EGTO Samo Monitors?

CAPE TOWS:

For open Community
teams in morning
police and soldiers in
South Africa's embattled Black townships could savage the
fatering transition
from White rule to
democracy. Western
dip, mats said yesterday.

One said a drult propossal was already borne errculated and HC doubters could be heading or South Africa within months.

Mr Nelson Mandeln's African National Congress has asked our United Nations members to surcryise the tarting and police after hist week's massivere of 29 people in Bolivatong.

But Western cipionaris, said after an AN. Busts-ing in Cape Town that State President De Klerk was unlikely to accept a UN monitoring team with members from tormer revuls in Africe

They said british Prime Minoser John Major might, however, persuade Mr De Work to accept a European Community team to monitor aspects of the transition to multiracial stemocraes.

"I can't see De Klerk accepting a foreign monitoring force easily, but if Major was to take a hard line on a European role, it would be hard for him to resist." said a European ensoy

A proposed EC tacturality four by Britain. The Netherlands and Postteni could be prought to waid and a commitment of the help money se-

the systems countries to heating. The means of than South Africa had to a framepoint ally country to appartness crass the asymmetric transposition of the systems at the asymmetric frame transposition of the systems o

the William of the State of the

transper and communication is supervise the count is supervise.

because i frees.

"The fee sum of a star like of coordense in any enforcement and the instruction of the security forces can only be treasured with a modest international intervention." he said.

"We want the UN Security Council to lisenss the crias in security, have toularly the viscense, and the extent to which the neternational to minerary can assist South Africa, he said.

The ANC says Mr De Rierk has either encouraged or condended the reconcernation of metables between the ANC and its rival, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party

The ANC withdrew from talks with the government on Theseby in protes, or last weeks massive and De Rierk's

reastance is making toward in a making and entirely

mit is approvide interesting to the common to appropriate the sum of the common to the common that the provide its and the interest of the common to the common to the common to the common that the common the common that th

Poreign Minister Pik Botan said pergre a cruss Cabinet session on Wednesday: "Only the hodies directly involved on negotiations; can solve the filtereness and profilems."

For one distance and iterates the government was softening its restrance to foreign management and could be ready to take a condustery instruction many Black encert.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Sersant getuig .oud-Koevoete is nié skuldig

Kommissie moet besluit oor Boipatong

Deur Nick Bezuidenhout 30/6/92.

DIE polisiesersant wat op die aand van die Boipatong-slagting in betel was van die oud-Koevoete naby Witbank wat volgens 'n ANC-getuie by dié slagting betrokke was, het gister voor die Goldstone-kommissie getuig hy was die hele aand op Witbank en het later die pad tussen dié dorp en Bethal met die eenheid se minibus gepatrolleer.

Sers. Tallie Taljaard het getuig sy manne sou nie sonder sy toestemming die basis verlaat het nie en het ontken dat hulle by die Boipatong-

slagting betrokke was.

Die kommissie het gister die laaste ongetoetsde getuienis oor die beweerde betrokkenheid van dié eenheid by die slagting aangehoor en moet besluit of dié beweringe deur 'n komitee van die kommissie ondersoek moet word of nie.

Mnr. Mandla Ngomezulu, ANC-lid, plaaslike sekretaris van die NUM en 'n veiligheidswag by die Greensidesteenkoolmyn waar die oud-Koevoete gestasioneer was, het Vrydag gesê mnr. Jeremia Shikongo, 'n lid van die eenheid, het aan hom vertel hulle het met die eenheid se minibus na Boipatong gery om mense te gaan skiet.

Mnr. Shikongo ontken hierdie be-

weringe.

Volgens die minibus se ritboek het sers. Taljaard op Woensdag, 17 Junie, omstreeks 22:00 by die oud-Koevoete se basis by die Greensidesteenkoolmyn vertrek. Hy en 'n tegnikus het vir die grootste deel van die nag by die poskantoor op Witbank geluister of enige alarms deur koperdraaddiewe geaktiveer word.

Hierna het hy met die minibus patrollie gedoen tussen Witbank en Bethal en was omstreeks 04:30 terug by die basis, het sers. Taljaard ge-

tuig.

Volgens die ritboek het hy dié nag 237 km gery. Kaarte wat by die kommissie bestudeer is, wys dat 'n rit van die basis na Boipatong en terug sowat 340km ver sou wees.

Mnr. Ngomezulu het Vrydag getuig mnr. Shikongo het aan hom gesê sý eenheid was verantwoordelik vir die Boipatong-slagting en hulle het in die minibus daarheen gery.

Maj. Christo Davidson, 'n ondersoekbeampte van die Boipatongslagting, het gister getuig volgens die polisie-ondersoek het die aanval op inwoners van die woonbuurt die Woensdagaand omstreeks 21:30 begin en teen 22:30 geëindig.

• Mnr. William Mthimkhulu, veiligheidswag by die myn, het gister getuig die dag nadat 'n afvaardiging van die Goldstone-kommissie die oud-Koevoete se blyplek by die myn deurgesoek het, het mnr. Stefaans du Preez, hoof van veiligheid by die myn, 'n kort vergadering van die veiligheidswagte belê waarop hy gesê het die lede is betrokke by die slagting.

Mnr. Mthimkhulu is gevra om mnr. Du Preez se presiese woorde te herhaal. Volgens hom was dit: "hierdie mense het saam met die SAP gewerk en is ingesluit (included) by Boipatong". Hy het gesê mnr. Du Preez het beslis nie gesê betrokkenheid is slegs beweringe nie.

Mnr. Du Preez en nog 'n veiligheidswag, mnr. Richard Nkosi, het Vrydag getuig dat hy slegs gesê het die lede is na bewering by Boipatong betrokke.

Mnr. Mthimkulu het gister getuig mnr. Nkosi was nie op die vergadering nie en het eers ná die tyd daar aangekom.

 Die kommissie sal besluit of die beweringe ondersoek moet word wanneer hy oor die Boipatong-slagting sit, het adv. Andries Steyn, voorsitter van die komitee, gesê.



Control of the second

ns vat hul saam hel toe'

se die eindstryd teen Regering het nou aangebreek 🔳 Miljoene mense sal betoog in nuwe fase van massa-aksie

Deur Jan de Lange 30 142

"ELKE keer as ons probeer onderhandel, stuur hulle ons hel toe. Nou vat ons hulle saam met ons hel toe, het mnr. Jay Naidoo, hoofsekretaris van Cosatu, gister by die begrafnisdiens vir die Boipatongslagoffers gesê op 'n dag wat gewemel het van dreigemente en mili-

Mnr. Naidoo het gewaarsku dat die "eindstryd" aangebreek het om van die Regering ontslae te raak en dat die land aan die vooraand van massa-optrede is waarin miljoene mense in die strate sal betoog.

Die diens in die Boipatong-stadion, wat deur sowat 60 000 mense bygewoon is, het by tye hoogs emosioneel verloop. Duisende mense het in 'n stadium met vuiste in die

lug geskreeu: "De Klerk moet weg! De Klerk moet weg!'

n Versoenende geluid het egter wel gekom van mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, sekretaris-generaal van die ANC, wat dit benadruk het dat onderhandelinge steeds 'n opsie bly, mits die Regering bevredigend op die ANC se eise reageer.

Die begrafnisdiens was aan die vooraand van die ANC se tweede fase van massa-optrede wat die spanning, onsekerheid en ontwrigting in die land verder kan laat toeneem. (Lees berig op bl. 10.)

Die vakbond Nehawu, wat met 'n ontwrigtende staking by hospitale besig is, het gister gesê sy staking gaan na ander sektore in die staatsdiens uitgebrei word. (Berig op

Mnr. Naidoo het gister een van

die mees militante toesprake by die begrafnisdiens gehou.

"My boodskap aan u, mnr. De Klerk, is dat u tyd om is. U moet nou gaan - en as u di' nie vrywillig doen nie, sal ons u de rons massaoptrede daartoe dwing," het hy 350

Hy het gewaarsku dat "ons nie met duisende nie, maar met miljoene strate toe gaan"

Sprekers het dit deurgaans benadruk dat massa-optrede die enigste uitweg is om die "finale veldslag" te wen. Mnr. Dikgang Moseneke, visepresident van die PAC, het aangekondig dat die PAC die ANC se program van massa-optrede sal steun. (Lees berig op bl. 2.)

Ander aggressiewe uitsprake was dié van aartsbiskop Trevor Huddlestone, voorsitter van die Anti-Apartheidsbeweging:

"Ons in die Weste vergeet soms die opdrag om die bose te haat. Niks is meer boos as apa, heid nie. Ek het gesweer dat apartheid voor my sal sterf. Julle moet gou maak die tyd is min."

Mnr. Chris Hani, sekretaris-generaal van die SAKP: "Daar is geen ander uitweg as massa-optrede nie. Ons sal veg tot die einde of tot ons 'n onafhanklike land is."

Mnr. Hani het voorgestel dat 'n spitsberaad van demokratiese magte gehou word sodat op 'n strategie ooreengekom kan word om "hierdie regime te klop".

Dr. K.M. Mogojo, president van die SA Raad van Kerke: "Ons is nou verplig om ons weer tot die soort veldtogte en projekte te wend waarmee ons voor Februarie 1990 besig

Volgens mnr. Ramaphosa het

pres. De Klerk in die gesprek by Kodesa II gesê: "Ek het geen beheer oor hierdie Polisie nie." Die Regering het dit in 'n verklaring gisteraand as onwaar bestempel. (Berig op bl. 4.)

Mnr. Ramaphosa het gesè pres. De Klerk se ontkenning dat hy verantwoordelikheid moet aanvaar vir die geweld, beteken dat hy of onbevoeg is vir sy pos of nutteloos

Hy het hom daarvan weerhou om pres. De Klerk weer regstreeks van moord te beskuldig, maar gesê hy en sy Regering is afsonderlik en gesamentlik vir die slagtings verantwoordelik.

"As pres. De Klerk die moorde beëindig en sorg dat die skuldiges vervolg word, sa' sy hande weer skoon wees."

PAC steun massa-al

Grondwetlike Beriggewer



DIE Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) het gister blykbaar van standpunt verander en sy steun toegese aan die ANC se veldtog van massa-aksie teen die Regering.

Adv. Dikgang Moseneke, adjunkpresident van die PAC, het op die massa-begrafnis van die Boipatongslagoffers die PAC verbind tot 'n veldtog van massa-aksie om saam met die ANC en die Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) "die SA regering omver te werp", berig Sapa.

Vroeër vandeesmaand, toe die ANC sy veldtog van massa-aksie geloods het, het die PAC en Azapo geweier om hul steun daaraan toe te sê. Hulle het gesê die ANC gebruik dit net om 'n mislukte Kodesa te laat herleef.

Adv. Moseneke het op gister se begrafnis gese daar moet "'n mini-mum-program van massa-aksie" teen die Regering kom. Die belangrikste doel daarvan moet wees om by

'n verkose grondwetgewende vergadering uit te kom.

Die vraag kan gevra word of die stryd teen apartheid in die swart woonbuurte nie te vroeg tot stilstand gebring is nie.

Hy het gevra vir die voortsetting van die gewapende stryd en onder toejuiging van roubeklaers gesê "'n volk sonder wapens is geen volk nie"

Die feit dat pres. F.W. de Klerk weer staatgemaak het op sy Veiligheidsmagte, bewys dié punt, het adv. Moseneke gesê.

Mnr. Pendelani Nofolovhodwe, president van Azapo, het 'n pleidooi gelewer vir eenheid onder die bevrydingsbewegings. Nie een van die bewegings kan die Regering eiehandig omverwerp nie, het hy gesê.

Die vyand het daarin geslaag om ons aandag af te lei. Daar is geen eenheid meer nie."

Mnr. Nofolovhodwe het gesê dit is nietemin gesond dat die verskillende organisasies bestaan en mekaar opponeer, "solank dit net nie lei tot dood in ons geledere nie".

President goes to bed without fear of being butchered, observes Mike Siluma

FW fails to fathom the fury

N 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 cold 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 "blackon-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 hav-

ing 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 retainin 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.

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, he verthose 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 fun-

damental untruth" the ANC's claim of his complicity in the violence. Even if we give him the benefit of the doubt, the question still remains: Why is he not able to get the police to put the killers in jail? The political aspect aside, the police's track record should, at the very least, be a simple question of law and order, of criminals being seen to be punished for their crimes.

The country is going to rely largely on the police and the rest of the security forces to ensure that the transition from apartheid to democracy is relatively peace; ful. This has led some in the black community to begin questioning the wisdom of making deals with a head of state whose control over the security forces is, to say the least, suspect.

If Mr de Klerk's police are incapable of arresting the murderers and protecting life — irrespective of political affiliation or race — then the argument for joint control of the security forces, as well as the need for international in volvement, will increasily sound less hare-brained than he makes it out to be.



· galacina dans or i

OAU censures De Klerk



DAKAR - The honeymoon with black Africa seemed over yesterday when the Organisation of African Unity condemned Pretoria for violence against blacks and demanded an emergency United Nations Security Council meeting.

"Africa's concern is to see that the process of change in South Africa is not aborted," OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim told a news conference after a week of meetings by African foreign ministers who set the agenda for the OAU summit opening in Dakar

yesterday.

The ministers urged the Security Council to put pressure on South Africa's white minority Government to end violence following the massacre of 49 people in a black squatter camp by hostel dwellers.

The bloodbath 12 days ago prompted the African National Congress to pull out of negotiations with the Government on a new democratic constitution.

The ANC, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, accused the security forces of involvement in the massacre in Boipatong township, south of Johannesburg.

The escalating violence in South Africa is expected to dominate the three-day summit, which Mandela will address.

South African Government representatives had been expected to make an unprecedented appearance on the sidelines of the meeting.

But the newly cordial relationship returned to more familiar ground as thousands of people observed a day of mourning in South Africa and the ministers here passed a resolution urging Pretoria to "end the carnage".

Mandela, who arrived here on Sunday, said negotiations would not be resumed unless the Government of President Frederick de Klerk met ANC demands to stop the violence, free political prisoners and repeal remaining apartheid laws.

The foreign ministers also passed resolutions calling for the creation of an African peacekeering force that could intervene in the many civil wars and conflicts draining the meagre resources of the poorest continent.

The force, comprised of units drawn from the armies of all OAU member states, would be formed as part of a new structure "for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa".

The OAU summit will also discuss demands for compensation to be paid by Western countries for the slave trade.

The ministers called for closer links between Africa and blacks in the West. Black American leader Rev Jesse Jackson and Britain's first black member of parliamer. Bernie Grant, will hold meetings here with African leaders during the summit.

The ministers appealed for an end to fighting in Somalia and urged the United Nations to pursue efforts to restore peace in the wake of a UN brokered ceasefire agreement. - Sapa-AFP.

Hostels - home to killers

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 commoration 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 AC, 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 Bolpatong.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police or IFP members have a narrested, 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

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.



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 ...

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 peopie 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.

(5)

HEAVY burden rests on Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and his commission with the launch of their inquiry last week into the Boipatong massacre.

It is likely that their findings could influence South Africa's deadlocked negotiations.

The ANC, in this case, is the plaintiff and State President FW de Klerk and his Government the defendants who have been accused of complicity in the massacre.

There is a widespread belief that South Africa's clandestine forces have sufficient resources and influence to cover up their crimes and "muddy the waters" to stymie any investigation.

Judge Goldstone, however, has developed a reputation as a supreme inquisitor who can cut through dense lies to get to the truth.

The commission has a solid track record and enjoys credibility among all groups and the various communities in which it has conducted inquiries.

Armed with the truth, South Africans may be better equipped to prevent future Boipatongs.

5.7W 5.7P



HE nation mourned yesterday.
But, wounds will only start healing when the killers are jailed.

But, this is unlikely and we believe Cyril Ramaphosa who yesterday said State President FW de Klerk had lost control of the

security forces.

After arresting six people and only several days after the event the police are now leaking information to their "trusties" in the media that 30 more people may be arrested.

The key words are "may be arrested" and this is a leak, nothing official.

We must also believe that these 30, or others involved in the massacre, will wait to be arrested.

What is striking is that the police suddenly speak of confessions and more arrests after disclosures that the Koevoet Unit was involved.

General Johan van der Merwe even denies that this unit, or its members, was involved.

In other words, this lead is not worth following.

How do they find Koevoet members innocent even before they question them?

Two weeks ago a Supreme Court judge freed seven men charged with the killing of Sebokeng residents at a night vigil. The judge said police investigations had not been thorough enough to get anybody convicted.

Will the Boipatong killers ever be convicted?

De Klerk powerless

STATE President FW de Klerk had admitted to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that he had no power over his police force.

This was said by ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa during the mass funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The alleged disclosure was made by De Klerk when he met Mandela for crais talks during all-fated Codesa 2 negotiations in mid-May.

De Klerk was, therefore, either incompetent or "totally useless" Ramaphosa charged. "He must go."

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(18)

'n Epidemie van venyn het oor die graf-skare gespoel

Van Bruce Taylor

SHARPEVILLE. – Dit wemel van mense tussen die grafte die oop veld tussen Vanderbijpark en Sharpeville. Hulle wag dat die lyke van Boipatong kom, sodat die begrafnis kan begin.

Party sing. Ander dans 'n r.el by 'n groen vaandel en sing "One settler, one bullet".

Groepe mans met byle, metaalkieries en assegaaie omhoog vleg deur die menigte. Ander hou weer boomtakke op. Vir die beste uitsig klim baie teen kragmaste uit, of sit

op die dakke van Sharpeville se huise. Paviljoenstyl.

Ek neem foto's, met my kamerasak en baadjie op die grond tussen my skoene.

Ek gewaar nog 'n gewapende groep met "tradisionele wapens": byle en ander skerp moordtuie, waaronder 'n lang swaard.

As ek weer kyk, is my leerbaadjie skoonveld. Ek kyk om my heen, maar sien niemand dit dra nie. Sommige lyk vieserig en ander lag.

"Now we must kill you all," sê 'n hardekoejawel in my gesig. Sy maat is by hom en hulle steek vas asof hulle die praatjie wil voortsit. Ek probeer my dom hou. Ek probeer vriendelik lyk asof ek glad nie verstaan nie.

Maar die vyandigheid is hoogs verstaanbaar. 'n Epidemie van venyn het gister kop uitgesteek onder die swart begrafnisgangers en versprei sover as wat hulle loop.

Enigeen wat na die militante begrafnisredes van biskop Trevor Huddlestone, mnr. Jay Naidoo van Cosatu en ander op Boipatong geluister het, sal ook weet waar hulle die vyandigheid aangesteek het.

Die virus van die epidemie van venyn het uit die gestapelde luidsprekertorings in Boipatong se stadium gespuit, soos spreker ná spreker nie net die 43 dooies van Boipatong se bloedbad begrawe het nie, maar daarmee saam ook hoop op vrede en onderhandeling.

Watter swart sterfling kon in vrede na 'n witman kyk nadat mnr. Simon Moloi vertel het hoe blankes met R1-gewere saam met Zoeloes mense voor sy deur vermoor het?

 Johan van Wyk beskryf tonele by die grafte soos volg:

Die mense groet soos hulle aankom met baniere wat sê hulle is van Pholapark, Evaton of Sharpeville. Maar dit is nie 'n gewone manier van groet nie. Hulle groet met die wapen.

Die bas boem van 'n haelgeweer word uit die bondels om die grafte beantwoord met 'n sarsie pistoolen rewolwerskote die lug in.

Dit is egter die eenmalige geknetter van 'n AK 47-geweer uit die groep van Pholapark wat die grootste toejuiging onder die mense langs die grafte ontlok.

'n Vryskut-fotograaf wat teen die raad van sy kollegas probeer om een van die gewapende mans af te neem, word terstond met 'n klip onder die oog gegooi en gee pad met bloed wat oor sy wang stroom. Later is sy regteroog bottoe geswel.

Die skote bedaar naderhand. "Hulle mors hul koeëls, bêre dit vir De Klerk," sê een jong ANC-lid in kakie onverskillig.

Black groups pledge unity at funeral

By Carol Hills

THE Boipatong funeral yesterday brought the African National Congress, SA Communist Party alliance, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organi-

sation together in a show of unity.

The PAC pledged itself to take part in mass ac-

tion; Azapo called for the unification of liberation armies

The ANC and its affili-

ate, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), again blamed State President De Klerk and the police for the massacre in which more than 40 people died.

They demanded that Mr De Klerk must resign.

The funeral of 38 victims of the Boipatong massacre was attended by 30 000 mourners and was held at the Boipatong Stadium.

After speeches which lasted from 10 am until about 2.30 pm, the bodies were taken to the Sharpeville Cemetery, 5 km from the stadium. They arrived there more than two hours later.

Although ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, blamed Mr De Klerk and the police for the massacre and pledged the ANC to continue mass action, he said the ANC had not abandoned negotiation.

The PAC committed itself to a programme of mass action with the ANC and Azapo "to overthrow the South African Government".

Azapo president, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, claimed that none of the liberation movements could single-handedly overthrow the South African Government and he appealed for unity among liberation organisations.

"Today is the day that we must be united.

"We need to act. We need to overthrow the government.

"The enemy has been able to divert our attention. Our unity is no more. We should at all times be united against

Mr Nefolovhodwe urged that all liberation armies be combined.

In Azapo's assessment, the "third force" was none other than State President De Klerk, "We must destroy De Klerk," he said.

PAC deputy president, Dikgang Moseneke, called for a minimum programme of mass action against the government.

Referring to the negotiation process as embodied by Codesa, he asked whether the anti-apartheid struggle in the township had been halted too early.

Mr Moseneke said the main aim of the mass action campaign with the ANC and Azapo had to work out a constituent assembly.

He also called for the continuation of the armed struggle, adding that "a nation without arms is not a nation".

The PAC would join the ANC and other liberation movements in mass action aimed at "overthrowing the regime," he said.

SACP secretary-general. Chris Hani, urged a summit of the liberation movements to plot a strategy to "defeat the regime".

"Let us poise ourselves for rolling mass action. The only way is the implementation of more and more mass action and the overall escalation of the mass struggle," he said.

Mr Hani called on South Africans across the country to "stand up and be counted" by participating in the campaign until an elected constituent assembly was established.

"There can be no compromise on our demand for majority rule," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa, reports Sapa, claimed that Mr De Klerk had admitted to African National Congress president Nelson Mandela that he had no power over his police force.

The alleged disclosure was made by Mr De Klerk when he met Mr Mandela for crisis talks during ill-fated Codesa II negotiations in mid-May.

"I have no power over these policemen," Mr Ramaphosa quoted Mr De Klerk as having said.

Mr De Klerk was therefore either incompetant or "totally useless" Mr Ramaphosa charged. "He must go."

Mr De Klerk was not "fit enough" to be President.

"He has proved he is incompetant and useless because he cannot control the security forces."

There was also a specific call for Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel to be relieved of his job. "His police are guilty of murder." Mr Ramaphosa claimed.

Reiterating the ANC's 13 demands to the government last week when it pur. 1 out of negotiations, he said: "There was no other option."

He accused the government of embracing, at the same time, negotiation and covert action "which

includes murder. They have brought our country to the brink of disaster".

If the government did not meet the ANC's demands, the chances of the organisation returning to the negotiation table were "virtually nil".

"For now, Codesa can be forgotten. It has only brought us misery. The ANC will no longer tolerate the politics of murder, let alone politics of ultimatums," said Mr Ramaphosa.

He stressed, however, that the ANC had not given up on negotiation.

Mass action was not an alternative to negotiations but formed part of the strategy to achieve an elected constituent assembly

"We are the guardians of this process. We have not given up on the negotiations."

In a warlike speech which appeared to please the crowd, Congress of South African Trade Unions secretary-general Jay Naidoo directly accused the residents of Kwa-

Midala hostel of the attack on Boipatong residents.

"These vigilantes in KwaMadala hostel have been armed by De Klerk and trained by the police and are allowed to launch atticks on people."

The crowd joined him in chanting: "De Klerk must go, De Klerk must

go.

"We are being radical because they are killing our people. We have no option. We are not your kitchen boys," he said to loud cheers.

The funeral was attended by prominent clergy including Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference's Bishop Wilfred Napier.

Among the dignitaries at the stadium was British anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, former Zimbabwean president Bishop Canaan Banana, governor of Virginia, Lawrence Wilder.

e Capen

Call for FW to quit over 'lack of security force control'

THE ANC Munched 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

WILSON ZWANE

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 the crowd standing outside the sports stadium. The body was then burnt.

And Sapa reports township youths toyitoyied 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 govern-

ment met its demands. These 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.

☐ To Page 2

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 strugele whose clear-cut objective would be the overthrowing of the government.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe called for the "combination" of his 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 workers

were tired of "endless negotiations' Inkatha, whose supporters at KwaMadala Hostel are alleged to have attacked

Boipatong residents, was not represented But Sapa reports that its national chair-

man Frank Mdlalose extended the organisation's condolences.

SA Council of Chur hes 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.

Coretta Scott King, widow of US civil rights campaigner Martin Luther King, in a message read out on her behalf, urged South Africans to embark on non-violent protests until the "last vestiges" of apartheid had been removed.

Picture: Page 3

Bernaturis missele

'Mnr. De Klerk, u tyd is om!' – Jay

Deur Gerda Kruger



"DE KLERK moet weg! De Klerk moet weg!" het duisende mense vuiste in die lug oor en oor geskreeu terwyl mnr. Jay Naidoo op die begrafnis vir die Boipatong-slagoffers 'n emosionele toespraak van die geprakseerde verhoog gelewer het.

Mnr. Naidoo, hoofsekretaris van Cosatu, was dié spreker op die begrafnis wat die skare begrafnisgangers tot 'n dreunsang kon aanspoor waarin onder meer uitroepe teen mnr. De Klerk weerklink het.

"My boodskap aan u, mnr. De Klerk, is dat u tyd om is. U moet nou gaan – en as u dit nie vrywillig doen nie, sal ons u deur ons massa-optredes daartoe dwing," het mnr. Naidoo

Mnr. Naidoo het die skuld vir die Boipatong-slagting op die Polisie en die Regering gepak.

"Die hand van die rassistiese regering het die hande van die moordenaars beweeg. Ons is dodelik moeg om ons mense te begrawe. Ons is moeg vir armoede en uitbuiting. Hier is nie meer plek vir die blanke minderheidregering in die nuwe Suid-Afrika nie," het hy gesê.

Mnr. Naidoo het die Weermag daarvan beskuldig dat hy opleiding gee aan die mense wat onskuldige inwoners in swart woonbuurte om die lewe bring.

Hy het ook gedreig dat die land op die vooraand van massa-optrede staan waarin miljoene mense in die strate sal betoog om vry van die Regering te word.

"Die eindstryd vir ons vryheid het aangebreek. Ons kan nie jare neem om die laaste myl te loop nie. Ons mense is moeg van eindelose onderhandelinge," het hy gesê.

Mnr. Naidoo het die media daarvan beskuldig dat hulle die Regering steun deur berigte te skryf waarin gesê word dat geen bewyse gevind kan word vir die Polisie se betrokkenheid by die slagting nie.

"As u die slagting in Boipatong afkeur en veroordeel, moet u De Klerk en sy regime ook afkeur en veroordeel," het mnr. Naidoo gesê.

(19)

Mourners lambast FW

By Shaun Johnson Bronwyn Wilkinson and Brian Sokutu

President F W de Klerk yesterday came under the most concerted attack of his presidency as speakers at the Boipatong mass funeral charged the Government with direct complicity in violence and dashed any hopes of a quick resumption of Codesa negotiations.

Yesterday's memorial ser-

vice for 37 of the more than 40 victims of the June 17 hassacre began in near-si-lence as thousands of mourners gathered at Boipatong's ramshackle stadium in the Vaal Triangle, but the mood became increasingly militant throughout the lengthy proceedings.

The Star's team made an estimate of in excess of 30 000 people in and around the stadium, but conditions were such that no reliable figures could be obtained.

During the service, toplevel leaders from a wide range of extra-parliamenta-

ry organisations launched some of the angriest attacks on the Government to be heard since South Africa's negotiations process began.

The attacks, including allegations that Mr de Klerk was directly implicated in the ongoing violence, were made in front of senior political, religious, business and diplomatic leaders who had been invited to attend the service. Among the dignitaries were former Zimbabwean president Canaan Banana, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and other senior international clerics, and

Transkei military leader! Major-General Bantu Holomisa. They heard that there was virtually no prospect of a speedy reconvention of the

More reports — Pages 3, 5, 12 and 13

Codesa negotiating forum.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told mourners that during Codesa 2, Mr de Klerk had said to ANC president Nelson Mandela that he had no power to stop the violence. This

proved he was "either totally useless, or incompetent", Mr Ray aphosa said. He quoted Mr e Klerk as having said: "I have no power over these policemen."

Mr de Klerk was not fit to be president, and should go, Mr Ramophosa said. He also called for the resignation of Law and Crder Minister Hernus Kriel and demanded he admit his police were guilty of murder. He accused the Government of simulaneously embracing negotiations and covert action that included murder.

"For now," said Mr Ramaphosa, "Codesa can be forgotten. It has only brought misery. The ANC will no longer tolerate the politics of murder, let alone politics of ultimatums," he said, adding that until its demands were met, the chances of the ANC returning to Codesa were "virtually nil".

He stressed, however, that the ANC had not given up on negotiations, but that negotiations were part of a process and could not be seen as an end in themselves.

General Holomisa said the international community

should not try to pressure the ANC and its allies into resuming negotiations until key demands had been met. He also fired a broadside at Nigeria's leaders, who held high-level talks with the Government at the weekend, saying: "This is a message to the Nigerian government — we say hands off, you are confusing us."

He challenged Western governments with sufficient "political clout and economic muscle" to force the Government to the negotiating

table with "clean hands".

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. We're sick and tired of burying

our people, and sick and tired of the apartheid policies."

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." Saying that sanctions had been lifted too early, he called on international representatives present to increase pressure and not to lift it "until we have our freedom".

Nactu secretary-general C Ngcukana said residents had the right to defend themselves against attacks, and that 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.

Dr Mgojo said his organisation would call for the withdrawal of the SA team from the Olympics if those responsible for the Boipatong massacre were not arrested, charged and convicted; if the Government failed to issue a statement of intent allowing international monitoring organisations to come to South Africa; and if the Government failed to ensure the speedy convening of a constituent assembly.

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.

Archbishop Tutu said 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

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 slain human rights leader Martin Luther King, expressed her sympathy with the people of South Africa in their time of mourning.

Black-on-Black Killings An Everyday Event

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 minor-

ity rule.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has condemned his archrivals 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 timeof 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.

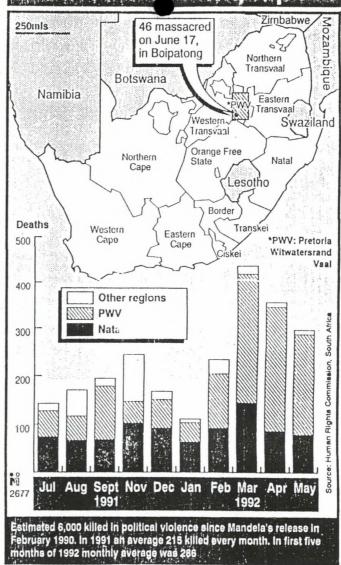
From that base, in the mid-1980s Inkatha began to battle ANC front groups for turf throughout neighboring Natal. There, in scores of clashes, were sown the seeds of their bitter struggle, now flowering with such savagery into an

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

South Africa: township



Continued from page 17

Buthelezi, whose political fortunes have been noticeably on the wane, recently has revealed fears that he may be left out of the dealing for a new constitution. He has said that the ANC is trying to scuttle the multi-party constitutional

talks and dictate "the destiny of the country." "The negotiation process is a multi-party affair," he said in a statement. "It is a gross distortion of political reality to present a picture of the negotiation process as one which the ANC can control."

White in Vaal killings'

TWO black police assistants have alleged that people who carried out the massacre at Boipatong included a white policeman and were transported in Casspirs.

And police investigations have revealed that between 200 and 300 dwellers at KwaMadala Hostel near the township left the hostel about 9.15pm on June 17, the night of the massacre, and gathered outside the township.

They split into smaller groups and launched their attach on the township.

This was revealed by a senior policeman,

Major Christo Davidson, during the preliminary inquiry into the Boipatong killings before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday.

Davidson said the allegations about the police Casspir were made by Mr MM Xaba and Mr Joseph Sello, both attached to the satellite police station in Evaton.

Although police were looking into the allegations, "investigations to date prove these allegations false", Davidson said.

He told the commission it appeared the slaughter was carried out from 9.25pm to 10.45pm and police, who arrived on the scene shortly afterwards, were told by residents they had been attacked by KwaMadala Hostel dwellers.

Arson linked to march

Damage of about R1 million was caused to a train on Wednesday when arsonists set fire to a passenger coach near Cape Town. "It is strongly suspected this group had taken part in the pro-test march in Cape Town," said local Metro manager Andre Harrison. On Wednesday about 10 000 people took part in a Cosatu "living wage" march to Parliament.

We're at war, say besieged Natal farmers

A SMALL white farming community in the Natal Midlands is on a tense war footing - caught in the cross-fire of a power struggle for political control of the black people of the area.

A number of the farmers in the isolated valley about 15 km from Richmond, including former Natal rugby player Mort Mortassagne, have received death threats.

Mr Mortassagne's death is said to be a matter of days away.

Virtually under "siege", the farmers live in an area where gunfire across the valleys is an everyday sound and they and their families go about fully armed.

The men go about their business with rifles slung over their shoulders and handguns holstered on their hips. Their wives never leave their houses unarmed.

Not far away, a Durban man and his wife were shot at while driving their bakkie on the Ixopo-Richmond road - an incident typical of what the people in the district have come to expect.

Revenge attacks on blacks

appear to be common, as are arson, stock theft and intimidation aimed at the white farmers.

A major target of the political struggle in the area is the black Gengensche location. The people living there most of whom are sympathetic to Inkatha — are living under siege conditions.

Last Saturday men armed with AK-47 acsault rifles ran amok in Gengensche, killing two inhabitants and wounding 10 others.

In a follow-up attack on Sunday, Isgovuza Mathuia an employee of Mr Mortassagne - was gunned down and killed in the car park of Edendale Hospital as he went to fetch the wounded from the previous day's Gengensche attack.

And on Monday, armed men broke into the homes of people living in the Hilly Prospect squatter settlement and threatened them with death if they continued working for one of the local white farmers, Mr Tony Gooch.

The white farmers held an emergency meeting on Monday night and decided to "go public" with their problem.

They allege the onslaught is coming from the African National Congress (ANC).

"We want the world to know what is happening to us here," said Barry Pottow, who owns one of the biggest farms in the area.

Referring to the Boipatong day of mourning, he said: "We are angry about this kind of selective mourning.

"When something happens to the ANC it is front-page news. When something happens to us here it hardly makes a line in the newspapers.

"We would like to invite Archbishop Tutu to come and lead the funeral service here for the dead killed at Gen-gensche." said Mr Pottow.

"What we have here is war - except we don't understand the tactics. I was only trained in conventional warfare.'

Like the other farmers, Gary Lander is sure the problems come from the ANC, although he says it is not easy to prove. Gary said: "They are trying to intimidate us and destroy us economically."

He points out that most of the labourers in the area who have remained loyal to the farmers are Inkatha people.

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

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 bunched. We were the first jourmalists 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 hurned 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, foor days before he mas-

sacre, 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 .mmediately, 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 teleplone 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

BOIPATONG TOWNSHIP, South Africa — After the June 17 neassacre 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 reentered 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 the se 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 of 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, no 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 atrochies 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 dor here may be some hope of getting the peace process back on track Anything less, and the abyss yawns.

AANHANGSEL A TOT PATROLLIE RAPPORT/APPENDIX A TOT PATROL REPORT

VOERTUIGPLAN/VEHICLE PLAN

	1.	Voe	ertuig/Vehic.e				
		a.	Tipe voertuig/Type of Vehicle: JUEFEL.				
		Ь.	R-nommer/R-number: $BCV633M$				
		С.	Sitplekplan/Seating plan :				
			REGS				
			Magsnommer	Rang	Naam		
			70400601KH	SKTR	SPIENAHR		
			73371291KH	OKRE	HODEN PARK		
	,		7:3474793KH	SKTK	GNIENABER		
			LINKS				
			LINKS	Rang	Naam		
•			Magsnommer	Rang	Naam		
•			Magsnommer 66364852 KH	SKT.R.	L.G. PRINSLOO.		
•			Magsnommer				
•			Magsnommer 66364852 KH	SKT.R.	L.G. PRINSLOO.		
•			Magsnommer 66364852 KH 71409031-KH	SKT.R.	L.G. PRINSLOO.		
•			Magsnommer 66364852 KH 71409031-KH	SKT.R.	L.G. PRINSLOO.		
			Magsnommer 66364852 KH 71409031.KH	SKT.R.	L.G. PRINSLOO,		
Group	0 4	lein	Magsnommer 66364852 KH 71409031.KH	SKT.R.	L.G. PRINSLOO.		
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VAAL-KOMMANDO PATROLLIE RAPPORT / VAAL-COMMANDO PATROL REPORT

PAT	ROLL	IE SAMESTELLING / PATROL COMPOSITION
1.	-	velvoerder/ommander
	a.	No: 73371791614 b. Rang/Rank: 969
	c.	Naam/Name: 10.67. Coescicio
	d.	Eenheid/Unit: Vaa Kommanas
2.		tumtydgroep
		Uit/Out:20/135 16 Jun 92
	b.	In/In: 23/20 16 Jun 92
3. See	Ste Appe	erkte en Voertuie/Strength and Vehicles : Sien Aanhangsel A/
TAKI	NG/T	ASKING
4.		rag/Mission
	a.	Wie: .3.2/7
	b.	Wat: Eskort vary Buse
	c.	Waar : Kiva madija
	d.	1 = 1000
	e.	Wat daarna: Peria on basis
	Spe	sifieke Take/Specific Tasks Coleiche Stoterus
	a.	Extent buse varial sky- morthic for a
		iney Kwanasija hostelo heer erriver)
	b.	••• ••••••

	c.	***************************************

	d.	***************************************

VERLOOP VAN GEBEURE/SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

6. Inhoud van verslag/Contents of report. Let op die volgende punte waar van toepassing. Note the following points where relevant. (Aanhangsel D.

a. Voertuig Bewegings/Yenicle Movements

- Busse (aantal passasiers, gereelaheid van busse)/Busses (no of passengers, frequency of busses).
- ii. Taksies/Taxis (sien 6.a.i./see 6.a.i.).
- iii. Treine/Trains (sien t.a.i./see 6.a.i.).

b. Aktiwiteite van bevolking/Activities of population

- Straatbeweging/Street movement.
- Straatstalletjies/Street vendors.
- iii. Winkels/Shops.

c. Gesindheid van bevolking/Attitude of population

- Aantal mense in straat/Volume of pedestrians.
- ii. Beskryf die gesindheid (neutraal of negatief teenoor SAW)/ Describe the attitude (positive or negative towards SADF).
- iii. Name en adresse van negatiewe elemente/Names and addresses of negative elements.
- iv. Name en adresse van neutrale elemente/Names and addresses of positive elements.
- v. Komops/Comops.

d. Vergaderings, samedrommings en begrafnisse/Meetings, gatherings and funerals

- Tipe en plek/Type and place.
- ii. Datum, tyd en tema/Date, time and theme.
- iii. Leiers of agitators/Leaders of agitators.
- iv. Aantal persone betrokke/Amount of people involved.

e.	Propaganda	
	 Positief of negatief/Positive or negative. 	
	ii. Bron/Source.	
	 Gebied en intensiteit van verspreiding/Area and intens distribution. 	sity of
	iv. Slagspreuke/Slogans.	
	v. Heg voorbeelde van pamflette en plakkate aan/Attach ex of posters and pamphlets.	amples
7. Taal	k terugvoer/Task feedbask. (Heg foliopapier aan indien nodi	g/Attach
a.	Taak 1/Task 1: Eskort buse	
	······································	• • • • • • • • • • • • •
b.	Taak 2/Task 2 :	
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8. Opmer	rkings en kommentaar/Remarks and comments :	
cohie	d Atil o- 4 die	• • • • • • • • • •
georg	d stil er, motig.	
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AANHANGSEL B BY PATROLLIE RAPPORT -

PUNT TOT PUNT INSKRYWING VAN PATROLLIES

C	c	YC	T	ES
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و بلهواد	Datum/Tydgmoss	Variationak, Stradt	Tot Plan/Str	aat Tys
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AANHANGSEL C BY. --PATROLLIE RAPPORT

FINALE INSPEKSIELYS VIR STEDELIKE PATROLLIES

WAPENS EN AMMUNISIE	Totaal Uit Totaal I
1. R4 wapen per lid	
2. 4 x R4 magasyne per lid (eerstelyn)	1X5 / X5
3. 120 x R4 rondtes per lid	5×2 5×2
4. Skoonmaakstel per seksie	30×5 30×5
5. Stopperwapens	
6. !O x Stopperwapenrondtes per wapen	
7. Is wapens vasgemaak aan lede	
3. Is wapenregister voltooi	To Ta
9. Is wapens skoon	Ja Ja
PADIOS EN ANGE	.Ja Ja
RADIOS EN ANDER UITRUSTING	
10. A68 Radio	
a. 1 x Radio per peloton	
b. Handstuk	
c. Antenna	
11. A53 Radio	
a. 1 x Radio per seksie	
b. Handstuk	
c. Drasak	
d. Antenna	
12. Batterye vir alle radios	
13. 1 x Spaarbattery per radio	
14. Is koms getoets met seinkamer	······································
15. Is koms getoets tussen seksies	Ja Ja
16. Is roepseine en frekwensies bekend aan radio operateurs	T_0 T
	Ja

17. Folledige padblokkade uitrusting	Nut.
18. Ekstra radios vir padblokkade	Nut
19. Teenoproer helms	Fix To
20. Gasmaskers en filters	.Tu. Ja
VOERTUIE	
	1.
21. Is eerste parade op voertuid gedoon	a Ja
22. Is eerste parade vorms voltooi	
23. Is voertuie alma! skoon	
24. Is daar 'n spaarwiel en geweedskap beskikbaar	
25. Is palette in orde	\sim \sim
26. Is ritmagtigings hernu	V V
27. Is drywers in besit van rybewyse	·······································
28. Waterkan (1) vol water per voertuig	Nee -
29. Brandblusser (1) per voertuig	Nel -
30. Nat komberse (1) per voertuig (in plastieksak)	11/el -
31. Volledige mediese tas per voertuig (skaal 15)	Nec -
PERSONEEL	
32. Is appèlregister voltooi	Ja Ja
33. Is almal eenvormig aangetrek	
34. Is almal netjies	レレ
35. Het almal reënjasse	Nee Nee
36. Het almal bosbaadjies	
37. Is persoonlike besonderhede van elke lid op lêer	L
	Nee Nee
38. Geen ligte diens lede op patrollie	vec
ADMIN EN LOG	
39. I x Liter drinkwater per lid	Nit -
40. 1 x Rol toiletpapier per seksie	Nut -

Collection Number: AK2672

Goldstone Commission BOIPATONG ENQUIRY Records 1990-1999

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Location:- Johannesburg

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