

## Police Deny Plan To Initiate Violence

CAPE TOWN June 23 Sapa

The police had no knowledge of any government plan to initiate widespread violence in order to thwart the ANC, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said on Tuesday.

He was commenting on a claim, in an article to be published in the coming edition of the ANC magazine *Mayibuye*, that the government has a "two-pronged strategy to thwart democracy".

The article says a security forces operation codenamed "Thunderstorm" would wreak havoc in the country in order to force the ANC to accept an entrenched coalition with at least the National Party.

Captain Kotze said: "We have no knowledge of any plan by the government or involving government agencies to commit widespread murder and mayhem and destabilisation, or to initiate violence and anarchy.

"We trust that the ANC will produce its evidence for such grave allegations so that the public can test the veracity of these claims."

He asked whether the movement would be prepared to make its sources and information available to an impartial and respected investigating body such as the Goldstone Commission so their truth could be determined beyond doubt.

"In the wake of the Boipathong tragedy the last thing the situation needs is inflammatory statements. Now is the time for cool heads."

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, who was also asked to comment on the *Mayibuye* claims, was not immediately available.

A spokesman for the SA Defence Force also said the SADF had "no knowledge of these so-called plans".

## Battalion 32 Will Not Be Disbanded

By Sipke de Vries

POMFRET, Northern Cape June 23 Sapa

There is no possibility that the controversial 32 Battalion will be disbanded or returned to Angola, South African army chief Lt-Gen George Meiring said on Tuesday.

Instead the unit will continue to support the SA Police when needed, said the general.

On a visit to the unit, now resettled from the Caprivi strip in the Northern Cape, Gen Meiring said alleged acts of violence by individual members of 32 Battalion should be seen "in the context of the onslaught of violence in that area".

The general was referring to findings last week by the Goldstone

Commission on "hard-handed" behaviour by members of the unit in the Phola Park squatter camp.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone in his interim report recommended that 32 Battalion should not be used for peace-keeping duties anywhere in South Africa.

"I do not want to comment on the findings of the Goldstone Commission but we have taken note of those findings," Gen Meiring said.

He added however that 32 Battalion could not be judged on the acts of individual soldiers after having been "at the sharp end of township violence on the Witwatersrand and Natal for more than a year".

"Except for the complaints on the Phola Park incident on April 19, we have had no other proven complaints about misconduct so far," Gen Meiring said.

He stressed that as far as he was concerned 32 Battalion was still one of the best fighting units in the South African army.

"I cannot condone the possible misconduct of certain individuals but by the same token I will not have this reflect on the combat readiness of a whole unit.

"I will deploy 32 Battalion where and when needed in support of the South African Police."

Thirty-two Battalion fields companies in various areas on the Witwatersrand and in Natal. The police investigation into the Phola Park violence has not yet been concluded.

## Elderly Woman Killed In Umlazi Attack

DURBAN Jun 23 Sapa

A 62-year-old woman was killed and a man was shot and injured during an attack on a home in Umlazi on Monday night, KwaZulu Police reported.

KZP spokesman Col Moses Khanyile said a group of people launched an attack on a home in U Section at about 7.30pm.

Lizzy Makhathini was killed while Nhlanhla Mbatha, 36, was injured and taken to hospital.

The motive for the attack is not known and police are investigating.

## Radio Announcer's Home Petrol-bombed

DURBAN June 23 Sapa

The Durban home of a freelance radio announcer who is not taking part in the Media Workers of South Africa SABC strike was burnt down after being petrol-bombed, SABC radio news reported on Tuesday.

Miss Lindiwe Ntuli, who is announcing on the SABC's Radio Zu station, was not at home when the petrol-bomb was thrown.

through a window at about 8pm on Monday.

The house was completely gutted.

## **HEALTH**

### **Cape Town Not Affected By Hospital Strike**

CAPE TOWN June 22 Sapa

Cape Town provincial hospitals had not been hit by the nationwide strike called by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union by early Monday morning.

However, some Nehawu members were protesting and displaying banners at the Red Cross Children's Hospital in Rondebosch while members of the union were meeting with Groote Schuur Hospital heads.

Nehawu shop stewards informed Red Cross Hospital management that workers would be joining the nationwide strike from Monday, a spokesman for the hospital said late Monday morning. A spokesman at Red Cross said the hospital would hold a press conference later on Monday.

There was no sign of a strike by Nehawu workers at Tygerberg Hospital.

A CPA spokesman said on Monday morning they had not yet received feedback from hospitals.

About 2000 Cape Town health workers could become involved in the nationwide strike following a decision at a meeting in Paarl on Sunday.

The national strike is in support of Nehawu's demands in respect of wages and conditions of employment.

### **Nurses, Radiographers Demonstrate In Bara**

JOHANNESBURG June 23 Sapa

More than 300 nurses and radiographers at the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto demonstrated outside the administration's building for the second day on Tuesday as a strike by general assistants hit the institution harder.

A statement by Baragwanath's chief superintendent, Dr Chris van den Heever, charged that intimidation of non-strikers had become rife, with some staff being assaulted, while at various clinics in the sprawling township, clerks had been physically removed from their workpoints on Monday.

Optimal patient care was now impossible, Dr van den Heever said.

"A skeleton staff remained in the wards at Baragwanath. Nurses are organising themselves in emergency teams which means that optimal patient care is impossible. The X-ray department is rendering emergency services with skeleton staff only," he added.

Meanwhile, it was reported earlier on Tuesday that representatives of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union

(Nehawu), which is coordinating the strike at about 17 hospitals nationwide, failed to turn up for a meeting with Minister of Administration Dr Org Marais in Pretoria.

The union was to meet the minister to discuss its demand for higher wages and better working conditions.

In the Cape, more than 800 workers, most of them general assistants, were on strike at various provincial hospitals, the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) announced on Tuesday.

The hospitals affected are Frere Hospital in East London where 500 workers are on strike, Kimberley Hospital (235), Red Cross Children's Hospital (45) and Vryburg Hospital (46).

Workers are also striking at road depots in the Cape Peninsula, where the number on strike at Kraaifontein is reported to be 200 and at the Paarl Road Unit 120.

"The strike proceedings are peaceful," the CPA said.

### **MASA "Concerned" About Violence**

PRETORIA June 23 Sapa

The upsurge of violence and unrest in the country was cause for "deep" concern, the Medical Association of SA said on Tuesday.

Masa secretary general, Dr Hendrik Hanekom, in a statement released in Pretoria expressed the association's "serious desire for the urgent resolution of the problems which are currently standing in the way of peace and reconciliation".

Masa valued human life above all and deplored violence, from whatever source, Mr Hanekom said.

Apart from the tragic loss of life and physical injury, violence caused severe mental trauma and disrupted family life.

he said Masa was committed to the promotion of health for all people and stable communities, which were important assets to South Africa.

"We are most concerned that these objectives are being jeopardised, and that further pressure will be placed on already over-stressed health services, preventing people from access to essential care," Mr Hanekom said.

Masa expressed its appreciation to the doctors and health personnel who were maintaining services under extremely stressful and trying circumstances.

### **Nehawu Fails to Turn Up For Meeting With Minister**

JOHANNESBURG June 23 Sapa

The National Health, Education and Allied Workers' Union delegation missed the meeting with Minister of Administration, Dr Org Marais, in Pretoria on Tuesday for reasons beyond their control, Nehawu general secretary Philip Dexter confirmed.

He felt the meeting, which continued with the other 10 trade unions representing public service workers, was ineffective as it

# ANC pulls out of Codesa

24/06/92

slow

**THE African National Congress yesterday pulled out Codesa and broke off bilateral talks with the Government.**

By THEMBA MOLEFE

The far-reaching announcement was made by ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at a Press conference in Johannesburg after an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee.

The meeting was convened by its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, in response to the Boipatong massacre.

The organisation will convey the decision to

the Government in the next two days, Ramaphosa said on SABC-TV's Agenda programme last night.

The ANC said the Government had brought the country to the brink of disaster. The organisation accused it of being "determined to block any advance to democracy".

"The ANC re-affirms its commitment to a negotiated settlement of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace

To page 2

ANC pulls out

slow

24/06/92

From page 1

and justice. The refusal of the regime to accept such a settlement compelled the NEC to review the current negotiations process," Ramaphosa said in a statement after the meeting.

The ANC's decision comes on the eve of a special Cabinet meeting called by De Klerk to discuss the negotiations crisis spurred by last week's massacre.

ANC's demands to the Government included:

- The creation of a sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution;
- The establishment of an interim government;
- The disarming, disbanding and confinement to barracks of all special forces;
- The suspension and prosecution of all officers and security personnel involved in the violence;
- The immediate implementation of agreements on curbing the violence. These incorporate the phasing out of hostels and converting them into family housing;
- The implementation of the demand to establish an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC also appealed to the international community to act in solidarity with the Boipatong victims on June 29, the day the ANC declared as a national day of mourning.

It called on "workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods". The ANC said it would review forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa.

● The PAC has welcomed the decision and said it would consult the ANC's to revive the Patriotic Front.

# Baffling trend in massacre hunt

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.



**O**N 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 Swannievillie town-

ship 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.

**S**urvivors 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?

"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 Swannievillie 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.

**A**nd 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

*Sowetan 24/06/92*

police went into the hostel to search for weapons.

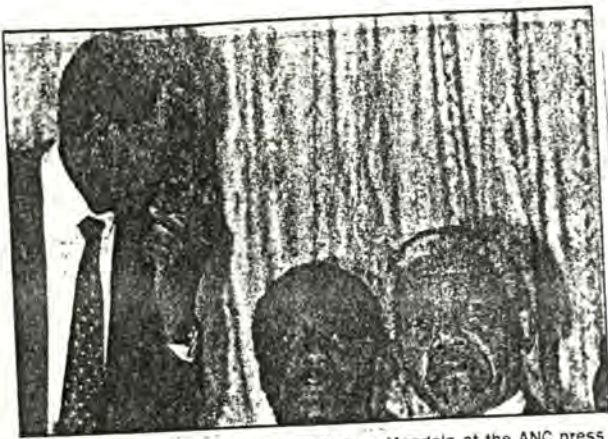
Anyone found with his weapon still on him would need his head read, observers have said.

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.*



Pallo Jordan, Cyril Ramaphosa and Nelson Mandela at the ANC press conference last night. Picture: Jacobo Rykklif

# Full text of ANC statement

Star 24/1/92

The statement issued last night by the national executive committee of the African National Congress.

The National Party regime of F W de Klerk has brought our country to the brink of disaster. Riddled with corruption and mismanagement, the regime is determined to block any advance to democracy. It pursues a strategy which embraces negotiations, together with systematic covert actions, including murder, involving its security forces and surrogates.

This subversion of political processes to destroy the democratic movement in South Africa, led by the ANC, cannot be allowed to prevail any longer. We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of State power allows it the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence.

The Boipatong massacre is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the De Klerk regime. Before the people of South Africa and the Bar of international opinion, it cannot escape culpability.

What is at issue is more than the crisis of the negotiations process. The fundamental reason for the deadlock is whether there is to be democratic change, or white minority veto powers. There is only

in the violence.

● Ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing states, and in the so-called independent states, is ended forthwith.

Our people are compelled to live in a perpetual state of fear — be it in their homes, on their way to work, in trains and taxis, at funerals and vigils, at their places of work and entertainment. This is the stark reality.

Between July 1990 and April 1992 there have been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

We further demand that the regime implements agreements on curbing violence reached with the ANC almost a year ago. In particular:

● The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation.

● Installation of fences around these establishments.

● Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multilateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally.

● Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multilateral peace structures.

struggle remain the surest basis for realising peace and stability.

We call on the entire people of our country, including the business community, to join in observing June 29 as a national day of mourning and solidarity with the victims of the Boipatong massacre as the dead are buried.

## Appeal to the international community:

The National Party regime is acting in contempt of the wishes of the international community for a speedy end to apartheid. Now, more than ever, the international community is required to compel the De Klerk regime to bring violence to an end and to commit itself to solutions based on internationally accepted democratic principles.

In consultation with sporting bodies, we shall be reviewing the forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa.

We appeal to the United Nations Security Council to convene as a matter of urgency to undertake measures which will help stop the violence and reinforce our efforts aimed at bringing about a democratic

including murder, involving its security forces and surrogates.

This subversion of political processes to destroy the democratic movement in South Africa, led by the ANC, cannot be allowed to prevail any longer. We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of State power allows it the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence.

The Boipatong massacre is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the De Klerk regime. Before the people of South Africa and the Bar of international opinion, it cannot escape culpability.

What is at issue is more than the crisis of the negotiations process. The fundamental reason for the deadlock is whether there is to be democratic change, or white minority veto powers. There is only one way forward. It is a road which must unmistakably and unequivocally lead to the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

## To this end it is necessary that the De Klerk regime agrees to:

● The creation of a democratically elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution.

● The establishment of an interim government of national unity, which is the only way all South Africans will recognise that the country shall have moved decisively to end white minority rule.

## Demands on the regime:

● The regime must immediately end its campaign of terror against the people and the democratic movement. In this regard it must immediately carry out the following measures:

● Terminate all covert operations including hit-squad activity.

● 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

work and entertainment. This is the stark reality.

Between July 1990 and April 1992 there have been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

We further demand that the regime implements agreements on curbing violence reached with the ANC almost a year ago. In particular:

● The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation.

● Installation of fences around these establishments.

● Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multilateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally.

● Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multilateral peace structures.

● Banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public on all occasions, including so-called cultural weapons.

We insist that the regime agree to:

● The implementation of the universal demand requiring at least the establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence as well as international monitoring of the violence.

● Release all political prisoners forthwith.

● Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws which were so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of Parliament.

## Call to the people of South Africa:

The crisis caused by the regime constitutes a challenge to all South Africans to unite in a broad movement for democracy, peace and justice now. We all, black and white together, share the responsibility to stop the regime from plunging our country into chaos and anarchy.

The ANC shall consult all formations with a view to holding a summit to unite and mobilise our people against continued white minority rule and for democracy. Unity and disciplined

## Appeal to the international community:

The National Party regime is acting in contempt of the wishes of the international community for a speedy end to apartheid. Now, more than ever, the international community is required to compel the De Klerk regime to bring violence to an end and to commit itself to solutions based on internationally accepted democratic principles.

In consultation with sporting bodies, we shall be reviewing the forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa.

We appeal to the United Nations Security Council to convene as a matter of urgency to undertake measures which will help stop the violence and reinforce our efforts aimed at bringing about a democratic order.

We call on the international community to act in solidarity with our people on the day of the funeral for the victims of the Boipatong massacre. In particular we appeal to all workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods on this day.

## On negotiations:

The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace and justice. The refusal of the regime to accept such a settlement compelled the NEC to review the current negotiations process.

The ANC has no option but to break off bilateral and Codesa negotiations.

The NEC will be keeping the situation under continuous review. The response and practical steps taken by the De Klerk regime to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and speed with which bona fide negotiations can take place. The decisions taken today will be conveyed to the regime by ANC president Nelson Mandela as soon as possible.

# FW



FW DE KLERK

*Senetan  
23/6/92*

# makes U-turn

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday cut short his visit to Spain as Codesa teetered on the verge of collapse as a result of last Thursday's Boipatong massacre in which 39 people died.**

He is due back tomorrow and is expected to go into an immediate meeting with senior officials of his party and Government.

The ANC also meets today to decide if it

will continue with Codesa.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called for the expulsion of South Africa from the Olympics if De Klerk does not act decisively on the massacre.

Other organisations have also called for SA's withdrawal, while the ANC's Steve Tshwete meets sports organisations this morning.

The Vaal Council of Churches yesterday announced that the Boipatong victims will be buried next Monday. The ANC and PAC have declared Monday a day of mourning.

**Full reports on page 2.**

Soweto 24/10/92

**A** GUT reaction is to welcome the announcement that the Kwa-Madala Hostel near Boipatong will be closed after last week's massacre.

Township residents living in close proximity to this and other hostels justifiably feel that they are crime zones from where attacks and raids are planned and perpetrated.

These heavily fortified hostels, accommodating not only single male workers but a large number of families and unemployed persons, have also become no-go areas for the police.

There is little doubt that the hostels have become a springboard for attacks and a focal point of the overall violence being experienced on the Reef.

The simplistic perception that all hostel dwellers are Zulu-speaking and supporters of the IFP adds to the political hue and complicates the situation.

In Soweto's Dobsonville last week youths reflected the feelings of residents when they hijacked a bulldozer and attempted to demolish the local hostel.

The closure of the KwaMadala and other hostels, however, poses the question: What happens to their inmates and will it end the antagonism between hostel dwellers and township residents?

It is almost certain that new squatter settlements would mushroom should all the hostels be shut.

Our plea is that a more creative approach be developed that can lead to the conversion of hostels into family units and their integration into the local communities. The State has allocated about R260 million for this purpose.

The conversion of the hostels can be part of a process of reconstruction and healing this country so sorely needs.

**T**HE Boipatong massacre was terrible and Archbishop Tutu is right to say there is no cause for celebration. We thus endorse the call to boycott the Barcelona Games.

There are other calls to show that an atrocious act such as happened in the Vaal will not be tolerated. Leaders are saying that sacrifices to bring pressure on the Government to change might have to be revisited - sacrifices like losing jobs and security.

These are heavy burdens on people who are and have been suffering. With deep compassion for the suffering masses, we nonetheless feel committed to support such calls. The wanton loss of life and the killing of babies demands great sacrifice.

The boycott of sports is a small price to pay in expressing our grief and outrage.

# Boipatong death toll rises to 48

*Sowetan 24/06/92*

**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

**By KENOSI MODISANE**

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 Letsoku, 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.



# ANC WITHDRAWS FROM CODESA

Citizen 24/01/92

To set up own forum

## ANC withdraws from Codesa

democratically elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution;

• "The establishment of an interim government which is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the FW De Klerk regime."

Mr Ramaphosa said: "Before the people of South Africa and ... international opinion, it cannot escape culpability."

Mr Ramaphosa further charged: "The National Party regime of FW De Klerk has brought our country to the brink of disaster."

"Riddled with corruption and mismanagement, the regime is determined to block any advance to democracy."

Mr Ramaphosa alleged that the government pursued a strategy which combined negotiation together with systematic covert action, including murder, involving its security forces and surrogate forces.

"We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of state power allows it the space to deploy and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence."

What was at issue was more than the crisis of the negotiations process. "The fundamental reason for the deadlock is whether there is to be democratic change, or White minority veto powers."

There was only one way forward and that was to establish a democratic South Africa. "At this end, it was necessary that the South African Government argued for the creation of a

constituted a half page in

international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, as well as international monitoring of the violence;

• "Release of political prisoners to 'with' and 'live' legals;

• "Keep those lowly pas last days at the time of Pa Mr Ramaphosa said the current crisis was caused by the government and constituted a half page in

international probe

The ANC further insisted that the Government agree to:

• "The implementation of ... an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, as well as international monitoring of the violence;

• "Release of political prisoners to 'with' and 'live' legals;

• "Keep those lowly pas last days at the time of Pa Mr Ramaphosa said the current crisis was caused by the government and constituted a half page in

conveyed to the government by ANC president Nelson Mandela as soon as possible.

As for the role of the international community in the current crisis in South Africa, the ANC secretary general said:

"Now, more than ever, the international community is required to compel the De Klerk regime to bring violence to an end and to commit itself to solutions based on internationally accepted democratic principles."

"In consultation with sporting bodies, we shall be reviewing the forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa."

The ANC appealed to the United Nations Security Council to convene as a matter of urgency "to undertake measures which will help stop the violence and reinforce our efforts aimed at bringing about a democratic order."

Mr Ramaphosa further called on the international community to act in solidarity with South Africans on June 29.

"In particular, we appeal to all workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods on this day."

The ANC delegation at the news conference included Mr Mandela and other senior NEC members.

Also present were SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Ham, Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Hlongwe, and Mr Pravin Gordhan, the current chairman of the Codesa Management Committee.

—Sapa.

TO PAGE 2



African National Congress president NELSON MANDELA at a Press conference in Johannesburg last night at which the ANC announced that it was withdrawing from Codesa.

# Police clamp on KwaMadala hostel is lifted

urgen 24/06/92

POLICE restrictions on residents of the KwaMadala Hostel in the Vaal Triangle were lifted at midnight last night, allowing hostel residents to move freely.

The hostellers were confined to the building last week to assist the police with investigations into the Boipatong massacre. The Inkatha-aligned hostel dwellers were blamed for the attack, which killed at least 39 people.

Maj Ray Harrald said the lifting of restrictions was possible because hostel leaders had been cooperative 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 re-

leased after questioning.

Maj Harrald pointed out 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, Maj Harrald said.

Six KwaMadala residents are still being held by police in terms of the unrest regulations.

Meanwhile two advocates from the office of the Transvaal Attorney-General, Mr Eric van der Merwe and Mr Callie Tauti, yesterday joined the investigating team of 200 experienced detectives who are working round the clock in order to bring to book the per-

petrators of the massacre.

Mr Van der Merwe and Mr Tauti will assist the investigating team with the examination of evidence, as well as with the management of the investigation.

After the massacre many Boipatong residents alleged that the attack was launched from the KwaMadala Hostel.

On Thursday a number of weapons were seized at the hostel and sent for forensic testing.

Iscor — where most of the hostel dwellers are employed — has pledged its full co-operation with the police investigation.

According to a spokesman police experienced "serious problems" in obtaining the co-operation

of people who were injured, as well as that of other possible witnesses.

He made an urgent appeal to all residents in Boipatong to assist with the investigation by furnishing the police with all possible information.

"We are sincerely anxious to solve the killings and request anybody with information to make use of the toll free number, 080011213, or to contact the investigating officers directly."

Meanwhile, the general secretary of the White-dominated Mineworkers' Union (MWU), Mr Peet Ungerer, demanded 24-hour police protection for union members employed at companies such as Cape Gate, Metalbox and Consolidated Wire Industries situated adjacent to the strife-torn Boipatong.

In a letter to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Ungerer claimed that, since the massacre, MWU-members working in the area were experiencing an increase in attacks and intimidation from Boipatong residents.

On Thursday a union member employed at Cape Gate was allegedly confronted, assaulted, and his vehicle set alight while he was on his way to work.

Police could not confirm the particular incident yesterday.

During meetings with employers and other organisations such as the local SADF Commando, MWU demanded alternative shifts to ensure that members can commute to and from work during daylight hours only, and secured parking for vehicles of employees.

Mr Ungerer warned that attacks on MWU members would not be tolerated any longer.

He said the time had arrived where White workers needed protection and if this (protection) was not forthcoming from the police, these workers would be forced to ensure their own security in their own way.

# SAP lifts clamp on massacre hostel

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
and Melody McDougall

The KwaMadala hostel, widely believed to have been the base for last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre in which the death toll now stands at 42, is no longer being held under a police clamp.

Police restrictions, which held hostel inmates under guard and confined to the hostel compound, were lifted at midnight.

SAP spokesman Major Ray HARRALD said the police had been able to lift the restrictions and allow inmates to move about more freely because hostel leaders had been co-operative with police investigations, which were almost complete.

Many inmates had been cleared by Iscor computer files which showed they had been at work at the time of the attack.

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe and a high-ranking SAP delegation yesterday visited the hostel for discussions with inmates.

At a press conference after the visit, he said at least 150 hostel inmates had been "removed" from the premises for questioning.

Six inmates are being held in detention in connection with the massacre.

Media representatives were

● To Page 3

## Cars stoned, burnt in wake of masscre

● From Page 1

barred from entering the complex.

Iscor announced yesterday that it planned to close the notorious hostel and move residents to nearby KwaMasiza hostel.

Although police investigations at the hostel were almost finished today, they were not having the same luck in Boipatong and Slovo Park. By this morning, not one witness had come forward to police with information about the massacre.

Major HARRALD said he and Witwatersrand liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce were leaving for the Vaal Triangle today to work through newspaper reports to try to find witnesses who would be prepared to give information to the police.

Anyone with information

may call the police on the toll free number 0800-11-12-13. The information will be treated as confidential and witnesses may remain anonymous.

● As violence continued in Vaal Triangle townships, at least 13 private vehicles were attacked and set alight on the old Golden Highway yesterday afternoon near Sebokeng. The road has now been closed. Occupants of all the vehicles, which had been stoned by mobs, stopped and set alight, escaped unhurt.

Police used teargas, bird-shot and rubber bullets to disperse the crowds.

The whites-only Mineworkers' Union yesterday demanded 24-hour police protection for its members, saying white workers had been attacked near Boipatong.

SRM June 24 1976

# Restore police credibility if there is to be any hope

**AFTER** Bolpatong, 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 Bolpatong 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 per-

son I spoke to in Bolpatong 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



Allister Sparks

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.

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.

Bolpatong 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 Bolpatong 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 Bolpatong 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 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 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. □

# Vaal 'faces strike over Boipatong'

DIRK HARTFORD  
and WILSON ZWANE

WORKERS in Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark will go on strike from today until the KwaMadala hostel is demolished and Iscor agrees to pay for damages to Boipatong homes and for the funerals of the Boipatong massacre victims, according to a Cosatu spokesman.

And 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.

Ndlovu said more than 100 inmates were held by police yesterday for questioning following the detention of five hostel residents on Monday in terms of security regulations, which provide for a 30-day detention without trial. The large group of inmates were released later.

Sapa reports police restrictions on residents of the hostel were to be lifted at midnight last night, allowing hostel residents to move freely.

The hostel dwellers were confined to the building last week to assist police.

The Cosatu strike call followed Iscor's dramatic turnaround in agreeing to close the hostel after alternative accommodation had been found for its residents.

In addition, a consumer boycott was being planned in the area in support of the demands on Iscor.

"We will not be taken in by Iscor's announcement. We have been telling them about the problems at KwaMadala for two years already. Iscor is sympathetic to the people killing us, otherwise it would demolish the hostel immediately."

More than 4 000 workers at metal factories in Vanderbijlpark have been on strike since Thursday in connection with the same demands.

Iscor's Neels Howatt said the decision to close KwaMadala did not mean Iscor accepted the hostel was a base for violent attacks in the area.

And even if it was proved that Iscor employees at KwaMadala were responsible for the massacre, the company would not pay compensation for damage to Boipatong homes or for the victims' funerals.

Howatt said Iscor did not agree with the view that the hostel was a factor in the violence in the area. "They are using it as

the reason for the violence and in the interests of getting a win-win situation we are taking that reason away."

The hostel would not close immediately. Howatt said there would have to be negotiations between representatives of KwaMadala hostel and KwaMasiza hostel about the issue.

Iscor wants the 300 KwaMadala residents who are Iscor employees to return to the KwaMasiza hostel, which houses 5 000 mainly ANC-supporting Iscor employees. However, Howatt said last week attempts over two years to achieve this had failed.

Cosatu's Neil Coleman said people from KwaMadala were linked to numerous attacks and massacres in the area. He said a common feature of those arrested for many of these crimes was that they were unemployed, gave their address as KwaMadala and had their bail paid by Inkatha. It has also been reported that vigilantes from Natal had been imported to KwaMadala where military training was taking place.

The SADF had tried to recruit people from the hostel and white members of police hit squads in the Vaal area had also interrogated activists in the hostel, he said. In addition, young girls in the area have alleged they were kidnapped and held in the hostel for days as sex slaves.

Yesterday two advocates in the Transvaal 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 cooperation 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.

COMMENT

SA  
24/6/97

# Day of mourning

**N**ELSON Mandela has withdrawn the ANC from Codesa. President De Klerk has, for the first time, conceded that South Africa needs outside help to solve its crisis. Both are the acts of men nearing their wits' ends about how to end the violence and how to take South Africa into a peaceful future.

When the ANC's leadership took the organisation into Codesa last year, it was after militant supporters were convinced that their aims could be achieved through negotiation. The slaughter that followed has pushed that consensus close to the edge. Just how close was clear from the taunting of Mandela in Evaton at the weekend. "You are acting like lambs while the enemy is killing our people." The crowd's frustration was palpable.

Last year, discussions in Codesa were seen as a better alternative to violence. This year, direct mass action is becoming seen as a better alternative to talks perceived as futile. Unless something breaks the logjam of party political bickering soon, the entire structure of negotiations could be destroyed.

The ANC's withdrawal is not altogether unexpected. It was always plain that a failure of bilateral talks between the two main parties to negotiation would stall multilateral talks inside Codesa.

Apportioning blame is inappropriate. De Klerk's acknowledge-

ment in Madrid yesterday that outside help or mediation could be needed showed that he is not fully in control of the situation; that he concedes forces, that he cannot easily contain, are apparently at work; and that he sees outside help as a means of defusing the situation.

Paradoxically, the ANC's withdrawal represents something of a reprieve for Codesa. The ANC's leadership has shown the organisation's supporters that it is responding to their calls. But the withdrawal's conditionality — constitutional talks can resume when the perpetrators of violence are brought to justice — is conciliatory. There is no point in slamming doors better left ajar. It could have been all too easy for the ANC's leadership to respond to supporters' frustration by taking the battle back to the streets, by resurrecting the patriotic front.

What is now needed from government's side, from the side of white business, church and political groups, and from the side of other participants in Codesa is a display of awareness of the plight of black South Africans.

The ANC has called for June 29 to be a day of mourning for the people slaughtered in Boipatong. That call is not an attempt to win cheap political points. Rather, it provides an opportunity for all South Africans to display their commonality; their common need for peace.

We must all mourn on that day.

## Scapegoats

**I**T IS not surprising that the tragedy of Boipatong should lead to suggestions that South Africa withdraw from the Olympic Games — or be expelled — and that the rugby tours by Australia and New Zealand later this year should be cancelled. The enjoyment associated with sport seems inappropriate at a time of mourning and suffering, and sport is an easy target when there is a need to lash out at something.

South African sport has taken boycotts and bannings on the chin in the past, usually because of its own shortcomings. The difference this time is that it is innocent of any wrongdoing. On the contrary, it has led the way towards reconciliation. Sportsmen, black and white, have provided rare moments of pride in

this bleak period in our history. The Olympic team is a happy blend of people from all walks of life. Why should they be punished, as though they were responsible for the crimes of others?

Nor is there a case for excluding policemen or soldiers from teams to play the All Blacks, as suggested by ANC spokesman Steve Tshwete. Must all of them be condemned for the sins of a few, or the failings of government?

Intolerance has become an unpleasant characteristic of modern South Africans. We should not display it by victimising perhaps the only section of the community making real progress in what we so optimistically refer to as the new South Africa.

11.1.

## No witnesses in massacre probe

83  
25/6/92

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 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.

## Another Vaal victim (3) dies

*25/6/92*  
By KENOSI  
MODISANE

ANOTHER victim of the Boipatong massacre, three-year-old Poppy Mbatha, died at Sebokeng Hospital yesterday morning.

This brings the death toll to 49.

Mbatha was admitted to the intensive care unit at Sebokeng Hospital last Wednesday after a group of armed men raided the township and attacked residents of the Vaal township.

She was stabbed in the head and stomach during the raid.

Her death follows that of two other victims who died in hospital on Tuesday.

Vaal civic leader and funeral committee member Mr Ernest Sotsu yesterday said the planned mass burial would go ahead on Monday.

"The service will be held at the local stadium at 10am. And we hope to bury the victims at the Sharpeville Cemetery."



# Big march and funeral for 49 set for Monday

A MARCH by members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions will go ahead as planned on Monday despite the funeral of the Boipatong massacre victims on the day.

This will amount to a stayaway by thousands of workers who will observe Monday as a day of mourning for the 49 people killed in the Vaal township.

The action will herald the beginning of massive mass demonstrations by trade unions affiliated to Cosatu, which will link up with the African National Congress' mass action campaign.

The march will also be in support of members of the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union, according to Mr Siphso Kubeka, national chairman of the union.

Kubeka said Ppwawu was in dispute with Sappi over the provident fund and the restructuring of operations which resulted in more than 3 000 of its members being re-trenched.

He said although Monday had been de-

By **IKE MOTSAPI**

clared a day of mourning by the ANC, no call for a national stayaway had been made.

Kubeka said Monday's march, which will be the start of a series of many others planned unless certain demands were met, would be the biggest ever in South Africa.

He said the march in Johannesburg will start at 10am at the offices of Ppwawu in Park Chambers in Wanderers Street.

Officials of the ANC, the SA Communist Party, Cosatu and affiliates of other union federations would address the rally.

The march will proceed to the offices of Sappi in Braamfontein where a memorandum will be presented to management.

The proceedings are expected to end at about 2pm.

*Kubeka 25/6/92*

# Boipatong mother fears killers will come back when night falls

25 JUN 1992

CRIME

By Zingisa Mkhuma

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 spoke to The Star have demanded to be given arms 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 ..."

Injured  
of Bel-  
led on  
curity  
blast  
area  
ssued  
Staff  
dur  
they  
recor  
been  
Ma  
were  
Inve

11.4  
(copy)

# Boipatong mother fears killers will come back when night falls

25 JUN 1992

CRIME

By Zingisa Mkhuma

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 arms 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 ..."

jured  
f Bel  
led on  
curity  
blast  
area  
ssued  
  
Staff  
durt  
they  
recor  
been  
Ma  
were  
INVE

See 5.9

WM  
19-25/6/92



Aftermath: Relatives weep as the bodies of two men are removed from a house  
Photo: GUY ADAMS

HE 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.

By PHILIPPA GARSON and  
Weekly Mail Reporters

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 politi-

cal 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

●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 by recruiting 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 Rantaphosa 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

## Massacre launched from Iscor's hostel

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, tuckies 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 through 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 waited 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. Outside 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 Mombere 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.

# Closing the hostels is not the solution

WM 26-6-92

*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

**P**UBLIC 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 force off the hostels, search them regularly for weapons and mount perma-



Under close scrutiny... A Medala hostel dweller on the look out for attacks from the Alex community

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

nent 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.

There is no doubt that the hostels are among the most burning issues of the day and the current crisis will not go

"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."

**N**ational 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 patrol ... A police presence at Dobsonville hostel in Soweto

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

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.

**S**AP 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.

hostel violence can be negotiated directly between organisations with conflicting political views.

**T**he 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 Godscall 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."

# Koevoet men linked to township massacre

26 JUN 1992

From Page 1

employees of the SAP, Philip Hattingh, denied that members of the group, whom he conceded were former members of Koevoet, were involved in acts of violence at Boipatong.

Mr Hattingh said the group was not made up of permanent policemen, but was in the employment of the police and is used as a unit to combat crimes such as stock theft and theft of telephone cables in the countryside.

He said the unit was based in Rogberg, near Thabazimbi, and the base was not a secret place as it had already appeared on a television programme.

The VCC document, drawn up by attorneys Nicholls, Cambanis, Koo-pasammy and Pillay, noted: "The police have been negligent in failing to conduct effective in-

vestigations after countless reports by the VCC of ongoing abductions, kidnappings, rape, assaults, intimidation and murders connected to KwaMadala Hostel."

According to the lawyers, the VCC approached senior police officers six times to investigate complaints about acts of violence committed by KwaMadala residents and "the police's consistent response . . . was that there was not sufficient evidence to respond"

Vaal Triangle police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer commented yesterday: "We must put it strongly that we appointed people to investigate the allegations of the VCC, but we told the church workers that we need statements. We needed witnesses and sometimes we just did not get them."

men might  
axis and  
planned  
le out of bu  
they return

and poli  
nant-Colo  
that no in  
reported on  
yesterday

rning, a pol  
ot in the he  
olleague we  
armed gro  
Golden Hig  
4, Sebokeng  
is in a serio  
Sebokeng H

ve been ma

der  
nt

erman said  
went to the  
ted his dea  
ted for the  
it one of the  
sed.  
whose bakk  
to the car behi  
obot in Twi  
on Wedne

Genera  
terday,  
At a  
volved  
Koevo  
quest  
seem  
ing  
those  
it of th

13.1  
(fold out)

Arms cache found at mine

Ex-policemen may be involved

# Koevoet link to massacre

26 JUN 1992

Staff Reporters,  
Own Correspondent  
and Sapa

The Government, still in shock over the breakdown in constitutional negotiations, is facing a new crisis sparked by claims that former Koevoet members took part in last week's Boipatong massacre.

The Goldstone Commission's investigating officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Henk Heslinga — himself a former

member of the notorious counter-insurgency unit — yesterday told the commission that information had been received that there was a group of people staying at the Greenside Collieries mine near Witbank who were involved in recent acts of violence at Boipatong.

During a visit to the mine by a delegation of the commission on Wednesday, trunks containing R-1 rifles and ammunition were found in a security building housing about 40 former Koevoet members.

Colonel Heslinga with-

drew from the investigation when he discovered the men were ex-Koevoet members.

Other developments:  
● Lawyers acting for the Vaal Council of Churches (VCC) charged that the Boipatong massacre could have been pre-empted if the police, Iscor management and the Goldstone Commission had responded to repeated warnings about the threat posed to Vaal communities by the KwaMadala hostel from where the attack was allegedly launched.

● The VCC document, hand-

ed to at least 16 foreign governments yesterday, includes an affidavit by a self-confessed member of an armed "unit" in KwaMadala hostel outlining weapons training and the smuggling of weapons from Natal into the hostel by Inkatha Freedom Party members.

● A Boipatong petrol attendant told The Star this week he had alerted Vanderbijlpark police last Wednesday night when he spotted a war party moving into Boipatong. He said police arrived, but ignored his pleas to in-

tervene and left soon after.

The ANC today revealed that a person staying at the Greenside Collieries mine had told ANC members he had been involved in the massacre.

ANC lawyer Matthew Phosa said the man had told ANC members he was "sick and tired of what was happening as we were expected to kill nine-month-old babies and mothers"

The unidentified man also told ANC members he had sat in a minibus in Boipatong

and that they attacked "lots of people", Mr Phosa said.

His remarks followed similar evidence presented to the Goldstone Commission earlier by counsel for the ANC, Gys Rautenbach, who told the commission the ANC had learnt that there were "suspicious people" at the mine who were armed, carried radios, spoke a foreign language and were kept apart from mine workers.

Mr Rautenbach said as far as the violence in Boipatong was concerned, the ANC was not alleging the group was responsible, but the organi-

sation 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 can be made," Mr Rautenbach said.

He said an ANC delegation which went to the mine to investigate was threatened by members of the former Koevoet group.

Counsel for the Minister of Law and Order, the SAP and

● To Page

elm  
leads Transv  
ime y at E  
P.  
26 pm  
ing  
for  
said  
Boipatong  
by he had  
sked by m  
"the  
ad confide  
NOUN  
Union of  
the ANC  
and a mem  
rity guard  
Mngomez  
gning or ju  
sh  
barrack  
have been  
stock and  
prevent the  
police say  
the former  
Some 40  
General Jo  
terday, th  
At a pre  
volved in  
Koevoet  
questi  
seemingly  
ing for  
those que  
start

**Collection Number: AK2672**

**Goldstone Commission BOIPATONG ENQUIRY Records 1990-1999**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* - Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand

*Location:* - Johannesburg

©2012

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.