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GLOOMY THURSDAY ... Boipatong township the afternoon after the ghastly attack.

PICTURE: ABDUL SHARIFF

GLOOMY THURSDAY ... Boipatong township the afternoon after the ghastly attack.

PICTURE: ABDUL SHARIFF

THIS 'HIDING PLACE' was safe from the violence that has racked the Vaal - until Wednesday, when it made world news

Beasts tear the heart out of Boipatong

Sunday 5/12 24/6/92

WHO even knew Boipatong existed before Thursday this week? Why should anyone have known of Boipatong, whose name means "hiding place"?

For 35 years this satellite of Sebokeng, a tiny workers' dormitory overshadowed by Iscor's belching smokestacks, has been next door to nowhere. No longer.

After Wednesday night's slaughter, undeniably planned and executed with military precision, Boipatong is known around the world.

Like Sharpeville, like Munsieville, like Soweto, Boipatong has become a community drenched in blood. Another name has become synonymous with South Africa's shame.

Not only did upwards of 200 men from the Inkatha-controlled KwaMadala hostel murder and plunder the defenceless and the innocent, but every resident in Boipatong believes that the killers were aided and protected by the South African Police.

Ultimately, those accusations will be tested by Mr Justice Goldstone's Commission of Inquiry, the nation's garbage bin, already filled to overflowing with demands for explanations to seemingly endless atrocities.

WHO will ever again trust the SAP, the Government or President F W de Klerk if these latest allegations are proven, even if once again the murders are blamed on rogue elements and mad dogs?

But now, as protests and condemnations from every quarter ring in South Africa's ears, spare a thought for the victims and, painful as it may be, look at Boipatong.

Look beyond the obvious tension and barricades vainly trying to keep out intruders and trouble. Look beyond the public neglect, the uncollected garbage, and see the private pride.

Amid the mess, the rows of matchbox houses are clean, the gardens well-tended. In Slovo, the squatter camp on the eastern edge that took the brunt of the killing, the shacks are tidy, homes in the making.

Boipatong looks quiet, a home for perhaps 5 000 people, a village far away from the bustle and big-

PETER De Ionno



INSIGHT EDITOR

city violence of Soweto or Alex. Even in the hours after it had its heart torn out by beasts in the dark, after 39 men, women, children and babies had been slaughtered Boipatong had recovered its calm.

However, in the morning, residents attacked police and burnt the houses of a policeman and an Inkatha supporter, hundreds confronted an armed Inkatha impi halfway between the township and the hostel before they went back to their homes under police orders.

In the afternoon when bodies were loaded in trucks dripping with blood the residents gathered in small groups around the barricades or stood watching from their doorways.

The only sounds that broke the stillness in Boipatong were the clatter of a police helicopter and the drone of an Army spotter plane.

There was no raging fury. There was anger but it was kept hidden, and deep inside there was fear that the impi would return to kill and plunder when darkness came again.

Children who had been spared the carnage played hopscotch yards from where Maria Mojoi, nine months pregnant, was shot dead through the heart and her body slashed open.

She died in the reeds at the back of Slovo camp where the killers fell upon the squatters from two sides, near where her husband Simon says he saw police Casspirs unloading the war-party.

The deaths of Maria and that of nine-month-old Aaron Mathope, speared in the head alongside his murdered mother, pile horror upon horror.

Perhaps the Internal Security Unit policeman was thinking about Maria and Aaron when, his teeth chattering from fear, mumbled: "No one will understand how bad this is until they have seen what I have seen."

He held his assault rifle at the ready as he guarded the hurried evacuation of a black colleague's house. Both policemen were also victims. The others from his squad hid behind their Nyala fearful they would be attacked.

The policeman said that taping of radio messages and random checks by senior officers made it impossible for police, even rogue units, to have aided in the massacre.

TWO kilometres away the spotter plane still circled the hostel as police started entering KwaMadala. It was just after 4 pm, 12 hours after police first went to start collecting bodies in the township. While about 60 police searched the hostel, more than 200 soldiers milled about outside the double gates.

Just after dark they came out with several dozen spears and sticks, three AK-47 magazines, two loaded and a handful of 45 bullets.

The hostel dwellers listened in silence to an unrest order forbidding them to leave.

It took another 24 hours for IFP leader Themba Khoza to allow 200 specially drafted detectives into KwaMadala. At first police were ordered to name possible suspects. If the IFP hostel cohorts are found guilty demands from Boipatong for demolition of the hated stronghold will be irresistible.

"We have to help ourselves now," said a youth who had run and hidden in the face of overwhelming assault on Wednesday night.

He claimed he had seen a white man with a rifle among the impis that had come in police armoured vehicles.

"No one else will protect us."

Pray that he is mistaken and pray that ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa was right when he told hundreds of loyal supporters from the stunned community: "There must be no more Boipatong, this must be the last time."

Black Police comment

RESIDENTS' KWAMADALA W/ POLICE



YOUNG VICTIM ... 9-month-old Aaron Mathope, fatally stabbed in the head.

PICTURE: GREG MARINOVICH

Battle chants ring out at KwaMadala

City Press
21/6/92

ZULU war cries rang out on Friday from a migrant workers' hostel whose inmates are accused of carrying out SA's worst township massacre in years.

Chants of "Usuthu" reverberated from behind the thick concrete walls of the KwaMadala (Place Of The Old Men) Hostel after 200 policemen and troops rolled up in 15 armoured cars to hunt for the killers.

"Clear the area. This could get violent," a police officer told reporters.

Police and troops wearing bulletproof vests and carrying automatic rifles milled nervously around the entrance to the hostel. Journalists fell back across the road.

Inkatha's Vitus Mvelase arrived at the hostel on Friday to facilitate police access.

He went inside with a list of people the police wanted to question over the massacre. He left empty-handed, saying the inmates refused to allow a search or arrests.

Battle hymns

It was impossible to see inside the compound, but deep-throated war chants, battle hymns and the air-trembling sound of hundreds of spears beating against hide shields soared from behind the walls.

Mvelase returned half an hour later with an Inkatha lawyer, an unidentified white woman.

He told reporters the inmates were prepared only to be questioned by police inside the hostel, in the presence of their legal representative.

He went inside with the lawyer and a bodyguard. The police and troops waited outside for developments.

An Interim Crisis Committee (ICC), including representatives of the ANC and the IFP, has been established to monitor violence in the Vaal Triangle.

According to a statement, the ICC was formed at urgent meetings in Vereeniging and Sebokeng on Friday by the Vaal Local Dispute Resolution Committee, established under the National Peace Accord.

The ICC said it would be on stand by throughout the weekend.

It called on anyone with information on impending violence to contact the chairman of the LDRC, a Mr Silverthorne, at (016) 42-456 or the SA Police Joint Operations Centre at (016) 55-5120. - Sapa-Reuter



A Boipatong resident confronts a policeman shortly before police opened fire on a crowd in the township on Saturday. The shootings followed an aborted visit to the scene of Wednesday's massacre by President F W de Klerk to commiserate with victims' relatives. Picture: AP

Gesprek 'lê aan skerwe'

Beeid
22/6/92

Deur Tim du Plessis,
Grondwetlike Belegger

Die onderhandelingsproses hang aan 'n draadjie nadat die woerde-oorlog tussen die Regering en die ANC gister daarop uitgeloop het dat mnr. Nelson Mandela verdere gesprekke tussen die NP/Regering en die ANC eensydig opgeskort het.

Die waarnemende Staatspresident, mnr. P. W. Botha, het gisteraand gesê mnr. Mandela se besluit - wat hy ná 'n besoek aan Boipatong aangekondig het - kom neer op ontvlugting en ontwyking terwyl kluitse ontleding van die feite ugestreef moet word (Berig hierby).

Die besluit van die ANC om die gesprek op te skort, beïnvloed volgens alle aanduiding nie die organisasie se deelname aan Kodesa nie. Volgens ANC-bronnie sal die beweging se afgevaardigdes vandag se Kodesa vergadering bywoon.

Verdere ANC deelname aan Kodesa sal egter more bespreek word op 'n buitengewone vergadering van die Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee van die ANC wat mnr. Mandela gister belê het.

In 'n ander betekenisvolle ontwikkeling het mnr. H. M. Kriel, Minister van Wet en Orde, gister gesê hy dink nie die instel van 'n landwyse noodtoestand is nou geregtvaardig nie. Gissinge in dié verband het in die naweek ontstaan nadat pres. F. W. de Klerk gesê het die Regering sal wyer moet kyk as die bestaande maatreëls om die oorus in die land in bedwang te hou (Berig op bl. 2).

Mnr. Mandela het gister op 'n saamtrek van sowat twintigduisend mense in Sebokeng in die Vaaldriehoek aangekondig dat die ANC die grondwetlike gesprek met die Regering/ NP opskort. Die laaste gesprek van dié aard tussen die twee is nog

verlede week gehou en 'n verdere gesprek sou more gevoer word.

"Ek kan nie langer aan my mense verduidelik waarom ek praat met 'n regering wat ons mense vermoor nie," het mnr. Mandela in Sebokeng gesê.

Gister se ontwikkelinge volg op eergister se dramatiese gebeure in Boipatong toe pres. De Klerk probeer het om 'n besoek te bring aan die toneel van verlede week se slagting waarin 39 mense deur Zoeloe-impis uit die KwaMadala hostel in Boipatong vermoor is. (Berig op bl. 2).

Sapa berig mnr. Mandela het gistermiddag op die saamtrek in Sebokeng gesê die onderhandelingsproses "lê heeltemal aan skerwe".

"Ons is terug in die dae van Sharpeville. Die kloof tussen die verdrukke en die verdruktes het on-oordringbaar geword," het mnr. Mandela gesê.

Oor die moontlikheid van 'n landwyse noodtoestand het die ANC-president gesê dit sal lei tot 'n groot versetveldtog "met my aan die leiding daarvan".

Mnr. Botha het gisteraand gesê die ANC moes geweet het sy veldtog van massa-optrede sou die spanning in die land verhoog het. Daar is nou 'n verantwoordelikheid op alle leiers om hul volgelinge tot kalmte te maan.

Om oor en weer skuld te gee sonder om die hand in eie boesem te steek, is konfliktskepping en nie konfliktoplossing nie.

Mnr. Nelson Mandela het gister groot getalle mense gelok toe hy in Boipatong gepraat het voordat hy 'n groot byeenkoms in Sebokeng gehou het. Hy is hier heeltemal ooring deur 'n skare geesdriftige mense. **Inliefoto:** Mnr. Mandela in Sebokeng.

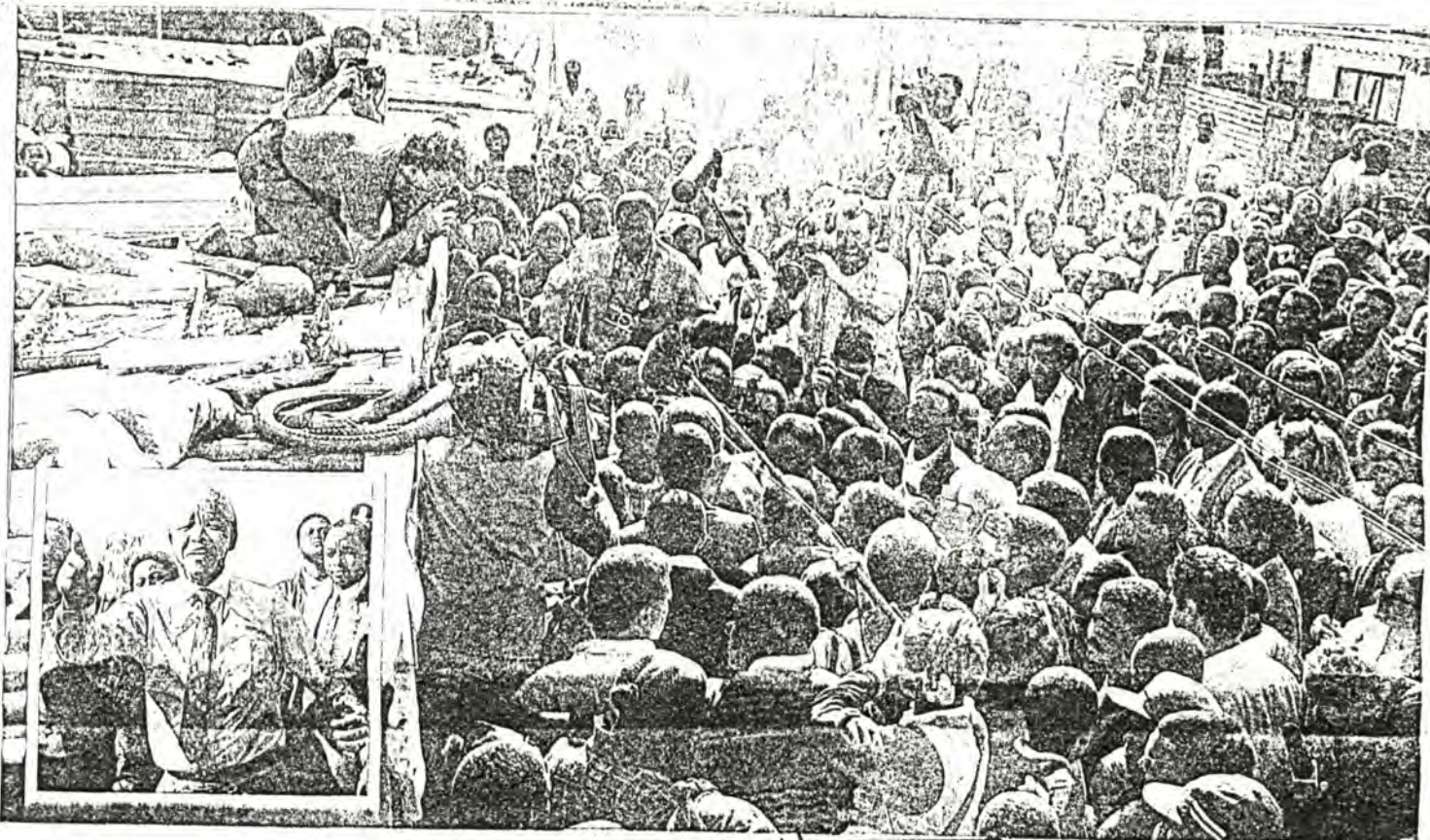


Foto: ROBBIE SCHNEIDER

Vaal residents start stayaway

By IKE MOTSAPI

RESIDENTS of the six Vaal Triangle black townships will stay away from work today to mourn the deaths of 42 victims of the Boipatong carnage.

The affected townships are: Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Evaton, Zamdela and Bophelong.

Residents demand that Inkatha members based at KwaMadala hostel be removed from the area and that police presently based in the Vaal area be withdrawn immediately.

And a mass meeting will be held at the Boipatong Stadium at 10am today to decide, among other things, whether to continue with an indefinite work stayaway.

Funeral arrangements of the dead will also be discussed. The attack on Wednesday night is alleged to have been carried by members of Inkatha who are based at Iscor's KwaMadala Hostel in Vanderbijl Park industrial centre.

Three more people were killed and more than 22 injured during State President FW de Klerk's visit to the area on Saturday when police opened fired on residents who allegedly chased him away.

Police were nowhere to be seen yesterday. Only a police helicopter monitored the proceedings at regular intervals.

Meanwhile the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) on Friday said it was ready to embark on a national industrial action to "register our anger at the regime's unwillingness to protect the lives of our people and security force complicity in these attacks".

Nactu also called for an urgent meeting between itself, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, unaffiliated trade unions, churches, the ANC, Azapo, Inkatha, PAC, SACP, New Unity Movement and Wosa to address the all-consuming violence.

Negotiations 'in tatters' after massacre

Angry ANC threatens to pull out of Codesa

STAR 22/6/92



Angry hymn ... Nelson Mandela joins the singing of "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" in Boipatong. Picture: AP

By Brian Sokutu and Esther Waugh
By Brian Sokutu and Esther Waugh

Angry ANC threatens to pull out of Codesa

● From Page 1

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday suspended talks with the Government and announced that the organisation was to review its participation in Codesa, plunging the negotiations process into its most serious crisis since its inception two years ago.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," Mr Mandela said after paying a visit yesterday to the site of Wednesday's massacre of squatters at Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle.

Addressing about 20 000 ANC supporters at Evaton, near Vanderbijlpark, Mr Mandela said an emergency meeting of the full ANC national executive committee had been called for tomorrow to review its participation in Codesa.

He said he had also instructed ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to cancel a bilateral meeting with the Government scheduled for tomorrow.

Last night, acting State President Pik Botha, deputising for Mr de Klerk during his trip to Spain, said the Government remained committed to finding a solution through negotiations.

He called for urgent talks with the ANC to discuss the facts and issues around the Boipatong massacre.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer had phoned Mr Ramaphosa to arrange an urgent meeting about the massacre but by last night the ANC had not responded.

It was regrettable that the ANC had opted for "escapism" when an "objective analysis of the facts and a clinical deliberation" about the violence were needed, said Mr Botha.

The ANC knew that its programme of mass action would increase tension in the country, he added.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpport told The Star the ANC was looking for a reason to suspend talks with the Government.

"They have their own agenda for doing so. The tragic events in Boipatong have made it more imperative that all parties talk about the future," he said.

Should the ANC decide to

suspend its participation in Codesa, the Government would continue talking to those who wanted to have discussions.

Speaking after touring the massacre scene at Boipatong and Slovo Park, Mr Mandela said he could "no longer explain to my people why we continue to talk to the regime which continues to murder our people".

According to the ANC, at least 43 people died in the attack which they have blamed on Inkatha supporters.

Angry youths called for the resumption of the armed struggle as Mr Mandela told the crowd at Evaton's stadium: "We're are now back to the Sharpeville days, and the gap existing between the oppressor and the oppressed has overnight become unbridgeable."

He reacted strongly to Mr de Klerk's statement on Saturday about possible new measures to curb violence.

After being driven from Boipatong by angry crowds, Mr de Klerk said further steps would be considered if the violence did not end. Declaring a state of emergency was an option, but one he hoped to avoid.

Yesterday, Mr Mandela said: "Let me warn him. The introduction of anti-democratic measures will result in a defiance campaign, with me leading that defiance campaign."

The ANC leader added that the organisation would continue its campaign of mass action.

Arriving at Boipatong, Mr Mandela and SACP chairman Joe Slovo were greeted with placards held by militant youths which read: "Codesa, a white elephant, let's fight!"; "Mandela, we want arms now"; and "Mandela, give us permission to kill our enemies".

Mr Mandela cautioned the militants, saying: "As we brace ourselves for what lies ahead, we must call for discipline among our ranks. Don't allow yourselves to be provoked into unplanned violence."

Mr Mandela said the ANC had made an initial donation of R100 000 towards a disaster fund for unrest victims nationwide and challenged the Government to contribute more than the R8 million of taxpayers' money it had given to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I understand the rage on the ground, but still appeal to the ANC to stay in the negotiation process."

● To Page 3

COMMENT

THE frustration and anger which have impelled Nelson Mandela to suspend bilateral talks between the ANC and the National Party are understandable. The Boipatong slaughter and the shooting of fleeing demonstrators by police after President De Klerk's aborted visit were the culmination of a week of killings seemingly perpetrated by the ANC's opponents abetted by members of the police force. Understandable, but potentially a grave disservice to all South Africans if it is followed by an ANC withdrawal from Codesa and from negotiations with a broader constituency than that represented by the ruling party.

The frustration and anger which have pushed De Klerk to the brink of declaring a state of emergency are also understandable. For the first time, in Boipatong, he

came face to face with black rage at the slaughter many black South Africans believe is being orchestrated by whites. Understandable, but potentially fatal for prospects of a negotiated settlement if De Klerk responds to his own tragedy by declaring a state of emergency which may not be enforceable.

Also understandable are Inkatha's frustration and anger at what it sees as the ANC's attempts to set the pace and agenda of change by calling for mass action. Understandable, but inexcusable if it is used by some members of the Zulu-dominated organisation as an excuse for mass murder.

Mandela's suspension of bilateral talks is so far just that, a suspension, not a complete termination. He and the ANC needed to send a sharp message to the National

Party, just as they did when violence got out of hand last year. Despite the frustration and anger, it is inconceivable that Mandela and the ANC would consider terminating constitutional negotiations if that risked pushing the country over the edge of civil war.

Both Mandela and De Klerk, and the organisations they head, must realise the people responsible for Boipatong and the wave of violence tearing the country are a desperate minority. The referendum in which whites voted two to one for negotiation rather than prescription underscored that from one side of the racial divide.

Mandela and De Klerk may not trust each other implicitly at present. But that mistrust must be put aside as they and their

organisations are central to the negotiation of a new constitution.

ANC and PAC bosses were on hand in Boipatong to fan the flames when De Klerk visited the township. But De Klerk had called his own impartiality into question with his June 16 appearance in Ulundi. And he has called his commitment to a negotiated settlement into question by leaving the country on a private visit to a Spanish king when South Africa itself is in crisis.

The sooner he returns home and gets back to the business of negotiations the better for all of us. He has to return home free of the emotion and fear which have led him to warn of a state of emergency. And Mandela has to ensure that any suspension of talks is ended promptly when govern-

ment gets the message.

Meanwhile, the carnage and posturing are wreaking havoc on confidence in an already enfeebled economy. The survivors of Boipatong are lucky to have escaped with their lives. But what sort of lives can they expect in an environment of growing unemployment exacerbated by a reluctance among investors to build the factories and create the jobs we need for real security?

These past two years we have largely pinned our hopes for a peaceful future on two men, Mandela and De Klerk. They have both been mandated by black and white South Africans to build a nonracial constitution peacefully. They have to support each other if we are not to be engulfed by anarchy.

Bl/day 22/6/92

22/6/92

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

ANC excuse

WE are not surprised that the president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, has instructed the ANC leadership to suspend talks with the National Party government as a result of the massacre of 39 people at Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle.

The ANC has been looking for an excuse to break off the talks and launch its mass action without worrying about negotiations with the government. Boipatong provides the excuse. The ANC will also consider tomorrow its options with regard to Codesa.

The government and the National Party have the excuse, if they so wished, not just to suspend Codesa but to abandon it completely and seek a different forum in which to plan the future.

However, acting State President Pik Botha has called for urgent talks with the ANC to consider the facts and issues concerning the massacre.

The despicable attacks on State President De Klerk well before Boipatong by Mr Mandela, and on Friday by ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, have shown that the ANC has no respect for Mr De Klerk as State President, and no respect for him as a reformer despite the vast changes he has introduced over the past 2½ years.

The fact that Mr De Klerk was not allowed to express his condolences to the bereaved families at Boipatong, but was chased out of the township, shows the uncivilised behaviour of the mob responsible.

Heaven help South Africa if such mobs have any say in the future of this country.

They were as vengeful, and full of hate, as the mobs which rampaged in Los Angeles.

Instead of reprimanding the mob and calling for peace, Mr Mandela yesterday reinforced the hatred of Mr De Klerk in the township, accusing him of wanting to keep the National Party in power "by brute force".

Mr Ramaphosa made his contribution to the incitement of the mob by saying on Friday: "The ANC places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Mr FW de Klerk, who declared in Tokyo recently that his government had a plan to counter mass action.

"The unprovoked slaughter of innocent people by hordes who, eye-witnesses swear, were ferried in by police vehicles appears to be the second phase of the plan.

"They (the government) are trying through this massacre to browbeat our people into submission."

We hope that governments overseas which support the ANC will note that at a time of terrible tension arising from the massacre, neither Mr Mandela nor Mr Ramaphosa shows the responsibility we expect of leaders in the circumstances.

Mr Ramaphosa also complained that more Black people have lost their lives during the three years Mr De Klerk has been in power than during 40 years of National Party government.

How ironic!

The violence has come about since the unbanning of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and other organisations and the release of ANC leaders, including Mr Mandela himself. If there is any blame, it is to be found in the unbanning and releases, which set off a vicious power struggle.

Mr De Klerk is personally blameless.

Mr De Klerk has hinted that he might introduce a state of emergency to protect the lives of men, women and children; Mr Mandela has countered this with a threat to lead a civil disobedience campaign if Mr De Klerk does so.

We think Mr De Klerk should accept the challenge and introduce an emergency if he deems this necessary — and it is.

As a newspaper which has appealed over and over again for an end to violence, from whichever quarter it is perpetrated, we are shocked and saddened by Boipatong, the uncouth treatment of Mr De Klerk by the mob, and the continuing campaign against him by ANC leaders.

South Africa lies bleeding and Boipatong, instead of bringing about a rededication to peace, a renewal of the desire for a settlement, has only split the country as never before.

What a shame!

De Klerk threatens emergency

Source 22/6/92

STATE President FW de Klerk on Saturday threatened to reimpose the state of emergency after he was chased from Boipatong township in the Vaal by angry residents.

Addressing a Press conference from the sanctuary of a military base as police who remained in Boipatong shot dead three more people, De Klerk said:

"We may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order to uphold the safety of all South Africans.

"It will be a very sorry day if we are forced to go back to a state of emergency," he said.

The President was critical of accusations by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa of his alleged complicity in the Boipatong massacre, in which about 40 people were killed on Wednesday.

Earlier, about 3 000 residents, who were part of a march by ANC and PAC members accompanied by PAC leaders, shouting and waving placards with "FW de Klerk, go home" and "We don't want you here

De Klerk", had streamed from all corners as the presidential cavalcade entered the dusty township on Saturday morning.

Secrecy had surrounded plans for the visit, but residents were clearly ready for De Klerk, as most turned up with placards condemning the visit. Surrounded by at least six armoured vehicles, the State President looked

tense but not visibly frightened. The party appeared in no immediate danger but, faced with the threatening crowd, it retreated.

De Klerk had been scheduled to visit the massacre victims' families and to hold a Press conference in Boipatong, but he was never allowed out of his car.

● See page 6

Mandela says talks are off

P. Sontani 22/6/92

TALKS between the ANC and the Government were temporarily suspended by Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, when he accused State President FW de Klerk of complicity in the massacre of 42 people in Boipatong last week.

By SONTI MASEKO

Mandela, addressing tens of thousands of supporters in Evaton Stadium, declared that South Africa "will never be the same again" after the massacre, which he described as the work of beasts and not human beings.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he said.

"On Tuesday the ANC and the regime were supposed to have a meeting. After the murder of our people I instructed Comrade (Cyril) Ramaphosa that he and his delegation will not hold any further discussions with the regime."

Mandela said his coming to the Vaal had "nothing whatsoever to do" with De Klerk's disastrous visit to Boipatong on Saturday.

He announced that the ANC would also be holding an emergency meeting tomorrow to discuss the future of negotiations and to explore other options.

Earlier he told Boipatong residents that "in the course of our future political work, we will not forget what De Klerk, the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty," he said.

Mandela also announced that the ANC would call for a national stayaway, "a day of mourning throughout the country" on the day of the burial of the victims of Boipatong, as soon as the date was announced.

He told the seething crowd, waving posters and chanting: "We want arms" that he had called off a planned meeting tomorrow between the ANC and the Government.

On the international front, Mandela announced that he would request the United Nations to call a special session of its Security Council which he would address.

ANC BREAKS OFF TALKS WITH GOVT



ANC president NELSON MANDELA addresses Boipatong residents yesterday. He later announced the ANC would suspend talks with the government.

AFRICAN National Congress president, Nelson Mandela, yesterday announced his organisation had been generally on parole in Botswana with the South African Government in an attempt to end a week of violence in the Vaal Triangle.

The agreement process is complete, he said, but he said a military rally attended by about 20,000 supporters after being temporarily restricted by riot police since the Sunday night shooting in the Vaal Triangle.

Mr Mandela said he had instructed ANC to call a mass rally in the Vaal Triangle to mark the 10th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

Mr Mandela said he had instructed ANC to call a mass rally in the Vaal Triangle to mark the 10th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

ANC breaks off talks

FROM PAGE 1

ral meeting scheduled for tomorrow with the De Klerk government.

Instead, the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) would hold an urgent meeting that day to discuss its options.

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people."

"We are back in the Sharpeville days," he said. "The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable."

Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) delegates had previously stated that without a breakthrough in bilateral talks between the government and the ANC, there could be no progress in negotiations for democracy.

At a Press conference after the rally, Mr Mandela said the position of ANC delegates, due to

meet in a Codesa subcommittee today, was "as it is" pending alternative instructions from the ANC leadership after tomorrow's NEC meeting.

Questions about supporters' calls at the rally for a more militant political approach, Mr Mandela said: "The duty of a mass organisation is to listen to the masses. We must take account of their feelings, but that is a matter for the NEC."

Youngsters at the gathering shouted "We want arms", and held aloft placards reading: "Mandela give us permission to kill our enemies".

At the rally, the ANC leader reacted strongly to Mr De Klerk's threat of a possible reintroduction of a State of Emergency.

"Let me warn him. The introduction of anti-democratic measures today will result in a defiance campaign, with me leading that defiance campaign," he told cheering supporters.

The ANC would continue its campaign of mass action, he said.

He also called for a day of national mourning and stayaway on the day of the funeral of Boipatong massacre victims, the date of which is yet to be announced.

The ANC would request that its leader be permitted to address a special session of the United Nations Security Council on Wednesday night's massacre.

Putting the blame for the carnage on the government's shoulders, Mr Mandela claimed the killings were "the result of contingency plans" by the State President to counter the ANC's mass action campaign aimed at forcing an interim government.

In a strongly worded attack, he criticised the state's apparent inability to quell South Africa's violence, which claimed at least 112 lives in the past week. At least 17 people

died in unrest, mostly in the Vaal Triangle, at the weekend.

"Just as the Nazis in Germany killed people because they were Jews, in South Africa (Mr) De Klerk, the National Party and Inkatha (Freedom Party) are killing people simply because they are Blacks," an angry Mr Mandela charged.

He criticised what he described as Mr De Klerk's audacity in trying to visit Boipatong where people had been killed with weapons legalised by his government. "We welcome his sympathy, but it comes with crocodile tears".

Mr Mandela said the ANC had made an initial donation of R100 000 towards a disaster fund for unrest victims nationwide and challenged the government to "contribute more than the R8 million of taxpayers' money they gave to Inkatha" — a reference to the "Inkathagate" scandal.

After 22/6/92

Township pivotal in political war

BOIPATONG, the obscure township which shot into international prominence after last week's massacre, was the scene of a political narrative at the weekend.

Set against the belching smoke and pylons of Iscor and acted out in the dusty streets of Boipatong, with a cast of thousands of local people, it was entitled: A Tale of Two Visits.

The first visit, that of President FW de Klerk, ended in failure for the man who not so long ago was accoladed as "Comrade De Klerk" by Soweto youths and acclaimed as man of vision and courage by their elders.

But in Boipatong on Saturday Mr De Klerk had to cut off a goodwill visit and retreat, surrounded by security policemen and escorted by armoured vehicles.

Whether the youths who encircled his car and hammered on its roof shouting "Go away, murderer" were acting with spontaneous anger, or whether they had been put up to it by politicians seeking to make political capital out of tragedy, is a hotly disputed point.

What is not in doubt is that not a single black person in Boipatong was willing to publicly defend Mr De Klerk's right to visit the township or

The township that was shot into international headlines by last week's massacre, was visited by two prominent politicians. By PATRICK LAURENCE.

to challenge charges by the ANC that his decision to do so was a cynical public relations exercise, not a genuine expression of sympathy with the bereaved families of the victims.

Against that, ANC president Nelson Mandela was heralded as a hero when he arrived in Boipatong less than 24 hours later.

As Mr Mandela toured the squatter settlement on the edge of Boipatong, where the marauding killers had struck hardest last week, he was followed by a huge crowd of supporters.

Their voices rising rhythmically in time to their stamping feet, they chanted: "People were

killed here. Tell the truth."

Interspersed was an exhortation which was presumably directed at Mr Mandela: "Bring us guns!"

Mr Mandela's angry mood and that of the crowd was later reflected in a brief rally at the township's soccer field, where microphones had been hastily erected.

"I have gone around and been briefed," Mr Mandela said of his tour of the squatter camp.

"After listening to the briefings, I am convinced we are no longer dealing with human beings but animals... We will not forget what Mr De Klerk, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty."

The local ANC chairman, Ernest Sotsu, boasted about how Mr De Klerk had been forced to leave Boipatong without setting foot in the township. "The comrades were after his blood," he said.

In a brief four days Boipatong secured a place for itself in South African history.

Those four momentous days might mark a turning point in the emerging political war between the ANC and the ruling National Party. □

We are dealing with animals... I have never seen such cruelty, said Nelson Mandela at Boipatong yesterday.



Tutu blasts police 'collaboration'

CAPE TOWN — Boipatong residents who alleged that police had collaborated in Wednesday's massacre at the township were unlikely to have concocted the story, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Addressing the congregation of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu, who visited Boipatong on Friday, said he had not recovered from what he heard there.

"They refer to the fact that a Casspir broke down a wall in one house so that the marauding impis would gain access to the house. And the press who were there early say they saw the prints of a vehicle where the break had been made in that wall," he said.

"In Boipatong the people are not sophisticated people and it is unlikely they would have sat down and concocted the story.

"You remember how brutally efficient the police were during the states of emergency. Now they have suddenly become so utterly inept. Almost everywhere you go — Natal, Phola

Park — the people will say the police have helped those who attacked.

"I pray that the State President will take seriously the responsibility of a government to maintain law and order; for whoever may be causing the violence, they are committing a crime and it is the business of the police to apprehend criminals," the archbishop said.

In Johannesburg, the Rhema Church's Pastor Ray McCauley yesterday said he had sent a message to President de Klerk noting a growing perception among moderates that allegations of police-Inkatha collusion in violence "are not wild political propaganda".

Mr McCauley, who visited Boipatong on Friday, said in his message to Mr de Klerk: "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."

He said there was a growing perception that the Government

was party to promoting violence. Although he was not in the position to make a judgment on such allegations "I implore you to urge the police to do their job properly." He said confidence in the police was at an all-time low.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais yesterday asked that a state of emergency be declared as normal laws were not sufficient to ensure order and public safety.

He called Mr de Klerk's aborted visit to Boipatong a publicity exercise.

● The ANC's suspension of democracy negotiations with the Government could lead to "tremendous bloodshed", US Secretary of State James Baker said yesterday.

He said ANC leader Nelson Mandela's announcement that he was suspending talks with the Government was "very, very regrettable".

Mr Baker said the United States and other nations should do all they can to see the dialogue resume. — Sapa-AFP.

Star 22/6/92

Cold war grows chillier

NEGOTIATIONS have not only been jeopardised, but last Wednesday's Boipatong butchery also poses a moral dilemma for the black leaders involved in the Codesa process - ostensibly those of the African National Congress.

In fact, people are talking in the townships, on the streets.

They are saying the ANC should get out of Codesa and mobilise its armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Conversely, not only has the Government's credibility plunged over the latest mass deaths of blacks.

State President FW de Klerk's personal standing among blacks suffered a further setback when police bullets killed three people during his abortive "mercy" mission to Boipatong on Saturday.

This incident - in which the State President was chased away by about 3 000 residents - was the climax to events in the Vaal township, and indeed the whole country, since Wednesday when 39 people were killed in the worst single carnage in recent times.

Pointedly, the ANC's political game plan has been put to the test as the Government's main negotiating partner in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

A pertinent question raised by ANC's supporters and adversaries alike, even by the ANC's leadership core itself, is: Why pretend things are on course?

But are things really on course?

Mr Saki Macozoma, the ANC's spokesman, might have touched a raw nerve in a radio interview on Friday. "I personally think we are witnessing a genocide and I know the dictionary meaning of the word," he said.

Earlier this month Mr Nelson Mandela was criticised for telling an overseas audience that blacks were being killed because they were black and for equating the spiralling mass black killings with the Holocaust - the massacre of Jews in Nazi Germany.

Also, was it simply emotional oratory by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, when he said on Friday: "The ANC places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Mr FW de Klerk, who declared in Tokyo recently that his Government had a plan to counter (the ANC's programme of) mass action."

And in a hard-hitting speech at Boipatong, South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, questioned the Government's sincerity and said action would have been prompt if whites had been killed in a similar bloodbath.

The coming few days are indeed going to be crucial in determining whether the ANC and its allies remain in Codesa as calls for it to pull out by other liberation groups, Azapo and the PAC, grow louder.

Already one of the ANC's allies, Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa, has called on all organisations involved in talks with the Government to withdraw immediately

The ANC places blame squarely on the shoulders of FW de Klerk.

The shocking killings of innocent people in Boipatong and other Vaal areas last week has placed a lot of strain on the relationship between the ANC and the De Klerk Government, with growing calls for the ending of negotiations and a return to militant struggle. **THEMBA MOLEFE** of our political staff assesses the situation.



because of the alleged insincerity of the De Klerk administration.

In its initial reaction to the Boipatong massacre Azapo was forthright and called for black political organisations to stop any dealings with the Government.

While it is unlikely that the ANC will pull out of Codesa, one of its most viable options would be to intensify its mass action.

The organisation's executive committee member, Mr Mac Maharaj, remarked on Friday that "negotiation is a slim thread that holds the political process together".

It is with this notion in mind that the ANC's national working committee meets this week to discuss how the slayings impacted on negotiations.

What is certain, though, is that the cold war between the ANC and the Government has never been chillier.

Harsh words have been said all round as a result of the massacre and more are to be expected this week.

On the one hand the ANC, as a liberation movement, is responsible to its grassroots membership.

If the hundreds who forced De Klerk to flee on Saturday are supporters of the ANC, then the message is clear: the shaky marriage should end.

On the other hand, the Government has to back its words and ensure that police produce results.

It is not enough just to deny allegations of police collusion in this and other massacres while no action seems to be taken to at least apprehend those responsible.

So weter

22/6/97

Citizen
22/4/92

FW off to Spain

STATE President De Klerk has left for a short visit to Spain.

He will hold talks with King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez, and will meet bankers and businessmen wanting to invest in South Africa.

On Wednesday he will visit the South African pavillion at the World Trade Exposition in Seville.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been appointed acting State President in Mr De Klerk's absence.

The visit to Spain is a private one at the invitation of King Juan Carlos, who invited Mr De Klerk to attend a flag-raising ceremony at World Expo on Wednesday when South Africa's national flag will be hoisted and the South African anthem played.

TO PAGE 2

FW off to Spain

FROM PAGE 1

This will be the only official function to be attended by Mr De Klerk during his visit.

He returns to South Africa on Thursday morning. — Sapa.

COMMENT

Telephone (011) 474-0128

No, Mr de Klerk, more is expected

ON Saturday morning the police knew that it was three days after the Boipatong massacre and they had still not arrested anybody.

They should have also known that their handling of the slaughter of 39 men, women and children was being severely criticised by the community of Boipatong.

The community had been telling the whole world it was attacked by armed men from the KwaMadala Hostel.

It had been stunned when the police came after the murders to surround the township and ignore the hostel from whence the attack came.

The police had to negotiate with Inkatha Freedom Party officials to allow them to get into the hostel and interview the men there.

Of course there was the quick announcement by the Government that 200 detectives were being deployed in the hostel.

All that they have achieved so far, as far as the Boipatong community knows, is to confiscate a few weapons and send them for forensic examination.

State President FW de Klerk should have been told all this.

And having been told, he should have known that for now he would not be welcome in the township.

The only "comfort" he could bring to the people is information that the murderers of their loved ones have been found and are being brought to justice.

He should have gone to visit the commanders of his police force to demand action. He should have gone to find out why the few people who have been arrested in this present orgy of violence make token appearances in court and are then released because there is insufficient evidence.

In the absence of satisfactory explanations he should have fired a few people, possibly including Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, who added insult to injury by getting into Boipatong with De Klerk.

De Klerk showed less than good leadership by blaming the ANC and the PAC for orchestrating demonstrations against him in Boipatong on Saturday.

He did this while his policemen, badly trained in crowd control, were shooting at the angry crowd, adding three more to the list of victims.

No, Mr de Klerk, the world expects much more from you.

Sowetan
27/6/92

'Call police, not media'

THE police yesterday appealed to political organisations not to use the media to inform the police of important information pertaining to attacks in townships.

Acting regional commissioner for Soweto, Brigadier Sakkie Minnaar, said any organisation or person with knowledge of rumours of imminent attacks should contact the police and especially supply specifics such as times, places and dates of attacks.

According to Soweto police liaison officer Captain G Mariemuthoo, police were alerted yesterday by a reporter to an "imminent attack to be carried out by Dobson-

ville hostel inmates on Dobsonville residents which would be worse than the Boipatong massacre".

Such calls meant the unnecessary deployment of policemen in certain areas while depriving Greater Soweto of effective policing, Brig Minnaar said.

No incidents had been reported from Dobsonville.

Earlier police questioned the ANC's motives in alerting the media on Saturday night to an "im-pending attack" in Alexandra township.

Saying no incidents had taken place in Alexandra on Saturday night, SAP spokesman Col David Bruce said: "On Saturday at 21.54 police became

aware that the media had been alerted by the ANC of an imminent attack which would take place in Alexandra.

"Bearing in mind that similar messages, which proved to be false, were received prior to the Boipatong massacre on Wednesday night, police took immediate steps to increase the manpower in Alexandra." — Sapa.

Citizen
22/6/92

COMMENT

Boipatong

IN retrospect, President F W de Klerk should not be surprised at the intensity of his hostile reception in Boipatong on Saturday. His visit was a proper display of sympathy with the victims of the slaughter. South Africa's president would rightly have stood accused of callousness had he not made the gesture.

But his politically-charged visit to Ulundi on June 16 helped to identify him, in the minds of Boipatong survivors, with the killers — allegedly Inkatha supporters. PAC and ANC bosses were on hand to fan the flames. But De Klerk was not helped by the political expediency of some of his colleagues in the period leading up to last week's carnage.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and his spokesman Captain Craig Kotze — a public servant who makes little secret of his political leanings — cannot complain if they have been misunderstood. Nor, for that matter, can Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Transvaal troubleshooter Themba Khoza.

All four put a great deal of energy into warning that the ANC's mass action campaign would lead to violence. All appeared at pains to ensure that, were violence to erupt, they would be able to say: "We told you so."

In the event, a series of bloody killings punctuated the week at Moletsane, Daveyton, Evaton and then Boipatong. And representatives of Inkatha and the Ministry of Law and Order lost no time in blaming it all on the ANC.

The wisdom of the ANC's campaign is highly questionable. But it is clear that few, if any, of the past week's deaths were a direct result

of ANC activities. On the contrary, it seems clear that the Boipatong killers were based at Iscor's Kwa-Madala hostel — well-known as an Inkatha stronghold. There are also some untested claims of police collusion in the massacre. The police themselves have also to explain why they continued to fire at the backs of demonstrators fleeing after De Klerk's visit.

Of course, none of this directly links the hierarchies of either Inkatha or the SA Police to the massacre. But they both have something to answer for. In the circumstances, blaming the massacre on the ANC could give an unfortunate impression that the violence, which fulfilled their predictions, suited their political agendas.

The police, whose record in previous massacre investigations is chequered at best, would do well to devote their total energies to tracking down the culprits. Their credibility is on the line as never before, and it is not helped by their tardiness in forcing hostel residents to admit investigators probing the slaughter.

In the Boipatong case, Iscor needs to explain why it failed to heed several warnings from Numsa that the KwaMadala hostel, a "Fortress of Fear", had become little more than the headquarters of a group of vigilantes. Boipatong is not the first piece of evidence to suggest that Numsa was correct.

As for Inkatha's leaders, it is time for them to explain why their political strongholds, in particular the chain of Reef hostels, have become factories of death. Pious verbal commitments to peace are no longer enough. It is time to begin serious discussions on how the entire institution can be dismantled.

Adlay 22/6/92

De Klerk threatens emergency

STATE President FW de Klerk on Saturday threatened to reimpose the state of emergency after he was chased from Boipatong township in the Vaal by angry residents.

Addressing a Press conference from the sanctuary of a military base as police who remained in Boipatong shot dead three more people, De Klerk said:

"We may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order to uphold the safety of all South Africans.

"It will be a very sorry day if we are forced to go back to a state of emergency," he said.

The President was critical of accusations by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa of his alleged complicity in the Boipatong massacre, in which about 40 people were killed on Wednesday.

Earlier, about 3 000 residents, who were part of a march by ANC and PAC members accompanied by PAC leaders, shouting and waving placards with "FW de Klerk go home" and "We don't want you here

De Klerk", had streamed from all corners as the presidential cavalcade entered the dusty township on Saturday morning.

Secrecy had surrounded plans for the visit, but residents were clearly ready for De Klerk, as most turned up with placards condemning the visit. Surrounded by at least six armoured vehicles, the State President looked

tense but not visibly frightened. The party appeared in no immediate danger but, faced with the threatening crowd, it retreated.

De Klerk had been scheduled to visit the massacre victims' families and to hold a Press conference in Boipatong, but he was never allowed out of his car.

● See page 6

Sowetan 22/6/92

8.11 * J

Churchmen call for action

CAPE TOWN — Boipatong residents who alleged that police had collaborated in Wednesday's massacre at the township were unlikely to have concocted the story, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Addressing the congregation of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu, who visited Boipatong on Friday, said he had not recovered from what he heard there.

"They refer to the fact that a Casspir broke down a wall in one house so that the marauding impis would gain access to the house. And the press who were there early say they saw the prints of a vehicle where the break had been made in that wall," he said.

"In Boipatong the people are not sophisticated people, and it is unlikely they would have sat down and concocted the story.

STAFF 22/01/77
"You remember how brutally efficient the police were during the states of emergency. Now they have suddenly become so utterly inept. Almost everywhere you go — Natal, Phola Park — the people will say the police have helped those who attacked.

"I pray that the State President will take seriously the responsibility of a government to maintain law and order; for whoever may be causing the violence, they are committing a crime and it is the business of the police to apprehend criminals," the archbishop said.

In Johannesburg, the Rhema Church's Pastor Ray McCauley yesterday said he had sent a message to President de Klerk noting a growing perception among moderates that allegations of police-Inkatha collusion in violence "are not wild politi-

cal propaganda".

Mr McCauley, who visited Boipatong on Friday, said in his message to Mr de Klerk: "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."

He said there was a growing perception that the Government was party to promoting violence.

Although he was not in the position to make a judgment on such allegations, "I implore you to urge the police to do their job properly."

● Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais yesterday asked that a state of emergency be declared as normal laws were not sufficient to ensure order and public safety. — Sapa-AFP.

Suspicion of police on rise, McCauley tells FW

THE Rhema Church's Pastor Ray McCauley yesterday said he had sent a message to State President De Klerk noting a growing perception among moderates that allegations of police/Inkatha collusion in violence "are not wild political propaganda".

The message was sent in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

"I visited Boipatong on Friday afternoon and spoke to many of the resi-

dents and prayed with them." Pastor McCauley said in his message to Mr De Klerk.

"Having heard their first-hand accounts of what happened I am deeply disturbed because it appears the police failed in their primary duty of protecting innocent citizens.

"There is a growing perception among moderate Whites and Blacks that the 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.

"I am not in a position, nor do I have all the facts, to make a judgment on such allegations — but I implore you to urge the police to do their job properly."

The pastor also warned Mr De Klerk that the patience of "moderate thinking people is running out". — Sapa

City
22/6/92

Negotiations are in deepest crisis

CAPE TOWN. — The constitutional negotiation process — inside and outside the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) — has entered its deepest crisis since the African National Congress returned from exile.

Wednesday's Boipatong massacre and the subsequent political in-vec-tive at the weekend have brought both the government and the ANC to the brink of breaking off structured talks in their present form.

State President De Klerk is seriously thinking of reintroducing a state of emergency.

More than that, close aides have revealed, he and his Cabinet are running out of patience with, and trust in, the ANC as a serious negotiating partner.

The distrust appears to have reached epidemic proportions.

Mr Mandela called off bilateral talks with the government yesterday and said his NEC

would consider its position with regard to Codesa.

Senior Nationalists said in response that they, too, had been close to calling a halt in recent weeks. The unjustified and vicious vilification of the State President as an accomplice in killings was not the basis on which serious negotiations could continue. Business could not be conducted indefinitely through a shower of curses, one said.

The situation was worsened by the fact that Mr Mandela had not contacted or spoken to State President De Klerk publicly since attacking him in front of television cameras at Codesa 1 last December.

His personal attacks on President De Klerk, backed by similar accusatory statements by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, were making it clear the ANC was looking for reasons to stop negotiations.

Inside the ANC camp a similar erosion of trust has been perceived. Its

Codesa negotiators see the government's inflexible position at Codesa II as evidence that it is not prepared to accept a truly democratic solution and that it is merely playing for time to foist a powersharing constitution on the country, giving the White minority a perpetual veto over the democratically elected majority.

They say that every effort to reach a reasonable compromise, even substantial concessions, made no headway.

The ANC threatens to take mass action to the limit and the government responds by saying that emergency laws will be applied to deal with the violence it perceives as a by-product of mass action.

In short, a formula for a total breakdown in communication and a recipe for open conflict, say the most seasoned observers and analysts.

Ultimately, however, as acting State President Pik Botha said in a television interview yesterday, talking will still be the only way out. — Sapa.

Cutze
22/6/92

Residents' version of shooting

By Michael Sparks *STAR*

22/1/72

The account of Saturday's shooting at Boipatong given by journalists and other eye-witnesses differs considerably from the version given by the police.

The shooting took place shortly after President de Klerk had been forced to leave the scene of Wednesday's massacre in which at least 39 people were killed.

Soon after the president fled the township in his bullet-proof limousine, someone on a Nyala police vehicle shot a man in the neck from about 80 metres away at a small anti-De Klerk

rally. Women were baring their breasts, trying to embarrass the policemen into going away so they could retrieve the body.

Residents were concerned that if police took the body they might try and deny the incident.

At least three residents separately told one journalist they had seen police place a machete next to the body of the shot man.

Residents also wanted the policeman who shot the man arrested.

The remaining police became extremely nervous and agitated and opened fire with two tear-gas canisters and live ammuni-

tion in what one journalist described as "a single long volley of gunfire".

It was then that two others were killed and at least 29 injured.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce, SAP liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said the dead man had hacked "a crippled black man" with the machete, before he turned on a policeman who called on him to stop. The policeman then fired in self defence.

Colonel Bruce added that since the man had not died from natural causes an inquest docket would be opened and the case investigated.

Peace Accord not in tatters: Hall

ALL key members of the National Peace Accord (NPA) yesterday recommitted themselves to the accord, according to NPA chairman Mr John Hall.

Questioned during an interview on SABC TV last night, it was not clear from Mr Hall's answer if this recommitment came

before or after African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's suspension of government-ANC talks.

Mr Mandela made his announcement in Boipatong, the Vaal Triangle township where an estimated 40 people were slain on Wednesday night.

Mr Hall said the Peace

Accord was not "in tatters", as had been reported, and a meeting on Thursday, the day after the massacre, had been "instructive".

Although the interviewer tried to place the focus on solving South Africa's violence, most of the interview comprised verbal attacks on one another by the representa-

tives from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the government and the ANC.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said 108 people had died since the start of the ANC's mass action campaign, which was a substantially higher figure than that for the similar time period before the campaign.

Asked if he believed the massacre at Boipatong stemmed from the mass action campaign, Mr Kriel said: "I have no doubt."

The police were not biased and this had been made clear in their confiscation of thousands of dangerous weapons from IFP supporters last Sunday.

Only shields and knobkerries had been returned after that confiscation, he emphasised.

Reacting to the more general issue of South Africa's violence, he said: "A power struggle between the ANC and other groups, such as Inkatha — not apartheid — is the cause of the present violence." — Sapa.

Citizen
22/6/92

Baker is upset

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress' suspension of democracy negotiations with the South African Government could lead to "tremendous bloodshed", Secretary of State James Baker said yesterday.

Calling ANC leader Nelson Mandela's announcement that he was suspending talks with the government "very, very regrettable", Mr Baker said the United States and other nations should do all they could to see the dialogue resumed.

Mr Baker, who spoke in an interview on NBC-TV, said the talks were essential to effect peace-

ful change in South Africa.

"If change doesn't come peacefully, and I think change is going to come, it's going to come with tremendous bloodshed."

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had "both exhibited extraordinary political courage" in the negotiation process, he said. — Sapa-AFP.

City
22/6/92

'Dirty tricks': Ex-cop tells all

THE *Vrye Weekblad* weekly newspaper on Friday carried a series of frank interviews with Colonel John Horak, former police spy on several newspapers, in which he makes in-depth allegations about covert security police activities over the last few years.

Among Horak's allegations are that:

- Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko died after he was assaulted by a Port Elizabeth policeman, now a colonel in the security police, after Biko had insulted the policeman's superior officer.

Horak says everyone in the security police knew what happened and who was responsible, but a web of lies was spun before the



STEVE BIKO

judicial inquiry into the activist's death.

The police colonel is now generally known by a nickname relating to the Biko affair;

- He (Horak) was involved in intercepting thousands of mail items, mainly from the Jeppe Street Post Office, without authorisation. Many of the letters, documents and books that

related to politics were stolen and are kept in a special library in Pretoria. Horak was in charge of the library;

- The security police stole cheques to and from black trade unions, then paid them into false accounts to sow suspicion among members.

The stolen money was then used in campaigns against the trade unions;

- Horak tells of several incidents where the police planted bombs or attacked people for their own political ends, and then blamed it on right- or leftwing radicals.

The bombs that exploded at cinemas screening the Richard Attenborough film on Biko, *Cry Freedom*, is an example he gives.

The interviews with Horak are published in

eight pages in the newspaper's Friday edition.

Horak held several senior positions on English-language newspapers and was the Morning Group manager at the then SA Associated Newspapers when he went public as a police spy and was appointed a major at security police headquarters.

He was later appointed chairman of the Strategic Communications Committee of the Secretariat of the State Security Council.

Horak, who resigned from the SAP in August 1990 with glowing testimonials from the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, is believed to be overseas at the moment, according to a *Vrye Weekblad* statement. - Sapa

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