



This is the Thokoza squatter park in 1993. It was 22 May, a Saturday. We were marching to the municipality offices for rent.

At Thokoza hostel, we saw white soldiers in the hippo painting themselves with black-face, with rifles in their hands. They were saying, "shoot these children" – pointing to the marchers.

The marchers did not have weapons, they were just marching, singing.

Here (in the drawing) people died from the shooting.

With the soldiers were also the IFP with red bands on their heads, carrying spears. They burnt the houses, shot into them.

The heart: after seeing these terrible things, we feel the pain. The heart is red with blood; even today, the pain is still with us.

Amongst the dead bodies my child was there.

There is no remedy, even today. No reconciliation, even today. My heart is paining, I am alone with that pain.

My child was named David Mapatjie.

--Dora A. Thango



3/1: IFP-linked criminals called Khumalo Gang shoot-out with Thokoza residents leaves 5 dead. 3 weeks earlier gang killed 4 youths, raped 13 year old girl; residents killed gang member. Thokoza women march to police station to protest Khumalo Gang; police refuse to accept memorandum.

21/1 Police in red minibus with 7 white and 3 black men (one a known Khumalo Gang member) shoot dead ANCYL member Lucky Mamparu (police claim he fled arrest).

31/1 after funeral of Lucky Mamparu and ANCLY organizer Philemon Sikhanyane (no earlier report of death) one person shot dead.

8/2: people in car shoot six dead in Chris Hani squatter camp. Group calling itself South African Republican Army claims it committed these killings, that 3 of the dead were MK members; it also claimed killing other ANC members in Natal Midlands.

2/3 : Mandela squatter camp people attack Holomisa camp, killing 4 and burning shacks; other people missing, may be dead.

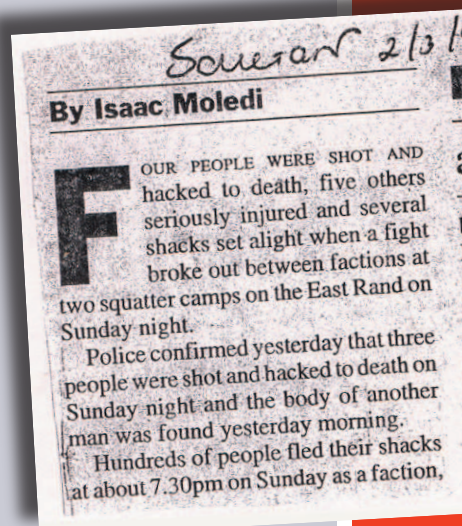
1/4 Reports that a police unit called Zaphius killed and tortured ANC members in forested area near Springs; several youths escaped and charges laid with police; at least 4 deaths reported. One youth who laid charges was killed shortly thereafter.

10/4 Chris Hani assassinated in Dawn Park.—mass rallies to commemorate Chris Hani. Over next days: unrest reported in Katlehong (trucks burned); 2 killed at Vosloorus Nguni Hostel after gunfight between residents and hostel dwellers, police teargass residents; police are fired at and fire on crowds in Katlehong, Daveyton and Thokoza; no reports on injuries/deaths. Unrest areas declared in 19 districts in the Reef; 23 000 SADF troops deployed to prevent violence in reaction to Hani assassination.

22/4 Five people (four were community leaders) shot dead at Holomisa squatter camp.

24/5 23 killed in Thokoza when residents march to protest detention of 30 Thokoza ANC members; marchers claim police allowed IFP to attack them, then shot and teargassed fleeing marchers; some of dead were shot by police. By the next day at least 17 more people killed in Thokoza and Katlehong fighting (at least 39 dead following march). SADF reinforcements sent to Crossroads and Voslooros, Police escort group of 1000 Zulus into Crossroads "to visit friends"; next day six bodies found in burnt houses.

Over the five days, shootings and running battles in Katlehong and Thokoza leave over 70 dead, including 4 policemen; houses torched; Katlehong Council building burnt down, destroying records of property ownership/ rent for 20 000 people.



Tokoza: Police deny responsibility

THE South African Police yesterday dismissed accusations it had to take responsibility for events leading to the killing on Saturday of 13 people during a march in the East Rand township of Tokoza.

At least 61 other people were injured when hostel dwellers and marchers clashed.

No incidents were re-

ported in Tokoza yesterday.

The Witwatersrand District Commissioner, Lt-Gen Koos Calitz, said police officers had pleaded with both Inkatha Freedom Party-supporting hostel dwellers and ANC march organisers in an attempt to avoid conflict.

were repeatedly asked to move away from the route being followed by the marchers, and the organisers of the march were asked to change their route to avoid a confrontation, Gen Calitz said in a statement.

The requests, however, were ignored.

Newsclip describes the police version of the events of 22 May, 1993 in Tokoza, where Dora Thango's son was killed (see opposite page)



8/6/93
South African Defence Force and SA Police vehicles form a ring of steel around the Mandela squatter camp in Katlehong on the East Rand while security force members conduct shack-to-shack searches early yesterday. Sixty-six people were arrested and a large quantity of arms, including AK-47 rifles and ammunition, was seized during the swoop.
PIC: PAT SEBOKO

Goldstone Commission blames “irresponsible” media for fueling violence with “false rumours” and “unsubstantiated allegations”.

11/6 police release video from helicopter of Thokoza march massacre of 24/5 (above), showing that 10 unidentified gunmen (not linked to ANC marchers) attacked Inkatha hostel from the back when ANC march passed the front, sparking confrontation.

24/6: 30 victims of Thokoza and Katlehong massacres reported buried in paupers’ graves.

30/6 Michael Phama convicted on 21 counts of murder for Thokoza Stadium shootings.

8/7 Clashes near Thokoza hostel; death toll for last six days said by police to be 92; residents claim figure is “in hundreds”. Troops and Internal Stability Unit deployed.

9/7 ANC and IFP in East Rand sign peace pact, which agrees that refugees will return to homes and property will be protected.

12/7: Six bodies in Katlehong and Thokoza after “two days of relative peace” – death toll officially 107 since previous Friday. 3 shot dead in Vosloorus. Shootout between police and residents in Ivory Park, Tembisa.

19/7 Gunmen stop minibus near Scaw Metal, shoot dead all the Zulu men (7 people), release non-Zulus. ANC denounces killers as provocateurs.

22/7 10 to 25 killed in Zenzele squatter camp at Daveyton overnight – dead in two weeks now over 200. ANC statement accuses IFP and police in planning attacks in Zenzele camp; *City Press* says 4 whites present before Zenzele massacre.

23/7 Police shoot dead ANC Civic Association leader while he was monitoring situation by Kwesine hostel.

27/9 57 killed in Daveyton, Katlehong and Thokoza over weekend; kombi attackers shoot 9 dead in Daveyton; two policemen killed (separately)

2/8 Running battles in Tembisa kill 30; police claim residents attacked hostels. One policeman killed. By 3/8 *Citizen*



puts death toll for Thokoza since Friday at 93. *Star* claims number killed in month on the East Rand is 665, with 87 dead since Saturday night; on 4/8 dead numbered at 140; over 100 unclaimed bodies in mortuary.

5/8 SAP mounts machine guns on police vehicles patrolling East Rand townships; police send 2000 more police backed by SADF, with helicopter support, ratels and rooikats.

7/8 Total deaths from Monday Aug 2 to Friday Aug 5: around 150

9/8 34 deaths since Aug 6 – despite 1000 troops in area; 207 dead in 10 days.

17/8 Police ask relatives to identify dead from photos after over 200 victims of violence were buried in paupers' graves.

20/8 Boksburg and Germiston mortuaries currently holding 166 unidentified bodies.

24/8 Gunmen kill 14 at religious meeting at Scaw Metals factory. ANC protests detention of 132 people in East Rand, demands removal of security forces and unrest regulations.

26/8: SAP say 544 people in East Rand since July 3, not including people who died of wounds or dead police; no arrests have been made over any of these deaths.

27/8 3000 SADF troops withdrawn from East Rand townships

2/9 7 policemen arrested for violence in East Rand, for “collaborating with SDUs” (suspended from duty, detained with SDU members)

9/9 ANC calls mass stay-away on 7/9 to protest continued ISU and police presence; 10 killed during stayaway; at least 35 killed in Thokoza and Katlehong after withdrawal of SADF troops on 27/8; 21 killed in two attacks in Wadeville taxi rank

(Police tend to give only numbers of bodies found, with no explanation)

16/9 200 families in Thokosa and 200 in Katlehong flee homes; houses occupied by Inkatha supporters; police refuse to act against invaders. Katlehong Town clerk says over 1000 Katlehong families have left homes because of the violence.

28/9 200 unclaimed bodies at Germiston and Diepkloof mortuaries.

12/10 Michael Phama sentenced to 21 life sentences.

20/10: Police say: 804 killed on East Rand since May this year; 329 injured; 229 detained under unrest regulations, of whom 165 were SDU members, 24 Inkatha, 4 PAC, 4 illegal immigrants, 7 special constables, 1 SAP member, 24 no known affiliation.

28/10: Thokoza and Katlehong women march demanding removal of white police and ISU from township; claim police took a woman to Madala Hostel where she was abused. Police said woman must lay complaint at Thokoza police station (next to Madala hostel).

17/12 Woman claims she was held captive in Kwesine hostel, sexually abused; saw one woman killed, and other women gang-raped; 3 ISU police participated in gang-rape; she escaped. Police ask her to lay a charge; later they say she refused to identify assailants when they took her to Kwesine hostel.

24/12 Police say number of killings on East Rand declined from 12 to 2 per day during the holiday period.

Gunmen slay 12 in attack on factory hostel

THREE gunmen wielding AK-47 assault rifles opened fire on workers at a religious meeting in a Germiston factory hostel yesterday, killing 12 people and wounding 20. Police spokesman Capt Wikus Weber said nine men and a woman were killed instantly, one of the wounded died in hospital and police discovered the body of another man in the hostel later.

Police last night announced a reward of up to R250 000 for information leading to the conviction the attackers.

The hostel is in the grounds of Scaw Metals in Wadeville.

The massacre was immediately condemned by Law and Order Minister Her-

SAP to

LIGHT machine-guns are to be mounted on police vehicles patrolling volatile East Rand townships, a senior police officer said yesterday.

Lieutenant-General Johan Swart said the machine-guns had become necessary so that policemen could better protect themselves.

“We are fed up with the murder of policemen.

“We will not hesitate to respond with full force against anyone who fires at police.”

Gen Swart also announced that the number of policemen in the em-

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