

JUN 2z â\200\231'Se 1@:15 VOS-IFP 444 3198

DUN TS

The â\200\230dogâ\200\231 bites â\200\230back: .

IFP leader Chief  
.Mangosuthu .  
.Buthelezi has been -  
" following with some  
amusement the ..  
dispute â\200\230over whether  
" the SACPâ\200\231s Moses -  
Mayekiso called him [  
. a â\200\234dogâ\200\235 or a â\200\234dollarâ\200\235  
during & speech in  
. Washington. - v g  
" At a recent Capitol Â\$  
Hill reception in his  
honour, the chief  
bounded up to our - BN  
man in Washington in Â«x  
high good humour '  
" and â\200\230introduced - Ui%  
himself as \_â\200\234thc dog i  
Butheleziâ\200\235, Â¢  
- Asked what he thought about the e ek  
- epithet, he replied, â\200\234I think it is bett.er to! :  
be called a dog than â\200\230a doll.â\200\235 After all, he  
explained, some dogs did have noble  
qualities. =  
. Can we expect a hrthw clanfxentxon L  
from -Mayekiso 10 the effect that what he '  
really meant to call Buthelezx was 2 doe?

PR R

Who cares when blacks kill blacks?

[(FtecSanday TewweRBPH 2 ~6~

HAT is how democracy  
- begins in Africa: in intimidation. It not only begins that way but carries on that way, and, after a little while, ends that way. Apartheid cannot be blamed for last week's massacre in Soweto. The bloodshed had nothing to do with the struggle between black and white. It was democracy's dirty work; African democracy's dirty work. In Africa he who intimidates best, ie worst, wins elections. From the way the massacre was reported in this country one rather got the impression that it was the last murderous fling of a slain white dragon's tail, a throwback to the bad old days. Nothing could be further from the truth. It was a bloody portent, a bitter foretaste of things to come.

It was also a portent of how horrors of that kind will be reported in the Western media in the future. Imagine what would be happening this Sunday if the victims of last week's massacre had been murdered by a white tribe instead of by a black tribe. After the Sharpeville massacre Western front pages were full of the story for weeks and Trafalgar Square packed with protesters outside South Africa House, some of whom remained there for many years.

The name Sharpeville, along with Amritsar, still rings round the world. Last week's massacre, however, is already forgotten. Nobody much cares about what blacks do to blacks. Did we hear from Bishop Huddleston last week or from Nadine Gordimer or from all the other anti-apartheid campaigners? If we did it was very muted, a faraway cry from those clarion calls that used to reverberate all the way to Stockholm,

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where the Nobel peace committee dwells.

This is not to say that Bishop Huddleston, Nadine Gordimer et al do not care about what blacks do to blacks. Of course they care.

But it does not make them angry;  
it does not make them hate. What  
gave such a fierce resonance to  
white protests about South African  
massacres in the bad old days  
was not so much love of blacks as  
hatred of Boers. To say that the  
liberal conscienceâ\200\231s much vaunted  
and honoured compassion for the  
blacks was a mask for this hatred  
of the Boers would be excessively  
unkind. But most certainly the  
hatred fired the compassion, put  
the tiger in the tank, so to speak,  
and now that the hatred is no  
longer burning so strongly it will  
not be long before the compassion  
also goes cold. South African  
democracy will certainly mean  
more rather than less black blood  
spilt. Where there will be a mas-  
sive reduction is in the number of  
protest marches in the capital  
cities of the West.

Fewer protest marches, less  
attention from the liberal con-  
science, but not necessarily less  
attention from those concerned  
about geopolitical developments.  
South Africa is not like the other  
countries of Africa. Somebody  
once described Russia as â\200\230â\200\230Upper  
Volta with rocketsâ\200\231â\200\231. That descrip-  
tion could one day apply with  
much more deadly accuracy to  
South Africa. One cannot be cer-  
tain, of course. It could be that the  
white-built economy will collapse  
pretty well at once after the blacks  
take over. Except that the blacks  
are not going to be allowed to take  
over all at once.

So possibly the economy will not  
collapse. Possibly South Africa  
will prosper under democracy, at

any rate for a time, with Western

.banks only too happy to pour in

money. In that event â\200\224 with mon-  
ey plentiful for the purchase of  
rockets â\200\224 how long will it be  
before some black leader starts  
dreaming mad dreams â\200\224 or not so  
mad â\200\224 of empire? In terms of rela-  
tive African power, South Africa is  
a colossus: a potential nuclear  
colossus. What will there be to  
stop a South African version of Idi  
Amin or of Emperor Bokassa not  
only dreaming about conquest but  
doing something about it?  
Democracy!

Possibly this sounds excessively Cassandra-like. Just as in the 16th century people put their trust in princes â\200\224 vide poor Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII â\200\224 so now, in the 20th century, they put their trust in democracy. Democracies are assumed to be peaceful, to settle disputes by the ballot box, not the bullet; to prefer commerce to war. Thus that massacre was seen last week as an aberration; or at worst an inevitable and even healthy birth-pang that will produce in the end an infant black democracy. i

To believe that is another triumph of hope over experience. So

far, freedom and democracy have served Africa ill, the ills being limited only by lack of resources â\200\224 Volta without rockets. There have been plenty of civil wars, dreadful famines, forced migrations â\200\224 horrors of that kind â\200\224 but nothing

much to worry Western chancelleries as against Western consciences. South Africa, however, does not lack resources to shake the world. If the African experience of democracy runs according to par there, it could easily produce horrors that one day may threaten â\200\224 as Saddam Hussein was thought to threaten â\200\224 the new world order.

Forty years ago, when liberals were as optimistic about the fruits of freedom and democracy in the Middle East as they are now about their fruits in South Africa, it would have seemed inconceivable that one day, not so long distant, Iraq would be strong enough to require the combined might of the Western world to defeat her armies and even then not her leader. Westerners like the great Elie Kedourie who did predict the dangers were condemned as Cassandras. Conventional Western wisdom simply refused to comprehend the ugliness, brutality, cynicism and sheer evil of Arab politics â\200\224 a miscalculation not quite as costly and disastrous as the one made of the evils of Hitler but almost of that order of magnitude.

Could we be making a similar mistake about South Africa? Here I feel bound to enter a caveat. My pessimism could well be a form of wishful thinking. For ashamed as

I am to admit it, the spectacle of Bishop Huddleston, Nadine Gordimer et al having to admit that black democracy was worse than white autocracy would give me enormous pleasure, as would their

discomfiture if it ever became the West's duty to act the world policeman there as it has had to do in Iraq. ;

This is the trouble with polemical journalism. One becomes less concerned to be right than to prove the other fellow wrong; less concerned to defend the truth than to castigate error. Infuriated and maddened by the facile optimism of columnists in the Guardian and the Observer, one tries to redress the balance with an equally facile pessimism; and because those same columnists can see no evil in the blacks, one retaliates by seeing no good. In other words I may be exaggerating the dangers facing South Africa so as eventually to have more dirt in which to rub liberal noses. Nor does the problem end there. For once having gone into print with an alarmist prophesy one cannot wait to see events confirm it.

Having issued this warning, however, let me return to the fray. The end of white supremacy in South Africa should not be seen only as a blessed liberation. It should also be seen as a more dangerous kind of liberation; the kind that takes place when a genie is let out of the bottle. To date, that genie, when let out of earlier African bottles, has had a wickedly murderous record. But these have been midget, and therefore relatively harmless, genies. The one about to be released in South Africa will be a giant with potentialities for causing mayhem on a monumental scale.. N

Last week's massacre was part of an electoral campaign that has not yet even begun, a mere flexing of black democratic muscle. Wait until the curtain goes up properly and the tragedy begins in deadly earnest. &

T HE EW

Times

York

## De Klerk's Visit to Massacre Site Brings New Eruption of Violence

By BILL

BOIPATONG, South Africa, June 20  
â President F. W. de Klerk ventured  
into this bitter black township today in  
(a show of concern for victims of a  
'massacre on Wednesday, but was  
â chased away by angry residents, leav-  
ing behind an ugly mood that soon  
exploded into more violence.

About 90 minutes after Mr. de  
Klerk's motorcade fled before resi-  
dents blaming him for the Wednesday  
violence, police officers fired assault  
rifles into a hostile crowd in a skirmish  
over the body of a man shot by the  
police a short time earlier. The number  
of casualties was not immediately  
known.

Mr. de Klerk's visit, the first by a  
South African President to one of the  
country's many scenes of black blood-  
shed, was intended to repair the deteri-  
orating credibility of the Government  
as it tries to negotiate a peaceful tran-  
sition from apartheid to a nonracial  
state.

Instead, the day left the black town-  
ships more volatile than before, and  
widened the gulf between the white

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KELLER

Special to The New York Times

Government and the African National  
Congress, the foremost representative  
of blacks in the talks on South African's  
future.

A television cameraman who filmed  
the shooting today said at least 15  
people fell under fire, but he could not  
say whether any were killed. The police  
said later that their rifles had been  
loaded with birdshot and rubber bul-  
lets.

In the Wednesday night assault, at least 40 people, many of them women and children, were shot, stabbed or

that the assault was carried out from a nearby hostel by Zulu supporters of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party who were working in league with the South African police. The official count has grown as wounded victims have died in the hospital. 2

The African National Congress: long a leader of the police of instigating township violence and of helping In-

| katha in a campaign to destabilize the  
| tion movement.

black; & t: lpgacgd Mr. de Klerk sgared out of the back window of his silver-

gray BMW as his motorcade crawled

,

der heavy police escort down Ba-: ko Street, which . divides Boipa-

koena  
tongâ\200\231s tiny  
corrugated  
squa

rick bungalows from  
bsheds of gthe Slovo Park

1" chanted a throng of several  
:Wâ\200\230 red people, kept back from Mr. de  
Klerkâ\200\231s caravan by guards on foot car-  
rying machine guns.

hacked to death. Witnesses contend.

% s EHb -

" His-car stopped at one point in the  
midstâ\200\231of Wedr?esdayâ\200\231s killing zone, and  
urity men pushed back the crowd as:

sec  
if thÃ© President was preparing to get

out. But after surveying the surging,

and perhaps noticing

shouting crowd,  
teen-agers were clutching  
b By 15 o his entourage

s, Mr. de Klerk and  
;gâ\200\230e:dlÂ\$ out of the township as police vehi-  
cles moved in to cut off the crowd.

As they chased the Presidentâ\200\231s en-

tourage down the dusty streets and out  
of the township, young men iâ\200\231lâ\200\230,1 the  
crowd shouted, â\200\234Shoot! Shoot!  
the anti-colonial slogan of the militant  
Pan-Africanist â\200\230Congress: â\200\234One set-

! One bullet!â\200\235 '  
Mr. de Klerk was untouched during  
his 15-minute visit, but the South Afri-

| can Press Association  
one member of his entourage, the  
parliamentary representative,  
Van Der Merwe,

a >

The Boipatong massacre curdled  
Mr. de Klerkâ\200\231s alreadyâ\200\231souring rela-  
tions â\200\230with the Africanâ\200\231 National Con-  
gress. The congress today issued a  
statement condemning his visit as â\200\234a  
cynical public relations exercise.â\200\235

Mr. de Klerk had made rare visits to  
black townships before today and had  
generally been well received. But in

Boipatong he saw little but the angry  
crowds and the backs of his security  
men. : .

A judicial commission on violence  
headed by Supreme Court Justice  
Richard Goldstone, a forum widely re-  
spected by rival black factions as well  
as whites, has promised at least a  
preliminary inquiry into the massacre.  
The commissionâ\200\231s involvement ap-  
peared to raise hopes of a credible  
explanation of the massacre, which  
could reduce tensions and allow the

(talks on the countryâ\200\231s future to  
progress.

and planned to meet with families of

later said thatâ\201â\200\230  
local

Koos  
had been struck on the

' Presidential ' aides said he had

Wednesdayâ\200\231s victims

1 to hold a  
â\200\230news conference in po

the township, but.



| these plans were dropped when securi-

tyme?\sawthemoodofthecrowd.

7 At a news conference in the police

station at nearby Vereen immedi-  
ately after his visit, Mr. de Klerk said

â\200\230 he was shocked at his treatment and

head by a rock when he stepped out of  
his car.

After the Presidentâ\200\231s departure, po-  
lice armored vehicles roared through  
the seething township in a show of  
strength, while firebrands from the  
Pan-Africanist Congress, a smaller  
and less compromising rival to the

charged that the rebuff had been a  
â\200\234very efficiently planned.â\200\235

Asked about-charges of police com-  
plicity in the massacre, Mr. de Klerk  
lsaid: â\200\234I reject that allegation with  
â\200\230utter contempt. If any evidence comes  
\to the fore, we will act.â\200\235 :

Police Search Hostel

| | shot

African National Congress, rallied the | ..  
crowd. |  
According to police accounts, the  
su

morning, police officers  
searched the Kwa:lmadala ;los::l,,n 8a  
â\200\230steelworkersâ\200\231 residence and S -  
i g by s hold of Zulu-based Inkatha in Vander-

chasing another with a machete. The

r camp. .  
â\200\234-â\200\231f%ghell wi& de Klerk â\200\224 go away, g0-

â\200\230 residents uarreling bijlpark, which Boipatong residents  
33':?@% " ,ofthemthe argu- contend was the staging area for the  
ment rapidly intensif ; massacre. Police officers said they had  
Siphiwo Ralo, a cameraman for CBS taken statements and confiscated a  
9 ion, said police officers fired a number of so-called traditional weap-  
i-\202nlâ\200\230e"lâ\200\230 d into the ground, then knelt = ons, like spears and clubs. N  
o arrests  
in a line and began firing their assault Were made.  
rifles at random into the crowd. Residents of Boipatong say about 200  
The police said opened fire us- Wwarriors from the hostel, which is less

ing birdshot and rubber bullets after than a mile away, swept through the  
â\200\230one of their men was shot in the hand.' township, hacking and shooting their  
Pan-Africanist Congress leaders who victims while police supervised and  
â\200\230were present charged that at least assisted.  
â\200\230three people were killed by the gunfire. The police have strongly denied play-  
ing a role in the massacre, but have yet  
to give an account of their own activi-  
ties in the township that night. Inkatha  
leaders have denied sanctioning the  
massacre, -although they did not rule  
out the possibility that rogue members  
of the party were involved.

L

Yogin Devan

A UNIQUE Natal resort,  
the Lilani hot springs  
hydro near Greytown, is  
now a derelict wreck  
begging for a cure.

Bought by- the Depart-  
ment of Bantu Develop-  
ment and then turned  
over to the KwaZulu gov-  
ernment as a resort for  
blacks in apartheidâ\200\231s hey-  
day, the resort is now  
looking for entrepreneurs  
to come forward and de-  
velop the site.

The Working Group on  
Tourism Development in  
KwaZulu has invited the  
private sector to submit  
proposals ranging from  
the refurbishment of the  
existing buildings to the  
establishment of an all-  
new resort.

Lilani Hydro is situat-  
ed about 100km north of  
Pietermaritzburg and  
was built in 1906. For  
many years it was a re-  
treat for rich people in-  
tent on a weekend away  
from the cities.

When the resort  
opened at the turn of the  
century, the sulphur  
baths and radium pool  
which are acclaimed as  
being comparable with  
Europeâ\200\231s best were in  
great demand by the sick  
and ailing from all over  
the country.

However, since the  
'60s, the Lilani Hydro  
complex which nestles  
below a deeply-wooded  
escarpment, has fallen  
into a serious state of dis-  
repair.

Lilani is said to have  
been discovered by the

Voortrekkers and was developed by a succession of farming figures. The property, which includes the hotel and special bath houses, was bought by the government in 1965 to be turned into a resort for blacks but this plan did not materialise.

Since then nature has taken its toll on the old buildings. The main hotel block is merely a shell, open to wind and weather and slowly decaying.

The springs at Lilani are reputed to have fantastic healing properties. When the resort and sanatorium opened, nursing staff used to provide hot mud baths as well as steam and heat baths. The curative properties of the mud from the radium pool were reputed

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to have brought relief to numerous sufferers of rheumatism and eczema.

But in recent times Lilani has become some kind of a tranquilliser for a younger set which enjoys spending a weekend swimming nude in the hot springs.

Caretaker James Mthembu, who lives at Lilani, sweeps the rooms and keeps thieves and tramps away from the empty hotel which is almost ghostly in its desolation.

For a fee of R5 which Mr Mthembu is supposed to collect, you can drive your car into the mysterious environs of the hotel and spend the day there.

For R10 you may camp overnight on the property, building fires in the deserted courtyards

and sleeping in one of the rooms. There is no piped water, electricity or telephone. A small shop sells basic foods.

On weekdays the springs are used by the locals.

I have no control over them. There is no way I can extract R5 from these people," said Mr Mthembu.

et

One of the pools at the Lilani Hydro resort.

When the Sunday Tribune visited Lilani this week, a dozen local women were gathered on the hotel verandah, exchanging stories as they lazily brushed away the flies which settled on their faces.

The narrow road to Lilani can make one nervous because of the hairpin bends but it is perfectly safe if you take it easy. After rains, the road is impassable for several days because little streams cross the road. )

You travel alternatively out on to the spurs of the mountain and then back into the cool depths of the forest under the towering krantzes. Far above you, numerous waterfalls can be seen tumbling over the edge of the escarpment, only to vapourise before completing the descent. |

Lilani is also noted for its abundant bird life, flowers and features to interest the amateur geologist.

Interested parties wishing to submit development proposals should contact Mrs Hazel on (031) 9071055 for more details.

JUNE 21, 1992

Hot springs hydro  
a derelict wreck  
| begging for a cure

| Top class holiday

M' ? 1 t 54 (Als (A s g |  
" resort planned

in Greytown area

Daily News Reporter

ONE of Southern Africa's most enchanting areas, Lilani near Greytown, has been earmarked for development & S a premier holiday resort.

The Working Group on Tourism Development in KwaZulu is set to invite the private sector to submit development proposals for the revitalisation of a deserted hotel and rondavel resort, first established early this century, according to a spokesman.

Boasting hot springs comparable with the best of Europe, Lilani is situated 160 kilometres from Durban and nestles below a deeply wooded escarpment.

The spokesman said there were a number of hot springs close to the now-deserted hotel, including the Sulphur Springs and the Radium Pool. These mineral springs had been favourably compared with the spas of Europe and were set in an area described as one of

- the most enchanting and nostalgic spots in Southern

Africa.

The picturesque and undisturbed surrounds combine to offer a bird-watcher's paradise and a photographer's dream. The dramatically steep terrain clothed in forests and natural bush makes this an ideal area for many outdoor activities, including hiking and horse-riding.

The spokesman said the proposals for the development of the site might range from a refurbishment of the existing early-century buildings to the establishment of an all-new resort.

He said Lilani was one of the 35 tourism projects in the KwaZulu development pipeline.

Interested parties wishing to submit development proposals should contact Mrs Hazel on telephone 907-1055 before June 15 for more details.

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Sympathy visit  
ends in chaos

m Pent-up fury: President  
de Klerk's short visit to

- Boipatong in the Vaal .-  
yesterday lit a tinder box of  
anger in the small  
strife-torn township that  
ended with at least two  
people dead and 29 wounded. '

BY INSIGHT TEAM

AN ATTEMPT by State President F W  
de Klerk to demonstrate sympathy for  
grieving Boipatong ended in disaster â\200\224  
for him and the community.:

While De Klerk, speaking in the po-  
lice riot unit headquarters in Verecen:  
iging, was saying he was â\200\234shockedâ\200\235 by  
his reception in the township, police-  
men were opening fire on the crowd.

De Klerk's car never stopped in Bol-  
patong. His visit lasted less than 15 mi-  
nutes, but it lit 3 tinder box of anger

that ended with at least two people  
dead and 29 wounded.  
He was hounded out of the township  
by thousands of furious residents.  
Minutes before warning that the  
authorities would have to â\200\234look beyond

- present measures to maintain law and

orderâ\200\235, Dexhrkwastowofuwï¬\201m  
killing.

â\200\234We will not allow this country to  
fall into a state of anarchy,â\200\235 he said,  
adding' â\200\234It would be a sorry day if we  
were forced to go back to that, having  
come 30 near to an important break-  
through at Codesa 2."

Law and Order Ministry senior  
spokesman Major-General Leon Mellet  
described the running, rolling riot  
around President de Klerkâ\200\231s motorcade  
as â\200\234chaos".

Barely had the president and his en-  
tourage driven into the dusty streets of



Boipatong in their bullet-proof limousines and escorted by a phalanx of about 3 dozen Casspir and Nyala armoured troop carriers than crowds

of people gathered to curse him.

With De Klerk And Your IFP Murderers (Dog)", and "De Klerk, Kill Apartheid Not Us", and "De Klerk Go Away", crowds jostled in around his car, clearly worrying his close security guards and policemen, many of whom were armed with R4 assault rifles.

When it became clear that the State President could not even set foot out of his vehicle, the convoy headed out of the township with crowds singing and swearing in pursuit.

He said at a media conference after the abortive visit that he could not believe the outburst was spontaneous.

Former Conservative Party MP Koos van der Merwe, who was travelling in the same car as Ministers Gerrie Viljoen and Hernus Kriel, at one stage got out briefly, but hurriedly ducked back inside as the mood of the people got uglier.

; Propaganda

While speaking about the propaganda war against the police. De Klerk told reporters that the policeman accompanying him through Bolpotong

; had acted with great restraint.

After his car sped out of the township the anger evaporated. the placards were dropped, the barricades rolled away, and Boipatong went back to almost normal.

But across the township, on the

| southern end, another drama had

begun .. tense policemen. angry residents, over-excited children, confused grandmothers, shouting. toying, slogans and eventually gunfire,

A smaller anti-De Klerk march was being dispersed by 2 police Nyala riot vehicle. As the crowd turned a police man stood up out of the crowd and fired at 3 men about 80 metres away. He fell on his face in the dust.

When a Sunday Star reporter reached the man there was a machete next to the body.

Residents; accusing police of planting the weapon, demanded access to the body and demanded that the vehicle commander arrest the man who had fired. The crowds grew and taunted the police who gathered nervously

\* near their vehicle.

Carrying placards saying: "To Hell -

was more shouting, taunting, undisguised rage. Women bared their breasts to try and embarrass the policemen out of the way so they could get to the dead man in the veld.

And then the gunfire, and the silence, and weeping, fear and incredulity as journalists, who had dropped to the ground as police fired over their heads, slowly, shakily picked themselves up from the dirt. 5

Some tried to comfort the wounded while others shouted at the police not to open fire again. Later

ANC outrage

"Please don't shoot! Please don't shoot! Please don't shoot again!"

But it was too late in Boipatong.

The ANC has condemned the shootings with outrage and disgust and has launched 2 bitter personal attacks on De Klerk.

De Klerk's visit today is an indication that he is appallingly insensitive to the grief our people are feeling at this stage, and we hold him personally responsible for the events at Boipatong and the persons who have been killed by the SAP, a spokesman said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela will visit the township today.

Lt Colonel Dave Eruce, liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said police had reacted when they saw a man start hacking another resident. Police warned the man and he turned on one of the policemen, the policeman fired in self defence killing him. ~

He said; "Another person was killed but we are sure that it was not as a result of police action. The police had strict instructions not to fire, their guns were loaded with buckshot

Colonel Bruce said the whole incident started when a resident tried to disarm a policeman, the policeman fired a shot into the ground which

started the shooting.

He said: "The policemen were acting in the face of severe provocation. Women were spitting at them and baring their breasts, and only minutes before they had been fired upon by members of a nearby hostel."

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CROWD FURY drives State President out of massacre township

~ Police open fire as  
FW flees Boipatong

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36TE by dAI-SOA

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\* \_ fromtation sparked off by President de Klerk's ground, then without warning there was a  
volley OPENING FIRE. ..

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plice i .

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\231,â\200\230,%d

ol o fpei fire g Pl oy o gban dempile pleas o o o pick up the dead bevelskiet we.â\200\235  
(Dor.shoot et PRty O ek 8n forced

The shooting took place in the full glare of the body, but the crowd surrounded it, preven  
ting the eyg;'lc !l; hi g hâ\200\230:"g J;gm L o few micuied, snd {ï¬\202mfv; m,mn

wst an hour after the crowd police from remaving a stretcher

A plainclothes policeman fired info the (hendied Â» Fullreport â\200\224 Page 24\ onouch, a  
r

internationalâ\204ç] press  
%:,we for~ed Prgslda De Rlerk to leave, The con.

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