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 year".

"Except for the complaints on the Phola Park incident on April 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 individual 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 Tuesday.

Miss Lindiwe Ntuli, who is announcing on the SABC’s Radio Zulu 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

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

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 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 sparked 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 an agreement 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 events 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.

On March 24 last year, the Inkatha Freedom Party held a rally near Daveyton which made residents of that township apprehensive that they may be attacked.

The residents groups 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.

And therein lies the problem with the behaviour of the police. If their explanation is accepted, they met a group of 1,000 people who had just killed 27 people, injured scores of others and razed more than 80 shack. They said they had only escorted the attackers out of the township to avoid them attacking residents on the way.

Survivors said when they tried to escape from the attackers, they were forced to return to the camp by members of the security forces.

Yet others said police had told them they could not assist as they were not part of the riot squad.

The attack happened a day after Kagiso and Bekkersdal were declared unrest areas, implying that police activity in the areas would be at its peak.

As IBIR 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 Swannieville and for the attackers to have crossed this unannounced is hard to comprehend," IBIR 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.

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

Just six out of 1,0000 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.
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 surrogate groups.

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 fuelling 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.

We further demand that the regime implement agreements on curturing 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.
- Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multilateral peace structures.

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

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

- The cessation of all démarches and covert 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 can recognise that the country shall have moved decisively to end minority rule.

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.

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 a settlement which brings back to the people of South Africa their rights and freedoms according to the will of the people is tantamount to an insidious assault on the gains of the Boipatong massacre. The ANC agrees to all workers through- out the world to mobilise in support of the ANC during the last days of the recent session of Parliament.

Call to the people of South Africa:

The regime's refusal to disband and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence, involving its security forces and surrogates, makes it absolutely imperative that the ANC constitutes a challenge to the regime.

Taking stock of the situation as a new round of negotiations begins, the ANC will play a critical role in determining the direction and substance of the negotiations. The ANC will ensure that the negotiations are conducted under the supervision of the international community and will be committed to working in an atmosphere of genuine political goodwill and understanding.

Demand on the regime:

- The regime must immediately cease all cases of violations against the people and the democratic movement. In this regard it must immediately carry out the following measures:
  - Terminate all covert actions, including hit squad activity.
  - Detain, confine and confine to barracks all special forces as well as all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence.
  - Ensure that all regression in some of the governing states, and in South Africa, is ended forthwith.

- We People's attempt 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.

- The ANC has no option but to break off bilateral and Codexian relations. The ANC 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 substance of the negotiations.
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.
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

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 not comment on the five deaths.

"We cannot release their identities as their next of kin have not yet been traced. We do, however, have a list of the others who died in the ambush last week," Sotsu said.

"We are still trying to search for those who were reported kidnapped by the attackers and those whose bodies were removed by the police on the night of the attack."

"We are aware that we may discover more bodies of the victims at the 11th hour. But we have not yet thought of changing the plans for the mass burial at this stage."

Forty 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 Letsoko, Andrie Letsoko, Jim Richard of 194 Senou Street.

Benjamin Msoetsa of 762 Zone 13 Sebokeng, Samule Msoetsa of 660 Moshoeshoe Street, Nelly Kubu of 1183 Moshoeshoe Street, Anna Letsoko, Andrie Letsoko, Jim Richard of 194 Senou Street.

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 Kniza of Caravan house, Michael Mayila of Transkei.

Thomas Lekabe of 17, a Mr Sibisi of 21, Maria Mofokeng and Elizabeth Kgale of 25, Elizabeth Ndumase of 135.

Jonas Mthatha and Lisa Mthatha of 135 and Agnes Malindi of 23.
ANC withdraws from Codesa

FROM PAGE 1

ANC president Nelson Mandela called on June 29 as a national day of mourning and solidarity with the victims of the Boipatong massacre. This is the day they are to be buried.

The ANC reaffirmed its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in the country, he said.

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

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

Also present were South African Transport Workers' Union general secretary L. J. Williams, Congress of South African Trade Unions president J. W. T. "Pik" Botha, and African National Congress regional chairmen from the Transvaal, Natal, and Cape Town regions.

The ANC's actions following the massacre were a "definition of the political map," the union said.
Police clamp on KwaMadaala hostel is lifted

Police restrictions on residents of the KwaMadaala 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 released 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.

After the massacre many Boipatong residents alleged that the attack was launched from the KwaMadaala 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 cooperation 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, 0800111213, 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.

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.

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 barred from entering the complex.

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

Cars stoned, burnt in wake of massacre

From Page 1

The whites-only Mineworkers' Union yesterday demanded 24-hour police protection for its members, saying white workers had been attacked near Boipatong.
After Boipatong, one thing is certain. There will be no nego-
tiated settlement unless something is done to restore the credi-
bility of the police as a peace-
keeping force.

African correspondent beside me said he had witnessed the police firing at point-blank range, without warning or without orders, into a crowd of about 3,000 people. I despaired because I saw with my own eyes how the police are at handling the kind of volatile situation that arose after Mr. de Klerk's ill-considered visit.

That prospect now looms before us if President de Klerk continues to turn a blind eye to the fact that the credibility of the police is in a state of collapse.

I spent time in Boipatong last week talking to survivors of the massacre, and I was in the midst of the mini-Sharpville that followed Mr. de Klerk's visit to the township when the police opened fire at point-blank range, without orders and without warning, into a packed crowd of about 3,000 people, and I can only say that I despaired for our country.

I despaired because every person I spoke to in Boipatong told me quite categorically that they believed the police had escorted the attackers into their township and out again after the slaughter.

I despaired because I saw with my own eyes how the police are at handling the kind of volatile situation that arose after Mr. de Klerk's ill-considered visit.

Why did they have to follow the crowd, so aggressively and provoca-tively 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 a police vehicle BHL 186 have to shoot a man dead, creating a situation so explosive a greater tragedy became inevitable?

And what kind of training are these men given that they carry no batons or riot shields and that they can open fire, not with 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, taking as they were shot in the back until there were two dead and 29groaning on the ground — and only when the shooting stopped did the officer in charge stop 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 brave 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. "Who told you to shoot? I told you not to shoot without orders!"

I visited Boipatong and spoke to many of the residents. Pastor McCaskey 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 disbelieve 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 cynical, dissembling explanations until it is now 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 monitor-ing force in 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’

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 Cosatu strike call followed Iscor's dramatic turnabout 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.

“People 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.

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.
NELSON 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 acknowledgement 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 reprise 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

It 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.
No witnesses in massacre probe

WILSON ZWANE

NOT one Boipatong resident had come forward with information to assist police investigations in last week's massacre, a police spokesman said last night.

Lt-Col Dave Bruce Bruce said newspaper reports were being used to try to find witnesses.

"People quoted in the Press as having made certain allegations are potential witnesses ... and we would like these people to come forward and give us the information."

Meanwhile there were more incidents yesterday on the Golden Highway between Johannesburg and Vereeniging. Sapa reports that two meat trucks were set alight and looted. The road was closed on Tuesday after mobs set fire to 13 vehicles.

Police said a man was necklaced in Sebokeng yesterday afternoon.

At least four people were killed in Folweni, south of Durban, and one person murdered at Esikhawini, in northern Natal, on Monday and Tuesday. KwaZulu police said.

The Human Rights Commission recorded 106 deaths and 86 injuries in the week to Tuesday — the highest toll since the week preceding the March 17 referendum.
Another Vaal victim (3) dies

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 Vaal 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."
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 Sipho 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 retrenched.

He said although Monday had been declared 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.
By Zingisa Mkhoma

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 Krugersdorp 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 comes 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硬化 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 armed 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..."
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The Boipatong women spoke to The Star about how they have barricaded their homes against the men who kill and maim their husbands and children in their sleep.

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“There is a lot of gunfire at night … maybe when you write this article I will be dead too, who knows …”
Massacre launched from Iscor’s hostel

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 campaigns, which got off to a remarkably peaceful start on Soweto Day this week.

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 town­-residents.

The military inquiry yesterday the death toll was 43 — including a nine-month pregnant woman and a nine-month-old baby, both of whom had been sparked by the killing of an Inkatha supporter and Boipatong resident, David Mbete, last week.

A mob of about 200 men wearing white head­bands, tacks and gloves and bearing weapons rampaged through the township and the adjoining Slovo Park squatter camp from about 9pm on Wednesday night, indiscriminately hacking people, breaking windows, and looting. In one street, as many as 12 houses had been vandalised and looted.

Yesterday, angry comrades who had set up barricades at every street corner thronged the streets, itching for revenge, amidst a heavy presence of police and soldiers from 21 Battalion. By midday rampaging comrades had set alight the houses of a policeman and Inkatha member.

Late yesterday police were still removing bodies from houses and shacks around the township. Women wept 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 bobble hat, 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 Lcrobane, 58, told us: “My mother woke up, I asked where the comrades were, because they said they wanted ANC members.” The grieving woman said her mother had been under threat by the comrades for days and had been mowed down by a police Casspir, he claimed.

Residents say the massacre was a revenge attack sparked by the killing of an Inkatha supporter and Boipatong resident, David Mbete, last week.

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Closing the hostels is not the solution

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

PUBLICATIONS 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 part 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 hundreds of thousands more?" It is 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 urban survival base for migrant workers.

It is an ironic twist to South Africa's 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.

A new policy declares that police patrols are often unable to deal with hostels that have been turned into armed fortresses. They will have to be consulted about proposals and developments, from the start through to the end of the transformation process.

In many hostels, residents have created committees to deal with issues such as social functions, room allocation, security, links with the rural areas and the regulation of disputes.

"These committees command the respect of significant numbers of hostel inmates, despite being autocratic and politically conservative, as is often the case. They too cannot be ignored in any consultation process," Schreiner adds.

An agreement signed this week by the National Union of Metalworkers (NUM) and Anglo American to "bring peace to our mines" provides an example of how solutions to the problems of single-sex hostels could be reached.

Under close scrutiny... A Matsadi hostel dweller on the lookout for attacks from the Afrcx community... Photo KEVlN CARTER... The ANC wants the hostel system to be phased out.

By EDDIE KOCH

National Union of Metalworkers (NUM) 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 initiative which fails to put the hostel dwellers at the centre stage are doomed. They will have to be consulted about proposals and developments, from the start through to the end of the transformation process.

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Koevoet men linked to township massacre

From Beige

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 employ of the police and 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 Roosberg, 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, Koppammy and Pillay, noted: "The police have been negligent in failing to conduct effective investigations 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."
Arms cache found at mine  Ex-policemen may be involved

**Koevoet link to massacre**

*26 JUN 1992*

Staff Reporters,
Owa Correspondent

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 withdrew from the investigation when he discovered that the members were 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.

The VCC document, handed to at least 16 foreign governments yesterday, in eludes 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 plea to investigate was threatened by members of the former Koevoet group.

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 organisation had received information citing members of the group as having been involved in the violence at the Vaal Triangle township.

“That is why we say we are concerned and the matter should be investigated so that proper findings 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.

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