

# APLA warns

*The Citizen* 26-05-93  
 DAR-ES-SALAAM.  
 — The Azanian  
 People's Liberation  
 Army — the armed

wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — yesterday slated the arrest and detention of PAC

leaders and APLA cadres in South Africa.

PAC defence secretary and APLA commander, Sabelo Phama, in a statement to Sapa from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, said APLA condemned the "reactionary action and aggression" against the organisation and demanded the immediate release of those detained.

"APLA is not taking the detention of the PAC leaders and cadres lightly ... and warns the regime that any assault, torture, or death in detention of any of them will result in very serious consequences for the regime," Mr Phama said.

Instructions had been given to APLA's field command and ground-fighters to give "maximum support" to PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu.

APLA called on other PAC wings, including the Pan Africanist Student Organisation and Azanian National Youth Unity, to support any PAC "directive". — Sapa.

16/1/17



ANC youth plan will compound education crisis, says Buthelezi

*The Daily News May 26-93*

# IFP rejects vote proposal

The IFP has accused Nelson Mandela of raising false hopes among young people by recommending a lowering of the voting age, reports Daily News Correspondent **Wilson Mthembu**.

**K**WAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he rejects *in toto* the African National Congress's proposal for the lowering of the voting age to 14.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi yesterday, Dr Buthelezi said such a suggestion emanated from people who put pressure on children to engage in political activity when they should be in school.

During a weekend rally at Dundee in Natal, ANC president Nelson Mandela called for the voting age to be reduced to 14 to accommodate the youth who had left school at 12 and joined the ANC's military wing, Umkontho we Sizwe.

Mr Mandela's controversial call has since been widely criticised by political analysts and legal experts.

Dr Buthelezi said it was unfortunate that Mr Mandela had raised false hopes among the country's lost generation, which was exposed to hardship and political activity, but which did not qualify

them to make a crucial decision of voting for the country.

South Africa was experiencing an educational crisis and such a call only compounded the problem.

He also said the world clamour for "no taxation without representation" applied only to people with responsibility and not to children who were still a responsibility.

Sapa reports that in Parliament yesterday, the MP for Vryheid, Jurie Mentz, reinforced Dr Buthelezi's views on the voting age, saying the ANC seemed set on settling for 16-year-old arsonists.

Speaking in a debate on the Education and Training Vote, Mr Mentz said: "We are not going to trust the Government or the World Trade Centre to settle on this.

"We cannot accept it under any circumstances."

The IFP could not accept that children who belonged in schools would sit on the green and red benches of Parliament and legally destroy the country.

"In this respect the IFP is prepared to start collecting its own stones," he said.

*16/1/14*



## COMMENT

## PAC and the law

**N**OBODY should be above the law — politicians, self-styled freedom fighters or anyone else. That said, we hope the SA Police have solid grounds for yesterday's arrests of seven top-ranking officials and many other PAC/Apla members.

Calls for the sacking of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel are premature, but the onus is on him to back up his statement in Parliament yesterday, and show in court that the widespread raids at this sensitive time were fully justified.

Those arrested are being held in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act or the Internal Security Act. These laws give the police considerable leeway in which to complete their investigations. While the arrests concern a wide range of possible offences, from murder to the illegal possession of firearms, the police need to be alive to accusations that they are politically motivated. They should therefore avoid using security legislation which allows detention without trial, charge the suspects, and release those held for questioning without delay.

Events of the past few months, in which Apla has claimed responsibility for terrorist attacks on civilians and the killing of policemen, give credence to Kriel's statement that the arrests have nothing to do with politics and concern various types of crime.

PAC secretary-general Benny

Alexander naturally condemns the police action, just as the CP condemned the arrest of its President's Council member Clive Derby-Lewis when he was arrested in connection with the assassination of Chris Hani. Derby-Lewis has since been charged, and the same thorough and correct procedure will be expected of police in the PAC investigation.

In this volatile time of escalating violence and high emotion, there has been a discernible tendency in some quarters to equate crime with legitimate political activity. Government or company vehicles are regarded as handy targets by rioting schoolchildren, and motorists who try to avoid being robbed are chided or assaulted for being "arrogant". Policemen and women going off duty in the early hours are murdered, and only this week the PAC said it regarded the killing of white farmers as a legitimate Apla activity. PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzhivanani, who was among those arrested, made sure there was no misunderstanding by adding that this was official PAC policy.

The PAC cannot expect support for this outrageous standpoint from people who see such killings for what they are — murder. But by the same yardstick government should not fall into a similar way of thinking, and release convicted criminals on dubious amnesties. This, too, debases the common law.



# focus on Tambo

16/1/11

IT WAS the gentle-mannered Oliver Tambo who, almost single-handedly, built up the external wing of the African National Congress and its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It was he who piloted the movement through the three decades it was banned in the country that gave it birth.

And it was Tambo who masterminded the Harare Declaration which in 1989 paved the way for negotiations with the South African Government.

Tambo was born on October 27 1917 in Bizana in eastern Pondoland. The son of a peasant farmer, he attended mission schools in the territory before going on to the Anglican-run St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg in 1933.

In 1938 he enrolled at Fort Hare, where he was recognised as a brilliant student, and graduated with a B Sc. He went on to study for an education diploma but was expelled a month before examinations for organising a student protest.

It was at Fort Hare that Tambo met Mr Nelson Mandela.

In 1944 he became a founder-member of the ANC Youth League, formed to press for a more militant approach in the organisation.

In 1945 he was appointed vice-president of the ANCYL and in 1949 he was elected to the ANC national executive.

He was articled to a law firm in 1948 and in 1952 joined Mandela to form the first African law partnership in South Africa.

In 1954 he was banned from attending political meetings, although this did not prevent him from continuing to work for the ANC. In 1955 he was elected secretary-general of the movement and in 1958 became deputy president-general.

In 1956 he was arrested and briefly held on charges of treason. The charges were dropped in 1957.

Also in 1956 he married Miss Adelaide Tshukudu, with whom he was to have three children. On the way to the church, bride, groom and best man were arrested for a pass law offence and bundled into a police van — but were released just in time for the ceremony.

In 1959 Tambo's banning was renewed and the ANC, suspecting that the State was about to ban the movement, decided he should leave the country to rally international support against the South African Government.

"We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle," he recalled in later years.

He slipped across the border into Bechuanaland in 1960, a week after Sharpeville and just before the ANC and PAC were banned, and spent some time in protective custody there because of fears he might be kidnapped by South

Threats by Government agents, ill-health and a nomadic lifestyle fraught with danger failed to douse his determination to forge the African National Congress into a major political force, reports Sapa.



Oliver Tambo ... built the ANC in exile.

African agents.

From there he went to Tanganyika, where he met nationalist leader Mr Julius Nyerere, and on to Ghana, to meet Dr Kwame Nkrumah, before going to London.

In London he was instrumental in the formation of the short-lived South African United Front, which included the ANC, PAC, SACP and what was to become Swapo.

He also began to organise the political and military training of Umkhonto cadres and to mobilise world support for the ANC's armed struggle.

When Chief Albert Luthuli died in 1967, Tambo was elected acting president, and in 1977 president.

Tambo acted as the movement's roving ambassador, meeting senior government representatives in a string of countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It was a measure of the ANC's success in isolating Pretoria, he said, that by 1989 the organisation had more representatives abroad than the South African Government.

However, Tambo paid a price in personal terms. For decades he shuttled between safe houses in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, seeing his wife and children in their London home only rarely.

During these years Tambo, who was a devout

Christian and in fact nearly entered the priesthood in 1956, remained an uncompromising proponent of the armed struggle.

In an address on the 75th anniversary of the ANC in 1987, he said: "The need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war. And yet, if the opponents of democracy have their way, we will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace."

In the same year he publicly described "necklace" murders as barbaric — a statement which South African newspapers were refused permission to quote.

Tambo masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration, the ANC's blueprint for negotiations which invited talks with the South African Government when the right political climate had been created in the country.

During the two years he worked on the compilation of the document he suffered two minor strokes but continued to press on with the task of completing it and ensuring its acceptance.

In August 1989 he suffered a major stroke which left him partly paralysed and impaired his speech.

He flew into South Africa under a temporary indemnity in December 1990 to attend the ANC's first consultative conference inside the country since its banning, and received a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts Airport.

He returned to South Africa permanently on June 23 1991. At the ANC national conference that followed a fortnight later, he was succeeded in the presidency by Mandela but was appointed to the post of national chairman instead.

Before handing over the reins, he urged the ANC to adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle.

"To go back means defeat and it would also be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa."

In July 1991 Tambo headed an ANC delegation to talks on forming an anti-apartheid "patriotic front" with some leaders of the bantustans and other black opposition groupings.

Earlier that year he was awarded an honorary doctorate in law by the University of the Western Cape and accepted the chancellorship of Fort Hare.

He was also treated that year in a Johannesburg clinic for pneumonia. — Sapa.



# Unite now for peace, urges ANC & SAP 'should directly

*The Natal Mercury 26-05-93*  
**control KZP**

LONG-term peace in South Africa could not be achieved through the balkanisation of the country or dividing it into semi-autonomous regions inspired by concerns about power and privilege.

In his address to a regional ANC peace summit in Durban at the weekend, the organisation's southern Natal chairman, Mr Jeff Radebe, said freedom could not be served through "the active creation of unholy alliances between fascism and the struggle for black liberation".

He was referring to the Inkatha Freedom Party's links with the right wing.

Mr Radebe said there were people in the IFP who were "tired of the manipulation by little grey men whose concerns are foreign to the interests of South Africans and Natal".

**By Greg Knowler**

He alleged that the Zulu's King Goodwill Zwelithini was being "degraded" in the eyes of his people through "partisan political manoeuvres".

"The ANC rejects with contempt attempts to portray loyalty to the IFP and the KwaZulu homeland government as loyalty to our history and our heritage," Mr Radebe said.

He said much of the Natal violence was through a third force and most of the ANC's peace efforts had been directed towards this.

Mr Radebe said the right wing might be small in numbers but was strategically

placed throughout Natal. He said the armed formations of the AWB "and other such fascist groups" drew their

strength from the security forces.

This raised a challenge for the ANC alliance to intensify its struggle for peace and a speedy transition to power.

"... we see such initiatives as moving us forward to seeing the day when the security forces will, for the first time in our country, become accountable and responsible to the communities they are supposed to serve."

He congratulated a local peace initiative in Kwa-Makutha by the ANC and IFP. The township forms part of violence-racked Umtata, and Mr Radebe said the peace moves should be supported to ensure the area turned into a second Mpumalanga.

Peace initiatives in Mpumalanga have ended the

violence in the township, situated between Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

Mr Radebe said the recent meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not an isolated event in the peace process and should be seen in the context of a greater peace plan for the country.

"Unfortunately there were many people who placed too much emphasis on the idea that a meeting between the leaders of our two organisations would be sufficient to bring about peace."

He again called for joint peace rallies and public support by both the ANC and IFP for free political activity particularly in Natal, and said

they were now able to build a platform for peace based on the eight-point peace plan announced last month.

THE SA police should assume direct control over the Kwa-Zulu police to counteract its alleged abuse of authority and power, said ANC southern Natal executive member Dr Ian Phillips.

Delivering a paper on the role of the security forces during the transition period, Dr Phillips said under this arrangement the alleged indiscriminate issuing of firearms and firearm licences to Inkatha Freedom Party supporters would cease.

"Through the application of his powers as minister of police in KwaZulu, Dr Buthelezi has effectively transformed the KZP into the IFP's private army through repeated instructions for them to counteract the so-called 'threat to the Zulu nation' which he perceives the transition to democracy represents," Dr Phillips said.

The IFP's current stance at  
**Mercury Reporter**

negotiations and its threats of withdrawing to form its own forum with its Cosag allies made the KZP "an even looser cannon than it is at present", he said.

"With no guarantees that the political authority over the KZP is itself prepared to remain in the negotiation process, control over its armed wing must be relinquished now."

Dr Phillips said that "no amount of retraining" would change the attitude of the KZP men or the perception held by the public towards them.

He also accused the SAP's internal stability unit of having an "aggressive attitude"

towards the community and "particularly ANC-aligned areas".

"Its activities, from the offi-

cer commanding to the policemen themselves, are testimony to the eagerness with which the ISU involves itself in local disputes not to secure peace but rather to aggravate the situation further."

Dr Phillips also disputed the SAP's contention that it had no power to act in Kwa-Zulu areas because the homeland fell out of its jurisdiction.

ANC legal department head and Eastern Transvaal chairman Matthew Phosa later called for the ISU to be disbanded.

"The police have a serious problem with legitimacy. There is a stubborn resistance in this force at general staff level which is all Afrikaner, white and male-dominated," Mr Phosa said.

"It is for the masses to say how they want to be policed and not for the police to decide."

*The Natal Mercury*

16/1/11



BUSINESS DAY 26/05/93

# World awaits clear signal from SA, says Crocker

RAY HARTLEY

INTERNATIONAL investors were looking for clear signals from all SA's political parties that the world should engage in SA economically before they would decide to invest here, former US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker said yesterday.

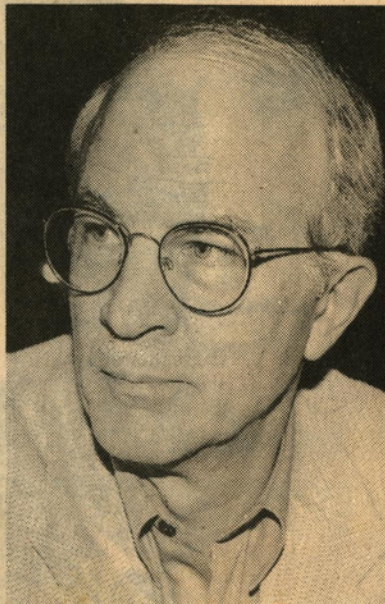
"Investors are looking for more than one news bulletin. They are looking for a track record as well as the news bulletin. They are looking for some announcements, they are looking for some invitations," he said in an interview.

"They are looking for clear signals which must come from the highest level from all parties, saying 'now is the moment at which we want the world to engage here'."

Crocker cautioned that to be effective, such signals would have to be accompanied by greater clarity on SA's future economic policy.

"Some people are going to say: what about the emerging policies of a transitional government, what about the policy statements that need to happen about all sorts of economic matters? They are not there yet."

Referring to negotiations, Crocker said he believed there was a "balance



● CROCKER

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

of impatience" among negotiators.

"I hope that is the case, because you cannot blow too many opportunities in this world when you are building a negotiated revolution.

"I definitely believe that this is the window (to the subregion). An entire year was lost after Codesa II and a huge price was paid. We can't remain

optimists if this gets messed up again," he said.

Crocker remained optimistic because of SA's talented leadership. "There is a sense in which time is passing for the leadership, and I think they know it, not least because the gap between the negotiators and the general public is huge.

"I do believe that there is a negotiating culture that has developed over the years. There is clarity about who the players are, clarity about what their positions are; the issues that are outstanding are no secret, and people know each other.

"SA's number one priority is SA, and if the handshake can take place and the TEC starts to function and we move towards the elections ... the main focus will be on how to build consensus about policies in SA.

"That is probably the number one policy," Crocker said.

There was a "tremendous gap between people who participate in the process and people who don't.

"I think there is always a sort of struggle between the people who are trying to shape events by talking about the future and negotiating it on the one hand and the happenings on the ground, and when those things get out of control there are very dangerous times," he said.

## ANC branch on Pretoria campus

DIRK VAN EEDEN

ABOUT 100 people attended the launch of an ANC student branch at Pretoria University yesterday. And in the building next door, Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen addressed about 300 students.

Tukkies ANC chairman Graham Maitland said afterwards he was glad the branch, the organisation's first on a traditionally Afrikaans campus, had started with "such a powerful force".

"This is one of the most repressive campuses in SA. However, we have come to realise that where there is repression, there is usually strong opposition to that repression," he said.

Events since early 1990 had made the country swing between moments of high expectations and despair.

Viljoen, too, referred to swings in the

nation's mood. He called for time to allow emotions to cool.

The political playing field was not level, Viljoen said.

The ANC and SACP were abusing black nationalism and emotions for political gain. Black people were intimidated and, therefore, could not make a truly democratic choice in an election.

"The biggest mistake at this stage would be a unitary state," he said.

Students cheered as Viljoen told them the Volksfront was not looking for war.

But the Afrikaner should not be underestimated, he said.

"If we are threatened, we will protect ourselves with everything in our power. We are ready."



THE BUSINESS DAY 26/05/93

# Does the president have the right stuff, asks Washington

**I**S THE Washington political establishment seriously down on Bill Clinton or, in its own way, merely testing him? If the former, are his current troubles comparable to those that eventually paralysed Jimmy Carter and, domestically, George Bush? If the latter, does he have the stuff to pass the exam?

The questions have to be recognised because Washington, where comment is the staff of life, is asking them insistently. The rest of the country seems more patient with the new president but it is still plugged into what comes out of the capital. It is possible to win the White House by running against Washington, as Carter, Ronald Reagan and Clinton demonstrated. But once installed, a president has to come to terms with his new neighbours. He may seduce them, cow them, deal with them or even go over their heads — avoid them he cannot.

The establishment itself is both easy and hard to define. Its clear component parts are the politicians, the media and the special interest lobbies. At present there is no denying their collective appetite for Clinton's flesh. The issues may be Bosnia, deficit reduction, still unannounced health care reform, gays in the military, campaign financing, federal land use, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and more; and they are drawing blood. For the first time, there has been a touch of petulance in the president's responses and an acceptance, in the recent White House staff reshuffle, that some of the criticisms have merit.

**I**t was no coincidence that the president chose to take his economic message, campaign-style, on the road for several days. It was equally predictable that he was promptly criticised for leaving Washington, just as he had been previously attacked for not getting out and about enough.

Even commentators sympathetic to Clinton have taken on a harder edge. David Gergen of US News wrote: "Friend and foe alike think he can be rolled. . . . He has a wonderful

head and a big heart, but people are looking for more backbone." This is most evident in Clinton's relations with Congress, where politicians can no longer be defined simply by their party allegiance.

The adjustment after 12 years to a Democrat in the White House is proving harder for the president's own party than for the Republicans. Their universal public catechism is that they want him to succeed, not least because if he fails they may go down too, but many have difficulty separating the general wood from their own favourite trees.

In the House last week teeth were bared by a group of fiscal conservatives led by Congressmen Charles Stenholm of Texas and Tim Penny of Minnesota, now strengthened by Congressman Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma, a bosom friend of Clinton until he was not rewarded with either the defence department or the CIA. Their beef is that the president's deficit reduction plan relies too much on revenue raising and not enough on spending cuts.

House Speaker Tom Foley, nursing a comfortable Democratic majority, can probably contain their opposition by cracking the whip.

But the more independent-minded Senate is a tougher nut to crack, as witnessed on Thursday when David Boren, the Democrat from the oil state of Oklahoma and a key member of the finance committee that has a Democratic majority of only 11 to nine, joined Missouri Republican John Danforth in proposing deeper spending cuts and fewer new taxes. Their plan probably cannot pass the Senate but their opposition makes more problematic and protracted the enactment of Clinton's version of the package.

**T**he proliferation of special Democratic causes is also pressing Clinton. Senator Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, a wily operator in defence of his state's oil and gas interests, will ride his other hobby horse, a value-added tax, for all it is worth, including siding with Boren and Danforth. Congressman Richard Gephardt of Missouri and Senator Max Baucus of Montana have laid down clear markers on Nafta passage, as has Senator George Mitchell, the majority leader, on renewing China's most favoured nation trading status.

Congress is also set in some of its other ways, seemingly oblivious to last year's electoral mandate for change. For example, much of the blame for the slowness in administration appointments lies with the

White House's relentless pursuit of diversity — but not all of it. In the Senate last week a routine session to confirm 16 nominees was delayed endlessly by special pleadings for potato farmers in Maine, a commuter trunk road in St Louis, and changes in the Treasury's family income statistics.

If the body politic is fretting, the media are even more fractious. Instant punditry is now the norm, no longer confined to the established columnists or notorious talk show hosts. Every action by the president is deemed worthy of an absolute life or death verdict, as in some Roman amphitheatre. The sense of government and politics as a process is getting lost.

Clinton shares some blame for this phenomenon, because his chronic activism invites so many judgments. Also, unlike Reagan and Bush, both often inarticulate unless speaking from a script, his natural tendency, now slightly curbed, is to talk knowledgeably on any given subject. This still delights many, but it also may confuse the public as much as it enlightens.

The Bosnian petard has been illustrative. Having tried, like the grand old Duke of York, to march the American people and the allies up the hill of forceful intervention, his retreat, even if understandable, reinforces an impression of indecision.

Some of the media assaults seem less well founded. Last week's controversies over the sacking of the White House travel staff for non-competitive practices and sloppy bookkeeping, and the circumstances of Clinton's haircut on board Air Force One at Los Angeles Airport, do not suggest a willingness to give the president a fair shake. But they do

increase the perception that he is vulnerable.

Explanations include a media sense that he got too easy a ride at the end (not the beginning) of last year's campaign; and a punchier and more herd-like brand of contemporary political journalism, which is now more of a blood sport and less of a contemplative occupation. In a sense, Clinton's good start — the first budget Bill passed, Boris Yeltsin succoured, fine speeches given — set him up for a fall.

Observing the political and media fray is Washington's largest private sector industry — the special interest lobbyists. They are a target of Clinton, who wants to take away some of their tax deductions. While it is far too facile to place all lobbyists in the hall of reactionary shame normally reserved for the National Rifle Association, it is dangerous to ignore their power.

**O**ne such clash of the lobbying titans already endangers health care reform even before its unveiling. Abortion rights advocates are demanding that national health insurance cover be provided to all reproductive services while the right to life forces are threatening to scuttle the whole package if a single cent is spent to reimburse abortions. Totally lost in the passionate wash is the reality that only a minute share of national health care costs is accounted for by abortions.

It has always been said of Clinton that he is a fast learner.

In Washington he is expected to be the boss, using whatever tactics work. The first year is when that essence of leadership needs to be shown. In short, he needs to win "a big one" — and soon. — Financial Times.



## ANC raises *The Star* students' *26/05/93* hackles

Members of the newly formed ANC branch at the University of Pretoria were reviled by right-wing students yesterday when they sang Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika directly after the official launch of the ANC student body.

Less than 100 ANC-supporting students gathered outside a hall on the Pretoria campus where Afrikaner Volksfront coordinator General Constand Viljoen addressed about 750 other students and lecturers at a lunch-time meeting.

When the students emerged from the hall they were met by the strains of the liberation anthem, and some of them shouted "You suck!" and squared up to the choir.

No blows were exchanged, but campus security officers videotaped the incident.

French honours student Graham Maitland was elected chairman of the ANC branch.

He said ANC-supporting students could expect a "phase of harassment" from right-wing students on the campus.

Maitland said the branch would launch a membership drive and also make an input to the university's management on affirmative action on behalf of black university employees, who are mainly labourers. — Sapa.

16/1/11



BUSINESS DAY 26/05/93

Dear Sir,

JOB Mokgoro and Zunaid Moolla of the Macroeconomic Research Group complain (Letters, May 18) about "irresponsible journalism" which "malign(s) the reputation of two internationally renowned economists".

It is, of course, possible that Ben Fine and Laurence Harris are just as internationally renowned as Mokgoro and Moolla claim. However, they do not deny that these gentlemen have been members of the British Communist Party, or that it was indeed one of the most Stalinist in the world. They are content instead to suggest that this does not "necessarily" make Fine and Harris Stalinists.

This is akin to arguing that membership of the Nazi Party did not "necessarily" make one anti-Semitic.

The point is obvious. It makes sense to assume that membership of a Stalinist party confers impeccable Stalinist credentials. If Fine and Harris have indeed been members of the British Communist Party, then

## Renowned Stalinist economists, maybe

SA's public is entitled to know just when they ceased being Stalinists.

Or do Mokgoro and Moolla believe SA's public is made up of gullible patsies ready to have Stalinist economic doctrine in social democratic camouflage foisted upon them?

**SINCLAIR DAVIDSON, HENRY KENNY, DANIEL LEACH, STEVEN MEYER, DAVID ROCHE-KELLY, MATTHEW GROSSETT**

**School of Economic and Business Studies  
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Fire Kriel, says Ramaphosa

# PAC arrests place talks in jeopardy

THE negotiations process was rocked yesterday by the announcement that 49 PAC members had been arrested in countrywide raids.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said negotiations were hanging by a thread.

The PAC walked out of talks at the World Trade Centre in protest, and president Clarence Makwetu said last night the PAC would not take part in negotiations while its members remained in jail, Reuter reports.

Ramaphosa called for Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to be sacked, saying he had "wrecked the process".

But Kriel defended his department's actions, saying the negotiations process gave no one the right to commit a crime.

The SAP had been investigating crimes to which PAC and Apla members were allegedly linked and believed there was sufficient prima facie evidence to arrest suspects. The arrests were made in connection with murder, attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the SAP, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and hand grenades and planning of further attacks on SAP members and civilians.

"Every suspect is being questioned in connection with a specific crime, or complicity with regard to such crimes or because he may be in possession of information on criminal acts," Kriel said.

The PAC and Apla members were arrested in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act and the Internal Security Act. Kriel

## Business Day Reporters

said he had asked the SAP to bring the suspects before court or to release them as soon as possible.

The 26-party negotiations council — which postponed its business yesterday to Friday — passed a resolution condemning the "insensitive manner in which the recent actions and arrests against the leadership of the PAC were undertaken".

The resolution, which was not endorsed by government, the NP, Bophuthatswana and the Afrikaner Volksunie, said the council was "appalled" by the effect of police actions on the peace process and by the unnecessary delays caused.

A special council session tomorrow night will debate the implications of the action against the PAC.

Among those detained are top PAC officials Enoch Zulu, Jackie Seroke, Thomas Likotsi, Walter Toboti, Maxwell Nemadzihivanani, Abel Dube and Raymond Fihla.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the clampdown amounted to banning: "The PAC has effectively been rendered unworkable."

He claimed he had escaped from police custody when a neighbour let him out of a police vehicle outside his Ennerdale home yesterday morning. However, police claimed he had been released after questioning about a firearm in his possession.

Alexander said the arrests were calculated to remove the PAC from talks during the week in which dates for elections and

□ To Page 2



## PAC arrests

the implementation of transitional executive councils would be decided.

Ramaphosa, referring to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said: "The Minister here says they (government's negotiations team) did not know of the action until after it had happened. I am also told that President F W de Klerk did not know. Who is running the country? Here they sit unashamedly and say they are negotiating in good faith."

Meyer said government would wait until tomorrow's debate, where the full facts would be presented, before reacting. However, he noted that Nemadzhivanani had said all farmers were legitimate targets for Apla attacks.

In reaction to the Ramphosa's comments that the President had not known about the arrests, a government spokes-

man said the President did not comment on communications between himself and Ministers. It has emerged, however, that Meyer, government's chief negotiator, did not know the arrests were imminent and was seriously embarrassed by the incident. Police sources said there was no obligation on the part of the police to inform all Ministers of impending actions.

The CP welcomed the police action, and DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said while police had a duty to act on good information linking individuals to a crime, the timing of the arrests seemed "expedient" and the onus was on police to bring charges as a matter of urgency.

☐ Report by: Tim Cohen, Billy Paddock, Ray Hartley and Wilson Zwane.

● Comment: Page 10

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*Business Day 26/05/93*



## PAC arrests

claimed he had been released after questioning about a firearm in his possession.

Alexander said the arrests were calculated to remove the PAC from talks during the week in which dates for elections and the implementation of the transitional executive council would be decided.

A PAC delegate to the talks Gora Ebrahim said that if government did not release its members, the PAC would not be able to attend further council meetings. He said there was a slogan in the PAC that "once the ballot is there, the bullet goes", meaning the armed struggle would be suspended once an election was announced.

Ramaphosa, referring to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said: "The Minister here says they (government's negotiations team) did not know of the action until after it had happened. I am also told that President F W de Klerk did not know. Who is running the country? Here they sit unashamedly and say they are negotiating in good faith."

Meyer said government would wait until tomorrow's debate, when the full facts would be presented, before reacting. However, he noted that Nemadzhivanani had said all farmers were legitimate targets for Apla attacks.

In reaction to Ramaphosa's comments that the President had not known about the arrests, a government spokesman said the President did not comment on communications between himself and Ministers.

It has emerged, however, that Meyer,

government's chief negotiator, did not know the arrests were imminent and was seriously embarrassed by the incident, which exposed tensions within the Cabinet.

Senior police sources said there was no obligation on the part of the police to inform all Ministers of impending actions.

A spokesman for Meyer told Sapa last night government's negotiating Ministers were not involved in any decision to proceed with the police strike.

The CP welcomed the police action, and DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said while police had a duty to act on good information linking individuals to the commission of a crime, the timing of the arrests seemed "expedient" and the onus was on police to bring charges as a matter of urgency.

Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said the police investigation was conducted in close consultation with the Transvaal attorney-general, he said, and further investigations would be done in consultation with the respective attorneys-general in the country.

With the information at their disposal, police felt this was the right time to act, he said. The timing was also appropriate because it allowed Parliament to discuss the matter during the debate on the police budget vote, if necessary.

Report by: Tim Cohen, Billy Paddock, Ray Hartley and Wilson Zwane.

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Patrick Laurence examines Mandela's call for the voting age to be lowered

# Playing to rebellious gallery

THE STAR

26/05/93

**N**ELSON MANDELA'S call for the qualifying age for the vote to be lowered to 14 has taken South Africa by surprise, astounding his political opponents and perhaps even catching some officials in the African National Congress off guard.

His call, made during a tour of Natal, comes in the wake of, and in contradiction to, an ANC submission to the multiparty negotiation forum that the qualifying age for the vote should be 18.

The timing of Mandela's call and his apparent willingness to contest the official ANC view, as defined in the submission to the multiparty talks, suggests that his stand was prompted by political considerations in the past few days.

One view, expressed by Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party and Piet Coetzer of the National Party, is that Mandela is attempting to gratify the restless youth in the black community.

"It has more to do with placating a rebellious youth constituency than influencing the constitutional negotiations," Andrew declares. Coetzer argues: "It is clear

to all of us that the ANC has lost control and influence over large sections of its youth."

There is some evidence to support these contentions: during the student boycott in protest against examination fees, ANC calls for them to return to class were largely ignored.

The celebrated case involving Allan Boesak, ANC chairman in the Western Cape, is pertinent: when he urged protesting students in the Western Cape to desist from actions which could jeopardise their lives, Vuyiso Tyhalisisu, a student leader declared in full view of television cameras: "Comrade Boesak is ill-informed. We are in charge, not Comrade Boesak."

Mandela's reaction to calls by young blacks for guns is also relevant. Instead of rebuffing them and urging them to concentrate on their studies, he has advised them to join the ANC's guerilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, so that they could have guns as members of a disciplined force rather than as individuals.

These episodes support the inference that Mandela's call for the

vote to be extended to 14-year-olds is a bid to get on-sides with them, to placate them in order to retain their allegiance.

There is, however, an alternative, more cynical explanation doing the rounds among journalists. The supposition is that the ANC is in the process of making major concessions at the multiparty negotiations and that the call to enfranchise 14-year-olds is a diversion, an attempt to camouflage its reported conciliatory stance at the talks.

Mandela's rationale for extending the vote — that children from the age of 12 have contributed to the "liberation struggle" and are therefore entitled to the vote — is interpreted as an obfuscatory dance of dust and flies.

But, against these interpretations, ANC officials and/or ANC sympathisers argue that the pressure to lower the voting age has not built up suddenly but, on the contrary, has been maturing steadily over the last few months.

Ronnie Mamoepa, a spokesman for the ANC's department of information and publicity, recalls that Mandela first raised the ques-

tion of lowering the voting age at an election workshop at the beginning of the year.

Mandela challenged the orthodox view that 18 was an appropriate age to receive the vote during a discussion at the workshop, Mamoepa says, quoting his leader as countering objections with the argument that 14-year-olds who are old enough to fight for freedom are old enough to vote when it is won.

At that conference, Mamoepa adds, Mandela listed seven countries where people younger than 18 can vote: Afghanistan, Brazil, Cuba, Iran, Indonesia, North Korea and Nicaragua.

Mandela, according to statements attributed to him during his Natal visit, now believes that these countries have established an international norm to which South Africa should conform. "Our country should be no exception," he is reported to have said.

Zola Skweyiya, the ANC's constitutional expert, points to another link in the chronological chain leading to Mandela's advocacy of giving the vote to 14-year-olds: a conference of religious leaders where the idea of lower-

ing the qualifying age to 16 was mooted.

But to show that Mandela's stance is the product of a process, and not a sudden whim, does not explain why he chose to go public on what had been an in-house debate and still less why he decided to contradict the official ANC position in the midst of delicate negotiations.

The ANC Youth League backs his call and rejects "with contempt" those who interpret Mandela's plea as political opportunism. The Youth League labels them "apologists of the National Party".

But there is no doubt that the ANC would be the immediate and main beneficiary of a decision to enfranchise South Africans from the age of 14. ANC support is concentrated overwhelmingly in the majority black community and it is primarily black voters whose numbers will be augmented if teenagers between 14 and 17 are added to the estimated 22 million eligible voters.

J M Calitz, a demographer with the Development Bank of Southern Africa, notes that the median

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age of the black population is 17.1, meaning that half the black community is 17 years old or younger.

Enfranchisement of the 14-17 age cohort will add 4.7 million black voters to the electorate, against, in round figures, 320 000 whites, 202 000 coloureds and 80 000 Indians.

But any gains Mandela may make for the ANC, by pacifying the restless teenagers in his constituency with sympathetic rhetoric, are likely to be lost in the long run.

Mandela has implicitly put himself and the ANC in the same camp as regimes which, with one or two exceptions, are seen as tyrannical by the established multi-party democracies. He has reinforced anxieties first raised by his proclamations of fraternity with, and admiration for, Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro and Muammar Gaddafi.

A future ANC government may thus find its task of attracting foreign investment to the "new South Africa" complicated, a development which may make it vulnerable to the same angry and disaffected youth. □

PLAYING TO REBELLIOUS  
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## APLA linked to 50 attacks since Jan '92

Citizen Reporter

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) has been linked to at least 50 attacks since the start of last year, police confirmed yesterday.

APLA involvement is suspected in at least 11 attacks so far this year, and a further 39 last year.

Of these, 18 took place in the Transvaal, 11 in the Orange Free State and 21 in the Cape.

APLA has claimed responsibility in at least 10 instances.

Weapons used in APLA strikes include R-4, R-5 and AK-47 rifles, handgrenades, petrol bombs, 9 mm pistols, wooden batons studded with nails and, in one case, a Russian-made limpet mine.

This year alone, APLA operatives are believed to have been responsible for:

- The freeing of an APLA member under police guard in hospital.
- Five attacks on civilians.
- One attack on a farm.
- One attack on the security forces.

Police arrested APLA members in possession of illegal firearms on three occasions.

In a preliminary investigation into APLA activities, the Goldstone Commission, in March, directly linked APLA to 33 terror attacks in which 16 people died and several were injured.

It found APLA involvement in at least 15

attacks on policemen and 13 attacks on farm houses.

It also linked APLA to three attacks on houses in Ficksburg, an attack on the King William's Town Golf Club — in which four people died and 17 were injured — and attacks on restaurants in Queenstown and other parts of the eastern Cape — in which at least 19 people were injured.

APLA claimed responsibility for the shooting in Eikenhof during March in which a mother and two children died, but seven alleged ANC members were arrested in connection with the attack.

It also claimed credit for an attack on East London's Highgate Hotel, during May, in which five people died and seven others were wounded.

APLA further claimed responsibility for an ambush in Dobsourville, Soweto, in May, in which four police officers — including a woman — died and five were injured.

Police said that among the 39 suspected APLA attacks last year, 12 were on the security forces, 13 on farms and 10 on civilians.

At least 12 policemen died in these attacks.



## CP hails arrest of 'terrorists'

THE Conservative Party welcomed the arrests yesterday of top Pan Africanist Congress leaders, saying it seemed continued CP pressure on the government to act against "terrorist organisations" was reaping results.

The CP, however, expressed concern that the government had not acted against African National

Congress/Umkhonto we Sizwe members as well. It seemed the government was acting selectively and was not conducting a proper onslaught against all "terrorist organisations".

The CP said actions should also be taken against ANC/MK members and ANC self-defence units as it appeared

they were involved in attacks and "revolutionary violence" against Whites.

The CP alleged the ANC/MK alliance had more "terrorist power" than the PAC/Azanian People's Liberation Army alliance and that ANC/MK were responsible for most terror attacks, while APLA — in terms of an agreement

with the ANC — then claimed responsibility for such attacks.

APLA and MK also operated together as a "third Communist power" in addition to close co-operation between them in separate actions, the CP claimed.

State President De Klerk at the opening of Parliament had made "a big deal" out of the arrest of 18 alleged APLA members, of whom 14 turned out to be school-children.

"It was thus just a political trick to create the impression that the government was acting against terrorism, while the government was not planning to do so at all."

The CP warned the government not to use yesterday's PAC arrests for propaganda, not to gamble with the public's "feelings about security", and to act consistently against all terrorists and their organisations. — Sapa.



## Grenade blast at demo: One dead

By Rika van Graan and Sapa

A YOUNG Black man was killed and about 14 people were injured when a hand-grenade was hurled at the entrance of the TrustBank Building in George Street, Kimberley, yesterday afternoon.

The incident occurred shortly after police station commander, Major Stoffel Uys, received a memorandum from ANC Youth League members.

The hand-grenade which was allegedly hurled from inside the crowd at about 1.15 pm, struck the face of an Eskom security guard and landed at the spot where the major had been standing seconds before.

It caused damage of about R10 000 to the building and bystanders were injured by shrapnel.

Police immediately cordoned off the area.

The dead man has not yet been identified.

Police and the African National Congress have given differing versions of what happened.

The northern Cape ANC and its Youth

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## Grenade blast at demo

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League claimed in statements that police fired live ammunition at fleeing marchers after the grenade exploded.

Police spokesman, Maj Loubser, denied this version.

The ANC and ANCYL also claimed witnesses in the crowd saw a white man throw the grenade while standing among policemen.

Maj Loubser said he knew nothing about this, but would value such information for investigations into a charge of terrorism.

The explosion occurred at an ANCYL march at which memoranda were to be given to the Bophuthatswana consul, the Department of Education and Culture and the South African Police.

A police statement said: "The hand-grenade was allegedly thrown from the crowd to the entrance of the (TrustBank) building just after station commander Maj Uys received the memorandum on behalf of the

South African Police, then walked inside.

"The grenade struck a security guard in the face, after which it exploded next to the entrance of the building."

Media officers, Mafu Davids, of the ANCYL, and Pakes Dikgetai, of the northern Cape ANC, said witnesses claimed that as the people were fleeing the explosion, police fired live ammunition and birdshot at them.

"They also arrested more than 20 people."

Police said no arrests had been made.

The incident was the first in which a member of the United Nations observer mission and members of the National Peace Secretariat were injured while monitoring events in South Africa.

The ANC said among the injured were its regional secretary, William Steenkamp, regional chairman of the northern Cape Peace Committee, the Rev Mabija, regional secretary of the Peace Committee, Advocate Nel, a United Nations observer, regional

chairman of the ANC Youth League, John Block and South African Council of Churches fieldworker, the Rev Phenyeko.

The ANC added: "We view this attack as a well calculated and planned action by the assailant. It is quite obvious that the assailant threw the grenade with precision and skill. After the attack he skillfully disappeared in front of the police. Surprisingly the police began shooting at the fleeing protesters."

National Peace Secretariat chairman, Dr Anthonie Gildenhuys, last night expressed the secretariat's shock at the incident.

"The people of the peace structures and the international observers have fearlessly and unbiassedly devoted themselves to peace and the resolving of conflict in the northern Cape."

Police said United Nations observer, Mr Kassandrah, was not seriously injured.

A UN spokesman said representatives would travel to Kimberley to gather more information.



## Reef unrest toll now 51

By Sapa and Hugo Hagen

THE toll in East Rand township violence yesterday rose to 51 since Saturday, with police finding 21 bodies yesterday.

Bodies were recovered across the township, with the highest single count of eight bodies, all with bullet wounds, being found in Twala section, close to the Tokoza migrant labourer hostels. Three of the bodies were found in Letsoho Street, three blocks from the hostels.

Five people were shot in Mngadi section, bordering Tokoza.

The charred remains of a man and a woman were discovered locked in the boot of a burnt-out car in the Zonke-

'Ziswe squatter camp.

Bodies with gunshot wounds were recovered in Mokade, Ramakonopi, Mavimbela and in the Mandela Park squatter camp on Kettle-hong's outskirts.

A man was stabbed to death in Radebe and a charred body was found in Ndhazi, police said.

At least 500 people fleeing the violence or left homeless when their shacks were burnt down at the weekend spent the night at Natalspruit

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## Toll now 51

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Hospital, authorities confirmed.

Police threw a ring of steel around the township yesterday, restricting access through police roadblocks at all township entrances.

Burning barricades marked the township's streets and police used shotguns, rubber bullets and teargas in answer to running gun, petrol bomb and stone-throwing attacks.

Journalists covering the events also came under fire several times, and at one stage a group of journalists had to take cover for more than five minutes after being caught in the crossfire between the police and gunmen.

The Citizen's team

was among a group, which included well-identified Peace Corps observers, which was fired upon with an R-1 rifle in Tokoza.

The violence is widely believed to have been sparked by the slaying of 13 people in clashes involving African National Congress/Inkatha Freedom Party sympathisers and police in Tokoza on Saturday.

Both the ANC and IFP have called for an urgent judicial inquiry into Saturday's killings and police have been criticised for their handling of the situation.

The SAP, in their reaction yesterday, screened a police video taken during Saturday's events, which clearly showed they negotiated with ANC and hostel representatives in an effort to avoid fighting.

"The SAP urges these political parties (ANC and IFP) to take stock of their role in stabilising the situation in South Africa... enough is enough. We don't want to be the ham in the sandwich," SAP spokesman Lt-Col Dave Bruce told reporters.

ANC president, Nelson Mandela, at the weekend claimed the violence was the making of elements within the security force establishment bent on derailing multi-party negotiations.

Peace negotiators yesterday began an urgent bid to establish the reason for the violence, and ANC and IFP members of the Wit/Vaal Peace Secretariat met to discuss the crisis.



# 73 HELD IN PAC, APLA SWOOP

By Chris Steyn  
and Sapa

AT least 73 leaders and members of the Pan Africanist Congress and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, were arrested in a police swoop yesterday.

The arrests are linked to crimes of murder, attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the SAP, complicity in attacks on civilians and the planning of further such attacks.

As a result of the arrests, PAC negotiators walked out of the constitutional negotiations at

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• More news on  
arrests — Page 4.



# 73 held in PAC, APLA swoop

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the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.

The organisation said its position at the talks would be reviewed at a meeting with PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwethu. It claimed the arrests were a ploy by government to force the PAC from the negotiating table.

Law and Order Minister, Mr Hernus Kriel, disclosed that police had confiscated unlicensed automatic rifles, pistols and ammunition in the nationwide swoop starting at 2 am yesterday.

Mr Kriel said during the Law and Order vote debate in Parliament yesterday afternoon that no one had been arrested because he was a politician. The African National Congress, however, demanded yesterday that Mr Kriel be fired because he was not fit to be a Minister.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Kriel announced that the arrests followed extensive investigations which were still continuing. Further arrests were possible.

According to the PAC, 60 percent of its national executive council members were arrested. They included National Organizer and member of the

Negotiation Forum, Mr Maxwell Nemadzhivhanani; Political Affairs Secretary and Negotiating Council member Mr Jaki Seroke; Environment Secretary, Dr Solly Skosana; Religious Affairs Secretary, Mr Mike Motsobane; Publicity Director, Mr Waters Toboti; Finance Secretary, Mr Thomson Gazo; and the Head of Administration in the President's office, Mr Enoch Zulu.

Mr Kriel also disclosed the names of other "top structure" members of the PAC and APLA who were arrested. They are Mr Thoms Likotsi, Mr Abel Dube and Mr Raymond Pihla.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said he managed to escape from a police vehicle in front of his home in Ennerdale early yesterday morning after his house was surrounded and he was arrested by 15 heavily armed security force members at about 3 am.

A neighbour opened the child-locked door of the police vehicle in which he was kept waiting while they were inside to fetch some more of his belongings. "When they came back the car was still there ... behind me. They looked around for me, but it was dark and

they couldn't see me," he said.

Police, however, denied that Mr Alexander had escaped from police custody. Colonel Johan Mostert, head of the SAP's Public Relations Division, said Mr Alexander was briefly questioned in connection with a firearm, but released once he had given police a satisfactory answer.

In Cape Town, the PAC's Western Cape leader, Mr Sizakele Mahluthshana was arrested at his home in Guguletu. PAC documents kept at his house were confiscated, and police also searched the offices of the South African Chemical Workers Union, where he is regional organiser. Four other men were arrested when police raided the PAC offices in Salt River. They were PAC regional organiser Michael Siyolo, regional leader and union organiser Zizakele Mahluthshana, and local members Nkosemptu Naki and Siphiwe Mkweso. Files and books were removed.

In Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, at least eight PAC members were arrested and a large number of documents confiscated. The PAC offices in Port Elizabeth and King William's Town were also raided.

In Natal, PAC regional executive committee member Mr Mduduzi Ngema was arrested during a pre-dawn raid on his Umlazi home. The PAC's offices in central Durban were also raided, and at lunchtime yesterday 15 policemen were still on the premises.

In Bloemfontein, a former president of the Pan Africanist Congress youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity, Mr Serame Molefi was arrested.

Others included the PAC regional chairman Mr Mofihli Likotsi. The legal offices of PAC NEC

member Mr Molefi Lithoko in Bloemfontein and the PAC's regional office in Botshabelo were also raided.

Mr Kriel said the arrests were linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the South African Police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and hand-grenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians.

"I would ... like to state quite clearly that no one has been arrested because he is a politician," Mr Kriel said.



# Constable, 19, gunned down

By Carol Hills

## Constable gunned down

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killing him instantly.

Lance-Sergeant Paul Ehlers was at the back of the shack when he heard the shots and ran to help Const Haarhoff.

He found his partner dead. The gunman had fled.

"I just saw this policeman in blue lying there. I couldn't even make out his face because of the bullet wound," the eyewitness said.

"I felt his pulse, but there was nothing. I was praying to God he was alive. I was hanging on to a dream, hoping, hoping he was alive.

"All the policemen standing there were crying. Even those who didn't know him.

"No one had the courage to say he had been shot dead. There was just this horrible, horrible silence.

Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz, his pilot Captain McClay, and an Assistant-Constable Landman were nearly shot down on Monday afternoon.

The bullet, which missed the general by centimetres, damaged the fuselage and fuel streamed out. The pilot managed to evade the fol-

lowing hail of bullets skillfully, and landed shortly afterwards at Rand Airport.

Sapa reports that Const Z S Mudugwe, 32, was shot dead in a Daveyton township street yesterday.

The municipal policeman was walking with a

female colleague at about 5 pm when three youths came from behind and shot him in the back of the head, police spokesman, Capt Wikus Weber, said. The woman was not harmed.

The killers grabbed the policeman's pistol and fled.

"I don't know how I am going to sleep tonight."

After a similar shooting earlier yesterday, Const Haarhoff had thanked God the patrol had "survived that one".

"He was so thankful to get out of there alive, and a couple of hours later he was dead," the policeman said.

Const Haarhoff would have been 20 next week.

His colleagues described him as a music lover who never got angry with anyone or at anything, constantly cracked jokes and tried to keep spirits high.

The shooting incident in which the young policeman was killed happened in the area where the helicopter in which the Regional Commissioner for the Witwatersrand,

AN AK-47-wielding gunman shot and killed Internal Stability Unit member, Constable Leon Haarhoff, 19, in Phola Park squatter camp, on the East Rand, yesterday.

Const Haarhoff and seven other policemen, all stationed at Pretoria Central, were patrolling the area in a police Nyala when they came under AK-47 fire at about 1 pm.

The policemen left the vehicle and surrounded a shack in which they suspected a gunman was hiding.

A policeman at the scene told The Citizen last night that Const Haarhoff was standing outside the front door when the gunman tried to escape.

The man opened fire on Const Haarhoff with an AK-47, hitting him in the head and chest and

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## Reactionary, says PAC commander

**DAR-ES-SALAAM. —** The Azanian People's Liberation Army — yesterday slated the arrest and detention of PAC leaders and APLA cadres in South Africa.

PAC defence secretary and APLA commander, Sabelo Phama, in a statement to Sapa from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, said APLA condemned the "reactionary action and aggression" against the organisation and demanded the immediate release of those detained.

"APLA is not taking the detention of the PAC leaders and cadres lightly

... and warns the regime that any assault, torture, or death in detention of any of them will result in very serious consequences for the regime," Mr Phama said.

Instructions had been given to APLA's field command and ground-fighters to give "maximum support" to PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu.

APLA called on other PAC wings, including the Pan Africanist Student Organisation and Azanian National Youth Unity, to support any PAC "directive". — Sapa.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### The swoop

THE police swoop on the Pan Africanist Congress and its military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, in which at least 73 people were arrested, had to come.

APLA has been carrying out terrorist attacks on Whites, killing at least 15, and murdering policemen.

It admitted responsibility for attacks in King William's Town, Queenstown and other places in the Eastern Cape.

It also made an attack at Ficksburg, in the Free State, and is suspected of having been responsible for the murder of farmers in the Transvaal, including that of a farmer's wife at Letsitele.

At the funeral of an APLA member killed by the police in a gunfight after the murder of the woman, the PAC's national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said farmers were legitimate targets for APLA.

"We will always be after the farmers who have so illegally occupied our land, and it will serve them right until they pressurise De Klerk for the total liberation of Azania."

PAC first deputy president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, said the dead man, Mr Mbengeni Fanual Mudau, who had joined APLA in 1979, "directed his war against those people who have forcibly evicted people from their land".

The role of the armed struggle at present was to fight for the land and for the liberty of the African people.

"Should we talk to the regime when it's dragging its feet? Shall we abandon the bullets before the ballot is secured? We shall never do that, as that will be suicide."

Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said the arrests were linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the SA Police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and hand-grenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians.

"I would like to state quite clearly that no one has been arrested because he is a politician," Mr Kriel said.

The PAC, which has the slogan, "one settler, one bullet," has adopted all along the attitude that although APLA is its military wing, it is not responsible for what APLA does, nor is it consulted by APLA, nor does it direct APLA's operations.

It is a most curious defence.

For if APLA has a life of its own, why should it be the PAC's military wing?

Until a few months ago, the government's attitude was that it would not talk to the PAC unless it repudiated APLA.

Then, in order to ensure the PAC's participation in the negotiations, it changed its mind.

As a result, the PAC has been represented at the talks at Kempton Park.

We have said on several occasions that APLA should be outlawed, since it is engaged in terrorism; the government, instead, has arrested PAC and APLA leaders and members.

It is the least it could do, since the APLA campaign against farmers has caused fierce anger in the farming community and threats by farmers to take the law into their own hands.

The result would have been an escalating conflict with racial overtones.

There is another important aspect. The PAC, contrary to the pledge of negotiators to end violence, has been allowing its offspring, APLA, to murder Whites.

This cannot be condoned in any way: Either the PAC is committed to peaceful negotiations, or it is not.

And if it is not, it should not be allowed to take part.

The PAC has now walked out of the negotiations, but its final position in the matter is still to be decided.

Those arrested are said to have been held in connection with specific charges or because they might have information to assist the police.

We hope that those against whom there is a case will be charged; if there is no case, they should be released.

But one thing is essential: Having acted, the government, in the face of local and international pressure, should not back down.



## Arrests 'followed in-depth probe'

COMMISSIONER of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday the arrests of Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian Peoples Liberation Army members earlier in the day followed an in-depth, countrywide investigation by the police.

The investigation was conducted in close consultation with the Transvaal Attorney-General, he said, and further investigations would also be done in consultation with

the respective Attorneys-General in the country.

Gen Van der Merwe said police had been investigating PAC and APLA members for some time and, with the information at their disposal, they felt this was the right time to act against them.

The timing was also appropriate because it allowed Parliament to discuss the matter during the debate on the police budget vote, if necessary. — Sapa.



## Students restrained by interdict

By Susan Smuts

An urgent interim interdict was obtained by Wits University yesterday, restraining the South African Students Congress (Sasco) from disrupting activities on campus today.

Wits registrar Kenneth Standenmacher said in an affidavit that the university believed it had been targeted for actions including the threat of violence to white members of the administration, disruption of classes and research, and the occupation of administrative offices.

Standenmacher said a pamphlet issued by Sasco amounted to a call to members to arm themselves and take action.

He said racial tension had been escalating at Wits, where students planned to contest the legitimacy of the "white" administration.

Mr Justice L. Goldblatt granted an interim interdict restraining Sasco, acting through its office bearers and members, from injuring staff or students, disrupting classes, occupying offices, damaging property or inciting anyone to take part in such activities.

Six office bearers, including Sasco national president Robinson Ramaita, were named.



## Row in educational publishing circles prompts Mandela to step in

ANC president Nelson Mandela has intervened in a row which has blown up within the publishing industry, and between the ANC and an ANC-linked investment company, over the future of the lucrative educational publishing sector.

The row was sparked by a proposed joint venture between Macmillan Botswana — the Manzini-based subsidiary of multinational Macmillan Publishers — and Thebe Investment Corporation, a company initiated by the ANC as part of a black economic empowerment strategy.

ANC education department deputy head

Lindelwe Mabandla said the issue had stirred a "hornet's nest" and confirmed that Mandela had initiated a full inquiry into the matter.

Other publishers and the ANC education department view the proposed deal as a "repugnant", secretive attempt by Macmillan to corner the educational publishing market by establishing a special relationship — through Thebe — with the ANC.

Thebe has established travel, trading, marketing, catering, property development and car-hire arms. And, according to MD Vusi Khanyile, the proposed deal with

Macmillan is part of a possible move into publishing. Khanyile is former ANC finance department head.

The Thebe board includes others with ANC links, such as PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale and Ecos Mabuza.

In terms of a formal written proposal, Thebe would have an initial 36% stake in the joint venture, to be named Newco. Macmillan would give Thebe 20% of that stake at no cost. In return Thebe would, among other things, "provide a regular

line of communication with the relevant government structures in the new SA" and "facilitate close working relations with the ANC's mass media trust". The written proposal suggests that Newco, to be staffed by black South Africans, should be formed by July 1 and be fully operational by January.

Mabandla said similar deals between Macmillan and authorities in Swaziland and Botswana had given the company a monopoly in the educational publishing sector. The ANC believed this was undesirable and could undermine a future government's options. It would also eliminate

local publishers from the market.

The ANC education department was concerned that the corruption which had become commonplace within the Department of Education and Training could be extended into a future SA if particular companies received special treatment through their political connections.

Educational publishing in SA until now had been dominated by Afrikaners established companies such as Nasionale Pers, Persier and Juta, he said. The ANC did not want such arrangements to continue.

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ALAN FINE



## Govt warns blacks: end school chags

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government has warned the black community: step in and help restore order in your schools, or face unending chaos and feeble results.

The warning came yesterday from the Minister in charge of black education, Sam de Beer, who sketched a grim picture in Parliament of schools fraught with fear, frequently disrupted by protests and where lack of discipline and intimidation were rife.

Introducing debate on the education and training budget, he said it would be fruitless spending any more money on black education unless order could be restored.

Education could not be conducted without order.

"The shoe is on the other foot. If the black community does not now begin to stand firm and help to recreate order in schools, black education will not be normalised, the results at the end of this year will be no better, and greater chaos in education will follow.

"A rescue mission must be mounted. That rescue mission can only come from the black community.

"The State will be there to do its share, but its efforts can only be of value if the community will allow education to continue."

De Beer also defended last week's deal to scrap matric exam fees, saying it was a victory for negotiation.

"If we did not find a solution, there would not have been any further education in many schools this year.

"That would have added another 100 000 youths to the lost generation and the country would have had to pay the price," he said.



ELECTION  
COUNTDOWN

The PAC is busy with low-key preparations for the coming election, writes Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

THE mention of Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander's name in sections of the white community evokes anger and hatred, but among his people in the PAC the outspoken Alexander is something of a hero.

He it was who appeared on television last December to comment on attacks on whites in the eastern Cape by alleged operatives of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The sentence which stuck in the public mind long after that interview was that "the hulla-balloo" which greeted the at-

tacks was because "only four whites" had been killed.

It was a statement which earned the amiable Alexander the attention of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche, who threatened publicly that the AWB would annihilate the PAC leader and his followers if he declared war on whites.

But there is another side to Alexander, not known to many.

As they are discovering at the World Trade Centre since the PAC entered negotiations, he is also a thoughtful and shrewd negotiator who will seek compromise as much as possible and studiously avoid ruffling feathers unnecessarily.

He is, at 38, the youngest member of the 10-person negotiations planning committee.

He believes that the PAC will, like a dark horse, bolt to the finishing line ahead of all its competitors, including the

high-profile ANC.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC has not yet embarked on "a hard campaign", but has so far been engaged in a "soft sell" election campaign, which will gradually peak as the day of reckoning approaches, Alexander says.

"We are still working on a campaign slogan, but it will have to take into consideration the fact that the PAC will give the oppressed the best deal they can ever have, and that the PAC will not compromise them. We believe that the field is wide open, and there is no need for us to go on a hard campaign now."

But Alexander will have you know the PAC began preparing long ago for the election.

The PAC, he says, has engaged a black agency to handle research. White agencies, he says, are not as knowledgeable as they might appear about the way blacks will vote, and some-

times even subcontract the black agencies to help with certain aspects of their research.

The PAC wants "a clear picture" of the electorate and of who it should target in its election campaign.

Other questions are what message the PAC will need "to secure the vote", how that message will be communicated to the electorate, what resources will be needed for the organisation to attain its "desired performance", and how the plan to "turn the strategy into reality" will be implemented.

He says the organisation will have more than 300 "precinct commanders" working in each township, and that an estimated 150 000 volunteers will be needed for door-to-door canvassing.

To do all this, of course, will cost lots and lots of money, and Alexander is confident the PAC will tackle the enormous financial challenges head-on.

He believes that to accomplish its goals in the election, the PAC will need R190 million — similar to the ANC's election budget of between R168 million and R200 million — 60 percent of which will be used on election day itself.

The PAC, he says, prefers a two-day election, during which the organisation's election budget will be used to pay lawyers who will be on standby throughout the country "so that we can challenge any irregularities immediately", to transport voters to the polling stations and to feed the army.

Alexander says the PAC has already started raising funds, and that trips to Africa and overseas have been lined up for PAC president Clarence Makweta.

According to Alexander, the PAC is happy to leave voter education to "the independent" Matla Trust, which provides

non-partisan education about voting.

The PAC secretary-general will not say how much the Africanist organisation has raised so far, but reveals only that the road ahead is still long and arduous. However, he is confident that by election day the PAC will be quite close to its financial target.

He says that although the PAC, which expects the election to be held towards the end of March next year, plans to fight the election alone, it will nevertheless consult with the National Council of Trade Unions and traditional leaders.

"Ironically," says Alexander, "the first election will have nothing to do with the purpose of the election, which is writing the new constitution. It will have to do with party positions on various issues and people's perceptions as to who can deliver the goods." □

## PAC gearing up for D-Day



## Policemen shot in back with AK-47s

Staff Reporters

Seven AK-47 attacks on policemen have been reported in Katlehong and Tokoza today.

Constables D van der Linde and DM Rousseau were shot in the back in Mandela Park shortly after 8 am.

Both are from the Pretoria Crime Prevention Unit.

They were taken by ambulance to an Alberton hospital and are in a satisfactory condition.

Police also reported that a ticket office at Pilot Railway Station and a shop in Katlehong were burnt down during the night. The shop was looted first.

Yesterday an off-duty municipal policeman, Constable FS Mudugwe, was killed by three gunmen who shot him in the head and took his firearm. He and another policeman, Constable Dorcas Phara, were walking in the township.

Phara escaped unharmed and the killers fled on foot.

This morning, houses in Katlehong were still smouldering after more than 100 were burnt down yesterday.

Attempts were being made today to set up multiparty communication links in East Rand townships to stem the violence that has left 61 dead since Saturday.

Germiston fire chief Simon Barkhuizen said he and his men went into the area in an armoured rescue vehicle which constantly came under gunfire.

"Gunmen showed no respect for an ambulance. I was in the vehicle and the bullets kept coming."

Barkhuizen said he no longer perceived Katlehong as an unrest area but as a war zone.

Last night domestic workers, too afraid to return to their homes in Katlehong, stayed in

Germiston.

One worker returned home yesterday to find her six children safe but their home and possessions destroyed.

At least 21 bodies were found in Katlehong and a policeman, Constable Leon Haarhof (20), was shot dead by an AK-47 in Phola Park yesterday.

Police wounded three people when they returned fire and confiscated three AK-47s.

Representatives of all parties, including the ANC, IFP and SAP, agreed to set up a joint operations centre at Natalspruit Hospital. It will be staffed by the ANC, IFP, security forces and peace-monitoring groups.

As an overnight measure, a communications network was set up to keep the parties in contact with each other. The secretariat appealed to people in trouble to contact its Peace Line on 0800-116555.



# Strike will go on, vow teachers

Schooling came to a standstill in Soweto yesterday as teachers voted for continued strike action to push for higher salaries and better working conditions.

The teachers, all members of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu), are demanding a 30 percent salary increase and that the DET do away with its rationalisation programme, reinstating teachers retrenched under the scheme.

The DET reported that no schooling took place in Soweto schools yesterday while school attendance ranged from "poor" to "reasonable" in other parts of the country as the teachers' strike entered its second day.

Many schools in the Cape Peninsula and Boland were deserted, and classes in the Free State were disrupted as teachers embarked on their week-long strike.

In Natal, schools falling under the House of Delegates and House of Representatives were affected by teacher and pupil protest actions.

Sadtu's Soweto branch spokesman Solly Mautjana denied yesterday that teachers were split over the strike. "We support the strike," he said.

Sadtu national general secretary Randall van den Heever said the national body accepted that some regions, including Ennerdale, Eldorado Park, Bor-

der and the western Cape, were continuing with the strike.

"The Soweto branch is dissatisfied with our position and is demanding that the DET should give an indication of how much it proposes to give the teachers in terms of salary increases," he said. The DET is meeting Sadtu today to discuss the teachers' demands.

Education and Culture Minister Sam de Beer said yesterday the Government had decided to open the official channels for salary negotiations, but it had not retracted its position on a 5 percent general increase for civil servants and educators.

● A two-week stayaway by Venda teachers was suspended yesterday after the homeland agreed to pay equal salaries to male and female teachers holding equivalent positions.

● University of SA (Unisa) students and SA Students Congress (Sasco) members resolved to demonstrate today against the university's "failure to adapt to democratic changes".

The students also condemned the university's "lack of sensitivity" towards the troubled University of Bophuthatswana and other education colleges in the homeland, many of which have closed after pupil boycotts.

The pupils and Sasco called for the dissolution of the university senate and council. — Staff Reporter, Sapa.



# The Star

Established 1887

## PAC: action and reaction

**T**HE Pan Africanist Congress's equivocal, if not devious, attitude on violence was calculated to provoke a strong reaction from the Government. That reaction came yesterday with the detention of scores of PAC leaders, including at least six members of its national executive.

For months now the PAC has committed itself to a negotiated settlement while asserting its right to continue the "armed struggle". It has either refused to condemn suspected attacks on civilians by its underground army Apla or, worse, openly justified those attacks.

As recently as last weekend PAC national organiser, Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, speaking at the funeral of an Apla fighter, described farmers as "legitimate targets" for Apla forces. The dead Apla man, Fanual Madau, was implicated by police in the murder near Tzaneen of Sandra Swanepoel, wife of a local farmer. The PAC admitted that he was a member "who fell in the field".

Nemadzivhanani's comments were made in the wake of a series of attacks on farmers. In the first four months of 1993, 108 farms were attacked and 28 farming folk — many of them elderly people — were killed. In several attacks farm animals were maimed in a style reminiscent of the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya.

In these circumstances the Government had no option but to act. Inertia would have invited increasingly angry farmers to take the law into their own hands. Beyond that lay an even greater danger: possible mutiny in the armed forces, sparked by farmers who are linked to the SADF through the command system.

But the timing and manner of the arrests was inept. By launching the swoop on a day when a breakthrough was anticipated in negotiations, the Government gave the impression that it was trying to derail the talks. By kicking down doors and detaining people in pre-dawn raids, the police opened themselves to charges of using "Gestapo tactics".

Having taken action, President de Klerk must ensure that the next step is taken: charge or release the detained men immediately.



## SAP shows video of Tokoza clash

By Charmeela Bhagawat

In an attempt to refute claims that police were responsible for Saturday's bloodbath in Tokoza, the SAP yesterday showed the media video footage of police officers negotiating with marchers and hostel dwellers to prevent clashes between them.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said police showed the media the 35-minute video because the ANC and IFP had publicly blamed the police for the violence.

While Bruce did not

dispute that police opened fire, he said the media had created the wrong impression that the police had used force without first trying to avert the massacre.

The footage, recorded in the hours leading to the clash between marchers, policemen and hostel dwellers, showed police speaking to a hostel leader and an ANC march leader.

The hostel leader, when asked by a policeman to move inside the hostel, refused to do so.

The policeman offered the hostel dwellers protection if they moved, but the leader asked if it

was not "provocative" for the ANC to march past the hostel, especially after an attack on it the previous night.

In the end, the only assurance the man would give was that they would not attack first, but said "if there is shooting, we will retaliate".

The ANC march leader, requested to divert the marchers, told police: "This is our township and we will march where we want."

On the video, Peace Secretariat member Piroshaw Camay replies to the ANC's response by saying: "This is being stupid."



## Raid rendered PAC unworkable: Benny

Citizen Reporter

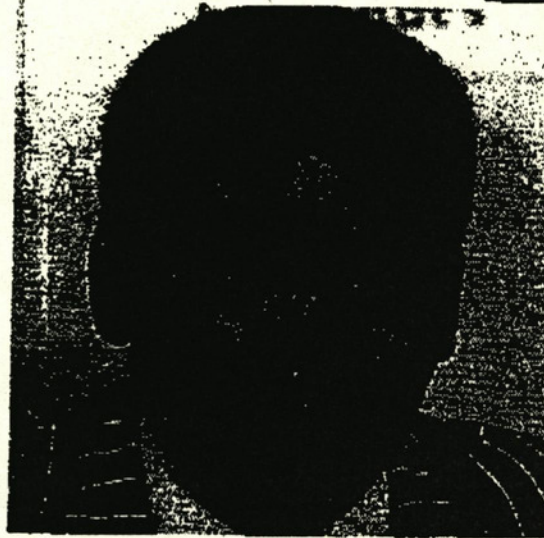
THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been rendered "unworkable" by yesterday's police raid, the organisation's secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said when he emerged at the PAC's headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday, claiming to have escaped from police custody.

He said the nationwide swoop was aimed at forcing the PAC out of negotiations at a crucial time. However, the PAC would take up this challenge and embark on a programme of mass action to occupy government buildings.

"We are effectively banned from functioning. This is the most serious clampdown on any organisation since the clampdown on PAC members in 1963," he said. "I don't know how you can hold an election when you've rendered one party unworkable."

All the members of the PAC's negotiation team were wanted for arrest by police, and Mr Alexander said he consequently had no alternative but to announce the suspension of participation of the PAC in yesterday's meeting of the Multi-party Negotiation Council.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu had decided to cut short his visit to the Border region, and was expected back in



Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr BENNY ALEXANDER at the organisation's headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday.

Johannesburg last night. He would issue a statement today on the PAC's continued participation in the negotiation process.

Mr Alexander said the arrests had nothing to do with the activities of the PAC's armed wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

"All the people arrested are known to us as PAC activists and leaders. We completely deny that APLA leaders have been arrested."

"The armed struggle is neither a secret nor a surprise. The PAC and the regime already have an agreement that a mutual cessation of hostilities will take place as soon as the political objectives of the struggle, including the resolution of the land question, have been met."

"We reject the view by Mr Roelf Meyer (Minister of Constitutional Development) that he was not aware of the actions of Mr (Hernus) Kriel (Minister of Law and Order). A decision of this nature with such far-reaching international ramifications for the regime, can only be taken by the Cabinet," he said.

The PAC called on the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, and all other world bodies to condemn the actions of the government. It also called on the Egyptian Government to cut short all discussions with Foreign Minister Pik Botha "who is persona non grata in the Southern African region due to his bullying and destabilisation tactics".



# Tuks ANC to push affirmative action

Citizen Reporter  
and Sapa

THE ANC yesterday officially founded its first branch at the University of Pretoria. One of its main initial aims will be to promote affirmative action on the campus, and put pressure on the university to change its admission standards.

The first meeting was attended by about 100 people who included a number of campus workers. An eight-person executive was elected, with Mr Graham Maitland, a BA French honours student as the first chairman.

At a Press conference after the meeting Mr Maitland said the establishment of the branch was no small feat.

## Repressive

"This is one of the most repressive campuses in South Africa. However, we have come to realise that where there is suppression, there is usually strong opposition to that repression.

"We believe that we have not yet seen the real strength of ANC Tuks," he said.

Mr Maitland said the forming of the branch was of great strategic importance and it planned to play a strategic role in the coming elections in a constituency with tremendous polarisation.

He said it was ANC Tuks' task to educate those who feared change and to support those structures and individuals involved in the transition.

All those who placed personal agendas above national interest confined themselves to the role of spoilers and would be judged accordingly.

"The momentum for change is gathering force. We must make it unstoppable."

The ANC looked forward to a positive relationship with other groups but would not tolerate racial, sexual, ethnic or class discrimination practices.

"The people shall govern. We hope to serve our constituency with honour and level judgment, Amandla," he said.

## Jeered

Members of the branch were jeered by Right-wing students yesterday when they sang Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika directly after the official launch of the ANC student body.

ANC-supporting students gathered outside a hall on the Pretoria campus where Afrikaner Volksfront co-ordinator General Constand Viljoen addressed other students at a lunchtime meeting.

When the students emerged from the hall they were met by the strains of the liberation anthem, and some of them shouted "You suck!" and squared up to the liberal choir.

No blows were exchanged, but campus security officers videotaped the incident.



## ANC branch on Pretoria campus

DIRK VAN EEDEN

ABOUT 100 people attended the launch of an ANC student branch at Pretoria University yesterday. And in the building next door, Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen addressed about 300 students.

Tukkies ANC chairman Graham Maitland said afterwards he was glad the branch, the organisation's first on a traditionally Afrikaans campus, had started with "such a powerful force".

"This is one of the most repressive campuses in SA. However, we have come to realise that where there is repression, there is usually strong opposition to that repression," he said.

Events since early 1990 had made the country swing between moments of high expectations and despair.

Viljoen, too, referred to swings in the

nation's mood. He called for time to allow emotions to cool.

The political playing field was not level, Viljoen said.

The ANC and SACP were abusing black nationalism and emotions for political gain. Black people were intimidated and, therefore, could not make a truly democratic choice in an election.

"The biggest mistake at this stage would be a unitary state," he said.

Students cheered as Viljoen told them the Volksfront was not looking for war.

But the Afrikaner should not be underestimated, he said.

"If we are threatened, we will protect ourselves with everything in our power. We are ready."



## 1 800 Beatrix miners have resigned: Gengold

Citizen Reporter

GENGOLD's Beatrix mine near Welkom in the Orange Free State has lost a large part of its work force with the resignation of 1 800 Xhosa and Pondo workers in the past two days, following faction fighting at the mine last week.

Gengold spokesman,

Mr Andrew Davidson, said yesterday the mine was uncertain of the exact reasons for the resignations.

"The situation is peaceful and the shifts went down as normal yesterday, but obviously with reduced numbers."

Production had been affected but it was "not possible to quantify

losses as yet".

There has been faction fighting at Beatrix since March, when Zulu and Pondo workers clashed, resulting in the removal of about 200 Zulus from the mine.

Three Gengold employees were killed by a mob last Wednesday after the Zulu workers returned to the mine.



## NACTU men arrested

Citizen Reporter

POLICE raided the offices of the 370 000-strong National Council of Trade Unions in Johannesburg early yesterday morning with a warrant stating that plans for attacks on security forces, civilians and robberies of financial institutions and vehicles could

have been made at the premises.

Several NACTU members were arrested countrywide during the night. They included the organisation's regional secretary in Potchefstroom, Ms Rebecca Ralekgetho, who was detained after police had searched the local NACTU offices for four hours. Several NACTU members in Durban, as

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## NACTU men held

FROM PAGE 1

well as Media Workers Association of South Africa secretary-general, Mr S'thembele Khala, and Food and Beverage Workers Union regional organiser, Mr Elias Malia, have also been detained.

NACTU assistant general secretary, Mr Mahlomola Skhosana, said yesterday that about 24 security force members under the command of Captain A J Brits of John Vorster Square arrived at the council's Wanderers Street headquarters just

after 3 am, and broke the entrance door on the ground floor.

They were, however, refused entrance to the seventh floor by security officer Mr John Mabule, and another group of policemen went to fetch the federation's president, Mr James Mdtalose, from his home in Vosloorus.

Police then conducted a thorough search of the seventh floor lasting about two-and-a-half hours, during which the door to the strongroom was allegedly broken.

During the search, police had blockaded

both the Plein and Bree street entrances into Wanderers Street.

"After the raid, which was assisted by a helicopter hovering above the building, they took no items with them," Mr Skhosana said.

Asked whether he believed the raid was linked to the nationwide swoop on the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Mdtalose said he saw no reason why NACTU should be targeted because it had individual members who were PAC supporters.

"NACTU is an independent federation with members from the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Black Consciousness . . . We are not affiliated to any one organisation," he said.

"They can go to the homes of individual members. There is no reason to raid the federation's offices," he added.



B/Day 26/5/93

### **ANC officials return from four-nation visit**

TWO senior ANC officials returned to SA yesterday after a fortnight away visiting Russia, China, Singapore and Switzerland.

ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise had been invited by heads of government to brief them on the situation in SA.

Among matters discussed with the foreign leaders were measures to be taken to turn SA's economy around after sanctions were lifted. This would happen after an election date was announced and a transitional executive council had been established.

"These talks were particularly important in Switzerland where, among others, we met banking chiefs to discuss the rescheduling of SA's debt after a new government is elected," Mbeki said.

The message the two ANC leaders received from the leaders they visited was that all were "keen there should be a speedy transformation (in SA) and would assist in any way they could in this transformation".

In Switzerland, the ANC leaders also discussed the controversial sale of the Pilatus PC-7 trainer aircraft to the SAAF.

Mbeki said he had pointed out that the deal violated a UN arms embargo.

Concerning the monitoring of a general election, Mbeki said the ANC was adamant there should be no recurrence of the UN elections monitoring debacle in Angola in September last year, when there were not enough observers at the polls to observe just and fair election processes. — Sapa.



## Special probe into 'Hani violence'

ADRIAN MADLAND

PRETORIA — The outbreak of violence and looting which followed the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani last month will be discussed by a specially created committee of the Goldstone commission today and tomorrow.

The committee, made up of representatives from the security forces, the ANC, Inkatha, local authorities and the national peace secretariat, would examine measures for avoiding a repetition of the events surrounding Hani's death, a Goldstone commission spokesman said.

Despite calls for peace from political leaders and a massive security operation involving 23 000 soldiers and police about 30 people died, hundreds were injured and widespread looting and damage to property characterised the aftermath of the assassination.

An estimated 100 rallies were held nationwide involving hundreds of thousands of people.

Among the topics to be discussed by the committee, which will meet in camera, are the failure of political parties and march organisers to prevent the violence, reasons for the damaging and looting of buildings and the cause of violent incidents at a number of police stations.

In the worst of the violent incidents at police stations, three people were killed and 200 injured at Protea police station in Soweto.

The spokesman said the committee, chaired by Gert Steyn, would report its findings to the commission for the formulation of recommendations aimed at preventing a repeat of such widespread violence.

The committee would meet for the first time today, the spokesman said. It held a preliminary hearing last month.



## East Rand toll rises to 51

VIOLENCE in East Rand townships continued unabated yesterday, with the death toll since Saturday rising to 51.

Police found 19 more bodies yesterday, and reported two policemen killed.

To address the violence, security forces, the ANC, Inkatha and local and international monitors have agreed to an emergency strategy, including establishing a joint operations centre at Natal Spruit Hospital and appeals by party leadership for restraint.

Details will be discussed today.

Delegates at yesterday's special meeting of the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat recommended that East Rand townships not be declared unrest areas, and endorsed calls for a commission of inquiry into Saturday's shootings, which sparked the unrest.

In the aftermath of yesterday's violence,

LLOYD COUTTS

at least eight bodies with gunshot wounds were found in the Twala section of Katlehong. Five people were shot in the Mngadi section.

Spokesman Maj Ida van Zweek said police came under attack in Katlehong and countered with teargas, rubber bullets and shotgun fire. Two policemen were injured when their vehicle was petrol-bombed at one of several burning barricades.

Police spokesman Capt Wikus Weber said a policeman — 20-year-old Const Leon Haarof — was shot dead during a gun battle in Phola Park, near Alberton, during the afternoon. Police returned fire, injuring three people. They confiscated two AK-47 assault rifles.

Weber said a 32-year-old policeman,

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## East Rand

Const Z S Mudugive, was also shot dead in Daveyton. He had been walking down the street with a female colleague when "three youths came from behind and in cold blood shot (him) in the back of the head". The killers fled with the policeman's pistol.

Weber described the situation in East Rand townships last night as "chaotic", and said it was hard to identify the source of the violence. "At this stage it is random and sporadic."

Damage amounting to thousands of rands has been caused in the townships in four days of violence. Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough said two railway stations and an electrical substation in Katlehong had been burnt down. Katlehong town

□ From Page 1

council offices had been destroyed, and the disruption of water and sewerage services had created serious health problems in Katlehong, Vosloorus and Thokoza.

Sapa reports that at least 23 vehicles were damaged when rioting broke out in Mamelodi near Pretoria on Monday.

Northern Transvaal police spokesman Lt Evan Johnson said 14 private vehicles and seven police vehicles were stoned when school-going youths went on the rampage. Two other vehicles were burnt out.

And near Maritzburg yesterday, police said about 50 youths stoned a bus carrying prison warders' children, injuring a five-year-old and the driver.



# Committee proposes 18 as minimum voting age

A NEGOTIATIONS technical committee yesterday recommended 18 as the minimum voting age — in line with the ANC's submission to the committee.

The recommendation is in proposals for a draft independent electoral commission and comes in the wake of the proposal by ANC president Nelson Mandela that children of 14 and older be allowed to vote.

It was also learned that nobody under the age of 18 could join the ANC itself, but could join only its Youth League.

The committee's proposal was yesterday presented for debate by the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre. The draft election Bill defines eligible voters as "all SA citizens of 18 years and more, including citizens of the TBVC states, with the exception only of such persons as may be disqualified from voting by reason of criminality, mental disorder or other provisions of this Act and of the regulations".

The draft legislation makes detailed recommendations for SA's first nonracial elections, scheduled to be held before the end of April next year.

BILLY PADDOCK

An Independent Electoral Commission will, in terms of the draft, assume responsibility for conducting democratic national elections for a new Parliament to function in terms of an interim constitution.

The commission will be required to determine and certify the final results of the elections within a period of 21 days after completion of the ballot. It will also declare whether elections have been free and fair.

The draft proposes the commission should not have more than 11 members, and at least eight have to agree on the result of an election for it to be certified.

If the commission found a poll was partly unfree and unfair, it would be empowered to take appropriate steps to achieve a free and fair election result, the report stated.

"This could enable the commission to take limited action in a particular region, without having to hold a completely new national election, in the event that there were unacceptable conditions in a limited area only."

The draft makes provision for the secondment of representatives from

accredited international organisations and/or foreign governments.

Prospective electoral commission members may not have held political office in the three years prior to the date of the transitional elections and, upon ceasing to be a member of the commission, will not be eligible to accept appointment to any public office for three years.

The draft envisages that the commission set up three separate directorates: an Election Administration Directorate; an Election Monitoring Directorate; and an Election Adjudication Directorate.

The administration directorate's responsibilities would include voter education, determining the eligibility and identification of voters, enforcing the electoral code of conduct and promulgating regulations governing political advertising.

The monitoring directorate would have investigative powers and the adjudication directorate would serve as the final arbiter of claims and disputes affecting the campaign, conduct and results of the elections.

Opinion polls would be prohibited during a period of six weeks before the transitional elections began.



# 18 recommended as minimum voting age

**A NEGOTIATIONS**  
Technical Committee responsible for drafting a proposed Independent Electoral Commission Act yesterday recommended 18 years as the minimum voting age.

The recommendation comes in the wake of a political storm in South Africa after the weekend proposal by African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela that the minimum voting age be dropped to 14 years.

Parties and organisations across the political spectrum have since denounced the proposal.

The 18-year minimum voting age proposal is contained in the Technical Committee's initial draft, presented for debate to the 26-party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre yes-

terday.

The Technical Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission is one of seven such committees set up by the Negotiating Council to facilitate multi-party negotiations.

The technical committees base their reports in the main on written submissions from participants, debate in the Negotiating Council, and agreements and documentation from the stalled Codesa process.

The draft legislation released yesterday makes detailed recommendations for South Africa's first non-racial elections, scheduled to be held before the end of April next year if sufficient progress is made in negotiations.

An Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) will, in terms of the draft, assume responsibility for

the conducting of democratic national elections for a new Parliament to function in terms of an Interim Constitution.

The IEC will be required "within a period of 21 days after completion of the ballot", to determine and certify the final results of the Transitional Elections.

The IEC will also "declare whether, and if so to what extent, such elections have been conducted in a manner which has been substantially free and fair".

A simple majority in the IEC is not sufficient to certify the result of the election, and a majority of at least eight members in the commission is required.

The draft proposes the IEC should not comprise more than 11 members.

In the event that the commission finds the poll

was "partly unfree and unfair", the IEC is empowered to implement such steps as it may consider appropriate in order to achieve a free and fair election result, the Technical Committee says in its report.

"This could enable the commission to take limited action in a particular region, without having to hold a completely new national election, in the event that there were unacceptable conditions in a limited area of the country only."

The draft Independent Electoral Commission Act defines "eligible voters" as "all South African citizens of 18 years and more, including citizens of the TBVC states, with the exception only of such persons as may be disqualified from voting by reason of criminality, mental disorder or other provisions of this Act and of the Regulations".

The draft legislation proposes that the IEC should function as an institution independent and separate from government and any official body or other authority.

The present draft makes provision for the secondment of representatives from accredited international organisations and/or foreign governments.

Prospective IEC members may not have held "political office" in the three years prior to the date of the Transitional Elections.

Upon ceasing to be an IEC member, a Commissioner will not be eligible to accept appointment to any "public office" for a similar period of three years, "reckoned from the date upon which such member's appointment terminated". — Sapa.



# 'Fire Kriel' call by ANC

THE African National Congress yesterday unleashed an attack on the South African Government in the wake of the detention of senior PAC officials, with secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa demanding the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel.

"We say Kriel is not fit to be a Minister and must be fired."

Mr Ramaphosa was putting his organisation's point of view on the nationwide swoop on PAC activists earlier in the day at a meeting of the Negotiating Council outside Johannesburg.

"This action by the security forces against the PAC is the greatest travesty of justice. It reminds one of the old apartheid

days of Gestapo tactics, jackboot activity and wholesale detentions.

"We are outraged that the leaders of a national liberation movement and a negotiating partner at this council are detained and harassed, their offices are smashed into, their property stolen and the home of the PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu is raided.

"This is the greatest violation of anyone's human rights. The South African Government has endangered this (negotiations) process. This process is now in serious jeopardy," said Mr Ramaphosa.

He added it was unacceptable that the government should be sitting at

the negotiating table, acting as a negotiator, "but also as our jailers".

"They must tell us who is next in line to be jailed, whether the ANC headquarters will be raided, whether president Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu will be detained."

Mr Ramaphosa added there appeared to be deep divisions in the government.

"We have been told that the Ministers here did not know about the decision (to swoop on the PAC). We were even told that the State President did not know about the impending action. Who is in control of the government forces?"

He charged that not a finger had been lifted

against White Right-wing groups, which openly flouted the law by publicly carrying weapons and pledging treason against the state.

"The secretary-general of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, a negotiator here, had to escape from a police vehicle. In the light of these developments, we demand that all the stolen property be returned immediately, the immediate and unconditional release of the PAC leadership and we demand that Kriel appears here and gives an explanation."

Mr Ramaphosa said he supported an adjournment of yesterday's proceedings for the issue to be dealt with at length at a special meeting of the Negotiating Council tomorrow.

SACP leader Joe Slovo supported the call for an adjournment. — Sapa.



# De Klerk resists rule of black majority in S Africa

By Andrew Gowers and Michael Holman in Cape Town

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk of South Africa in effect rejected black majority rule yesterday, insisting that the white-led National party should play a central role in a coalition government lasting into the next century.

The president's demand for indefinite power-sharing goes well beyond the understanding reached between his National party and the African National Congress that a five-year government of national unity will be formed by the main parties after the country's first multiracial elections, expected next spring.

In an interview with the Financial Times, Mr de Klerk said power-sharing between the country's main political parties should be entrenched as a permanent principle in any constitution adopted after next year's elections.

"We definitely believe that a final constitution must include the principle of power-sharing," he said. "A winner-takes-all model is the worst possible model there can be for South Africa."

His demand is likely to complicate the present negotiations in Johannesburg on South Africa's political future, as participants struggle to reach sufficient agreement to announce an election date and the formation of a Transitional Executive Council,

perhaps as early as next week.

The talks met a further snag yesterday when the radical Pan-Africanist Congress called for their suspension after nearly 50 of its members were arrested. "The process is now hanging by a very thin thread," Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, chief ANC negotiator, told delegates.

Mr de Klerk made clear that "fundamental differences" on power-sharing had still to be resolved.

The president denied that he was seeking formal veto powers for the National party in any new government, but argued that

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## De Klerk resists black rule

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South Africa would in future have "to be governed on the basis of consensus on fundamental issues between the main role players".

That might, he said, involve the creation of an executive committee comprising party leaders, with the chairmanship rotating between them, to deal with "fun-

damental principles". He implied that real power should lie with that body, with a future president acting as head of state, not of government.

His remarks are certain to dismay ANC leaders. Only last week, a senior ANC official said: "The idea of an inner cabinet of party leaders goes way beyond the government of national unity we have offered."

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## South African talks survive raids on PAC

David Bornstein  
in Johannesburg

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S negotiating process last night appeared to be surviving fury among black leaders at police raids in which key members of the Pan Africanist Congress were arrested.

The "negotiating council" in the multi-party talks held an emergency debate yesterday, during which political groupings, including the African National Congress, denounced the "Gestapo" tactics of the government.

But the PAC itself indicated it was not planning to withdraw

from the negotiations and the other 25 groups agreed to defer the issue for further debate tomorrow night. The raids are, however, likely to delay the reform timetable.

The minister of police, Hernus Kriel, confirmed to parliament that 49 members of the PAC and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had been arrested, seven of them members of the "top structure". They included the organisation's secretary for political affairs, Jackie Serobe, and its national organiser, Maxwell Ntshahavhane.

Mr Kriel claimed that unloaded automatic rifles, pistols and ammunition had been

seized. The arrests, he said, were in connection with charges of murder, attempted murder, attacks on police and illegal possession of firearms and hand grenades. "No one has been arrested because he is a politician," he said.

The co-ordinated, pre-dawn raids took place in cities around the country. They came after recent statements by senior PAC figures declaring that white farmers were legitimate targets for military operations and that past attacks had occurred with the knowledge and approval of the political leadership.

The PAC said six members of the national executive were

among those arrested, as well as three bodyguards responsible for their safety. Police had smashed down doors to offices and "stolen" documents and computer discs.

At the World Trade Centre, where the multi-party talks are taking place, news of the arrests was met with angry rhetoric. Ministers taking part said privately that they had had no prior notice.

The PAC's foreign affairs spokesman, Gona Gwaha, demanded the immediate and unconditional release of those arrested, the return of seized documents, apologies from the government, assurances that such detentions would not be

repeated and the dismissal of those responsible.

The ANC secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, warned that the talks were "hanging by a very thin thread" and called for the dismissal of Mr Kriel. "We will not allow the government of this country to rule through the jackboot anymore," he said.

The government's chief negotiator, the minister of constitutional development and planning, Ruel Meyer, made a low-key response, suggesting that tomorrow night's debate on the issue should be used to thrash out the issue of the PAC's continued espousal of armed struggle and participation in the negotiations.



## FOREIGN NEWS

Mr Alexander announcing the PAC's withdrawal from talks yesterday. *Presser EPA*

## S Africa talks suspended after police swoop

By Alec Russell in Johannesburg

MULTI-PARTY talks on South Africa's future were in jeopardy yesterday after the police arrested senior officials of the black radical Pan Africanist Congress.

The talks were suspended for two days amid widespread speculation that the arrests may have been timed to prevent a potential breakthrough in the peace process.

Police said 49 members of the PAC and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, were arrested in simultaneous dawn raids on homes and offices all over the country.

The Law and Order Minister, Mr Herman Kriel, told parliament that senior members of the PAC and APLA were "allegedly involved in crime".

Among those arrested was the PAC chief negotiator, Mr Benny Alexander, who said he had later escaped from custody. Mr Alexander immediately said that the PAC was pulling out of the talks.

The arrests apparently happened without the knowledge of the government negotiators. The African National Congress accused government factions of trying to

wreck the talks, which were supposed to be reaching final deliberations today before setting a date for multi-racial elections.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC and APLA have refused to suspend the armed struggle against South Africa's white minority government.

The arrests follow four months of attacks on isolated white farms in which 35 people have been killed since January. The attacks have boosted support for extremist white organisations.

The ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, accused the security forces yesterday of returning to "the old apartheid days of Gestapo tactics, jackboot activity and wholesale detentions".

The negotiators are due to reconvene tomorrow to discuss the implications of the PAC arrests. It is still possible that they will announce a date for the elections next Thursday as scheduled.

• The discovery of 22 bodies, mostly bullet-ridden, in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg, has taken the number of dead in four days' fighting in black townships to more than 58, police said — AFP