

# Cape Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 30 1992

## SA anguish

THE anguish of the Boipatong massacre, as recalled at the funeral of the victims at Sharpeville yesterday, cannot fail to move the hardest of hearts, spurring South Africans to work for peace. When will the political leaders consider the suffering which ordinary men, women and children must endure as a result of their power struggles? Is there no pity? How much more horror can the townships and squatter camps be expected to endure?

Two years ago there was rejoicing in those same townships and squatter camps when President de Klerk released Mr Nelson Mandela from prison and these two remarkable leaders began negotiations to build a new and happier South Africa. Today those hopes have been dashed by the violence. There is bewilderment, turning to anger and a sense of betrayal.

A gap of misunderstanding and resentment is developing between the black masses, betrayed — as they see it — by a De Klerk government which has consistently failed to protect them against spear-wielding butchers, and fearful, uncomprehending middle class people in the white, coloured and Indian communities, who cannot for the life of them understand why blacks keep slaughtering each other.

Furious propaganda from the Ministry of Law and Order, blaming everything on the ANC and mass action, is matched by similarly frenetic propaganda by the ANC, which sees treachery and conspiracy on all sides, and blames everything on President De Klerk and his Inkatha allies. The causes of the violence are complicated enough, heaven knows, with roots in decades of apartheid oppression, Inkatha-ANC rivalry and the Botha government's clandestine strategies of divide and rule. But as long as the political leaders continue a relentless war of words, stirring up fear and mistrust, there is scant hope of a return to the negotiating table.

As frequently argued in these columns, it is primarily the State's responsibility to protect citizens from political violence. The State has failed in its duty. Let President De Klerk give the police and the military the resolute leadership which is lacking, so that the killers and their sponsors, whoever they may be, are brought to book in the courts. Bold leadership, as in February 1990, could yet save the day.

*a much needed up version*

## 23 killed in new violence

JOHANNESBURG. — Weekend violence in black townships claimed the lives of at least 23 people, including a family of six accused of practising witchcraft, police reported yesterday.

The six victims were killed in their home by gunmen on Saturday night in Ekombe, northern Natal. Police spokesman Colonel Bheki Dube said one gunman was killed.

In Richmond, clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters left seven dead.

On Saturday night gunmen ambushed 200 Inkatha members, leaving two dead and at least nine wounded, police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said.

On Sunday morning members clashed again, leaving another four dead. Another person was shot outside the local hospital later in the day.

Police also reported recovering the bodies of nine other people who had been burnt, shot, stoned or stabbed to death.

In a statement yesterday, Inkatha said police escorted armed ANC supporters into Inkatha stronghold Patheni on Friday, and that a formal complaint would be made to the Goldstone Commission. Police denied the allegation.

A four-year-old girl drowned in a Krugersdorp township marsh yesterday afternoon when residents panicked after a false alarm of an attack, police said. — UPI, Sapa

## ANC 'mock trials': NPA meeting called

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Committee is convening an urgent meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord, possibly for Thursday, NPC liaison officer Ms Val Pauquet confirmed yesterday.

This follows a request from the IFP central committee at the weekend for the meeting to protest against ANC "mock trials" held in Maritzburg last week, where certain political leaders, including 10 IFP officials and State President F W de Klerk, were allegedly sentenced to death. — Sapa



# 'FW must go' call at Boipatong funeral

**BOIPATONG.** — Political and church leaders at the Boipatong funeral yesterday were united in their calls for President FW de Klerk to resign.

A crowd of about 20 000 people attended the funeral here of 37 victims of the massacre.

"He (De Klerk) must go," ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a packed stadium. "He has proved he is in-

competent and useless because he cannot control the security forces."

Mr Ramaphosa claimed Mr De Klerk had admitted to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela he had no power over the police.

The alleged disclosure was made when the two met for crisis talks during the ill-fated Codesa II negotiations.

"I have no power over these policemen," Mr Ramaphosa quoted Mr De Klerk

as having said. By late last night, Mr De Klerk had not responded to the claim.

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and the South African Communist Party displayed a public unity at the funeral not seen since the collapse of the Patriotic Front.

"Let us poise ourselves for rolling mass action... the only way is the implementation of more and more mass action," SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said.

He urged a summit of the liberation movements to plot a strategy to "defeat the regime".

This call was echoed by PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefoloyodhwe, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and veteran British anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Mr Ramaphosa emphasised, however,

the ANC had not given up on negotiations. Mass action was not an alternative to negotiations but formed part of the strategy to achieve an elected constituent assembly, he said.

Mr De Klerk said yesterday, after meeting a high-powered business delegation,

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# South Africa mourns

**BOIPATONG** — The people of Boipatong last night buried their dead in a highly charged mass funeral.

As thousands poured into a soccer stadium in the black squatter camp for the mass funeral, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu arrived saying he wanted a signal from the Government that it would stop violence.

Bishop Tutu said violence was South Africa's number one problem.

The murder of as many as 300 people each month this year in black townships has deadened sensibilities, but the slaughter of 45 people, mainly women and children, in Boipatong on June 17 triggered worldwide shock.

It brought the anger of black South Africans to such a pitch the African National Congress (ANC) last Tuesday pulled out of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the multi-party forum negotiating a transition to non-racial democracy.

"Everybody wants to see a signal that the Government is serious about stopping the violence," Bishop Tutu said.

"Our people are being used as cannon fodder, and that we cannot tolerate."

South Africa's top police general, Johan van der Merwe, said on Friday detectives had confirmed what survivors said all along, that the attack was carried out by Zulus living in the nearby KwaMadala hostel for workers at the giant Iscor steelworks in neighboring Vanderbijlpark.

The Citizen daily re-

## Tutu plea to stop township violence

ported yesterday that one of six hostel residents arrested by police last week had confessed and had implicated 30 colleagues, who were expected to be arrested soon.

The hostel is a stronghold of the ANC's bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party. Inkatha leaders have vehemently denied ordering the attack.

Mr Van Der Merwe also denied Inkatha was responsible, saying it was a revenge attack.

The Star newspaper reported on Saturday that hostel dwellers had said the attack was to avenge the girlfriend of one of their colleagues, whose charred body was found in Boipatong the week before the attack. She had been killed with a flaming tyre "necklace".

Eighteen coffins were lined up in the Boipatong stadium for the funeral rally.

The ANC said 42 people were buried, 39 of them killed in the massacre, and three who were shot dead by police after an angry crowd chased away President F.W. de Klerk when he tried to offer his condolences on the Saturday after.

The ANC has charged the Government with culpability in the massacre, following repeated



●The future in his hands? ... Klaas Matupe carries the coffin of his nine-month-old son, one of 45 victims of the Boipatong massacre, to the funeral for victims. Most of them were women and children.

allegations by survivors that police helped the killers.

Mr Van der Merwe denied police complicity, and expressed confidence that detectives would disprove allegations that a squad of former Namibian counter-insurgency policemen now working for South African police were involved.

Mr de Klerk has gone some way to meeting ANC

demands that the funeral day should be a day of national mourning, by agreeing to let government workers attend the funeral or other memorial services, and advising the private sector to do the same.

Yesterday ANC leader Nelson Mandela ruled out any further democracy talks with South Africa's government unless Mr de Klerk took effective action

to stop township violence.

Mr Mandela, arriving in Senegal for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit, said a resumption of talks to end minority white rule would depend on Mr de Klerk's response to ANC demands.

"If he responds effectively then there will be a continuation of negotiations," he said.

— AFP REUTER



Bishop Tutu ... blacks "cannon fodder".



B/Day  
20/6/92

Dear Sir,  
IT IS absolutely disgusting that David Pitman of the Lawyers for "Human" Rights has the audacity to infer collusion between President F W de Klerk and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the Boipatong massacre.

Dr Buthelezi has totally condemned the incident and those guilty of it: "Such brutality shocks the sensibility of even the most brutal people. It leaves civilised mankind stunned at the viciousness of man. My deepest sympathy goes out to all the relatives and loved ones of those who died so hideously at the hands of brutal men".

He also offered the IFP's "fullest support for any inquiry into the mindless killings of innocent people that took place".

Pitman refers to a similar incident in Swanieville in May last year and urges that it be investigated with the same thoroughness of the present Boipatong inquiry. Why not?

However, Pitman's concern for the suffering of the victims of violence would be more commendable were he also to apply his mind to victims who hold different political

## So selective a memory for massacres

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persuasions to those he considers "correct".

I refer, for example, to the atrocity of April 3 where hostel dwellers armed with "firearms, petrol bombs and sharpened objects" raided the Crossroads settlement, slaughtering 23 men, women and children, and injuring a further 17. People were shot, stabbed and roasted to death.

Could it possibly be coincidental that Pitman's reticence to raise this recent massacre has anything to do with the fact that the attackers were Xhosa-speaking hostel dwellers and the victims all IFP supporters? If this slipped his mind, perhaps Pitman would enlighten us on his views on the April 7 massacre at Zonke-zizwe, a repeat of the Crossroads incident.

I believe Pitman would do SA's people a great service were he to redefine "humans" to include those who by omission — deliberate or otherwise — he appears to be bent on maligning as a sub-species who get what they deserve.

SENZO MFAYELA  
IFP Natal organiser

## Leaders to ask OAU to approve proposals on SA

By Barney Mthombathi  
Star Africa Service

DAKAR — African leaders assembling in Dakar for today's 28th OAU summit will have three specific proposals to approve on South Africa.

These are that a so-called OAU fact-finding team of experts be dispatched to South Africa immediately, that the issue of violence in South Africa be referred to the UN Security Council and that the Patriotic Front be resuscitated.

These proposals have been agreed to by foreign ministers in their week-long meeting in Dakar and will be put to the summit today as recommendations. Only the summit can make them binding decisions, although it is expected to

approve them.

The foreign ministers have given the team of experts a maximum of two weeks to complete their fact-finding mission to South Africa. The team will be given firm instructions to be independent in all respects.

In condemning the SA Government for the violence in the country, the foreign ministers have also called for unity among anti-apartheid organisations. The PAC and ANC have therefore been urged to revive the Patriotic Front.

The PAC has already called for an early reconvening of the front. ANC president Nelson Mandela will address the summit today on behalf of the ANC and PAC.

● Africa surveys its tragedies — Page 15.

THE Star 29/06/92



B/day 30/6/92

# Unrest observers a possible next step

AN INTERNATIONAL violence monitoring effort for SA is being seriously considered by government, the ANC and world bodies as part of an effort to get stalled negotiations back on track.

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday met UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to put the case for a UN security council meeting and a permanent committee to monitor violence.

Mandela said the meeting was productive and that he left it "with a feeling of strength and hope", but declined further comment, Sapa-AFP reports.

Government sources said yesterday a world observer team monitoring political violence and security force conduct during SA's political transition could help restart negotiations by meeting the ANC's demand for international monitoring and security force impartiality. Violence, the sources said, could provide a "back door" through which the parties could start talking again and ultimately get back to Codesa.

In an important shift last week, President F W de Klerk responded to the ANC's pullout from talks by welcoming interna-

PATRICK BULGER

tional observer teams as long as they did not compromise national sovereignty.

While the ANC is awaiting De Klerk's memorandum in response to its violence-related demands before negotiations restart, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has said the ANC was considering his response on international monitoring.

A senior government source said yesterday government's shift on foreign involvement was relayed to Boutros-Ghali by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer in weekend talks at Abuja, Nigeria.

Boutros-Ghali, who met Mandela on Sunday, would probably visit SA within the next few weeks for talks with government, the ANC and other parties on details of an international mission.

The SA government told Boutros-Ghali that a short high-level visit could fail as in the past. A permanent township monitoring mission numbering as many as 400 people might be more useful.

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## Observers

□ From Page 1

Boutros-Ghali's visit will be preceded by a visit by Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku who will also have meetings to assess what role the Commonwealth could play. He will report to Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference chairman Barbara McDougall of Canada.

A diplomatic source said yesterday there were experts in political monitoring that could be called in to help and that a team could be put together within weeks.

However, government's response to the ANC's memorandum as well as progress in the police investigation into the Boipatong massacre may take some of the responsibility for progress off the shoulders of the international community.

The OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, this

week will consider a proposal that the SA problem be referred to the UN Security Council. If this was accepted it could delay an international initiative on SA.

However, a Foreign Affairs Department source said OAU leaders were not keen to destroy the progress SA had made in African relations.

OAU foreign ministers yesterday urged the Security Council to put pressure on the SA government to end violence.

Government representatives had been expected to make an appearance on the sidelines of the OAU meeting.

But the newly cordial relationship returned to more familiar ground as the ministers here passed a resolution urging Pretoria to "end the carnage".



# Call for FW to quit over 'lack of security force control'

B/Day 30/6/92

THE ANC launched a stinging attack on President F W de Klerk yesterday, saying he should resign as his recent admission that he had no control over security forces proved he was "incompetent and useless".

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo warned that government's failure to bring to book perpetrators of violence would lead to people meting out their own "justice".

And ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told more than 20 000 people, gathered for yesterday's funeral of 42 Boipatong massacre victims, that De Klerk

## WILSON ZWANE

had admitted to ANC president Nelson Mandela in May he had no control over security forces.

Yesterday's day of mourning was marked by hundreds of thousands of people, but work absenteeism was limited and there were few incidents of violence.

However, Reuter reports witnesses said one person was shot and hacked to death at the funeral after being grabbed by people in the crowd standing outside the sports stadium. The body was then burnt.

And Sapa reports township youths toyed between and on graves, brandishing a variety of weapons, including shotguns, AK-47 rifles and Makarov pistols.

"Hey, settler, you deserve a bullet," a youngster shouted at a white journalist.

Two journalists, including one from the BBC, were reported to have been assaulted later by militant youths.

Police confiscated a handgrenade carried by a man attending the funeral.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk should "go" as he had proved to be "either incompetent or useless as a president".

He called also for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Henrus Kriel.

Ramaphosa said the ANC had not given up on negotiations.

However, chances of the ANC's return to the negotiations were zero unless government met its demands.

These included bringing violence to an end and banning dangerous weapons at public gatherings.

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance should not be pressed into resuming negotiations.

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## Quit call

These should be resumed only when time frames for the transition to "representative" government were in place.

Ramaphosa also called on blacks to unite, saying their unity was important and could not be achieved through speeches at funerals but through mass action aimed at forcing government out of power.

PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation would join the "ANC and all other liberation organisations" in a struggle whose clear-cut objective would be the overthrowing of the government.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe called for the "combination" of his organisation's military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania), the PAC's Azanian People's Army (Apla) and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The combined forces would play a role in ousting government, Nefolovhodwe said.

Naidoo told the cheering crowd workers were tired of "endless negotiations".

Inkatha, whose supporters at KwaMadaia Hostel are alleged to have attacked Boipatong residents, was not represented at the funeral.

But Sapa reports that its national chairman Frank Mdlalose extended the organisation's condolences.

SA Council of Churches president Khoza

□ From Page 1

Mgojo said unless government met their demands before July 15, church leaders would lead people in peaceful protests. Church leaders' demands included the conviction of perpetrators of violence and the bringing of security forces under multi-party control.

Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston said his London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement would try to shift the Western powers' focus from the "democratisation" of eastern Europe to the ending of apartheid in SA.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said had the ANC, the PAC and Azapo had armies, the Boipatong massacre would not have happened.

Ngcukana urged leaders of the liberation organisations not to discourage people from forming defence units.

Former Zimbabwe president Canaan Banana said the Boipatong massacre underlined the urgency with which SA had to move towards democracy.

Coretta Scott King, widow of US civil rights campaigner Martin Luther King, in a message read out on her behalf, urged South Africans to embark on non-violent protests until the "last vestiges" of apartheid had been removed.

● Picture: Page 3



## Outcry over ANC's 'police escort'

THE Goldstone commission will be asked to investigate an alleged police-escorted ANC march into an Inkatha stronghold in the Natal midlands this weekend which preceded several attacks on Inkatha — leaving four dead and 12 injured.

Inkatha was also considering asking for redeclaration of the Richmond, Natal district as an emergency area and for redeployment of the SAP's internal stability unit in the area, Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson said yesterday.

The move followed a march last Friday by about 200 ANC supporters carrying spears, pangas and other weapons to Patheni, outside Richmond.

"The SAP, allegedly under instruction from station commander Lt Lombard, escorted the impi into the Inkatha area. This act has been described by Patheni residents as a blatant act of provocation," Hodgson said. A formal complaint was being drafted and would be submitted to the Goldstone commission today.

The march into Patheni was followed by an ambush in which ANC youths allegedly ambushed and gunned down 11 Inkatha supporters, killing two men and injuring nine at Gengeshe outside Richmond on

STEPHANE BOTHMA

Saturday, he said. On Sunday two men died and three were injured when Inkatha supporters at Patheni were attacked by a large group of armed youths.

Violence also erupted in Durban's Umhlanga township. The dead included a three-year-old child who was burned in a petrol-bomb attack on a house in the township.

The body of a policeman who had been stabbed was found in Empangeni, police said.

Sapa reported that the latest violence had led to an exodus from the area, with unrest monitors reporting a possible refugee crisis in the Port Shepstone area on Natal's south coast.

Three people were killed in fighting between Inkatha and the ANC in Murchison, on the south coast, police said yesterday.

Their unrest report said the body of a man who had been shot was found in Kati-hong, near Germiston, on Sunday.

□ The ANC's Stanger branch in Natal has broken off talks with the local town council, citing the political crisis triggered by the Bolpatong massacre. They were to meet today to discuss demands.

## Business delivers a plea for resumption of talks

BUSINESS conveyed to President FW de Klerk yesterday its strong desire to see political negotiations resumed as soon as possible.

A high-powered business delegation met De Klerk in Pretoria for talks on the political breakdown and its impact on the economy.

In a joint statement issued after the meeting Sacob, the AHI and Seifsa said they had conveyed to De Klerk their concern about the violence "as well as the negative impact of the breakdown in the Codesa talks on investor and business confidence".

The statement said business remained willing to assist in whatever way possible to facilitate the negotiation process.

"The employer bodies indicated they would throw their weight to an even greater extent behind the process and structures of the peace accord at both national and local levels," it said.

"There was an overwhelming need

PATRICK BULGER

for confidence building actions on the part of all concerned in SA."

De Klerk's office said in a statement the discussions had been constructive and he had used the opportunity to convey certain perspectives to them.

"He had also explained government's basic points of departure and given the assurance the government would meet its obligations concerning maintenance of stability in a responsible and balanced manner.

"He assured the delegation further that the government would leave no stone unturned in getting negotiations properly back on track," the statement said.

Other separate meetings have been arranged with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi.

These meetings are expected to take place within the next week.

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### **Police mum on Boipatong probe**

*Business Day Reporter*

POLICE investigating last week's Boipatong massacre say they will not release details of their investigation to the media, preferring to hand their findings to the Goldstone commission which sits on Thursday and Friday this week. Police spokesman Lt Wikus Weber said police would not pre-empt the report to the commission by releasing details of the investigation. No arrests had been made, although six men were being detained under emergency regulations. The six — including a man who had confessed to taking part in the killings — had not been formally charged. Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the national peace committee is convening an urgent meeting of all signatories to the national peace accord, possibly on Thursday, at Inkatha's request. Committee liaison officer Val Paquet said yesterday Inkatha wanted to protest against ANC "mock trials".

B/Day

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### **ANC man in court**

ANC department for international affairs member Christopher Mathabe appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday after trying to sell 443 Mandrax tablets to a detective. A police spokesman said Mathabe was also an Umkhonto we Sizwe member. The case was remanded to August 13.



13/Day  
30/6/92

# Cosatu and allies map mass action

MORE than 200 delegates from Cosatu's nine regions and 13 affiliates meet in Johannesburg today to decide on the timing of its general strike and to co-ordinate current and imminent strike action of its affiliates.

Delegates at the meeting — a living wage conference — will decide on the timing of Cosatu's contributions to various phases of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

Phase two of its mass action campaign kicks off tomorrow with a stayaway in Cape Town to back Cosatu's living wage march. In this phase actions at local and regional level are meant to tie in with the national issues over which Cosatu is mobilising.

At a national level Cosatu will be considering a national consumer boycott, co-ordinated occupation of government buildings, intensifying its campaign to reincorporate homelands and an anti-SABC campaign.

The third phase is the build-up to a general strike. Here actions like factory shutdowns with employers' co-operation, occupation of factory and government buildings, marches, stayaways and strategic occupation of city centres will be discussed.

The mass action campaign is intended to weaken and isolate government through "rolling" actions mobilising the working class.

Disputes at local and affiliate level — on the factory floor or in the community — are to be channelled into the mass action campaign.

Many unionised workers have pumped the gun and moved ahead of Cosatu's mass action plans. This month, for example, there have been dozens of marches nationwide, factory occupations and unprocedural and illegal strikes. These had not fea-

DIRK HARTFORD

tured in Cosatu's plan for phase one of the mass action campaign.

Most of these actions, like the march by Numsa members in Johannesburg last week, have been initiated at local and affiliate level — effectively outside the control of the Cosatu leadership, but nevertheless fitting into its mass action campaign.

Cosatu has stressed that employers must be approached at every level to support actions.

Shop stewards have been delivering letters to employers asking for support, and some Cosatu regional structures have approached regional business organisations with the same message.

In addition, Cosatu affiliates have approached employer bodies they deal with on a national level, while Cosatu itself has raised the issues with national employer organisations like Saccola.

The federation has also asked other trade union federations, like Nactu, and its alliance partners to back its campaign. The SA National Civics Association is regarded as a particularly important ally by Cosatu.

Cosatu said in March that if an interim government had not been set up by the end of June, with agreement that elections for a constituent assembly be held by December, it would call a general strike.

Since then demands around economic restructuring, privatisation, job security, food prices, rights for farm, domestic and public sector workers and for a living wage have featured strongly in its campaigns.

And most recently Cosatu, with the ANC, has made a set of demands around violence, government corruption and alleged death squads.



terday his chief had told guards that a group of men who stayed at the barracks were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

William Mthimkulu appeared before a preliminary hearing of a Goldstone Commission committee investigating allegations that former Koevoet counter-insurgency members housed at the mine were involved in the massacre.

Commission delegation had searched the barracks at the mine last week, he had received a phone call from a security sergeant about a meeting of the security staff the next day.

"The chief of the mine security, a Mr du Preez, said the group of people housed at the barracks had been working with the police and were involved in the shootings in Boipatong."

Mr du Preez had said the

sacre was an allegation.

The group of men arrived at the mine early in June and the mine's security was surprised because the group did not work during the day, but left at night in a minibus carrying objects concealed in blankets, he said.

He said guards who asked about the group's work were told by their chief that if they persisted with questions they could lose their jobs. — Sapa.

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### ANC official in drugs trial

A member of the ANC, Christopher Mathabe, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday accused of trying to sell a detective Mandrax tablets in Hillbrow. The trial was postponed to August 13.



30/6/92 - London

## FOREIGN NEWS

# Violence must end, Tutu tells blacks

By Fred Bridgland in Bolpatong

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu told about 30,000 blacks packed into Bolpatong soccer stadium for the funerals of 38 massacre victims yesterday that the violence must end and President de Klerk must apologise for the sins of apartheid.

Archbishop Tutu said in a sermon that a signal was desperately needed from the government that it would act against the violence which has claimed 1,500 lives in the Johannesburg area alone so far this year.

"The violence must be stopped. Our people are being used as cannon fodder and pawns of political manoeuvring," he said.

He also called on his people to take a closer look at their own shortcomings. "We need to look at ourselves. How can we agree to be used, to go on trains and shoot with AK47 rifles people we don't know?"

He was speaking at the end of a ceremony for 38 of the 49 people killed when about 200 Zulus loyal to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party rampaged out of the nearby KwaMadala hostel and began hacking and shooting men, women and children on June 17.

The service, which was attended by hundreds of dignitaries, was turned into a major political rally as

speaker after speaker called for the overthrow of Mr de Klerk, and the intensification of mass action and strikes.

Archbishop Tutu said the government must ensure that the killers were arrested and convicted. "It's a very reasonable request," he said. "It's not a wild request. The murderers must be brought to justice."

He said the Church was demanding that the South African police become the protectors of the people. "Your definition, Mr de Klerk, of the 'people' at the moment is too restricted."

He also said that if the government had nothing to hide it would allow an international group into the country to monitor violence and the operations of the police.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, said: "We have forgotten the need to hate. We, as Christians, put too much emphasis on love. In fact, we are commanded to hate what is evil. And apartheid is the most evil thing in the world."

"I do believe this could be a great moment, that by a campaign of mass resistance in this land we can make the National Party powers do what has to be done."

A line of men and women clutching wreaths and wear-

ing white T-shirts bearing the legend "Boipatong calls us to action," stood in lines next to the rows of brightly polished coffins; the name of the victim was written on each coffin in black ink.

Police, who were accused of assisting the Zulus during the massacre, set up roadblocks three miles from the township to search for firearms, but they stayed away from the area itself. Police helicopters and spotter planes flew constantly overhead.

Small groups of ANC "comrades" were armed with rifles, axes and pangas. There were reports that they threatened people with death if they worked instead of attending the funeral.

Archbishop Tutu provided a light moment, making the crowd laugh by asking them to imagine the consequences of apartheid based on whether people's noses were big or small. "You would have to apply to the Ministry of Small Nose Affairs to get a dispensation to go to a university reserved for people with big noses," he said.

He then urged Mr de Klerk to make a public act of reconciliation with the black majority. "I call on the State President to stand up and say on behalf of his people: 'We are sorry for the pain and suffering we caused you.'"



Relatives of one of the victims weep during yesterday's funeral service at Bolpatong