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THE CITIZEN

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Ridiculous

IT is ridiculous to suggest, as the ANC is doing, that State President De Klerk was involved, directly or indirectly, in the Boipatong massacre.

It is not in his nature to seek or encourage bloodshed; he is a man of peace, a man of conscience, a man of reform.

Boipatong, in fact, has been an absolute nightmare for him and his government.

Up to Boipatong, Mr De Klerk had the high ground.

His trips abroad, including the most recent one to Japan, had established his reputation as a true reformist and a man who had the will and ability to transform this country into a true democracy.

Internationally, Mr De Klerk was overshadowing ANC president Nelson Mandela.

At home, Mr Mandela had begun to make blunders like attacking Mr De Klerk publicly at Codesa I, and continuing to call for sanctions when one country after another resumed trade and diplomatic links.

His message, "Keep sanctions until we tell you you can lift them", had fallen flat, since it appeared to be mean, self-serving and outdated.

Why not trade with a country that had abandoned apartheid and was moving to a non-racial democracy?

Why not, indeed.

Mr De Klerk was now being received with open arms in the capitals of the world—even Russia—and Mr Mandela's star was waning.

At home, too, Mr De Klerk had not put a foot wrong.

When he was attacked by Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders who accused him of complicity in violence, he never replied in kind.

His steadfast pursuit of a negotiated settlement through Codesa demonstrated his commitment to negotiation.

His great triumph in the referendum showed an overwhelming number of White South Africans were on his side.

Indeed, everything was going so well for Mr De Klerk that he appeared to be not only an astute politician but a political genius.

Mr De Klerk had outfoxed Mr Mandela and the ANC and the initiative was now in his own hands.

By contrast, the ANC had done little right.

The sanctions campaign was no longer acceptable overseas; there was less and less enthusiasm for street marches and protests; Blacks, like Whites, wanted an end to violence—and the ANC was clearly involved in some of the violence wracking the country.

Mass action was supposed to rally the Blacks behind the ANC, but Day One saw only 80 000 people taking part in Soweto Day rallies across the country, as against the million expected, and some of the scheduled rallies did not even take place.

Boipatong changed everything overnight.

At last the ANC had a stick with which to beat Mr De Klerk.

It set up a campaign here and abroad to put the blame on Mr De Klerk and his government. Doors open to South Africa began to close.

Countries like Sweden announced they would delay the lifting of sanctions; anti-apartheid groups and caucuses in Europe and the United States were given a new lease on life.

As a result of the ANC's calls for the reimposition of the sports moratorium, countries that were willing to resume tours to South Africa, as in the case of rugby, began to have second thoughts.

From being on the attack, Mr De Klerk and his government were on the defensive.

Boipatong, to put it quite bluntly (and we say this without in any way minimising the tragedy of the massacre) was like manna from heaven for the ANC.

It now had the most effective weapon against the government that it had had since Mr Mandela's release.

Neither Mr De Klerk nor the government could have sanctioned Boipatong because, besides anything else, it would have been madness to do so.

We do not say the ANC had anything to do with Boipatong, but it is the only one to gain from it.

'Day of mourning' for victims of massacre

Citizen Reporter
MONDAY'S "day of mourning" for the victims of Biopatong massacre will be marked by a funeral service in the Vaal

area where a stayaway has been called, and in other areas by locally organised prayers, lunch-time commemoration services and demonstrations.

Although a national stayaway has not been called for the day, State President De Klerk has said that government employees would be given time off to attend the services and he further urged employers in the private sector to consider similar arrangements.

Mr De Klerk also asked that all church services and religious gatherings tomorrow focus on the consolation of those who had suffered as a result of violence and on the need for reconciliation and peace.

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance, which called for a stayaway only in the Vaal Triangle, asked businessmen to respect the day of mourning.

The alliance also said that those unable to attend the funeral should express solidarity with the Biopatong people by engaging in memorial services and work stoppages.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has asked all churches to hold services on Monday as well as to ring church bells at noon.

The Biopatong funeral service will start with the arrival of the coffins and families of the victims at the Biopatong Stadium about 8.30 am. It will last several hours before the burial at the nearby Sharpeville cemetery.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu will give a sermon at the stadium before the burial.

No-work-no-pay threat to stayaway on Monday

Citizen Reporter

THE majority of employers will maintain a policy of no work, no pay if employees stay away from work on Monday to mourn the victims of the massacre in Boipatong.

The local business mood is fast reaching the "had enough" stage, according to the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry's (JCCI's) Mass Action Monitor.

"We feel deep sympathy and wholeheartedly support an hour of solidarity, or an hour of prayer, or some similar event; but

we will adopt a no-work-no-pay policy in the event of stayaways," was the general feeling among businessmen.

"Business feels overwhelming sympathy for the victims of the violence, both White and Black, and many businessmen support the fact that unnecessary death needs to be mourned," said spokesman, Mr Rick Beattie.

Similarly, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) said: "Any mass action that results in the loss of productivity, negative economic consequences and loss of human lives is strongly condemned.

"If this day results in stayaway actions, the AHI suggests that the policy of no-work-no-pay should be implemented," a statement said.

The chairman of the Suid-Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Mr Hennie Wienhan, said that requests to stay away on Monday had to be viewed with great consideration, because there was a great deal of emotion which could easily result in destructive and violent actions.

The manager of labour relations in the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), Mr Gerrie Bezuidenhout, said Sacob had asked its members to treat requests to attend the funerals sympathetically.

He said it depended on

individual companies whether employees should be allowed to attend or take any time off work.

Requests by Eskom workers to attend the funerals will be considered, but in-house prayer meetings have been arranged for Monday, a spokesman said.

"Eskom is committed to peace in South Africa. We wish to express our abhorrence at the devastating violence which has claimed the lives of our youngest and our best," said Mr Bongani Khumalo.

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa) said in a statement that it did not support the calls from some trade unions for a stayaway or for factories to close on Monday.

"Seifsa believes that the day of mourning should be respected and that individual companies should try to accommodate any reasonable request."

Parliament defaced with paint: Women to appear

By Brian Stuart
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN. — A
group of ANC

Women's League (ANCWL) members are due to appear in court on Monday after allegedly climbing the rails outside Parliament and defacing the building with paint yesterday.

Three of the women chained themselves together to one of the pillars on the Company Garden side of the parliamentary complex, facing Government Avenue.

Cleaners using chemical paint-removers soon had the steps and pillars of the historic old Cape Parliament building, later the Senate, returned to its usual spotless condition.

This facade of the Cape Parliament is popular with visiting tourists and photographers. The facade seen in televised reports of Parliament is on the opposite side of the complex.

Encouraged by about 200 chanting women, the group of eight women climbed over the wrought iron fence around the complex at about 7.15 am and flung plastic bags filled with red paint on the

walls and steps. This apparently related to posters stating: "Boipatong — Another Bloodbath".

Ms Nomatyala Hangana, secretary of the ANCWL, nailed a large poster of the Freedom Charter to the door of the old Cape Parliament.

Later, ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyer said this was done to "commemorate the anniversary of the first people's Parliament at Kliptown".

Police arrested the women. They were subsequently released on R50 bail and warned to appear in court on Monday.

Those arrested were Ms Hangana and her two predecessors, Ms Madelein Fullard, Ms Louis Naude, Ms Tozama Mlanden, Ms Cordy Ra-

caza, Ms Malitsatsi Mauba, Ms Pat Matolengwe and Ms Nombuleto Kotsi.

At about 2 pm, there was a second demonstration aimed at Parliament, where a group of about 500 singing people carrying banners arrived at the Parliament Street gates to the complex, but were diverted to the Plein Street entrance to Tuynhuys.

There a senior police officer received a set of demands from them.

Their posters included "wanted" posters bearing pictures of State President De Klerk, numerous demands for wage increase, support for striking medical workers, Communist banners and a number of trade union banners and posters.

This demonstration took place without inci-

dent.

Later, the ANC in the Western Cape praised the ANCWL members for their actions.

"The action marks the beginning of a new phase in our mass campaign for democracy," said Dr Alan Boesak, ANC chairman in the Western Cape.

"We will be taking more determined action to bring to an end apartheid and its violence once and for all."

Dr Boesak said the ANC was convinced there could be no peace in South Africa until independent monitoring and joint control of the security forces was in place.

"We therefore demand, once again, that the appropriate structures be put in place with immediate effect," he said.

Guard: Ex-counterinsurgents participated in massacre

By TOM COHEN
Associated Press

PRETORIA, South Africa — A security guard told a government commission Friday that police who once served in a counterinsurgency unit accused of atrocities participated in last week's massacre of at least 39 black South Africans.

The testimony by the guard, Mandla Mngomezulu, supported claims by the African National Congress that police have instigated some of the township warfare that has claimed 8,000 black lives in three years.

But the black police officer Mngomezulu cited as his source later told the same government commission the guard had fabri-

cated the story to help the ANC.

Meanwhile, a high South African police official said Friday police have concluded that 200 to 300 inhabitants of a migrant workers hostel, motivated by revenge, were responsible for the massacre in Boipatong.

Six hostel residents have been arrested, and other arrests are pending, said the police commissioner, Gen. Johan van der Merwe.

Van der Merwe also denied press reports alleging that members of a former Namibian counterinsurgency unit, Koevoet, now used in police anti-criminal activities in South Africa, were involved in the massacre.

The police conclusion confirms the charge of Boipatong residents

that Zulu hostel inmates had carried out the attack during the night of June 17. The police deny the charge that police officers and vehicles helped the attackers.

But Friday, Mngomezulu told the judicial commission that police officers based at the Greenside coal mine were transported to Boipatong and participated.

Mngomezulu, a security guard at the mine and member of the ANC-allied National Union of Mineworkers, said one of the officers, former Koevoet member Jeremiah Shikongo, told him he went to Boipatong the night of the attack. Shikongo denied it.

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The Washington Post contributed to this article.

27/6/92 London

THE TIMES SATUR

Witness links police to massacre

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN
IN JOHANNESBURG

AN APPARENT direct link between the South African police and last week's massacre at Boipatong, in which more than 40 civilians were killed, was yesterday revealed in evidence to the commission enquiring into the current violence.

Ace Mngomezulu told the commission, under Justice Richard Goldstone, that he had spoken to a former member of the Koevoet ("Cru-bar") force who is based, with other former members of the force, at the Greenside colliery in the eastern Transvaal.

The Koevoet unit used to be part of the police counter-insurgency operation in Namibia. The former members living in the hostel are now employed by the South African police force.

Mr Mngomezulu said he had been told by his friend that he and a party of the other former members of the unit based at the colliery had gone to Boipatong on June 17, the night of the slaughter. The owners of the mine have admitted that the former Koevoet members are housed in a hostel leased by the South African police.

Mr Mngomezulu, a security guard at the colliery, said he had befriended the former Koevoet member, who had told him that he did not take part in any shooting but looked after the minibus in which the former Koevoet members had travelled.

His friend said he had been threatened with death because he had not taken part in the shootings, and had asked him to inform officials of the National Union of Mineworkers and of the African National Congress about the killings.

The Goldstone commission was tipped off by the ANC about the presence of the unit of former Koevoet members, and officers of the commission raided the mine hostel on Wednesday. They discovered 44 former members of the



Pastor's grief: Archbishop Desmond Tutu mourning the dead of Boipatong at a service in St George's Anglican cathedral, Cape Town

unit, mostly Namibians or Angolans but all with South African papers, and also found a case of rifles in the quarters of the two white officers commanding them.

Relatives of the victims of the Boipatong massacre have insisted from the start that the police were involved in the killings, and have spoken of mysterious white men being present. Although the evidence to the commission is hearsay, it is the first outside support for their allegations.

Richard Hattings, counsel for the law and order ministry at the commission hearing, conceded that the men were former members of the Koevoet force, and that they were employees of the South Afri-

can police, although not actually policemen. He denied that they had been involved in any kind of violence at Boipatong, and said they were employed to combat such crimes as stock theft and theft of telephone cables.

Another curiosity about the story is that Colonel Henk Heslinga, a senior police officer attached to the Goldstone commission and in charge of the raid on the mine, was himself at one time a member of the Koevoet force and disqualified himself from taking further part in the raid once he discovered who the men were.

General Johan van der Merwe, the commissioner of police, later decried the use of

the commission for what he said was anti-police propaganda. He said that police investigations had produced no evidence of Koevoet involvement in the massacre.

The South African government has announced that Monday, the day of the funerals of the Boipatong victims, will be a holiday for employees of the government, as President de Klerk has urged private businesses also to give their workforces the day off. This is standard procedure in some Third World countries when the opposition calls for a day of action, as the ANC and its allies have, but it is said to be the first time that such a tactic has been used in South Africa.

27/6/1992

NATAL WITNESS

De Klerk's mock trial criticised

by LAKELA KAUNDA
and MARY PAPAYYA

AN ANC mock trial at which President F.W. de Klerk was "sentenced to death" yesterday has been sharply criticised by deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte, who requested an urgent meeting of the executive committee of the National Peace Accord to discuss the matter.

In a letter to National Peace Committee chairman John Hall Schutte said: "A coffin was also prominently paraded in a fashion which cannot be described other than as intimidatory and inflammatory."

ANC members yesterday declared Market Square "Freedom Square" and uniformed members of the armed wing Mkhonto we Sizwe hoisted an ANC flag at the NPA headquarters, after burning a cardboard "coffin" representing De Klerk.

The crowd had just finished a "people's assembly" where a number of "laws" were passed, to commemorate Freedom Day, the anniversary of the adoption of the ANC's Freedom Charter, in 1955.

De Klerk was declared a "dangerous criminal wanted for apartheid crimes" by the crowd and he and the government were "sentenced to death". Longmarket Street came to a standstill as the crowd marched towards Natalia, set the coffin alight and hoisted the flag, watched by the SAP.

The assembly passed a "law" that the city and surroundings should be governed by a non-racial democratic council, and that SAP units such as the Riot Unit and the security branch should be disbanded. The crowd called for the resignation of three security policemen who they said perpetuate violence and back Inkatha.

MK passed a "law" making defence units legal and calling upon MK cadres to transfer skills to people. De Klerk and about 10 Midlands Inkatha leaders were described as "most dangerous criminals, not to be touched, if you see them, call MK".

Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe also read a list of allegations of "complicity in crimes" against Inkatha leader David Ntombela, during which the crowd screamed "he must die".

Govt studying ANC memo

THE South African Government remained committed to seeking a negotiated political settlement for the country, "and is anxious for this to come on track again as rapidly as possible", Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, said yesterday.

He was responding to a 7000-word memorandum by the African National Congress to the government on the crisis facing the negotiation process, following the ANC's withdrawal from bilateral and Codesa negotiation.

Mr Meyer said the government would make a thorough study of the memorandum and, in an attempt to get negotiations on course, would make a comprehensive memorandum available before the end of next week.

"The government does not intend to cling to power, and therefore wishes to bring a transitional constitution into being through peaceful negotiation as soon as possible," Mr Meyer added.

Besides the matters raised in the ANC's mem-

orandum, there were also numerous obstacles that would be addressed from the government's side.

In the memorandum to the government, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the Boipatong massacre could have been prevented if the Police, Iscor management and the Goldstone Commission had acted immediately on representations by the Vaal community about dangers posed by the KwaMadala Hostel.

Mr Mandela repeated his accusation of State and security force complicity in the violence, which has led to the current deadlock in the negotiations process.

He singled out South African Defence Force detachments composed of foreign nationals as being problematic.

The Boipatong massacre last week Wednesday was a tragic culmination of policies and practices followed by the National Party Government, Mr Mandela alleged.

Ministerial Defences of the Police and the government's failure to act against Boipatong's KwaMadala Hostel made government collusion an inescapable conclusion.

"It is your government which legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons under the pretext of their being cultural weapons in 1990."

The majority of deaths and injuries had been caused by cultural weapons, he alleged.

Mr Mandela questioned what he considered the failure of a formidable police to arrest people involved in the massacre.

Castigating President De Klerk for blaming violence on the rivalry between the ANC and the IFP, he said the failure of

the government to acknowledge and recognise the centrality of apartheid with regard to the issue of violence could no longer be ignored.

He accused the government of using millions of taxpayers' rands to foster political rivalry between the IFP and the ANC, charging that the Inkatha-gate scandal was proof of its complicity and bias.

Mr Mandela based some of his accusations of the government's complicity in the violence on submissions by the firm of attorneys, Nicholls, Cambanis, Koopasammy and Pillay, which said that:

- "Since the massacre at the night vigil in Sebokeng in January 1991, where 38 people were killed, there have been ongoing incidents of violence in the Vaal area.

- "These incidents were characterised by the fact that they are random insofar as they are perpetrated against residents of the Vaal townships in an indiscriminate manner.

- "During the course of 1991 and 1992 it became apparent that the perpetrators of these attacks were living in the KwaMadala Hostel situ-

ated in the Iscor compound in the Vaal Triangle."

Mr Mandela reaffirmed the ANC's organisation's commitment to negotiations.

"Commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace and justice."

Mr Mandela charged that the government's refusal to accept a negotiated settlement had compelled the organisation's National executive committee to review the current negotiations process.

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

"The response and practical steps taken by President De Klerk's government to the ANC demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and speed with which bona fide negotiations can take place," Mr Mandela said.

The ANC president appealed to the United Nations Security Council to convene as a matter of urgency and to take measures which would help stop the violence — Sapa.

Police at mine: Num suspends wage talks

THE National Union of Mineworkers yesterday suspended wage negotiations with the Chamber of Mines over Gold Fields' accommodation of former members of the counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet.

The move by the union came amid reports that ex-Koevoet members discovered by the Goldstone Commission at Gold Fields' Greenside Colliery, near Witbank, were allegedly involved in the Boipatong massacre. (A police witness has de-

nied this.)
Num president James Motlatsi told a Press conference that the 22-man negotiating team also walked out of the sixth round of talks over Gold Fields' refusal to grant workers time off on Monday to

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NUM calls off talks

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mourn the 41 people massacred at Boipatong.

"I, as president of this union, felt we should suspend the wage negotiations for this year until June 29," he said.

"There is no use continuing with the negotiations while one member of the Chamber of Mines is engaged in killing our people."

The 300 000-member union would reconsider its position after reporting back to its membership on the development.

Posters pinned around Num's offices yesterday called for the nationalisation of Gold Fields.

Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell said he had assured union negotiators at yesterday's meeting of the mining industry's

unequivocal opposition to violence.

"The mining industry has a categorical and clear policy with regard to acts of violence in South African society and condemns the perpetrators of violence from every quarter," Mr Godsell said in a statement.

With regard to the Greenside Colliery, the Chamber had written to the Goldstone Commission yesterday offering its full support in the commission's inquiry into the activities of the police unit housed on the company's property.

"Until the commission has made a finding on this issue, we believe it would be both improper and unhelpful for the chamber or any other party to arrive at judgments or conclusions about this matter."

NUM secretary-gen-

eral, Marcel Golding, said, however: "Our union is tired of commitments. We want concrete action to be taken."

On Thursday, the union accused Gold Fields of attempting to sabotage negotiations by refusing to join a profit-sharing scheme.

The scheme has been accepted by four other mining houses.

A NUM spokesman said a dispute was looming in the gold industry over Gold Fields and Anglovaal's alleged refusal to be party to the agreement.

Goldfields said that although the manager of its Greenside colliery had made an arrangement to accommodate some police for crime fighting purposes, Gold Fields itself was not aware police were staying at the site.

— Sapa.

Hostel dwellers were involved — police chief

POLICE investigations into the Boipatong massacre indicated certain residents of the KwaMadala Hostel had been in-

involved in the killings, Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe, told a news conference in Pretoria yesterday.

There was no evidence whatsoever which indicated the involvement of former Koevoet members.

"I am convinced that the SA Police will be able to prove that claims of ex-Koevoet involvement in the Boipatong incident are flagrant lies aimed at discrediting the SA Police," Gen Van der Merwe said.

Police had serious objections to the fact that certain people and newspapers had used the Goldstone Commission proceedings for what were anti-SAP propaganda purposes.

He had taken note of some newspaper reports saying evidence put before the commission indicated members of the SAP Crime Investigation Service Support Unit — stationed at Rooiberg and referred to as Koevoet — were involved in the Boi-

Hostel men involved

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patong massacre.

He said the modus operandi of the commission was that preliminary investigations took place with a view to determining the parameters of the investigation, he said.

"During the preliminary phase, only evidence-in-chief is heard and no cross-questioning is allowed. This can result in untested evidence being placed before the commission. Such untested evidence is then presented as fact and in a one-sided fashion by certain newspapers."

Because of unbalanced reporting on the commission proceedings in the past, he had instructed legal representatives of the SAP to request the chairman of the sub-committee investigating the massacre to first hear all the evidence before it was made public.

Although the request was refused, the chairman did request the Press to publish a balanced version of the viewpoints of the various parties involved.

"An additional reason for my request was that the SAP's preliminary investigation into the Boi-

patong incident was making good progress (and) had produced evidence of how the massacre unfolded and that certain residents of KwaMadala Hostel were involved.

"I wish to emphasise that the police investigation has produced no evidence whatsoever which might indicate the involvement of former Koevoet members in the Boipatong incident."

About 200 experienced detectives and two members of the Attorney-General's office were sifting through the evidence.

Initial indications were that between 200 and 300 residents of the KwaMadala Hostel were involved, although there were no indications that a political party or organisation had planned the massacre.

Six people had already been arrested and indications were that a number of others would also be arrested. Weapons seized at the hostel also appeared to have been used in the killings.

"I wish to point out that a number of Black policemen have been murdered — and their homes burned down — and that the manner in which untested allegations are presented in certain Press reports

can only be described as a hate campaign against the SA Police," Gen Van der Merwe said.

General Van der Merwe added that a number of Black policemen had been murdered and their homes burned down. The manner in which untested allegations were presented in certain Press reports could "only be described as hate campaign against the SA Police".

Concerning allegations of former Koevoet members, he wished to point out, as had been reported on a number of occasions, that they were at present deployed for normal crime combating duties. The unit had already made major contribution to the prevention and solving of crimes.

The base where the unit was housed was not a secret base, and the people were used for crime prevention in cases such as stock theft and the theft of copper wiring belonging to the Post Office.

On the day of the massacre, some members of the unit were at their base while others were deployed at a place where copper wire had been stolen.

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THE CITIZEN

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DIDN'T ATTACK BOIPATONG

Policeman denies guard's claim

A POLICEMAN yesterday denied a claim that he had admitted his unit took part in the worst township massacre of South Africa's apartheid reform era.

Jeremiah Sekongu, a member of a South African Police squad composed mainly of Namibians, told a judicial inquiry that the allegation by a mine security guard that

he had admitted that his unit took part in a June 17 massacre at Boipatong of 45 people was false.

Sekongu, a Namibian, told the Goldstone commission of inquiry into violence, that he knew nothing about the story.

"I am not a politician. I am a soldier ... I just do police work."

The commission, investigating township unrest, was conducting the sec-

ond day of an extraordinary session into African National Congress charges that the unit was involved in general township violence around Johannesburg.

The security guard, ANC member Mandla Mgomzulu, told the inquiry earlier yesterday that Sekongu had told him the squad had taken

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'We didn't attack'

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part in the killings in Boipatong.

The 40-man unit is based at the Greenside mine, near Ogies, east of Johannesburg, where Mgomzulu works.

Mgomzulu said the mine's security chief had also told him that the unit had participated in the massacre.

On Wednesday members of the Goldstone commission, police and the ANC, acting on a tip off, discovered nine South African-made R-1 automatic rifles and ammunition in a part of the mine quarters occupied by White members of the unit.

Sekongu and Mgom-

zulu were brought together privately in the presence of lawyers during a break in the public proceedings.

Later, Sekongu, speaking in Afrikaans, told the reopened public session of the inquiry: "I told him not to let politics confuse his head. I told him politics was making him sick."

Mgomzulu had told him during the private meeting that he (Sekongu) should confess everything about Boipatong. If he did, Mgomzulu would make sure that the ANC would look after him and that he should join the ANC.

"That (last remark) made me very cross," said Sekongu.

Mgomzulu said Sekongu had told him a White officer in the unit of former Koevoet counter-insurgency force members had driven the men to Boipatong, where they carried out the killings.

Sekongu, a member of Namibia's Ovambo tribe, said he was employed by the South African Police as a bush tracker.

Mr Gys Rautenbach, a lawyer for the ANC, had told the inquiry on Thursday: "We do not allege at the outset that these people were responsible for the Boipatong massacre, but evidence needs to be led and people questioned to get to the bottom of this." — Sapa-
Reuter.

THE CITIZEN 27-06-92

Natal rally told: 'We'll oust govt illegally'

DURBAN. — About 1 500 representatives from the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and their allies staged a "people's assembly" for democracy in Durban yesterday at which the government was "given notice" to vacate power and make way for an interim government.

The gathering marked the mapping out of a mass action campaign in southern Natal, aimed at overthrowing the government. It was also held to commemorate "Freedom Day" — the adoption of the Freedom Charter 37 years ago.

"If we can't change this government legally, we'll overthrow it illegally," the African National Congress' regional secretary S'Bo Ndebele told the roaring crowd.

The assembly's resolutions noted the country faced its worst crisis in 44 years of apartheid rule and accused the government of murder, corruption and repression.

Among demands made were a call for an international inquiry into, and the monitoring of, violence in the country.

The meeting also called for an end to the "cam-

paign of terror" by the government and its security forces. Ironically the gathering was held at the Durban Light Infantry Hall, an SA Defence Force-run venue which is hired out for private functions.

Several soldiers stood watch over proceedings outside while scores of policemen hovered around the building earlier yesterday afternoon.

In an emotion-charged opening address the ANC's regional chairman, Jeff Radebe condemned the government's alleged "double agenda

of talking peace while waging war.

The security forces, particularly the KwaZulu police were strongly condemned.

There were cries of disapproval when Mr Ndebele, in his address later, told the gathering that he had learned that the SA Police were to withdraw from townships policed by the KZP.

Mr Radebe earlier told the crowd that the mass action campaign to oust the government involved mobilising workers, students, teachers, intellectuals and others. — Sapa.

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Mr Radebe earlier told the crowd that the mass action campaign to oust the government involved mobilising workers, students, teachers, intellectuals and others. — Sapa.

STAR 27-6-92

Rambo turns into PC Plod — and Codesa gets arrested

IN THE 1980s, if it was so much as suspected that a "terrorist" base had been identified, the full might of the South African military would be unleashed against it. Often, such targets were suburban houses in far-flung foreign cities. They were bombed and blitzed with complete ruthlessness and relative precision.

Acting upon necessarily untested information, commandos stormed buildings from Gaborone to Mbabane, Maputo to Harare. These were extreme but not unusual cases. The circumstantial evidence against the occupants was considered to be so grave — they were believed to be somehow connected with the killing of South African civilians — that they were fair game. They were killed even before questioning, if necessary.

Within the country it was not necessary to use aircraft, but the tactics were no less effective: dawn raids, detentions and brilliant detective work saw to it that the attrition rate for ANC guerillas was remarkably high.

But now, in the 1990s, something has changed in the modus operandi of these security forces that were once held in awe and fear around the world.

There is overwhelming circumstantial evidence that certain clearly identifiable hostels in townships here at home are being used as bases for terrorism — terrorism, that is, in its proper sense of violence and coercion against civilians. In terms of body counts, this terrorism is of a scale never before experienced in this country.

Again and again, inmates are linked directly by eyewitnesses to massacres of mind-numbing proportions. The Independent Board of Inquiry estimates that between July 1990 (when the township carnage began in earnest in the Trans-

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

**SHAUN
Johnson**



IN THE 1990s, something has changed in the modus operandi of the South African security forces that were once held in awe and fear around the world.

vaal) and April this year, a minimum of 261 attacks on township dwellers was launched from some 15 hostels. At least 10 of these attacks, claiming 50 lives, came from Boipatong's KwaMadala hostel. This was before the latest and ghastliest bloodbath.

Again and again, huge arms caches are found inside. Media reports alone show that in the same 22-month period, the following weapons were confiscated from hostels: 58 AK-47s, nine revolvers, 18 pistols, 361 rounds of ammunition, and "truckloads" of knives, spears and the like.

But in the case of the hostels, the response of the security forces is strictly-by-the-book, gentlemanly, even diffident. Police spokesmen explain that their men are holding "discussions" with the occupants of the latest hostel named as

a fortress and billet for bloodshed.

There is "some resistance" from the inmates, they say by way of explanation for their extraordinarily sensitive behaviour. They go out of their way to return weapons which they say they have ascertained were not used to commit crimes. It is as if Rambo has suddenly turned into PC Plod.

Savage murderers must be quite pleasantly surprised to discover that they can, en masse, hack, gouge and shoot dozens of civilians to death and expect to get away with it.

If they enjoyed the experience, they will probably be keen to repeat it and — given that the chances of punishment seem demonstrably to be so low — will encourage others to join in the fun. Out there, there must by now be hundreds of veterans of such brave campaigns — enough to form a society and swap reminiscences of massacre techniques.

Now there is tremendous surprise and anguish in the land at the fact that negotiations at Codesa have temporarily broken down. The reaction is hopelessly naive. What is being sought at Codesa is a peaceful negotiated settlement — an alternative to bloodshed. Instead, since negotiations started, there is less peace than ever before, and more bloodshed.

The Government insists on retaining exclusive control of the security forces, and therefore retains the responsibility for maintaining the security of all South African citizens. It is failing utterly to do so. It has not even kept its month-old, solemn promise to seal off the hostels.

Now, you try telling the bereaved of Boipatong why Codesa is such a jolly fine idea. They'll want to see some murderers convicted first.

Defiant ANC women occupy Parliament

CAPE TOWN — Nine members of the ANC Women's League occupied Parliament early yesterday morning in an act of defiance against an institution that "symbolises the corrupt and discredited apartheid system".

The women climbed over the railings surrounding Parliament at 7.30 am and the secretary of the League, Noma Tyala Hangana, nailed a copy of the Freedom Charter to the door of Parliament in commemoration of the 37th anniversary of the first people's parliament at Kliptown.

The women then daubed the pillars and steps of the building with red enamel paint symbolising the blood shed in Boipatong and other violence areas. Six of the women roped themselves together while three others chained themselves

to pillars.

They started singing "We are crying for our country", and displayed banners proclaiming: "Boipatong — Another Buthelezi Bloodbath", "The Freedom Charter lives" and "Stop the Inkatha Bloodshed".

Encouraged by a crowd of close on 200 in Government Avenue, the women continued singing and shouting "Amandla" and "Viva" before policeman arrived with dogs at about 7.45 am.

The women chanted: "We salute the people of Boipatong" and "You kill, we march".

Police quickly removed the women who were tied together and bodily carried them away to waiting police vans, but it was some 15 minutes before the bolt cutters pitched. The chains of the

remaining three members of the ANCWL were quickly cut through and the women bodily removed.

An ANCWL statement said the League engaged in the protest in outrage and anger at the government's rejection of the perfectly reasonable calls for international monitoring of the violence and joint control of the security forces — calls which have won broad support and have been endorsed and echoed by a wide range of organisations.

The ANC in the Western Cape later saluted the actions of the Women's League members and endorsed its statement.

The ANC said if the government had nothing to hide it would welcome such calls for international monitoring and control of security forces. — Sapa.

Concessions 'won't stop mass action'

by CARMEL RICKARD
Durban Bureau

MASS action will continue even if the government makes concessions to the demands of the ANC and its allies, southern Natal regional secretary of Cosatu Thami Mhlomi said yesterday.

Speaking to more than 1 000 people at the Durban Light Infantry Hall who were participating in a "people's assembly", Mhlomi said that "promises" from the government will not be accepted.

"First we want full implementation" and until that stage is reached mass action will continue. Mhlomi was outlining proposals for the various stages of the mass action on which the ANC, SACP Cosatu and their allies had embarked.

Speaking of the second phase, a planned general strike, Mhlomi was acclaimed when he said workers should occupy the factories rather than stay at home.

"Everything must stand still," he said. "And afterwards we will know who is boss in this country,

(President F.W.) De Klerk or the people."

Mhlomi and other speakers sat under posters of De Klerk and various government and security force officials, proclaiming they were wanted criminals.

A resolution distributed at the meeting declared that the "people's assembly finds you and your government guilty of serious crimes against the SA people, namely: murder, corruption, assassination, forced removals, detentions, and governmental mismanagement."

Mandela: ANC still willing to negotiate

JOHANNESBURG — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday reaffirmed his organisation's commitment to negotiations.

In a 7 000-word memorandum presented to President F.W. de Klerk, Mandela said: "The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which will bring about democracy, peace and justice."

Mandela charged that the government's refusal to accept a negotiated settlement had compelled the organisation's national executive committee to review the current negotiations process.

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

"The response and practical steps taken by President de Klerk's government to the ANC demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and speed with which bona fide negotiations can take place," Mandela said.

The memorandum is a response to De Klerk's invitation to the ANC for a two-day summit, which was intended to bring the negotiations back on track.

It is apparently aimed at keeping the lines of communications open between the ANC and the government, while Mandela is out of the country to attend next week's Organisation of African Unity (OAU) heads of state meeting in Dakar, Senegal.

The crisis in the negotiations process, in the ANC's view, arises from: "The fact that the National Party government has been pursuing the path of embracing the shell of a democratic South Africa while seeking to ensure that it is not democratic in content."

In the memorandum Mandela also charged that the Boipatong massacre could have been prevented if the police, Iscor management and the Goldstone Commission had acted immediately on representations by the Vaal community about dangers posed by the kwaMadala Hostel. Mandela repeated his accusation of state and security force complicity in the violence.

In response Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the government remains committed to seeking a negotiated resolution to the South African conflict and is anxious that this come on track again as rapidly as possible.

Meyer said the government will make a thorough study of the memorandum and will make its comprehensive memorandum available before the end of next week.

Meanwhile, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Meyer will meet UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Nigeria at the weekend.

Sources said the meeting is scheduled for today in the Nigerian capital Abuja.

The ANC has firmly denied Mandela will meet Botha in Nigeria, despite a statement by Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, current OAU chairman, that he is confident Mandela and Botha will meet.

It was also reported that Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku will hold talks on South Africa with Boutros-Ghali and Mandela. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE STAR 27-06-92

De Klerk's mock trial criticised

by LAKELA KAUNDA
and MARY PAPAYYA

AN ANC mock trial at which President F.W. de Klerk was "sentenced to death" yesterday has been sharply criticised by deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte, who requested an urgent meeting of the executive committee of the National Peace Accord to discuss the matter.

In a letter to National Peace Committee chairman John Hall Schutte said: "A coffin was also prominently paraded in a fashion which cannot be described other than as intimidatory and inflammatory."

ANC members yesterday declared Market Square "Freedom Square" and uniformed members of the armed wing Mkhonto we Sizwe hoisted an ANC flag at the NPA headquarters, after burning a cardboard "coffin" representing De Klerk.

The crowd had just finished a "people's assembly" where a number of "laws" were passed, to commemorate Freedom Day, the anniversary of the adoption of the ANC's Freedom Charter, in 1955.

De Klerk was declared a "dangerous criminal wanted for apartheid crimes" by the crowd and he and the government were "sentenced to death". Longmarket Street came to a standstill as the crowd marched towards Natalia, set the coffin alight and hoisted the flag, watched by the SAP.

The assembly passed a "law" that the city and surroundings should be governed by a non-racial democratic council, and that SAP units such as the Riot Unit and the security branch should be disbanded. The crowd called for the resignation of three security policemen who they said perpetuate violence and back Inkatha.

MK passed a "law" making defence units legal and calling upon MK cadres to transfer skills to people. De Klerk and about 10 Midlands Inkatha leaders were described as "most dangerous criminals, not to be touched, if you see them, call MK".

Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe also read a list of allegations of "complicity in crimes" against Inkatha leader David Ntombela during which the crowd screamed "he must die".

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Hostel

● FROM PAGE 1.

lar police unit had been housed at the colliery last October.

The allegations — which Van der Merwe said would prove to be "flagrant lies aimed at discrediting the SAP" — were made after a snap raid this week on the colliery, where the Koevoet men were based.

The raid was carried out on Wednesday by a special police task force, members of the commission and representatives of the ANC following a tip-off that the Koevoet group might have been involved in the Boipatong bloodshed. Trunks containing R-1 rifles and a number of pistols were found in the barracks at the colliery.

Some 40 members of the former unit, which police say is now used to prevent the theft of stock and copper wire, have been housed in the barracks since the beginning of June.

Mngomezulu, a security guard at Greenside and a member of both the ANC and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), said Shikongo had confided in him because "he had been asked by his employer" why he had failed to fire at Boipatong. Mngomezulu said Shikongo now feared for his life and had asked him to seek help from the NUM and ANC on his behalf.

Mngomezulu said the Koevoet men — who were led by two white officers — always went out at night and returned in the early morning. He said they took weapons from the barracks wrapped in blankets.

Shikongo, who was picked out by Mngomezulu at an identity parade in the commission's offices, denied confiding in Mngomezulu — insisting that he hardly knew him — and said he had never been to Boipatong. He said he

had come to South Africa in 1990 from Namibia, where he was part of Koevoet, "because people who were part of Koevoet would not get work in Namibia".

Shikongo testified in Afrikaans after a request by counsel for the police to delay his appearance until an Owambo-speaking interpreter could be obtained was turned down by the commission. A police request at the start of the hearing on Thursday to have the evidence heard in camera was also turned down.

Shikongo said his work with the police involved "following the tracks in stock theft". He said they were also used to prevent the stealing of copper wire from Post Office installations. He denied that any of the Koevoet men carried weapons.

At the start of the hearing, counsel for Gold Fields read a statement from the company's board of directors which said that "until the evening of June 24 1992" they were "unaware that a contingent of the SAP was housed on the premises" at Greenside. A later statement read to the commission said an arrangement had been made between the manager of Greenside and the SAP to house members of the police for a short time "while such members were busy with crime prevention activities in the area".

Du Preez, who heads security at Gold Fields, told the commission a group of men wearing similar uniforms to the Koevoet contingent had been housed at Greenside October. He said this group was also involved in "crime prevention".

Du Preez testified that he had seen no weapons in the barracks, which he visited to inspect for cleanliness.

The commission will hear further evidence on the Koevoet allegations on Monday.

THE STAR

27-06-92

Gqozo subpoenaed over opponent's death

by CARMEL RICKARD
Durban Bureau

CISKEI head of state Oupa Gqozo has been ordered to appear in the supreme court and give evidence about claims he told his troops to gun down a naked and unarmed Charles Sebe.

This development could transform the Sebe inquest into a constitutional crisis for Ciskei and for Gqozo, one of the National Party's allies at Codesa. Sebe wielded enormous power in Ciskei before Gqozo's 1990 coup. He was shot in January 1991 by Ciskei soldiers after he escaped from a road block

allegedly set up to kill him and former Gqozo ally, Mangwane Guzana.

A Supreme Court inquest into the deaths of Guzana and Sebe has heard evidence that Gqozo ordered Sebe gunned down after troops cornered him and told him to strip. Transcripts of media interviews with Gqozo soon after the shootings appear to confirm that he told the soldiers to kill Sebe, rather than to arrest him. Gqozo denies this is true.

A subpoena, issued last week, was handed by Ciskei Supreme Court officials to Gqozo's lawyers. It orders the head of state to appear when the inquest into Sebe's killing resumes in Bisho during August. However Gqozo is out of the country, and Ciskei

deputy attorney general Leon Langeveld said he does not know whether Gqozo is aware that he has been subpoenaed.

It is also not clear whether he will agree to testify. A decision by the head of state not to obey the supreme court could spark a constitutional crisis. However, if he agrees to go into the witness box he will be submitting himself to probing cross-examination about allegations he authorised the extra-judicial killings of his two opponents.

If he agrees to testify, Gqozo risks the possibility of the supreme court ruling that he lied and he had indeed ordered the killing of the two men. This in turn could lead to murder charges against the Ciskei head.

THE STAR 27-06-92

Koevoet not involved - SAP chief

Massacre: police implicate hostel

JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter

POLICE yesterday said they had evidence that the Boipatong massacre had been carried out by residents of KwaMadala hostel, from which weapons showing traces of blood had been found, but rejected allegations that a unit of former Koevoet members had been involved in the atrocity.

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said "a fairly clear picture" of what happened at Boipatong had emerged.

He said the interrogation of some 600 hostel residents had indicated that between 200 and 300 men were involved in last Wednesday's attack.

Van der Merwe said a search of the hostel had

uncovered 276 spears, 44 bars and other dangerous weapons. Forensic tests had revealed traces of blood on some of them, more tests were to be carried out and further arrests would be made.

A few blocks away from police headquarters in Pretoria where Van der Merwe was addressing the press, the Goldstone Commission was sitting to hear preliminary evidence of the alleged involvement in the massacre by former members of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit. A number of witnesses were questioned.

THE STAR 27-06-92

Was necklacing the key?

KEN VERNON, Deputy Editor, and JOE LOUW

THE necklacing of the girlfriend of a Kwa-Madala hostel inmate may have triggered last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

This emerged when a Saturday Star team managed to enter the dreaded hostel opposite Boipatong this week — the first team of journalists to do so since the killing of more than 40 people last week, allegedly by hostel residents.

While inmates spoken to denied they were re-

sponsible for the attack, they were clearly shocked and enraged by the necklacing of the woman.

Police have confirmed that the body of a woman who had been necklaced was recovered in Nkgomo Street, Boipatong three days before the hostel dwellers

allegedly surged into the township on a killing and looting spree.

During an earlier visit to Boipatong, the Saturday Star learnt from township residents of at least one other attack in which a suspected Inkatha supporter in the township had been killed

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● Full reports, pictures on Page 6.
● Editorial on Page 12.

Overseas judge for Goldstone

THE former Chief Justice of India, Mr Justice Bhagwati, has been appointed to join the Goldstone Commission's investigation into the recent killings at Boipatong. This follows a call by President de Klerk to have a jurist of "international repute" involved in the proceedings.

Judge Goldstone said it was an honour for the commission to accept the appointment. He also announced the acceptance of Dr PAJ Waddington, director of criminal justice studies of Reading University, to help evaluate the police investigations of the tragedy.

Judge Goldstone noted that this had been done at the suggestion of the SAP. Both Judge Bhagwati and Waddington will be arriving in the country early in July.

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Saturday

June 27 1992

SaturdayStar

We must find our own solutions

APOINTING "a suitably qualified person of international repute" to the Goldstone Commission will certainly add to its prestige and influence overseas. But what Mr Justice Goldstone needs more than just added prestige is meaningful muscle where it counts.

For example, the commission fine-combs all available facts about the clashes between Phola Park residents and 32 Battalion, and recommends that those troops be withdrawn from all peacekeeping duties in South Africa. However, Lieutenant-General George Meiring responds by saying, in effect, that he will do with 32 Battalion what he chooses. This week the unit was still on duty in Phola Park.

The Government's attitude is puzzling. Many commissions in the past have inadvertently become laundromats for some of its dirtier washing, yet when it really counts they have not been given proper detergents.

The Goldstone Commission has successfully avoided this trap. The State President, to his credit, has recognised its value and sought to strengthen the commission by suggesting that an international monitor be invited to join it.

But such international monitors must not be used as substitutes for developing and deepening due process of law and inquiry. Their voices can certainly help the search for justice in South Africa, but they must not be allowed to become a last resort. In the final analysis it must be up to South Africans themselves. Everybody's priority should be to push for an independent South African commission with sufficient powers of subpoena and search to ensure that nothing is left unexamined, and power too to ensure that its findings are acted on and not reinterpreted to suit narrow political objectives.

The dead of Boipatong need to be respected, not avenged. That means using the impetus of public outrage to add planks to a new system of justice, and not relying solely on the deliberations of international delegations, however dignified and credible. The solution has to be found by the people who will live and die by them.

We enter

Saturday Star June 27 1992

THE first look by journalists inside Boipatong's KwaMadala hostel since last week's massacre at the Vaal township did not reveal an armed fortress. KEN VERNON and JOE LOUW report.

THE necklacing of the girlfriend of a KwaMadala hostel inmate may have triggered last Wednesday's brutal massacre in Boipatong.

This emerged when a Saturday Star team managed to enter the dreaded hostel opposite Boipatong this week — the first team of journalists to do so since the killing of more than 40 people last week, allegedly by hostel residents.

During the visit it emerged that hostel dwellers — mostly, but not exclusively Zulu-speakers — regarded themselves as virtually under siege in what they perceive as a hostile environment.

While the inmates we spoke to denied that they were responsible for the massacre at Boipatong, they were clearly shocked and enraged by the necklacing.

Police have confirmed that the body of a woman who had been necklaced was recovered in Nkgomo Street, Boipatong, early on Sunday morning — three days before the hostel dwellers allegedly surged into the township on a killing and looting spree.

During an earlier visit to Boipatong the Saturday Star learnt from township residents of at least one other incident in which a suspected Inkatha supporter in the township had been killed because of the victim's political affiliation.

A hostel spokesman, who gave his name as Petros Mdiniso, said he had heard of the necklacing of the unnamed woman from inmates who escaped from the necklacing party, and said the woman had been killed merely because she was going out with a hostel inmate.

He said that the following day five other people connected with the hostel had fled from Boipatong to the hostel for their safety.

If the killing of the woman was the trigger for the Boipatong massacre, the gunpowder waiting to be ignited seems to have been the atmosphere of mutual animosity that has built up between hostel and township residents, and which has both political and tribal roots.

Hostel dwellers refer to township dwellers as either "the ANC's" or "the Xhosas"; those in the township refer to hostel dwellers as "the Zulus" or "the Inkathas".

"We feel like we are

surrounded by enemies," said Zulu hostel supervisor Moses Mthembu. "Our children can no longer go to school in the township. We cannot shop there. The houses of IFP supporters are burnt. Our girlfriends are necklaced. What are we to do?" "We are homeland Zulus. We come here to

work, not for fun. We refuse to join in boycotts and strikes. Because the ANC can't do what they want while we are here, we are attacked. If we are attacked, we will fight. What else can we do? We can't run."

As he spoke, many of the small knots of men standing around in the af-

ternoon sun came to listen. Mdiniso confirmed that most of the inmates were members of Inkatha, and his word seemed to be law with the men.

Elsewhere in the sprawling hostel complex, women were queuing for food parcels — seemingly the same par-

cels seen being handed out earlier in Boipatong, marked "Courtesy of Premier Food".

Children in industrial hard-hats played with homemade carts and kicked at piles of fallen leaves.

The hostel hardly resembled the armed for-

truss filled with aggressive warriors that township residents feel it is, but during our visit it was impossible to investigate the entire complex.

Permission to enter the hostel had been given by owners Iskor, despite one surly white Iskor security manager initially denying access.

dreaded KwaMadala

Necklacing the key to killings?

KEN VERNON, Deputy Editor, and JOE LOUW

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Necklace

FROM PAGE 1.

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people connected with the hostel had fled from Boipatong to the hostel for safety.

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"We are homeland Zulus. We come here to work, not for fun. We refuse to join in boycotts and strikes. But the ANC can't do what they want while we are here. So we are attacked. If we are attacked, we will fight. What else can we do? We can't run."

● More reports
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Government collusion 'proved'

in. Star
27/6/92

ANC's memorandum is delivered to De Klerk

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has outlined, in a memorandum to President de Klerk, several incidents which "proved" Government collusion in the ongoing violence.

The memorandum was delivered to De Klerk's office in Pretoria yesterday after attempts to arrange a meeting between the two leaders collapsed.

The ANC, in breaking off negotiations on Tuesday, said it would hand its demands to the Government but would not enter into any discussions. South Africa was on the brink of disaster because of the crisis in the negotiation process and "the continuing direct and indirect involvement of the NP Government, the security forces and the police in the violence".

Tragic culmination

Mandela said the Boipatong massacre was a tragic culmination of the Government's practices and policies. "Ministerial defences of the SAP and your Government's failure to act against the KwaMadala hostel make Government collusion an inescapable conclusion," he said.

The Government, he said, had legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the majority of deaths had been caused by cultural weapons.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police, or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and ridiculously low bail?"

Mandela noted the acquittal of seven accused in the Sebokeng trial and the evidence of the investigating officer in the Trust Feed massacre trial showing extensive cover-up. "The evidence shows that either the NP Government even at its top levels sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," he said.

Mandela accused the Government

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

of placing party political interests above national interest, by trying to minimise the seriousness of the crisis which stemmed primarily from the Government "pursuing the path of embracing the shell of a democratic South Africa while seeking to ensure that it is not democratic in content".

He noted that in a letter, written from prison in 1989, he said the two issues which had to be reconciled were the demand for majority rule as well as the insistence by whites for checks and balances which would mean that majority rule was not domination by blacks.

The crux of the deadlock in negotiations was the failure of the Government to face up to the need for the conciliation of these two issues. Mandela said the Government had chosen to reject internationally accepted democratic principles which defined a democracy — by equating majority rule with black domination.

The negotiations would remain deadlocked for as long as the Government insisted on a minority veto.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night that the Government remained committed to seeking a negotiated political settlement for the country, and was anxious for this to come on track again as rapidly as possible.

He said the Government would make a thorough study of the memorandum and, in an attempt to get negotiations on course, would make a comprehensive memorandum available before the end of next week. "The Government does not intend to cling to power, and therefore wishes to bring a transitional constitution into being through peaceful negotiation as soon as possible," he added.

There were also numerous obstacles that would be addressed from the Government's side.

NATAL WITNESS JUNE 27 - 92

Political poker

South Africa's internal affairs have again been internationalised. The OAU has called for a meeting of the Security Council, the Australian foreign minister has hinted that sanctions could be reimposed, Archbishop Tutu has made an impassioned plea for the postponement of the All Black rugby tour, and both Nelson Mandela and Pik Botha have sought interviews with the UN secretary-general.

Mandela's meeting with Boutros Boutros-Ghali will take place next week and the subject will be the breakdown of negotiations. This, of course, is the key issue. No one with any sense of responsibility wants a resumption of the armed struggle or of the cold war between the South African government and the international community. The only way out of the impasse is to resume negotiations. The government's strong card is that it is prepared to do so. At his own meeting with the UN secretary-general, Pik Botha — we surmise — will adopt an attitude of injured innocence. The government has done nothing wrong. It had no involvement in the Boipatong massacre and its representatives at Codesa II were simply exercising their right to disagree on a matter of principle. He may also accuse the ANC of making political capital out of the Boipatong tragedy, in order to vindicate its own intransigence. There is enough evidence in the country to justify the claim that ANC cadres are adopting spoiling tactics, finding fault with existing structures and procedures at all levels of administration, on the grounds that they are apartheid leftovers.

This is Mandela's strong suit. He occupies the moral high ground. He represents, or is seen to represent, the voteless majority at odds with a discredited government that has not shown itself to be capable of protecting its citizens against an intolerable incidence of crime and violence. The government, in short, has the weaker hand and will have to make concessions if negotiations are to be resumed. In the meantime, the killing goes on and the economy deteriorates. How long must we wait before the protagonists on both sides place the needs of the country above political advantage?

Half-day stayaway

THE NATAL *WITNES*

27-06-82

by LESLEY VAN DUFFELEN
Business Editor

A HALF-DAY stayaway in Pietermaritzburg has been called for Monday starting at 2 pm.

At an emotion-filled rally held in the city centre yesterday workers were told to defy their employers and down tools if they refuse to allow them to go to the memorial service for the victims of the Boipatong massacre at the Market Square.

The ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu earlier announced that a stayaway has only been called for the Vaal Triangle — the site of the massacre. They called on businesses to respect the day of mourning, and discuss any planned actions with workers.

The city Chamber of Commerce and Industry has expressed heartfelt condolences to the next of kin of those killed and said they are appalled by the massacre. But business in the city says it will not accept any further stayaways.

The chamber said yesterday they met Cosatu representatives during the week to discuss the "day of mourning" planned for Monday. The chamber has recommended to its members that they negotiate individually with trade unions to organise memorial services at workplaces. Alternatively, businesses could allow a limited number of employees to represent the company at the city proceedings.

The Natal Chamber of Industries says it supports a full day of mourning for the victims of Boipatong as a gesture of respect, but says it should be held tomorrow.

In a statement released yesterday the president of the NCI, M.C. Pretorius, and Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce (DMCC) president Mike Norris say they "cannot support the call for a further day of work stoppages and recommend that South Africans join together on Sunday, June 28 to demonstrate their support for the termination of violence".

Nedbank, Perm, Nedfin, Syfrets, UAL, Finansbank, Cape of Good Hope Bank and all other subsidiaries of the Nedcor Group will open 15 minutes later than normal on Monday, in remembrance of all those who have died in the violence throughout South Africa and as an indication of the group's commitment to the Peace Accord.

The NCI and DMCC also say that there is very serious concern at the withdrawal of the ANC from the negotiation process. They urge all parties to return to Codesa. Yesterday Pretorius made a personal appeal for the introduction of an interim government as a matter of great urgency.

Koevoet not involved - SAP chief

Massacre: police implicate hostel

JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter

POLICE yesterday said they had evidence that the Boipatong massacre had been carried out by residents of Kwamadala hostel, from which weapons showing traces of blood had been found, but rejected allegations that a unit of former Koevoet members had been involved in the atrocity.

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said "a fairly clear picture" of what happened at Boipatong had emerged.

He said the interrogation of some 600 hostel residents had indicated that between 200 and 300 men were involved in last Wednesday's attack.

Van der Merwe said a search of the hostel had uncovered 276 spears, 44 bars and other dangerous weapons. Forensic tests had revealed traces of blood on some of them, more tests were to be carried out and further arrests would be made.

Goldstone names monitors

THE former Chief Justice of South Africa, Mr Justice Gubbay, has been appointed to join the Goldstone Commission's investigation into the recent killings at Boipatong. This follows a call by President de Klerk to have a panel of "international reputation" involved in the proceedings.

Judge Gubbay said it was an honour for the commission to accept the appointment. He also announced the acceptance of Dr P.A. Waddington, director of criminal justice studies of Rhodes University, to help evaluate the police investigations of the tragedy.

Judge Gubbay noted that this had been done at the suggestion of the SAP. Both Judge Gubbay and Waddington will be arriving in the country early in July.

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number of witnesses were questioned.

Guard

The commission heard the testimony of Mandla Mngomezulu, a security guard at the Greenside police station in Witbank, who said one of the Koevoet members, Jeremiah Shikongo, had told him of the attack at Boipatong. Shikongo himself then denied this.

M. du Preez, the chief of security at Greenside — which is owned by John Tloa — also gave evidence and told the commission that a simi-

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Police at mine: Num suspends wage talks

THE National Union of Mineworkers yesterday suspended wage negotiations with the Chamber of Mines over Gold Fields' accommodation of former members of the counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet.

The move by the union came amid reports that ex-Koevoet members discovered by the Goldstone Commission at Gold Fields' Greenside Colliery, near Witbank, were allegedly involved in the Boipatong massacre. (A police witness has de-

nied this.)

Num president James Motlatsi told a Press conference that the 22-man negotiating team also walked out of the sixth round of talks over Gold Fields' refusal to grant workers time off on Monday to

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NUM calls off talks

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mourn the 41 people massacred at Boipatong.

"I, as president of this union, felt we should suspend the wage negotiations for this year until June 29," he said.

"There is no use continuing with the negotiations while one member of the Chamber of Mines is engaged in killing our people."

The 300 000-member union would reconsider its position after reporting back to its membership on the development.

Posters pinned around Num's offices yesterday called for the nationalisation of Gold Fields.

Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell said he had assured union negotiators at yesterday's meeting of the mining industry's

unequivocal opposition to violence.

"The mining industry has a categorical and clear policy with regard to acts of violence in South African society and condemns the perpetrators of violence from every quarter," Mr Godsell said in a statement.

With regard to the Greenside Colliery, the Chamber had written to the Goldstone Commission yesterday offering its full support in the commission's inquiry into the activities of the police unit housed on the company's property.

"Until the commission has made a finding on this issue, we believe it would be both improper and unhelpful for the chamber or any other party to arrive at judgments or conclusions about this matter."

NUM secretary-gen-

eral, Marcel Golding, said, however: "Our union is tired of commitments. We want concrete action to be taken."

On Thursday, the union accused Gold Fields of attempting to sabotage negotiations by refusing to join a profit-sharing scheme.

The scheme has been accepted by four other mining houses.

A NUM spokesman said a dispute was looming in the gold industry over Gold Fields and Anglovaal's alleged refusal to be party to the agreement.

Goldfields said that although the manager of its Greenside colliery had made an arrangement to accommodate some police for crime fighting purposes, Gold Fields itself was not aware police were staying at the site.

— Sapa.

Cop denies massacre claim

Koevoet allegations 'flagrant lies'

PRETORIA — A policeman yesterday denied a report that he had admitted his unit took part in one of South Africa's worst township massacres.

Jeremiah Sekongu, a member of an SA police squad composed mainly of Namibians — Koevoet — told a judicial inquiry the allegation by a mine security guard that he had admitted his unit took part in the Boipatong massacre of 42 people on June 17 is false.

Sekongu, a Namibian, told the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence he knew nothing about the story.

The commission was conducting the second day of an extraordinary session into African National Congress (ANC) charges that the unit was involved in general township violence around Johannesburg.

The ANC said it also wanted to probe the security guard's report that Sekongu told him the unit was involved in the Boipatong murders. The security guard, ANC member Mandla Mgoomezulu, told the inquiry earlier yesterday Sekongu had told him the squad had taken part in the killings.

The 40-man unit was based at the Green-side mine near Ogies east of Johannesburg where Mgoomezulu works. Mgoomezulu said the mine's security chief had also told him the unit had participated in the massacre.

On Wednesday members of the Goldstone commission, police and the ANC, acting on a tip-off, discovered nine R-1 automatic rifles and ammunition in a part of the mine quarters occupied by white members of the unit.

Sekongu and Mgoomezulu were brought together privately in the presence of lawyers during a break in the public proceedings.

Later, Sekongu, speaking in Afrikaans, said Mgoomezulu had told him during the private meeting that he should confess everything about Boipatong. If he did, Mgoomezulu would make sure that the ANC would look after him and that he should join the ANC. "That (last remark) made me very cross," said Sekongu.

Mgoomezulu said Sekongu had told him a white officer in the unit of former Koevoet counter-insurgency force members had driven the men to Boipatong, where they carried out the killings.

However, Johan van der Merwe, Commissioner of the South African Police, told a news conference allegations the unit was involved in Boipatong are "flagrant lies".

Van der Merwe said police had serious objections to the fact certain people and newspapers had used the Goldstone Commission proceedings for what he said were

"anti-SAP propaganda purposes".

He said police investigations into the Boipatong massacre indicated certain residents of the kwaMadala Hostel had been involved in the killings. According to initial police investigations, between 200 to 300 kwaMadala hostel dwellers could be implicated in the tragedy.

Gys Rautenbach, a lawyer for the ANC, had told the inquiry on Thursday: "We do not allege at the outset (Koevoet) were responsible for the Boipatong massacre, but evidence needs to be led and people questioned to get to the bottom of this."

Meanwhile, an international jurist and a criminal law expert are expected in South Africa next Thursday to help with the investigations. Mr Justice Bhagwati, the former Chief Justice of India, will sit with the commission, while Reading University director of criminal justice studies, Dr P.A.J. Waddington, will evaluate the police investigations into the Boipatong killings.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Imbali's mayor, deputy indicted

by LAKELA KAUNDA

THE mayor of Imbali, Phikelela Ndlovu, his deputy Abdul Awetha and a minor were yesterday indicted to appear in the Supreme Court for the murder of Imbali ANC leader Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya in February this year.

Ngwenya was gunned down outside a Victoria Road restaurant as he drove home after dining with American academics and clergy.

The three, who are all prominent members of the Inkatha Freedom Party, were indicted to appear in the Supreme Court on September 7. The state alleges that the murder was a revenge for an earlier ambush of Awetha on February 5 when three children were killed.

The state will argue that Awetha (56), Ndlovu (54) and other unknown people planned a retaliation on the ANC and chose Ngwenya as a target or one of the targets. They then secured the services of the minor to do the killing.

Awetha then lent the assassins a pistol

given to him by the Department of Development Aid for self-protection. The assassins drove in a white Ford Cortina to Windsor Hotel where Ngwenya was dining.

The minor and another occupant of the car took up positions in or near the parking yard, each armed with a pistol, including the DDA one. Around 10 pm Ngwenya left the restaurant to go to his bakkie in the parking lot. As he drove off, the minor and his companion fired at him from fairly close range, and then fled in the Cortina. The pistol was then returned to Awetha. The state says the accused tried to confound ballistic evidence linking the pistol with the killing.

Awetha and/or another person damaged the barrel and firing pin of the pistol. Then Awetha and Ndlovu, who was issued with a similar pistol to Awetha's, exchanged barrels and slides of their respective pistols.

On February 21 both went to the DDA official responsible for the issue of firearms, where Awetha, with the support of Ndlovu, tried to persuade the official to exchange Awetha's pistol for another on the grounds that Awetha was experiencing difficulty with the slide mechanisms.

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SaturdayStar

We must find our own solutions

APPPOINTING "a suitably qualified person of international repute" to the Goldstone Commission will certainly add to its prestige and influence overseas. But what Mr Justice Goldstone needs more than just added prestige is meaningful muscle where it counts.

For example, the commission fine-combs all available facts about the clashes between Phola Park residents and 32 Battalion, and recommends that those troops be withdrawn from all peacekeeping duties in South Africa. However, Lieutenant-General George Meiring responds by saying, in effect, that he will do with 32 Battalion what he chooses. This week the unit was still on duty in Phola Park.

The Government's attitude is puzzling. Many commissions in the past have inadvertently become laundromats for some of its dirtier washing, yet when it really counts they have not been given proper detergents.

The Goldstone Commission has successfully avoided this trap. The State President, to his credit, has recognised its value and sought to strengthen the commission by suggesting that an international monitor be invited to join it.

But such international monitors must not be used as substitutes for developing and deepening due process of law and inquiry. Their voices can certainly help the search for justice in South Africa, but they must not be allowed to become a last resort. In the final analysis it must be up to South Africans themselves. Everybody's priority should be to push for an independent South African commission with sufficient powers of subpoena and search to ensure that nothing is left unexamined, and power too to ensure that its findings are acted on and not reinterpreted to suit narrow political objectives.

The dead of Boipatong need to be respected, not avenged. That means using the impetus of public outrage to add planks to a new system of justice, and not relying solely on the deliberations of international delegations, however dignified and credible. The solution has to be found by the people who will live and die by them.