

- a the Sebokeng massacre on 22 July 1990 (twenty-seven killed);
- b the Tembisa Vusimuzi hostel massacre on 12 September 1990 (twenty-five hostel residents killed);
- c the Jeppe Station train attack, Johannesburg, on 13 September 1990 (twenty-six commuters killed);
- d the Thokoza Hostel attack on 2 December 1990 (thirty residents killed);
- e the Sebokeng Funeral Vigil attack on 12 January 1991 (thirteen people killed);
- f the Gobizitwna Beer Hall attack, Sebokeng on 23 May 1991 (thirteen people killed);
- g the Alexandra Funeral Vigil massacre on 12 May 1992 (fifteen people killed);
- h the Swanieville squatter settlement massacre, Kagiso on 12 May 1991 (twenty-eight people killed);
- i the Thokoza hostel attack in May 1993 (sixteen hostel residents killed);
- j the Crossroads squatter camp massacre, Katlehong on 3 April 1992 (twenty-one people killed);
- k the Boipatong massacre, Vaal on 17 June 1992 (forty people killed).

549 In the Vaal, the conflict was triggered by an ANC rally on 2 July 1990. The IFP alleged that speaker after speaker resolved to remove all IFP members from the Vaal townships and to act against the IFP in support of a week-long campaign protesting against the ongoing conflict and violence in KwaZulu-Natal. In the days following the rally, it alleged that ANC-aligned youths attacked the homes and businesses of people perceived to be supporters of the IFP.

550 The IFP called a peace rally in Sebokeng on 22 July 1990. Prior to the rally, COSATU had tried to seek an urgent interdict, on the basis of intelligence reports from hostels which indicated that the IFP were coercing and forcing recruitment of hostel-dwellers. On the day of the rally, ANC supporters gathered outside the stadium and allegedly hurled abuse, and threw stones and petrol bombs at arriving buses. Following the rally, IFP supporters marched through Sebokeng, attacking and killing people on their way back to the hostel complex.