid the strike have sent a letter to the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, IFP, Nactu, PAC and the National Peace Committee saying there is "an urgent need for a special code of conduct to regulate the behaviour of those who have chosen to participate in acts of protest, and those who wish to exercise their right not to do so."

The code of conduct is expected to be signed tomorrow.

Rallies hail action week

■ CAMPAIGN PROGRAMME Two-day stayaway and pickets planned:

Sowetan 31/7/92 (278)

By Ike Motsapi

THE MASS ACTION CAMPAIGN led by the ANC which includes a two-day work stayaway next week will begin with rallies at the weekend.

Two other rallies - one in Soweto and the other in Atteridgeville, Pretoria - will be held at the start of the general strike on Monday.

The Soweto rally on Monday at Elkah Stadium in Rockville will start at 10am.

In Atteridgeville the Monday rally will start at 10am at the Super Stadium followed by a march to the local police station.

Mr Mandla Dlamini, co-ordinator of the Alliance Programme of Mass Action Campaign, said the ANC, South African Communist Party and Cosatu week of action will start as from tomorrow and Sunday with gatherings held to seal off the townships.

On Monday and Tuesday people are expected to observe a national stayaway.

Among actions to be taken are picketing, marches and demonstrations.

Dlamini said the "real rolling mass action" will start on Wednesday when people will be expected to occupy Government buildings and businesses in city centres and blockade key entrances into towns and cities.

On Thursday and Friday workers are expected to go on go-slow strikes at their workplaces.

Some of the actions intended for these days include the occupation of factories.

Next Saturday rallies will be held in townships to assess the week-long mass action campaigns.

Meanwhile, police have warned people to observe the following:

- Keep travel plans to a minimum, especially on Wednesday, August 5;
- Airports could be closed off;
- People should regularly listen to their radios to make sure if certain roads had been sealed off or if there was a traffic build-up;
- Plan alternative routes; and
- Ensure that their fuel tanks were filled before the weekend of August 1.

3 shot dead near IFP stronghold

■ **Police confirm attack on resident about 5.30am when taxi-owner was shot:** Sowetan 31/7/92.

By Victor Tsuai (278)

THREE people were shot dead near Dobsonville's Simphiwe Hostel, an Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold, early yesterday morning.

In another incident in the township, mourners at a night vigil at Mogorosi Street were sprayed with gunfire by two unknown men.

The bodies of Mr Bethuel Soke and an unknown man were found in Jonas Moabi and Ntlailane Street, respectively, with gunshot wounds.

Taxi-owner Mr Johannes Moletsane (61) was shot about 200 metres from the vigil about 5.30am and died on the way to Leratong Hospital.

A third man also shot in Mogorosi Street was rushed to hospital. The three streets border the hostel.

Moletsane's driver, Mr Ephraim Mogashoa, said he was about to start a taxi when he heard three gunshots.

"When I went to investigate, I saw a man peeping through the fence and then disappearing towards the hostel," said Mogashoa.

A survivor of the vigil, in which a man known only as Andy or Tshepiso was shot in the head, said their attackers were accompanied by a white sedan car.

"The car shone its lights at us," said the survivor, "shots rang out and people scattered. The car sped off."

Soweto police liaison officer, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, confirmed the incidents.

Vaal to be repaired

THE Vaal Triangle Negotiating Forum this week resolved to return the hazardous health situation in the area to normal. (278)

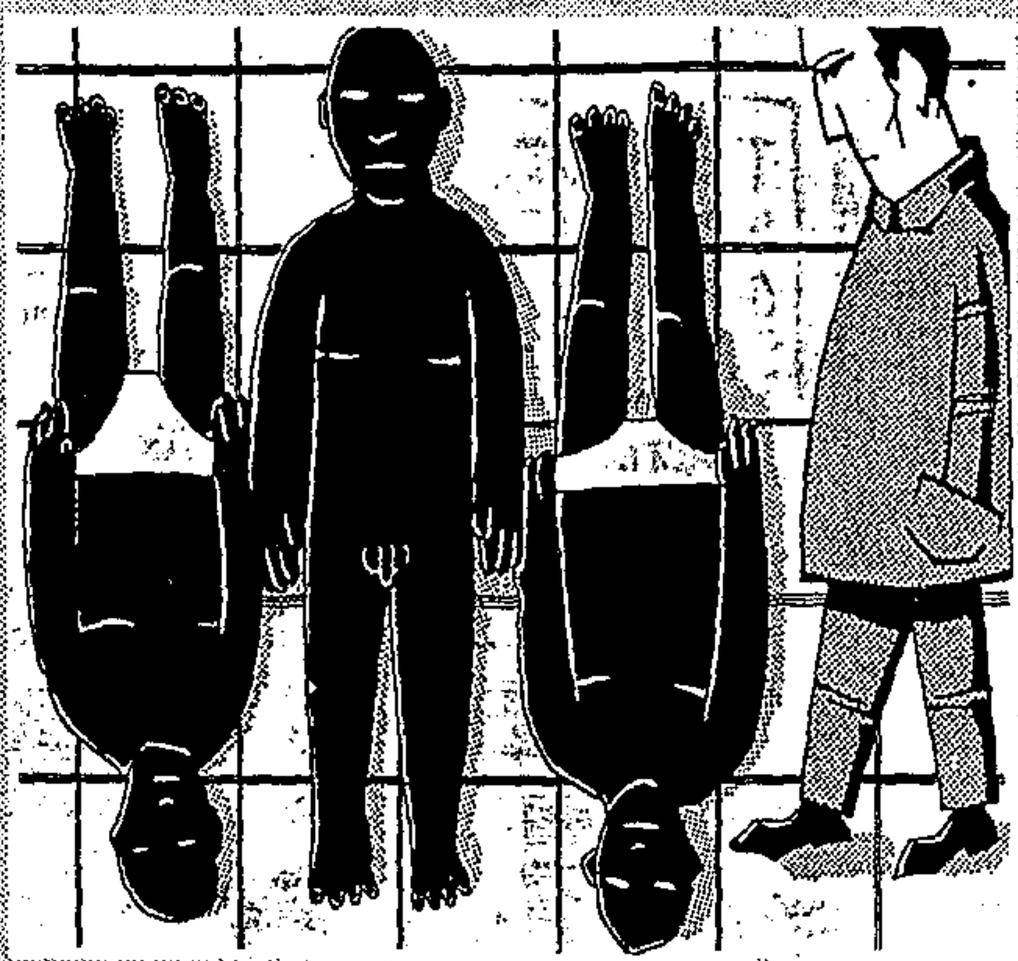
The decision was taken at a meeting chaired by Mr Dawie de Beer in which various structures were represented. Sowetan 31/7/92

It was resolved that repair and maintenance teams are to work in close liaison with both the security forces and the civics. A five-person mediating team is to undertake an intensive two-week investigation into the repair and provision of services, related financing and security issues. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

A visit to the mortuary... Corpses on the conveyor-belt of violence

278

W/Mail 31/7-6/8/92



The search for a missing friend revealed rows and rows of unidentified — and unclaimed — bodies. **MATTHEW WHITE** *reports on the consequence of violence*

WHEN a liked and valued colleague does not return home or turn up for work after the weekend, those close to him have, in this climate of violence, strong grounds for fearing the worst.

We speak to some of his friends who work nearby. They have not seen him but say he intended to visit friends in Alexandra.

When, the next day he has still not returned, we begin a round of telephone calls: to the Alexandra clinic and police station; to all the hospitals in the area; to our local police station. None has any information about anyone by his name.

The Johannesburg mortuary advises that the current count of unidentified bodies is six and we are invited to see if we can identify the missing man. The duty falls to me.

I arrive at the mortuary, wish good day to those behind the counter and stand patiently waiting while those in the office continue writing or conversing. Every action seems taken with that insolent slowness which infests the bureaucracy, causing inefficiency and waste.

A second member of the public enters and waits with similar patience. Eventually, one of the clerks pauses in his ledger entry and inquires what it is I want. I tell him.

So far this is almost a rerun of my previous two visits to this mortuary, when required to formally identify relatives who had died suddenly while not under the care of a doctor.

On each of those occasions, I was sent to wait by a window. A trolley bearing the cloth-covered corpse was wheeled up, the cloth was lowered from the face and I indicated that this was indeed the loved one.

This time is to be very different.

The clerk speaks to a colleague, who leaves the office on some mysterious errand while the clerk returns to his ledger. The second official returns and says to me: "You can come and look in the fridge."

The other man on my side of the counter has so far been ignored. He, too, is looking for a missing person, he says, and receives a similar invitation.

From having seen such scenes played out on television, I expect to be taken to a room full of oversized filing cabinets which will be discreetly rolled open for inspection. Instead, we come upon half a dozen corpses lying naked on the floor of a corridor. The official indicates that we should look here and in two adjoining rooms, where there are more corpses, some on trolleys.

All are black. A few are not completely naked but are clad in underpants with, in these cases, their arms thrust into the sides of the garments — to prevent them from dragging when the bodies are moved, I suppose. Altogether, there are perhaps 15 corpses. None of them, I'm relieved, is the man I'm looking for.

"Thank you very much, he's not here," I tell the official, glad to have completed this beastly chore and to be on my way out into the fresh air.

"He might be downstairs," he says.

"There are more?"

"Plenty, plenty more."

"Surely they are not all unidentified?"

He doesn't answer but leads the way down some stairs. My companion hasn't found the person he is looking for either and we both follow.

The "fridge" is actually a large, windowless coldroom — a bigger version of what many butcheries have. From the large door it looks like a window dresser's storeroom full of dummies. There are, I estimate, some 40 or 50 bodies dumped on the concrete floor or on a few trolleys.

We begin the grisly chore of examining row upon row of corpses. All are black, almost all are naked. There are no cloths to pull back and, mercifully, we don't have to look at them all: some are too small, too old, too fat; a few are female. One female I do look at. She is lying on her back, frozen into a posture of unintended and grotesque invitation. Aged about 20, plump and clearly pretty in life, her stab wounds render her obscenely ugly. Could anything she may have done deserve this end among these burnt and hacked victims of malice?

I look, too, at an old man, his face frozen with fear. He looks so harmless. To whom could he have been a threat? Here is a boy perhaps aged 12. Did he kill or plot to kill his attacker? Was he a soldier in some supposedly just war? Or just the hapless victim of an ignoramous whose emotions have been whipped to frenzy by some corrupt, self-seeking warlord and his minions?

Except for any who might be the one I am seeking, I largely avert my gaze. And I breath shallowly, for the stench of death assaults the nostrils.

The hurried search does not produce the corpse I fear to find. Relieved, I numbly thank the official, who directs us to the exit. My fellow searcher has not found the relative he is seeking.

Outside he turns to me, clearly very shaken. "Wasn't that awful?" Feeling ill, I nod and mumble agreement.

Not all of these bodies can have been unidentified, surely, and a better-run facility would have spared us this horror. But then we would not have known.

Two days after my search at the mortuary, the missing colleague turned up. He had been arrested five days earlier on suspicion of being an illegal alien and charged with committing a minor offence. He was being held in the cells of a police station at the time that a policeman in the charge office there denied official knowledge of him. His papers, which he was not carrying at the time of his arrest, show him to have been born in South Africa.

Unionist's execution shatters fragile Vaal triangle peace accord

W/Mail 3/7-6/8/92

(278)

Tension between warring African National Congress factions in the Vaal triangle has been renewed by the cold-blooded killing of a unionist, reports **PAUL STOBER**

A PEACE agreement between warring African National Congress factions in the Vaal triangle was shattered when a member of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa was allegedly executed by a rival group.

Shortly before Numsa member Michael Mantu was killed early this month, one of his executioners is said to have coldly dismissed the accord, which was brokered by the ANC's national and regional leadership last month. "Mandela's peace is not acceptable to us because he is just like a person who irons a shirt without having washed it," one of Mantu's captors allegedly said shortly before Mantu was shot.

Mantu is the second member of Numsa, the largest affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), alleged to have been killed by maverick ANC members in the Vaal in the past four months. In May this year, Numsa shop steward Colbert King was shot dead in kwaMasiza Hostel — an ANC stronghold — allegedly by renegade Umkhonto weSizwe members.

The latest allegations were made to Numsa officials in a statement by Mncedisi Thostho, a union member who was kidnapped with Mantu and narrowly escaped the same fate.

According to Thostho, he and Mantu were stopped by three men on July 5, who asked them where in Sebokeng they lived.

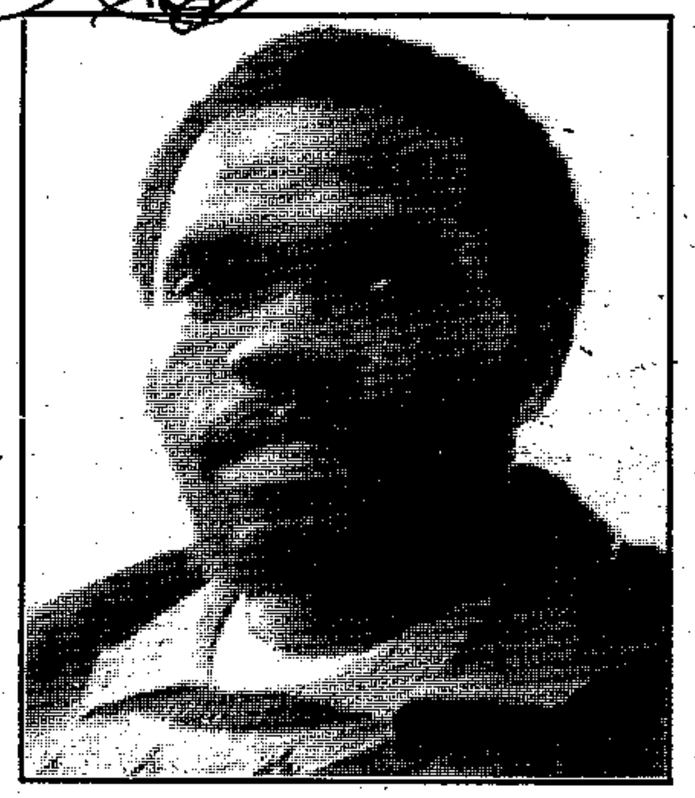
Residents of Sebokeng and nearby hostels are divided between those ANC and Numsa members who support Jeffery Ndamase, a Numsa shop steward, and those who follow veteran ANC leader Ernest Sotsu. Numsa officials in the Vaal accuse Sotsu of misusing levies which a defence unit he heads had imposed on hostel dwellers to raise money for arms, and of refusing to accept the political leadership of the local shop stewards' committee.

Thostho said in his statement that he and Mantu had fled kwaMasiza Hostel after Numsa members were harassed and driven out, so they gave the three men Ndamase's address in Zone 7, Sebokeng, as their own address.

He said they were then searched at gunpoint before being forcibly taken to a room in Sebokeng's Hostel Four. There, a pair of pliers was used to bind their hands behind their backs with wire clothes hangers and for the next three hours they were interrogated about their affiliation.

One of the men, who Thostho said he recognised as Vabuza Ngayiya, a street cleaner for the Vanderbijl Park City Council, is alleged to have asked most of the questions.

When the two unionists said they were allied to Ndamase, their captors apparently answered that they favoured Sotsu, adding: "You will die today because we are in favour of the Top 20". The "Top 20" is a group of Numsa members which, according to union officials, was established by Sotsu's group to replace elected union office-bearers at Iscor.



Mncedisi Thostho

Thostho said their three captors were later joined by another Hostel Four inmate. He also questioned the two about which faction they supported. When they again stated that they supported Ndamase, the newcomer is said to have exclaimed: "Today we have you. It has been a long time that we have said to you to part with Ndamase."

Thostho said they had pleaded for their lives, denying their captors' accusations that Ndamase was a crook and pointing out that the two factions had agreed to work towards peace.

The fourth man allegedly dismissed their pleas, saying: "Today you will die." According to Thostho, the man then went to kwaMasiza "to find out why we had left".

After about an hour, he returned and reported that residents in the hostel had said the two had ran away because they were in favour of the union and should be killed. When the two Numsa members asked whom he had spoken to, the man allegedly replied that as they were going to die there was no need for them to know.

At about 5pm, Thostho said, the group was joined by another three men — bringing the number of kidnappers to six, all of whom were armed.

He said the men then forced them into a car and drove them to Evaton Cemetery, with their hands still bound behind their backs. At the cemetery, the unionists were thrown out of the car before it left, leaving them and their captors behind.

After a brief discussion among the kidnappers, they decided to free the unionists' hands before killing them, Thostho continued. He said he had seized this opportunity to flee and had managed to escape despite the fact that at least five shots were fired at him.

The next day he returned to the cemetery, where he found Mantu's body with a single bullet wound in the head, he said.

Thostho reported the incident to the police at De Deur, giving them a full account of what had happened and leading them to the body.

Vabuza Ngayiya, one of the captors, was reportedly killed by unknown gunmen within days of Mantu's alleged murder becoming known.

Despite repeated efforts, *The Weekly Mail* was unable to reach Sotsu for comment this week.

Train killers remain nameless

Terror on the trains and violence in the townships is inseparable, the Goldstone Commission has found. But the perpetrators stay faceless.

By **JACQUIE GOLDING**

W/Mail 31/7-6/8/92 (278)

THE Goldstone Commission has again failed to identify those responsible for the violence wracking South Africa.

In an interim report, issued by the committee of the commission investigating the causes of train violence, says: "The primary causes and participants appear to be the same in the train violence", yet it is unable "to apportion blame".

It reports that the violence on the trains cannot be separated from the ongoing violence in the township.

The Goldstone Commission's interim report points a finger at the South African Police for its "failure to demonstrate to the community with effective prosecutions, that justice is being done".

Consequently, the community has lost confidence in the police and this has resulted in witnesses not coming forward with information on violence. It then — cushioning the blow in a way that has become the mark of the Goldstone Commission — adds that due to overcrowding in peak hours "maintenance of law and order" is rendered impossible.

The interim report acknowledges that the violence has spilled over into the trains "in those areas where the railways run adjacent to hostels and emerging squatter camps".

However, the report points out that "owing to the atmosphere of violence, commuters panic easily" with "disastrous results".

The mention of "Zulus" or "Inkatha" causes people to be unnerved and disembark in frantic fear, is the closest the commission gets to indentifying the political tendecies of those implicated in the violent attacks.

The report concentrates on the nature of the attackers but remains careful of politically identifying the attackers.

It does mention that whenever a "group of attackers was identified they turned out to be hostel-dwellers" but then resort to saying that "the victims were members of various ethnic groups".

The report sees it as "common cause that criminals take advantage of political instability" but states that it is "not easy to distinguish between criminal and political violence".

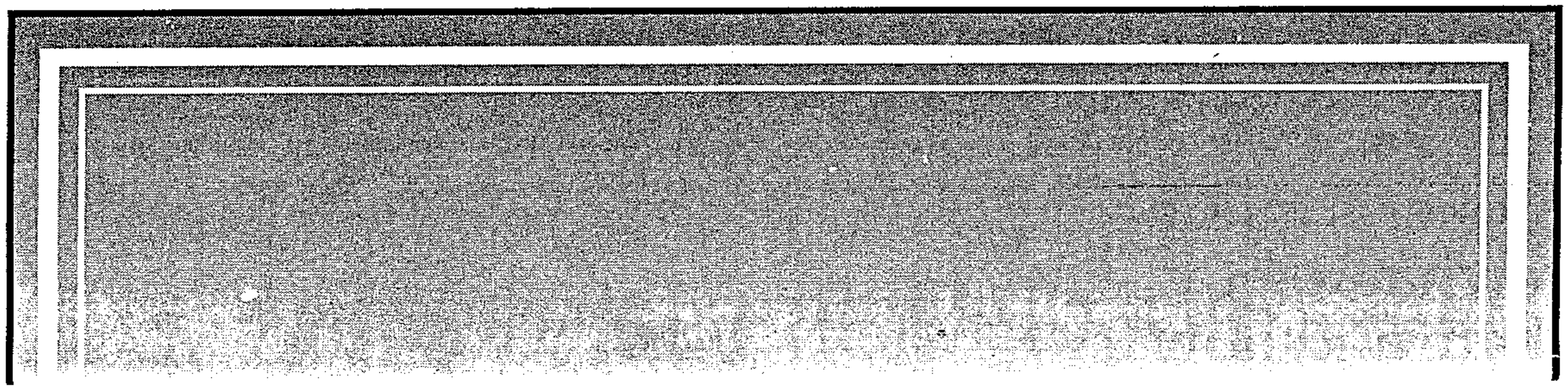
It continues in the vein of "coach doors not closing", resulting in commuters being "thrown out" or "falling". The cause of death or injury is difficult to establish and is exacerbated by the reluctance of witnesses to come forward.

The report further points out that "to exclude weapons effectively is not the only problem". The fact that "commuters fall from trains accidentally, others are thrown out without the use of weapons" makes it "naive to expect that the total exclusion of weapons would completely stop the violence".

The upgrading of railway stations is to be embarked upon together with increased security. The desiribility of doors connecting passenger coaches was urgently being investigated by the South African Rail Commuter Co-operation Limited (SARCC) in collaboration with the community but the disadvantage regarding this, was that violence could then overflow from one coach to the other.

It supported the proposal by Major-General Bester that the creation of a guards corps, recruited from the community and employed by the SARCC should be employed to "secure access to the stations".

The committee notes that the SARRC and the South African Police have implemented changes which so far seem to be "bearing fruit" — further assessment will appear in the final report.



noves to Bloemfontein in the Free State

IFP rejects train finding

Sowetan 31/7/92 (278)

■ GOLDSTONE COMMISSION Attacks on commuters done by hostel dwellers:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

THE finding by the Goldstone Commission that group attacks on train commuters were mostly done by hostel dwellers has been rejected by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The secretary of the IFP on the West Rand, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said yesterday the commission's identification of hostels as one of the sources of the train violence was false.

"People from the hostels never took part in any violence. The IFP is against the sentence in the report that mentions hostel people as attackers of people in trains. To say that is wrong.

"Our people have always defended themselves against attacks by the ANC which said in early 1981 that it would kill councillors and then Azapo people and then Inkatha.

"We are a peaceful organisation and we deplore the killings of people. The blame must be laid where it belongs," Ndlovu said.

The commission found that while it could not apportion blame for the train attacks, "whenever a group of attackers was identified, they turned out to be hostel dwellers. There were, however, other unidentified groups," the commission said.

The commission said the affected railway lines had about 27 hostels which were invariably located near stations and railway lines.

The ANC has expressed concern at some of the findings of the commission. It said the disclosure that police routinely destroyed records showed a desire on the part of the police to hide the nature of the train violence and its perpetrators. The organisation called for the phasing out of hostels.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng welcomed the commission's call for changing the face of stations and the introduction of stringent controls.

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Township raid nets few

RAY HARTLEY

THE 5 000-strong police and SADF force that searched 14 Reef townships for criminals yesterday made only 25 arrests, a police statement said.

Police made no arrests at all in nine of the 14 targeted townships. B/DAY

Police spokesman Peter Brandt said he was not concerned by the low number of arrests, as the object had been to improve community relations. 31/7/92

Two of the arrests were for murder, four for dagga-related offences, four for possession of illegal firearms, 10 for public violence and five for theft.

Thirteen arrests were in Soweto, eight in Alexandra and four in Boipatong, Vosloorus and Sebokeng.

Brandt said the police were contemplating no further operations at this stage. 278

Meanwhile, Sapa reports the SAP last night objected to a statement by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance criticising the deployment.

The SAP said the alliance's reaction was in direct contrast to an earlier statement by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Geneva that "Mr (F W) De Klerk could stop the violence with a strong, well-trained and well-equipped police force and army".

● Comment: Page 12

HRC reports 32 unrest dead

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

THIRTY-TWO people were killed and 168 injured in unrest-related incidents this week, said the "weekly repression report" of the Human Rights Commission (HRC). B/DAY 31/7/92

The East Rand was the most violent area, with 10 deaths and 10 injuries in the seven-day period.

The HRC said security forces were to blame for four of the deaths and more than 120 injuries, while vigilante-related actions accounted for 23 deaths and 31 injuries.

Five policemen were killed.

BSB/Bates 18082P/CT/E

Defiant despite death threats

W/Mail 31/7-6/8/92. (278)

By LINDA RULASHE

"RUMOUR has it that I'm as good as a dead duck," is how Vosloorus town councillor Sidwell Mofokeng describes his relationship with township residents.

Alleged to have assisted police in assaults on community youths three weeks ago, Mofokeng maintains he is being wrongly accused, but community members — who have labelled him a liar, crook and smooth talker — say otherwise.

Mofokeng has challenged the African National Congress and Vosloorus community to "come forward with information" to back their claims. "I want to live a peaceful life like anybody else, so please come forward with your information, hand it over to the police and let the law take its course."

Mofokeng says he joined in a police pursuit — in which four youngsters were arrested — after the home of a relative was petrolbombed. His uncle and niece died in the fire.

In interviews with *The Weekly Mail*, the four alleged they were beaten by police and by Mofokeng.

ANC Youth League member Andries Makhubedu said: "Mofokeng slapped and kicked me about before the police dragged me to a Hippo where I was hit three times with the butt of a gun."

Johan Ntsoho, Bongani Matibela and Dingaan Philip told similar tales.

Originally charged with arson and murder, the four are now facing charges of public violence following demonstrations on June 16 and arson attacks on the mayor's house and that of his deputy.

Mofokeng denies the allegations, also disputing claims that he is often accompanied by henchmen. He complained to the local dispute resolution committee, which has now referred the matter to the Goldstone Commission. Mr Justice RJ Goldstone has called for anyone with information about the violence in Vosloorus to contact the commission by the end of today.

Mofokeng's house is guarded around the clock by police and he now carries a firearm. Mofokeng also has a car phone in his Mercedes Benz — "purely for business purposes", he says.

Although residents are demanding his resignation the 32-year-old businessman says: "Eeven if I was to resign it would make no difference as a death order has already been issued."

Mofokeng believes he is being targeted by the civic association because the members "are trying to save face with the community. The rumours may have coincided with the repudiation by the civic of the negotiating forum into the rent issue. The civic pulled out despite our agreement. When we exercised our rights in terms of the agreement to act against defaulters it may have presented the civic in a bad light in the community."

However, Mofokeng said his relationship with the civic and the ANC is amicable, although they have different ideologies.

Vosloorus Civic Association chairman Ali Maziya says the civic withdrew from talks because the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the council rejected a referendum which tested the legitimacy of the negotiators.

A private management consultant based in Benoni, Mofokeng also does strategic planning for companies and parastatals.

Although he was "never really politically active" at school, "I had my own perceptions of the current state of affairs at the time, such as the banishment and restraint of black political organsations and the denial of freedom of expression".

Elected town councillor in 1986 during a by-election, Mofokeng said he was approached by "the very same community that is now against me" to take up the position.

"My initial response was I wasn't interested. I could not get involved in an institution perceived to be a puppet organisation. Fresh from school with young militant ideas, I saw no reason at all to get involved.

"However, after strenuous persuasion by local community members, I decided to give it a try."

His grocery shop — which is run by his mother — has been stoned on a number of occasions by youths but he initially thought reporting these incidents was "a futile exercise. I never had problems with the stonings. I've been a youth myself and know children get instigated. There is an element of mob psychology and they feel they have certain rights to certain things."

However, enough is enough, he says, and he has helped the police to apprehend some of the youths. Police say this is "normal procedure".

He does not believe that resigning is the best option. "Serving in a government-created institution does not mean you are serving the government. Granted this is an apartheid institution and it is created by the illegitimate regime, but I don't participate to sell out or to delay the struggle for liberation.

"My participation is based on the fact that while the struggle for liberation goes on, life goes on. There must be somebody at local level who is accessible and can represent the bread and butter issues of people."

However, the community has other feelings. Says Maziya: "Former Tembisa mayor Lucas Mothibe resigned after great pressure from the community but was later accepted by the people. He is now living a normal life and has a good relationship with the local community and the civic. The past is forgotten. Why can't Mofokeng do likewise?"

Shady Vaal group threatens revenge

W/Mail 31/7 - 6/8/92 (278)

By RAY NXUMALO

A RESIDENT of the besieged Sebokeng township, Violet Mnisi, has been forced into hiding after receiving two threatening notices stating that her house has been targeted for attack by a shadowy organisation which calls itself the "department of public safety".

The wording of the notices, which are signed by a Koos van Heerden, suggests the organisation is sympathetic to the police. The notices state that the organisation intends launching a 24-hour raid "connected with recent killings of our fellow SAP members" and vows to "track down the culprits who killed our followers".

Mnisi received the notices after being released from 30 days in detention in connection with a charge of possessing illegal weapons. The charge arose last month, when police apparently raided her home while she was at work. Mnisi denies any knowledge of the arms and the case has been referred to the attorney general.

Mnisi says that while she was in custody, the police told her that they knew she was innocent "but they wanted me to help them find Oupa Modikoane".

Modikoane was a tenant at her home and he went missing three days before the police raid, she explains. He had access to the kitchen and toilet inside the house, and Mnisi is adamant that he could have had knowledge about the weapons.

She says she has reported the matter to both the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) and the African National Congress because "I am scared, my life could be in danger".

In a statement issued this week, Cast said it viewed the contents of the notices very seriously and that this was not an isolated incident: "It is a strategy of the government to intimidate and kill activists."

Vaal police spokeman Captain Piet van Deventer commented that the police had no knowledge of the notices. "The matter must be brought to the SAP to be fully investigated," he added.

79 held in police 'peace operation' in Vaal townships

STAR 31/7/92

Crime Staff (278)

At least 79 people have been arrested in townships on the Reef and Vaal Triangle since 5 000 policemen and soldiers were deployed in 16 violence-racked areas in a "peace and stabilisation" operation on Wednesday.

Three people were shot dead in Dobsonville, Soweto, yesterday, police reported.

The killings bring to at least seven the number of people killed countrywide in political violence since Wednesday.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the bodies of the three gunshot victims — all men — had been found outside three different houses in Dobsonville, not far from the hostel.

In their countrywide unrest report for Wednesday, police said four people, including a policeman, were killed.

At Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle, police found the unidentified burnt bodies of two people in Sigau Street.

In other attacks on Wednesday, a woman was stabbed to death and a man was injured in Alexandra; police shot and wounded a man in Daveyton on the East Rand; and a detective was shot dead in Guguletu, Cape Town.

● A 24-hour toll-free number which can be used to supply information about crime and violence on trains is in operation. The number is 080-111-01-41.