

16/1/4

# We'll do it again, say protesters

S1A2  
21/1/51

By Philip Zoio  
and Dave Beattie

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) today vowed to continue attempts to disrupt the World Doubles Tennis Championships at the Standard Bank Arena.

Azapo general secretary Don Nkadameng told The Star his organisation's intention was "to cause as much discomfort to the chaps (players) as possible".

PAC projects co-ordinator Mark Shinnars said the PAC would do everything possible to ensure daily demonstrations.

He said the PAC remained committed to the cultural boycott, and would not "allow some parties to decide on national issues without consultation with other organisations".

At a media conference afterwards, Tennis South Africa chief Chris Ngcobo said security would be stepped up.

As play started, the demonstrators sat in small groups inside the main stadium, appearing to be spectators.

With Canadians Grant Connell and Glenn Michibata leading 5-4 in the final set against Americans Patrick Galbraith and Todd Witsken, a man got up and blew a whistle. The protesters then threw bags of sand and seeds on to the court.

The players left the court

with the demonstrators chanting inciting slogans, such as "One settler, one bullet".

Tennis fans booed at the chanting and toyi-toying demonstrators, who were removed by plainclothes policemen and security officials.

Scuffles broke out as spectators joined the police in removing the demonstrators.

It was almost an hour before the courts could be cleared and play resumed.

Mr Ngcobo said: "They have now had their show and we expect no further problems."

After the match, winners Connell and Michibata said: "We were warned that there was a possibility of this happening, so we were prepared."

Mr Ngcobo told a press conference afterwards that the demonstrators would be given no opportunity for a repeat performance.

The ATP Tour chief executive officer, Mark Miles, said that his organisation would continue to back Tennis SA.

Mr Miles said: "The tournament will go on, and South Africa will not lose it."

A police spokesman said 41 people were arrested and charged with creating a public disturbance. They were taken to the Jeppe Police Station in Johannesburg.

They were given the option of paying a R50 admission of guilt fine or appearing in court today.



# ANC flexible on economy – Mandela

Star 28/11/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday assured German Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Helmut Schaefer that the ANC had no "ideological attachment" to the policy of nationalisation and would be prepared to consider other alternatives.

Mr Mandela told a press conference after his meeting with Mr Schaefer in Johannesburg that the ANC was prepared to abandon nationalisation if a viable alternative were given.

Mr Schaefer, on a five-day visit to South Africa, had earlier told The Star he would advise the ANC against nationalisation, which had proved "disastrous" in other countries.

The ANC, Mr Mandela said, advocated a mixed economy and would follow an economic system which would not be much different from SA's pres-

ent economy — which was far from being a market economy.

The ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party was also raised, and he assured Mr Schaefer that the only link between the two organisations was that they were fighting against oppression, just as the Allies had joined forces with the Soviet Union against Germany during World War 2.

On the question of sanctions, Mr Mandela said these economic punitive measures had been imposed to press Pretoria into dismantling apartheid, and this had not yet happened.

He said the ANC was worried about South Africa's economy because "it is blacks who are suffering most" from the effects of sanctions. The organisation was therefore keen to have sanctions lifted immediately.

Mr Mandela reiterated his position that once there was mutual trust between the Government and the ANC, it would be possible for the two parties jointly to call for the lifting of sanctions "on a mere declara-

tion of intention to dismantle apartheid".

However, he said, it appeared Pretoria was following a double agenda by talking to the ANC while trying to destabilise it. The Government, he said, had gone as far as using taxpayers' money to fund the ANC's rival organisations.

The ANC was worried about continuing violence in the country. Mr Mandela said the violence was discrediting the peace process. He had given Mr Schaefer "scientific studies" which would show him who was responsible for violence in SA.

Mr Schaefer told the press conference that his government considered the ANC to be one of the main political players in SA.

He welcomed the ANC's rejection of the IFP's proposal that the two organisations and the Government should act as joint conveners of the forthcoming multiparty talks. It was vital, he said, that as many parties as possible were involved in the process.

16/1/11



16/1/11

# C isikaza ukuhoxa

ILANGA

21-23/Nov 1991

## Pambisaneni nabe-ANC

**EGOLI:-Ukubulawa kwelunga le-Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) ngokuthiwa bangabalandeli be-African National Congress ngokuligaxa ithayi entanyeni lagwa-zwa ngemfologo yasengadini, sekwenze iPAC yasikaza ukuhoxa kuPatriotic Front.**

Obulelwe eMunsieville nguMnuz. Abner Mowngwagaloa (22), obeyilunga futhi lenhlangano yezitshudeni iPan Africanist Students Organization (Paso). Ubulawa nje, ubesanda kuqeda ukubhala ukuhlolwa kwezifundo zonyaka wokugcina ekolishi lobuthisha eMoretele Teachers Training College.

Kuthiwa washiselwa elokishini iMunsieville eKrugersdorp ebuya emhlanganweni wokuza-ma ukuletha ukuthula kulelilokishi ngolwesi-Hlanu. Wagaxwa ithayi entanyeni lokhelwa ngomilo. Umndeni kaMnuz. Mowngwagaloa uthe ushona nje ubesebalekile kulendawo ephoqwa ngamalunga e-ANC.

Ekuqedeni ukubhala ukuhlolwa, ubuyele ekhaya kulelilokishi ngolwesi-Ne mhlaka November

14. Ngakusasa wahambela umhlangano wokuza-ma uxolo phakathi kwe-ANC nePAC. Ngalolosu-ku uyise ubizwe ukuba azolanda isidumbu sendodana yakhe ebesisavutha emgwaqeni.

Uyise uthi ngaphambi kwalokhu umuzi wakhe uke wahlaselwa ngamalunga e-ANC ephethe ocelemba kanti amabili abephethe izibhamu. Bedlula ngenkani kuye baya endlini. Bawesabisa lomndeni ngokuthi akufoneki kube nomgcwabo.

Iphini likaMongameli we-PAC of Azania uMnuz. Dikgang Mosenekene, noNobhala wezokukusakazwa kwezindaba zalenhlangano uMnuz Barney Desai, nezinye izikhulu bake bavakashela kulendawo.

UMnuz. Mosenekene uthe inhlanganoyakhe isizwile ukuthi yi-ANC eyenze lokhu. Yathi lokhu kuzoyiphazamisa kakhulu iPatriotic Front uma amalunga ayo esahlaselwa. I-ANC ithi amalunga ayo atholakala ekulelhlazo, azothathe-lwa izinyathelo ezinzima.



# In whose hand is the stone?

Why is Natal so racked by violence? And what can be done to halt spiralling violence?

The media continue to portray events in Natal as a power struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress. There is nothing new in this - it did much the same thing before the unbanning of the ANC, only then the battle was between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates. Then, as now, most of the reporting tends to point accusing fingers at one or other of the contending parties.

The efficacy of propaganda has been proved repeatedly as more and more public commentators lay the blame for violence at the door of the IFP.

How short most peoples' memory is! Even more

surprising is the fact that liberal and open-minded people of goodwill do not recognize that we have been through all this before.

The roots of the current conflict can be traced to 1979, the year in which Inkatha held formal talks with the African National Congress in London. Those talks foundered on the question of violence, an issue on which Inkatha would not compromise.

From that year forward Natal, and Durban in particular, became the target of ever more bomb and sabotage attacks. Durban became the most bombed city in the country and by 1985 the number of serious attacks stood at 69. Was this coincidence? Is it not reasonable to assume that the ANC having failed to win Inkatha over to its cause, had to try and prove to the masses

that its policies of violence were working to counter the rapidly growing power of Inkatha.

And why is it that the violence in Natal has, in recent years, almost always started in areas under "white control." First it was KwaMashu, that most unhappy of areas that will still for decades live with the bitter legacy of Cato Manor, to which it owes its origin. It was here that first attempts were made to use the weapon of the school boycott to foment disorder.

When this happened, KwaMashu was under white control. An enormous amount of energy was spent by the Inkatha leadership to stop the classroom boycotts and to halt violence. While trouble simmered for years, it appears to have been less severe since the area came under full KwaZulu control in April 1977.

Then it was the turn of Lamontville, another township under Pretoria's direct control. And at Chesterville real stability has been absent for years. It too is under white control. From there the action moved to Hambanathi, where ordinary people were subjected to months of brutality and the destruction of an enormous amount of private property.

eMlazi, which has been under KwaZulu control for many years had a short spell of serious violence late in 1985, when attempts were made to render the township ungovernable. Have people forgotten what happened then?

Faceless individuals moved in and intimidated large numbers of people into handing over cash to be used for the "struggle." Non-compliance would result in serious assault, if your were

lucky, or the burning of your home. Most of those confronted complied.

Those who had cars were forced to hand over the keys. If you were lucky, your car would be left in the yard - after the petrol had been drained from the tank, to be used to fire buildings and make petrol bombs. In a span of a few days damage to private property amounted to more than R20 million.

Both the police and the army moved in, but could not contain the lawlessness. eMlazi was not under the control of the KwaZulu police at the time, but, the South African Government was informed that KwaZulu would not countenance the lawlessness. KwaZulu moved in its security services and the violence was brought to a halt within hours.

Yet now agencies such as

the Black Sash, which has received substantial cash from abroad through agencies like the Kagiso Trust, would have the world believe that the KwaZulu police are behind much of the violence.

Without wishing to apportion blame or point accusing fingers, one is surely entitled to ask why this pattern emerges. If Inkatha is the villain of the peace - or more correctly the violence - as propagandists from all corners of the globe aver, why did it ensure peace in Natal prior to 1979, albeit in those areas under KwaZulu control?

How is it that people so readily forget that it was and remains the declared policy of the African National Congress to render the country ungovernable, a goal that appears to be in sight in several areas in which black people live in Natal.

In September 1987 UDF spokesman Maulana Farid Esack carried a "message" from the ANC to South Africa that the people were to stop necklacing. According to a SAPA report he said the ANC had urged them to "return home (from Harare) and tell the people to stop necklacing."

"They said they understood the anger that gives rise to this kind of action (against those who, in their view, are collaborators), but that it cannot be justified," Mr Esack said. He added that "the organisation (the ANC) was facing international pressure concerning necklacing."

His punchline was that the ANC had sent a message to political activists that they should recognize each others legitimacy, but that it had warned against Inkatha "which was not part of

the struggle." Has anything changed?

Does this not explain what is going on in areas like Richmond, Mooi River, Greytown and Estcourt? So the AK47, the dagger, the bushknife, the petrol bomb and rocks have replaced the necklace - but does this signify a change in policy towards peace?

One is almost tempted to believe that if direct white control were removed, it would not be long before a semblance of peace would be restored in this province.

But having said that, it is equally important that one should look closer at the social forces at work in Black South African society. For no matter what short-term solution is found to the problems of violence, it is going to take a Herculean effort over many years to heal the underlying malaise with which our society has been afflicted.

White people in particular need to carefully note that while the explosive anger in Black society is currently deeply wounding that society itself, it is nurtured by an even more explosive anger towards the more affluent section of society (white society), that is seen as the root cause of black struggle.

That anger has been bred by the disintegration of black family life, coupled with grinding poverty and overcrowding and the resultant personal degradation.

The brutality described in newspapers almost daily has strengthened the stereotypes which many whites have of Black people - that of a people which does not have a high regard for human life. This is one of the most dangerous of racist misconceptions - the more so since it is the actions of successive white-controlled governments that have done vast damage to black society.

Black people are caught up in the third phase of South Africa's industrial revolution and it is true that the concomitant rapid urbanisation has imposed traumatic social stresses similar to those experienced in every country that has industrialized.

But these stresses have been magnified inordinately by the policy of apartheid. For decades the very fabric of the already-stressed black society was torn asunder by the evils of migratory labour, the pass laws and the abolition and curtailment of Black family housing, which was implemented as a matter of policy. Black leaders are thus correct in blaming the violence on apartheid and today's generation of young people are accurately described as "children of apartheid."

Yet, if it is true that many black South Africans blame their white fellow countrymen for the misery they now suffer, it is also true that few will not also call those to account who have embroidered on the legacy of apartheid through programmes of ungovernability, of school boycotts, and the mayhem of undisciplined youth.

Let us now look briefly at what has happened in Black society under the impact of urbanisation.

Although black Christians vastly outnumber white Christians, there is no gainsaying the fact that the bulk of black people still cling to basic and noble tenets of their traditional beliefs.

Chief among these is the very special relationship with ancestors. This is not what many - crudely - describe as "ancestor worship", but rather an acceptance of the cyclical nature of life. Each person completes a lifecycle of being born, having a definite role and place in society and of having a special relationship with his ancestors. He in turn has children, dies and is integrated with his ancestors.

## Quote

"To try to unravel what made which accusation first, the UDF or Inkatha, and which pamphlet and event preceded which accusation, would be a most difficult task. However, a clash between the two was inevitable following the political history of the 1970s and the changes that had occurred in resistance to apartheid. The immediate, if not longer-term, initiative had slipped from those who were caught in the politics of resistance from within the structures of apartheid, whether the bantustans, the CRC, or, more recently, the tri-cameral parliament. The focus of struggle had moved into the hands of those who throw stones, who stay out of schools and universities and away from the workplace and shopping centres, who blow up power stations and oil refineries and set off car bombs, who work towards making the country ungovernable and setting up alternative structures of government, rather than participating in government and repression."

Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton.

It is for this reason that abortion is abhorrent to Black society - it negates the concept of immortality by destroying the lifecycle of parenthood. Illegitimacy as it is understood in white society was equally unheard of in traditional black society. On the rare occasions where there was "illegitimacy", it was resolved through the expedient of adoption by the girl's mother, the child thus becoming the sister or brother of the biological mother.

Sex education was given to adolescents and young adults through what sociologists call age-set groups.

Christianity frowned upon many of these customs and discouraged them without putting anything meaningful in their place. The disappearance of the age-set groups has had a dramatic impact. Black mothers, even if they are Christian - and sometimes especially if they are Christian - are unable to discuss sexual matters with their children.

Promiscuity abounds and although many whites would again rationalize this with racial stereotyping, it is the destruction of the family and social system that are the real causes. And for this white people must take most of the blame.

Squatter settlements mushroom everywhere, thus compounding the problems of family life. Influx control may have been scrapped, but it will do nothing to ease the lot of black people striving to keep the family intact.

And although few seem to have noticed it to date, it is not true that powerful trade unions are fast becoming much more efficient enforcers of influx control that the Government ever was? Their bargaining powers have grown to such an extent that they are forcing ever more employers to look to capital intensive methods of production. And when serious disputes arise, intimidation is used as an effective weapon to protect privileged urban insiders from the competition of rural people seeking to uplift themselves in the cities.

To conclude, let us have a look at the violence in Natal in broader perspective. For those who know what life is like in Black urban areas, the events in many black townships are nothing new. Violence has been present for years - all that has changed is the scale of violence.

Murders and serious assaults have been so common that they have not been reported in the white press for years, while the murder of a white person makes banner headlines.

Why is this? Is it because white people believe that black people are "savages" and do not have respect for human life, or is it because their editorial judgment tells them that when something happens frequently it is no longer news.

Be that as it may, let us try and find an explanation for the high incidence of crime in black

areas.

As far back as 1975 the then head of the University of Natal's Department of Psychiatry, Professor R Cheetham, and Mrs Harriet Sibisi, then a Research Fellow at the same University's Institute for Social Research, published a paper on the psychiatric problems encountered by young black adolescents.

They showed that escalating aggression, violence and depression were directly linked to the radical disruption of family life and what they called social "disorganization."

They noted that the age-set group had disappeared and been replaced by a loose heterogeneous group. This has brought forth aggressive behavior, particularly among young men, formerly known as "tsotsis," but who later became generally known as thugs. (The comrades of today?)

These people remain a serious threat to the community and are widely feared because of their utter ruthlessness.

This is the seedbed into which people with all manner of covert political agenda's have sown their plans. More law enforcement and the re-introduction of the rule of law is a must, but it will not solve the underlying problems caused by decades of assaults on black family life.

A last word about the parties the Press says are locked in a battle for power in Natal and elsewhere. This is what an endemic from the University of Natal, Gerhard Mare, and a former reporter from the Sunday Tribune in Durban, Georgina Hamilton, have to say about the nature of the "struggle." It is taken from their book, "An Appetite for Power, Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa," a publication highly critical of Inkatha and laudatory about the UDF and its affiliates.

"To try to unravel what made which accusation first, the UDF or Inkatha, and which pamphlet and event preceded which accusation, would be a most difficult task. However, a clash between the two was inevitable following the political history of the 1970s and the changes that had occurred in resistance to apartheid. The immediate, if not longer-term, initiative had slipped from those who were caught in the politics of resistance from within the structures of apartheid, whether the bantustans, the CRC, or, more recently, the tri-cameral parliament. The focus of struggle had moved into the hands of those who throw stones, who stay out of schools and universities and away from the workplace and shopping centres, who blow up power stations and oil refineries and set off car bombs, who work towards making the country ungovernable and setting up alternative structures of government, rather than participating in government and repression."

Even making allowances for generalizations and rhetoric, in whose hand is the stone - in Inkatha's?

6/1/14



16/1/11

## ANC role on SA culture is attacked

X

50/67/AT  
21/12/91

THE ANC's department of art and culture was "causing a great deal of concern and confusion" on the cultural front, the director of the South African National Gallery, Miss Marilyn Martin, said on Wednesday.

Speaking at a cultural convention in Cape Town that was hosted by World Vision and Pen International, she said the ANC's cultural boycott had "profoundly affected the scope and quality of the productions and exhibitions offered in South Africa".

"The national culture towards which this country is striving, and which contains the very process of nation-building and of national unity, will be poor and desperately lacking in substance if we have to fall back on our own undernourished and depleted resources alone.

### Education

"And yet we should have enough faith in our own cultural production and potentialities to welcome outside influences," Martin said.

South Africans had

been deprived by an education system that did not provide adequate access to either Western or African cultural influences.

In addition, the efforts of the masses to express themselves culturally had been negated or actively opposed.

"We must remember the wealth of culture which we have lost, which has been destroyed and banned and we must prepare ourselves for the cultural enrichment which the returning exiles are bringing," she said. - Sapa.



Business Day (p1) 21-11-1991

## Second probe into Welkom violence

VERA VON LIERES

A SECOND investigating committee has been named by the Commission of Enquiry into Prevention of Violence and Intimidation to look into the unrest at Welkom's President Steyn gold mine earlier this month, chairman Mr Justice Goldstone said yesterday.

More than 70 mineworkers died in violence which broke out on November 3 at the mine's No 4 shaft.

Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement the three-member committee, headed by commission member Gert Steyn, would hold its first meeting at Welkom on November 29. The venue still had to be finalised, he said.

The committee would investigate the relevance of the hostel system and the national anti-VAT stayaway in the violence and the reasons why the violence escalated after November 3.

It would also look at identifying the influence — if any — of political and other organisations in the violence; mine authorities' reaction to the stayaway and their communication with workers, as well as the NUM's reaction and its communication with members at the mine.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the terms had been established in consultation with the NUM, mine owners Fré-gold and the SAP.

He added that investigations by the committee would not influence the normal police investigations of events at the mine or any resulting prosecutions by the attorney-general.



Business Day (p2) 21-11-1991

## Cast leaders threatened

THEO RAWANA

LEADERS of the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) had received a number of death threats, the organisation said yesterday.

Calling on all civics in the region to attend a conference on defence units on Sunday, Cast said it could not sit back while "our children, property and own lives are at stake".

Cast president Moses Mayekiso and deputy, Kgabo Mosunkutu said the threats followed the killing of general secretary Sam Ntali. They said the threats continued after Press reports of death squads in Reef hostels. Cast condemned government for not attempting to probe the existence of these squads.

The organisation said housing department head Mohammed Dangor had received death-threat telephone calls and on November 15, Cast education officer Nomvula Mokonyane escaped being killed by three men at the Kagiso taxi rank.

Other Cast members had also received death threats.



Business Day (p3) 21-11-1991

## ANC eyes Durban council posts

THE ANC is lining up potential municipal employees for the Durban City Council.

An ANC human resources department spokesman yesterday said the council was keen to employ ANC people trained in local government.

"The council did not tell us how many people it wanted. . . It also did not say what posts it had. But we have 10 people who were trained in local government in Britain, India and Zimbabwe and we will be submitting their names to the council in due course," he said.

Durban management committee chairman Peter Mansfield confirmed yesterday he had written to the ANC asking to be put in touch with black

WILSON ZWANE

people who had received training in local government "with a view to possible employment" after seeing a newspaper article about the return to SA of 20 people trained in local government in England.

"I did not commission the ANC to recruit people for us," Mansfield said.

He would have written a similar letter to Inkatha or PAC had their officials been quoted in the article.

In another development, the ANC has been asked to find 20 candidates to send to Zimbabwe early next year for technical training in motor maintenance, carpentry and building.



Business Day (p4) 21-11-1991

## Inkatha leader tells of receiving death threat.

JONATHON REES

AN INKATHA leader, giving evidence to the committee investigating violence in Thokoza yesterday, said she had received a death threat from an anonymous caller in the East Rand township on Tuesday.

Gertrude Mzizi told the committee a man had telephoned to say he had seen her point out a house "to whites" on Sunday and he would "get her".

The house, No 2044 Khumalo Street, was the scene of the massacre of 14 hostel dwellers by unknown gunmen on September 8 and was pointed out to the committee when it toured the township on Sunday.

Mzizi said she had suffered repeated intimidation and attacks on her person and property in the past two years. In December last year her house was burnt down.

Asked what she thought was the reason for violence in the township, Mzizi said the ANC did not want opposition groups to exist.

She said the violence was not ethnic, but political, fought along ethnic lines because the leaders of Inkatha and the ANC were Zulu and Xhosa respectively.

Mzizi said on September 8 she had seen a man wearing an overcoat leap into the garden of the house before blowing a whistle three times and opening fire on the crowd with an AK-47. Other gunmen had joined in.

A legal representative for the Thokoza Civic Association (TCA) David Dyson said the association dissociated itself from intimidation. He said it would attempt to identify the anonymous caller and bring him before the committee.



# Obeyimenenja uxoshwe wamangalela ibhange

ILANGA

21, 23 Nov.

1991

**DAN XULU**  
**ETHEKWINI:** Obe-  
 ngomunye wezime-  
 nenja ezintathu zo-  
 kuqala zoMdabu  
 emabhange aseNa-  
 tal, usemangalele  
 iFirst National Bank  
 (FNB), kulandela

zange bafune kuzwa lu-  
 tho, kodwa baqhubeka  
 nokuthi kumele ayeke  
 ukusebenza.

Uthe ngalesisizathu  
 unqume ukubathathela  
 ezinyathelo zenkanto, o,  
 ukuze basho ukuthi ba-  
 mxosha ngziphi iziza-  
 thu. Wathi ufuna bacha-

ukuxoshwa kwakhe  
 emsebenzini.

UMnuz. W.B. Xulu,  
 obekulesikhundla kule-  
 libhange futhi eseqede  
 iminyaka engaphezulu  
 kweyishumi elisebenzela,  
 uthukuthile uthelwa  
 ngamanzi ngendlela athi  
 izikhulu zebhange eThe-

kwini zimthathe ngayo,  
 zaze zamenzela uzungu  
 lokuba ashintshwe oLu-  
 ndi alethwe eThekwini  
 kanti sezifuna ukumxo-  
 sha. Incwadi yokumxosha  
 uthi uyithole ngo-August  
 24 nonyaka.

UMnuz. Xulu uthi lo-  
 khu kulandela ukwakhe-

lwa uzungu yilezikhulu  
 egatsheni elisoLundi  
 eminyakeni emibili edlu-  
 le, zikhononda ngokuthi  
 akaziphethe kahle ezinye  
 izisebenzi, kanti sezifuna  
 ukuba kungene umLu-  
 ngu esikhundleni sakhe.

UMnuz. Xulu uthi  
 phezu kokuba esebabo-  
 nisile abacashi bakhe  
 ukuthi akukho zizathu  
 abamxoshele zona, aba-

zele inkantolo ukuthi ba-  
 mxosha ngoba eMnyama  
 noma kukhona izizathu  
 ezicashile abangafuni  
 ukuba yena azazi kumbe-  
 ke kungenxa yokuthi ku-  
 khona asebefuna ukufaka  
 kulesisikhundla  
 njengoba bakwenza na-  
 soLundi.

Uthe ukushintshwa  
 kwakhe esuka oLundi  
 kwaqubula ukukhondela  
 kubantu abaningi  
 emphakathini, okukhona  
 kubo osomabhizinisi ka-  
 nye nabamaBandla ehlu-  
 kene kulendawo, baze  
 babhalela nakulelibha-  
 nge kuleligatsha lasoLu-  
 ndi ukuba angashintshwa  
 kodwa kwanhlanga zimu-  
 ka nomoya.

Icala kulindeleke uku-  
 ba lingene e-Industrial  
 Court eThekwini ekuqa-  
 leni kukaDecember no-  
 nyaka.

Okhulumela iFirst  
 National Bank eThekwi-  
 ni, uMnuz. A.B. Pascoe,  
 wenqabile ukuphawula  
 ngale udaba wathi lusa-  
 zodingidwa ngezinye izi-  
 khulu zebhange.

## Kukhalwa ezimathonsi ngezikweletu ze-ANC eyazenza ekudingisweni

**ELUSAKA:** Ukhala uyazithulisa  
 uMnyango wezamaPosi nokuXhumani-  
 sa kuHulumeni waseZambia ngenxa ye-  
 sikweletu esiyisigidi samarandi okufa-  
 nele usikhokhele yi-African National  
 Congress (ANC) ngokusebenzisa kwa-  
 yo izingcingo nokunye ngesikhathi ise-  
 namahhovisi lapha.

Kuthiwa lesisikweletu sasala nge-  
 nkathi abe-ANC ekade besekudingi-  
 sweni bephindela eSouth Africa. Bese  
 behlale kulelizwe iminyaka engaphezu  
 kuka-20.

Kunemibiko ethi akuyena yedwa lo-  
 Hulumeni obhekene nalengwadla ko-  
 dwa nezinye iziqumama ezaziqashisele  
 lenhlangano ngezindlu ziyakweletwa yi-  
 ANC.

Ezinye izikweletu okuthiwa zashiywa  
 yilenhlangano eZambia yintela yezin-  
 dlu, nentela yamanzi kuLusaka Water  
 and Sewerage Company, inkampane

kagesi iZesco kanye nezinye zabantu  
 abehlukene. Osokunzima wukuthi kwa-  
 zona lezizinkampane sczibhekene na-  
 macala ezikweletu osokudala ukuba na-  
 zo zifake icala zimangalela i-ANC.

Iningi lamalunga e-ANC ayeseLusa-  
 ka asebuyele ekhaya. IZambia yayikhu-  
 selise amalunga e-ANC abalelwa ku-3  
 000. Kubikwa ukuthi uHulumeni wase-  
 Zambia uhlela ukuba amahhovisi aye-  
 setshenziswa yi-ANC eZambia, aguqu-  
 lwe enziwe indawo yomlando ezivaka-  
 shini njengendawo eyayisetshenziswa  
 yinhlangano elwela inkululeko emhla-  
 bathini waseZambia.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje, kusanda kuba  
 nemibiko ethi amafa amaningi e-ANC  
 ayeseZambia, lenhlangano yawedjulise-  
 la kuHulumeni wakhona owawunga-  
 phansi kukaDr Kenneth Kaunda, nje-  
 ngophawu lokubonga ngokubakhuselela  
 iminyaka engaphezu kuka 20.

## Kulindeleke izihlwele koweNkatha

**ESIKHAWINI:** Kulinde-  
 leke izihlwele zabantu  
 emhlanganweni we-  
 Nkatha Freedom Party  
 (IFP), ozokuba senku-  
 ndleni yezemidlalo cho-  
 stela eSikhawini nge-  
 Sonto mhlaka December  
 24 ngo-9 ekuseni. Isikhu-  
 lumi sosuku nguMnuz.  
 Themba Khoza oyilungu  
 lomGwamanda kuleliqe-  
 mbu elizinze eGoli, no-  
 kuzoba ngokokuqala li-  
 hambela kulendawo.

OnguNobhala ophe-  
 the ihhovisi le-IFP oLu-  
 ndi uMnuz. M.R. Mkhizi,  
 uthe kuzosukelwa  
 ehholo KwaHlanganani  
 ngo-8 ekuseni sekuphike-  
 lelwe kulenkundla.

Okusemqoka okuzo-  
 be kudingidwa wudaba  
 lwesiVumelwano soku-  
 Thula sikaZwelonke, no-  
 kunye okubalulekile o-  
 kuphathelele naleliqe-  
 mbu. UMnuz. Mkhizi u-  
 nxuse wonke amalungu  
 ombutho aphelele, naba-  
 bo abangesiwna umbu-  
 tho abahlala ezindaweni  
 ezisondelene nalendawo  
 nabo batheleke ngothi  
 lwabo.



# UMongameli weNkatha uphika umbono ngophiko lwezimpi

**EBRUSSELS:-** Umhlobo weNkatha Freedom Party (IFP), uDr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ngesonto eledlule ukuphikile ukuthi iqembu lakhe lingase lisungule uphiko lwezimpi ukuze lizivikele ezimbangini zalo, njenge-African National Congress (ANC).

UDr. Buthelezi uthe inqubo ye-IFP eyaziwayo eyokuthi ayiyingeni indaba yokusebenzisa ubudlova. Ubuthelezi imibuzo ebeibuzwa ngosongo olwenziwe ngumhlobo we-IFP eNtilasifali, uMnu. Musa Myeni,

ngesonto eledlule lapho ethe khona i-IFP ingase isungule uphiko lwayo lwezimpi.

UDr. Buthelezi utshele izintatheli ukuthi akakwazi yena lokhu, wathi akacabangi ukuthi uMnu. Myeni ubekhulumele i-IFP.

Usho lokhu ngesikhathi evakashela eBelgium lapho abonane khona nosomabhizinisi abakhu lu kanye namalunga ePhalamende yaseYurophu.

Uthe abantu bexineke kakhulu ngenxa yodlame eSouth Africa. Uthe ngexa yalokhu kungenzeka bakhulume noma kanjani basho izinto abangazihlosile.

Ngohwesibili olwedlu-

le uMnu. Myeni uthe utshele umhlangothi wezintatheli ukuthi kusobala ukuthi kukhona izinhlangano ezithile ezihlose iqembu labo.

Uthe i-IFP nayo inelungelo lokuzivikela, wathi ngeke bona babe yibukeli isikhathi eside.

Uqhubeke wathi i-ANC kanye neSACP bayaqhubeka nokuhlasela amalunga e-IFP phezu kokuba sekwasayinwa isivumelwano sokuthula ngoSeptemba. Uthe ukhona namaphoyisa ezwelana ne-ANC ahlasela amalunga e-IFP wathi i-ANC ithumela abantu bayo kwamanye amazwe njengase-Uganda ukuba bayoqeqeshwa kwezimpi. - (Sapa-Reuter).

ILANGA, NOVEMBER 21-23, 1991

## Bazodonsa ejele abangu-11 bezi "nkantolo" za "bantu"

**ETHEKWINI:-** Abesilisa abangu 11 abazibeka bona ezikhundleni zokuba yizikhulu ze "nkantolo yabantu" baze bagweba abantu imivimbo engu 300, bagwetshwe iminyaka engu-28 isihlo ngene yonke nguMnu. H. Weitz enkantolo yemantshi eThekwini ngecala lokwenza ubudlova emphakathini.

Inkantolo itshelwe ukuthi ababoshwa babemdibi nabanye abangu 200 ababehlome ngezinhlobo ezahlukene zezikhali, phakathi kwazo okwakukhona nezibhamu ezingoqhawsha, ababamba abesilisa nabesifazane abangu 11 eNanda ngomhla kaDecember 26, 1989.

Kuthiwa bathatha lababantu babayisa e "nkantolo yabantu" lapho abesilisa bagwetshwa imivimbo engu 300 emunye kwathi abesifazane bagwetshwa imivimbo engu 50 emunye. Bonke babhaxabulwa ngemvubu.

UNicholas Myeza (27) ugwetshwe iminyaka emine ejele. UThulani Cele (25), Bonginkosi Cele (31), Pacy Ngobo (26), Siphwe Hlongwane (46), Thulani Nzama (20), Thamsanqa Mthembu (24), Nhlanhla Makhanya (22) no-Anthony Mwanala (43), bagwetshwa iminyaka emithathu ejele emunye. Babuye bagwetshwa iminyaka emibili ejele emunye kodwa isigwebo salengiswa iminyaka esihlanu.

URaynold Mthethwa (18) nomfanana oneminyaka engu 13 ubudala bagwetshwe imivimbo eyisithupha.

Ikipha isigwebo, imantshi lithenza into embi kakhulu futhi kabazange babenalo nelincane ilungelo lokuba bazibeka ezikhundleni zokuba yizikhulu ze "nkantolo yabantu." Ithe kufanele ziqedwe nxa le "zinkantolo" okugcwelezwa kuzo abantu.



## Phansi izikhali kusho eWe-IFP

**ETHEKWINI:** UMongameli weNkatha Freedom Party, uDr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, uthi sesifikile isikhathi lapho kufanele zibekwe phansi izikhali eSouth Africa ukuze zonke izinhlangano zezombusazwe eSouth Africa zikwazi ukubhekana noddame.

Ekhuluma eMunich, eJamane, uDr. Buthelezi uthi inkqubo enkulu wokuthi uma udlame lukelwabheduka luyabhe-

bhetheka. Uthe labo abaqala udlame eSouth Africa abasakwazi ukulunganda manje.

UDr. Buthelezi uthi i-IFP iyahwenyanya udlame wathi sekufanele manje luphele, kusebenze Isivumelwano sokuThula.

Uqhubeke wathi kuleminyaka eyisihlanu eyedule kuze kubemanje sekufanele izinhlangwane zamalunga e-IFP, phakathi kwawo okukhona naba-

holi be-IFP abangu 180.

Ubuye wathi amazwe aseYurophu kufanele asize iSouth Africa ezinhlelweni zentuthuko. Uthe uHulumeni waseSouth Africa usekhiphe u-R4 000 million woku-chuthukisa abamaNyama, wathi kodwa lemali ayenole. Uthe iningi kakhulu intsha eswele umsebenzi eSouth Africa. Uthe kusekukhulu okufanele kwenziwe ukuze kuliwe nobumpofu kulelizwe.

## Esinye isifo emndenini kaJamile

**DAN XULU**

**ETHEKWINI:** Sekuphinde kwehla omunye omshophi emndenini kaMnuz. Samuel Jamile, owayeyiPhini likaNgqongqoshe wezangaPhakathi kuHulumeni waKwaZulu okumanje osaboshiwe. Lona ngowokwenda kwendodakazi yakhe ebiyiwele kwamathathu emuva kokugula isikhathana esibhedlela saseNgwelezane.

UNksz. Banontshiwe

Nokuphila Jamile (24), ubeyiwele eliphakathi kukaNksz. Behluliwe noNksz. Baxoshiwe, bekusanda kushona unina omncane, uNkk. Augusta Angela (uMaMdudu) engozini yemoto emasontweni amabili adule.

Owomndeni okhulume neLANGA, uNkk. Zodwa Jamile, uthi uBanqotshiwe, ubesebenza ekhemisi likayise oLundi kanti ukugula lokhu kwamqala ngemva edule

wangeniswa esibhedlela eNgwelezane nokuyilapho kuze kwamenela khona ngomSombuluko ekuseni.

UBanqotshiwe uzalwa ngunkosikazi omdala kaMnuz. Jamile (umaNzi-buko), ushiye uyise nonina, u-Ivy Khethezakhe, odadewabo abayisithupha nabafowabo abahlanu. Ngesikhathi sokuloba abengakaphothulwa amalungiselelo omngcwabo kodwa abo-

madeni bathe uzofihlwa oLundi ngomGqibelo mhlaka November 23 ngo-1 emini.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje izikhulu eziphethe emajele eThekwini zibuzwa ukuthi uMnuz. Jamile osaboshiwe kungenzeka yini athole ithuba lokuyofihla indodakazi yakhe, ziveze ukuthi mancane kakhulu amathemba okuthi kungenzeka lokhu ngoba kulandela imithetho emininzi kakhulu

futhi ethatha isikhathi eside ukuba icwaningwee uma isilandeliwe, okungenzeka ukuthi kuvunye kanti seludlulile nosuku lomngcwabo.

UMnuz. Jamile ubengekho emngcwabeni womkakhe omncane ongcwatshwe eButterworth, eTranskei emasontweni amabili adule. Abomndeni babike ukuthi imizamo yabo yokuba abe khona kulomngcwabo ayizange iphumelele.

Uzofihlwa ngomGqibelo mhlaka November 23 emathuneni aseNanda Mission emuva kwenkomo ezongena ngo-10 ekuseni esontweni leBandla le-United Congregational Church eNanda.



UNksz. Duduzile Pamela Zulu.

nce. Wake wafundisa unyaka owordwa kulenyuvesi kanti wake wasebenzela ne-Urban Foundation.

Ubekukhuthalele kakhulu ukufunda njengoba wathi exoxa nentatheli yeLANGA ngaphambi kokuba aye phesheya kwezilwandle ezinyaneni ezimbalwa ezedule wathi: "Ukuze ufinyelele ezifisweni zakho kufanele ufunde kuqala."

Hlanu, emuva kokugula isikhashana. UNksz. Zulu ungowokuzalwa eNanda Mission. Ushona nje kade ehambele phesheya eWales eyoqhumba ulwazi kulomsebenzi wamabhuku.

UMatric wawufunda eNanda Seminary wayesedlulela eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu oNgoye, waphothula iziqu ze B.A (Hons) ku-Library Science.

**XOLANI NXUMALO**  
**ETHEKWINI:** Kungangapholi namaseko nje ebuyile phesheya kwezilwandle umbheki wamabhuku (librarian) eMangosuthu Technikon nowake wafundisa eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu useshonile.

UNksz. Duduzile Pamela Zulu (40), ushonele esibhedlela eKing Edward eThekwini ngolwesini.

ILANGA

21. 23, Nov. 1991

## Kufe 6 kuhlaselewa imizi KwaNdengezi

**ETHEKWINI:** Kufe abantu abayisithupha kwilamala kabi abayishumi ngenkathi iqulu labantu abalinganiselwa kwabangu-200 behlasela imizi endaweni eyaziwa ngokuthi kuseMoscow ngasekungeneni kwelokishi laKwaNdengezi ngezithuba zawo-4.30 ekuseni ngolwesibili.

Ngokombiko okhishwe yiHhovisi elixhumanisa amaphoyisa nomphakathi oLundi, bonke abafike bangabesilisa. Lithelileqembu labahlalweli belihlome ngezibhamu zohlobo lwama-AK-47, ama-H.M.C., ama-R1 nana-R4, imikhonto kanye nocoemba.

Amaphoyisa athe izitholokale zinamanxeba okudushulwa nokugwazwa.

Ngokusho kwamaphoyisa nabantu abahlala KwaNdengezi loludlame okufe kulo lababantu beluphakathi kwabalandeli be-ANC okukholakala ukuthi kabasehoshelani ngomoya kodwa kuthiwa

izikhulu ze-ANC ziyakuphika lokhu.

Kubikwa ukuthi imizi ehlaseliwe lapha iku-Road-9 kulelilokishi. Kuthiwa ngaphambi kokuba kube nokuhlasela kubonakale imoto eyikhumbi ebomvu igcwele abantu izungeza kuendawo.

Kwenzeka konke lokhu nje, ngeedlule kuhlaselewa omunye umunzi othile oku-Road 10 kulelilokishi, kwabulawa abantu abane ngendlela efanayo. Kulesisikhakalo sangolwesibili kuthiwa kubuye kwanqanyulwa izintambo zikathelofoni kweminye imizi.

ILANGA lithole emithonjeni ethembekile ukuthi lengxabano, iphakathi kwabazibiza ngama"comrade" kanye nalabo abahlubuka kuwona ababizwa ngama"comrades" nokuthiwa basuka eDassenhoek.

Amaphoyisa athe sekuboshwe 10 ngalesisikhakalo.

Kuloba uSabelo Zitha.



The Citizen (P3) 21-11-1991

# Date for all-party talks 'may be set by weekend'

CAPE TOWN. — Final obstacles to an all-party constitutional conference could be removed and a date set for it before the weekend.

Sources within the main preparatory parties said yesterday agreement might be reached last night or early today, when the ANC's representatives are due to meet the government's.

Consensus now seems

to have been reached on the composition of the preparatory committee, in order to include all 22 parties expected to attend the conference.

Still to be settled is the issue of the chairmanship, with the Inkatha Freedom Party holding out for the Chief Justice without the

two additional clerics, Bishop Stanley Magoba of the Methodist Church and Prof Johan Heyns of the NG Kerk.

The IFP has apparently abandoned its insistence that only the "Big Three" (ANC, NP and IFP) call the conference and has agreed to extending the

convening group to include all parties, including those of the other homelands.

Sources within the ANC-NP-IFP core of organising parties said there now appeared to be little left to delay final agreement on the form and detail of the conference, and that a date could be announced within days if not hours.

The date given by Mr Nelson Mandela — November 29 — could still be feasible, although it is possible some other event, such as a preparatory committee meeting, might now be scheduled for that date.

Further talks between the government and the ANC are due to be held after yesterday's meeting of the ANC's working committee in Johannesburg. It was uncertain whether this meeting would take place last night or early today.

Another smaller issue, but one of practical importance, is to resolve the problem of what to call the conference officially.

The ANC camp speaks of an all-party congress, the NP of a multi-party conference and the PAC of a pre-constituent assembly conference. Sources were agreed the conference could not be called under a string of optional names.

This is not, however, a matter likely to cause serious delays, said one source. — Sapa.

For Dr F T Malalose



**I**N THE apartheid era, business was seldom directly penalised; rather it was constrained, regulated and its operating terrain eroded. Bewildering forms of administrative manipulation, regulation, taxation and political experimentation distorted its internal economics and its markets.

Through the labour movement it became increasingly subject to the stress of resistance politics. It steadily adapted to narrowing opportunity. It was finally subjected to the humiliation of being used for public relations purposes in P.W. Botha's Carlton conferences.

The present phase is somewhat of a respite. The stated policies of government have turned in favour of business and investment. However, even now the practice contradicts the principle. Government expenditure is still growing and few people believe that effective taxation will be meaningfully reduced.

Massive special expenditure on projects aimed at poverty alleviation, while understandable, is planned and implemented apparently without proper consideration of the effects on interest rates, inflation and entrepreneurial opportunity. The Reserve Bank often appears to be the sole bulwark against well-meaning and unplanned profligacy.

**E**ven prominent businessmen, driven by anxiety, or perhaps scenario forecasts, propose massive socio-economic reparation without much evidence of having considered all the unintended economic effects or the effective political return in a society in which the not-so-poor are often more militant than the very poor.

Most businessmen realise their operating conditions could become much worse. The plethora of policy documents emanating from the ANC shows the way the wind is blowing. It is not so much the detailed pronouncements which are of concern. Nationalisation on any meaningful scale is far-fetched, and the detailed prescriptions will change. The real concern is the assumption that the role of government is not merely good housekeeping — it is that of

architect, quantity surveyor, contractor and landlord too.

The question is whether business can do something about securing conditions for its own future well-being and simultaneously for renewed investment, growth and employment creation. Its record in SA is not reassuring.

For example, after the 1976 Soweto protests, business leaders realised that the educational system for blacks would be a source of endless won, economic inefficiency and destabilisation. Since then, business-funded organisations have been continuously agonising over the education issue. Yet, today — 15 years later — there is still no well-founded, coherent and concerted business lobby on educational reform.

Compared with the muscular reactions in other social institutions, business is fragmented and at times limp in its reaction to events. Many of the reasons for this are obvious.

Firstly, business is an activity, not an organisation. Its reason for being is the pursuit of individual or company objectives. Companies must and do compete with each other.

Individual businessmen everywhere tend to be ideologically divided. Businessmen are social democrats, liberals of an American colour, core liberals, conservatives

and reactionaries. This is why the SACP's Joe Slovo was able to write with confidence in 1988: "Use all means, including dialogue, to work on the unity of the ruling class."

Furthermore, business — in a social context — has "no arms and legs". Its executive functions are purely internal. Outside the doors of the factory or head office, a traffic warden or a postal official has more direct public leverage than a captain of industry.

In, for example, the US, Germany, Japan or Taiwan, business has immense social and political influence. In the US the political system is responsive to public opinion, civil society and organised lobbies; in part because all operate within the same value system. In Germany the state, business and labour aspects of civil society are all drawn into a pervasive system of social contracts. In Japan and Taiwan, business leaders, politicians and top bureaucrats are linked in complex corporatist networks. In SA, as in some other parts of the Third World, business does not have this kind of access.

The treaty of Vereeniging secured what is in effect a form of "truce" between corporate capital and the Afrikaner communal political movements, after which business adapted

to apartheid, to its eventual cost. Since then, however, business lobbies and financial power have never had much purchase on SA's "blueprint" politics.

For business in general, prospects in the new SA are far from reassuring. The danger is not nationalisation, the dismemberment of conglomerates, the confiscation of property or sudden, dramatic penalisation of wealth. If these steps are taken they will be largely token in nature and the adverse lessons will be very quickly manifest.

The real danger is well-meaning regulation, proscribed assets, creeping rises in taxation, lack of fiscal discipline, rhetoric which frightens off investment, insistence on affirmative action which encourages elaborate tokenism in business practices, unions using twin-track strategies (labour-bargaining combined with leverage through the political system), subsidies which drive up prices, other short-term populist measures which stimulate inflation, and a host of lesser distortions of the market. Because all of it will be well-meant, and much of it supported by the media, business will once again begin to adapt to creeping constraints and narrowing opportunity.

What might business consider as a strategy? Many business leaders have been pro-active in establishing channels for organised debate be-

tween politicians and businessmen. Some of this has been useful and has produced some convergence of views.

The debate, however, must not delay a more fundamental strategy, one illustration of which has been the uncertain but promising achievements of Sateco in the manpower field. This is the development by organised business of "institutional capacity" in the socio-political and policy sphere.

This institutional "extension" of organised business should:

□ Allow business to respond quickly and firmly, but sympathetically, to a diverse range of relevant policy prescriptions by politicians, in a way that is sufficiently telling and sophisticated to command at least some intellectual respect;

□ Make calculations and assessments of the possible consequences and achievable effects of all the various schemes for "kickstarts", poverty alleviation, political "pacification" and the like; and

□ Most important, however, it should take the much-handled-about phrase, "social contact" or "compact", seriously and develop the skills and the accountability to the business constituency to seek negotiation. It should seek a input in the constitutional negotiations, not at the level of the political parties but certainly in the more secularised forums that will be created. It should seek the right to have proposals referred to it for comment. This, after all, is no more than what Cosatu has attempted to achieve in its proposed economic forum.

**A**ll of this will have less than optimal leverage unless business has some independent access to political constituencies. It should, therefore, at least have its own media organs and even consider establishing, within communities, vocational adult education initiatives to improve the skills base of the population. In a very muscular political environment, something along these lines arguably what business requires to develop its "arms and legs".

□ This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of the SA Foundation's newsletter. Schlemmer is director of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies.

# Business must act decisively to help shape the new SA

LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

Business Day (p11) 21-11-1991



The Citizen (p11) 21-11-1991

## Zach: Will FW disband Nat Party?

Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN. — The possibility that State President De Klerk might again "shock" the nation by disbanding the National Party to form a new non-racial party was suggested by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, at a speech to the SA Institute of International Affairs at Newlands last night.

Dr De Beer said that, faced with similar problems of credibility while they remained linked with the former Communist Party, both Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin had ditched the disgraced party to head new, democratically-oriented political entities.

President De Klerk and President Gorbachev had overthrown the substances of the parties from which they came, while preserving their names and appearance.

"We have seen how and why Gorbachev failed. What shall we see with De Klerk?"

### Adherence

"Certainly his adherence to the National Party and its leadership thoroughly undermines his credibility and trustworthiness among a great many of the Black people, whose votes he is eager to win in the new South Africa.

"Would De Klerk save his future career if he now

disbanded the NP to form a non-racial political party in its place? One cannot really know, but the lesson from Gorbachev suggests that this may well be so.

"Ask me whether he will do so, and I confess that it looks to me to be utterly unlikely. For the son of 'Swaggy Jan' and the nephew of Hans Strydom, it would be contrary to his nature.

"However, he shocked me rigid on February 2, 1990. And perhaps he's going to do it again."



The Citizen (p21) 21-11-1991

## 1 000 English-speakers back unity group

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — In an unexpectedly large response, more than 1 000 English-speaking South Africans have shown an interest in the new anti-Communist Republican Unity Movement of SA (Rumosa), according to its chairman, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis.

Since Rumosa was established as a forum for English-speakers at a meeting in Rondebosch three months ago, 23 branches have been formed throughout the

country and another 10 branches are in the process of being formed.

Mr Derby-Lewis, a Conservative Party member of the President's Council, said that since advertisements were placed in *The Citizen*, *The Natal Mercury* (Durban) and *The Weekend Post* (Port Elizabeth) last week, he had already received 43 enquiries, of which 45 were in response to *The Citizen* advertisement.

"It shows a deep concern among English-speakers, like myself, about the future of the country," he said in an interview yesterday.

For a number of years he had heard English-speaking South Africans bemoaning the fact they were not involved in politics and did not feel sufficiently confident to join either of the two Afrikaans-led political parties, the National Party and the Conservative Party.

"They were looking for some involvement in politics, without joining a political organisation. One must understand

that, historically, English-speaking South Africans have been forced into a situation of lobbying specific situations, rather than exercising political power within political parties."

Mr Derby-Lewis said it was clear that one of the crises facing English-speaking people in South Africa was a lack of identity, linked with a fear of being swallowed up as "nobodies" in a future country possibly ruled by the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"We came up with the idea of forming a cultural organisation to promote and confirm the identity of English-speaking people, and to promote the Western cultural values and specifically the English norms they cherish."

Rumosa was fundamentally anti-Communist, and already had strong ties with anti-Communist organisations elsewhere.

Mr Derby-Lewis denied that the organisation was racist. "We've based our whole philosophy on the values cherished by the original English settlers."



The Citizen (p2) 21-11-1991

# Probe told of ANC's 'intolerance'

By Fred de Lange

THE ANC's intolerance to other political groupings was yesterday cited as the main reason behind the violence in Tokoza.

Two witnesses yesterday told the Goldstone Commission into the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation that the ANC's attempts to force its will upon the people of Tokoza had caused the people to rebel and violence to break out.

The secretary of the Tokoza branch of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mr Abraham Mzizi, said the ANC and the Civic Association used in-

timidation and assault to force people to take part in boycotts and stay-aways.

Those who refused to take part in such actions were forced to drink detergents, and were assaulted and even burnt by members of the Civic Association.

"The people were being put under pressure by these people and when the balloon burst, the violence started," he said.

Earlier, Mr Mzizi's wife, Mrs Gertrude Mzizi, caused a stir at the commission when she revealed that an unknown person had threatened her on Monday afternoon that she would come to harm if she testified be-

fore the commission.

Mrs Mzizi, who was an eyewitness to the massacre of 16 Inkatha supporters on September 8 this year by unknown gunmen, said a man called her and warned her that the hostels in Tokoza — which mainly housed IFP supporters — would soon be removed, and that would leave her without any protection.

Both counsel for the Civic Association of Tokoza and counsel for the ANC/Cosatu/SACP immediately expressed their concern over the incident, and disassociated their clients from the threats.

Mr D S Dison for the Civic Association even offered that his clients

would immediately start a search for the offender and bring him before the commission to answer for his deeds.

Counsel for the ANC/Cosatu/SACP, Mr D M Barry, said his clients were also very concerned about the intimidation of the witness, and would go out of its way to ensure no witnesses were intimidated in any way.

Mrs Mzizi told the commission that on September 8 this year she saw one of the gunmen who opened fire with an AK-47 on a group of Inkatha supporters who were on their way to an Inkatha rally in Tokoza.

She said she was in a vehicle with her husband following the Inkatha procession in Kumbalo Street in Tokoza, when she saw a man run out of one of the houses on the left side of the street.

She watched the man jumping over the fence to the house next door, and when he landed on the other side of the fence she saw an AK-47 which was concealed under his coat.

The man reached under his coat for a whistle which he blew three times before going down on one knee and opening fire on the Inkatha supporters. Other AK-47s along the street then also opened fire on the people in the street.

The gunman she saw was dressed in black and had long hair. "If I see him again I will be able to identify him," she said.

The matter will proceed today.



# FW tells Israel SA has 'important role'

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

JERUSALEM—Developments in southern Africa were set to improve co-operation "significantly" between the Republic and "some 11 or 12" countries in the area, President de Klerk said here yesterday.

South Africa would play an important role in the region of 100-million people and tremendous potential, he said.

Speaking at a luncheon in a city centre hotel after an hour-long meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Mr de Klerk said the meeting had centred on the increasing co-operation between the countries.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday that the co-operation agreement signed by the two countries yesterday did not touch on military matters and he hoped "the suspicions and allegations" surrounding this issue would finally be eliminated.

Mr de Klerk later travelled to Tel Aviv's Bar Ilan University, where he received his first honorary doctorate from a foreign university.

Speaking on the constitutional process unfolding in the country, he said the "culturally diverse communities had to have the right to maintain their charac-



Jerusalem—President de Klerk takes a hearty swig straight from a can of "Maccabee", a popular Israeli beer. — (Reuter)

teristic tendencies", should retain their heritage, worship as they wish and speak their various languages.

Mr de Klerk said previous Government policy had been an effort to seek a "just solution" through policies of ethnic and territorial separation. While successive governments believed this was the best way to defuse the potential conflict inherent in "a situation as complex as ours", in practice the policies resulted in a system that was "untenable and unjustifiable".

University chancellor Emanuel Racman described Mr de Klerk as "virtually the man of the century".



Jerusalem—President de Klerk places a note between stones in the Western Wall beside the Jewish Temple Mount during a tour of the Old City. According to Jewish tradition, worshippers communicate with God by placing notes in cracks in the wall. — (Reuter)



# I-PAC isikaza ukuhoxa ekubambisaneni nabe-ANC

EGOLI: Ukubulawa kwelunga le-Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) ngokuthiwa bangabalandeli be-African National Congress ngokuligaxa ithayi entanyeni lagwazwa ngemfologo yasengadini, sekwenze iPAC yasikaza ukuhoxa kuPatriotic Front.

Obulelwe eMunsieville nguMruz. Abner Mowngwaga (22), obeyilunga futhi lenhlangothi yezitshudeni iPan Africanist Students Organization (Paso). Ubulawa nje, ubesanda kuqeda ukubhala ukuhlolwa kwezifundo zonyaka wokugcina ekolishi lobuthisha eMorotele Teachers Training College.

Kuthiwa washiselwa elokishini iMunsieville eKrugersdorp ebuya emhlanganweni wokuza ma ukuletha ukuthula kulelilokishi ngolwesi-Hlanu. Wagaxwa ithayi entanyeni lokhelwa ngomlilo. Umndeni kaMnuz. Mowngwaga uthe ushona nje ubesebalekile kulendawo ephoqwa ngamalunga e-ANC.

Ekuqeceni ukubhala ukuhlolwa, buyele ekhaya kulelilokishi ngolwesi-Ne mhlaka November

ILANGA

21, 23 Nov.

1991

14. Ngakusasa wahambela umhlangano wokuza ma uxolo phakathi kwe-ANC nePAC. Ngalolosuku uyise ubizwe ukuba azolanda isidumbu sendodana yakhe ebesisavutha emgwageni.

Uyise uthi ngaphambi kwalokhu umuzi wakhe uke wahlaselwa ngamalunga e-ANC ephethe ocelemba kanti amabili abephethe izibhamu. Bedlula ngenkani kuye baya endlini. Bawesabisa lomndeni ngokuthi akufoneki kube nomgqwabo.

Iphini likaMongameli we-PAC of Azania uMnuz. Dikgang Mosenek, noNobhala wezokukusakazwa kwezindaba zalenhlangothi uMnuz. Barney Desai, nezinye izikhulu bakaMavakashela kulendawo.

UMnuz. Mosenek uthi: Ihlanganonyakhe isizwile ukuthi yi-ANC eyenze lokhu. Yathi lokhu kuzoyiphazamisa kakhulu iPatriotic Front uma amalunga ayo esahlaselwa i-ANC ithi amalunga ayo atholakala ekutlehlazweni, azothathelwa izinyathelo ezinzima.

## Ngehlelo lweRadio

Mhleli: Akengiphawule kancane mayelana nohlelo olwethulwe kuRadio Zulu mhlaka 28 October 1991. Lapho bekunesihantochi esihloniphekile eStudio uDr Buthelezi onguNdunankulu wakithi KwaZulu nongumholi weNkatha. Lapho bekudinga simfaka imibuzo lapho esingaqondi khona okanye sibuze ngenqubo yeqembu le-IFP.

Mina ngizithole sengidumele ngoba abanye bethu balithole lelithuba kuyilona lona elikahle lokuba bamthuke njengaye uMthombeni waseMlazi. Abantu abanjengoMthombeni bayinkinga kabi ngoba abafuni kuhlaliswane ngokuthula, bebe belokhu bezishaya sengathi bayazi kanti akukho

nokuncane abakwaziyo abazihluphi ngokuba bafunde amaphephandaba, basebenzise imiqondo yabo ehlale iyisinkwa nje bethi besuka bebenza inonsense yodwa.

Wena Mthombeni ngokwakho mhlawumbe uzishaya isifuba ngokwezile kanti-ke thina sikubuka ubuphukuphuku kodwa nokuba ungabi nanhlonipho okusobala ubuntu abusekho none-mbeza wodwalo kade waphela. Uyazi phela umuntu onjengawe akaseyena umuntu ophelile, kusuke sekusele nje ukuthi udla ukudla futhi uhamba ngezinyawo ezimbili. Ngithanda wazi ukuthi uma ubuza kumuntu usuke ungazehlisi wofunda ukubuza ungalveli uhlomeke nje. - Gugu Ndlela.

UMHLALI.



Business Day (p4) 21-11-1991

## FW must get rid of NP, says Zach

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk might have to disband the National Party to stand a chance of saving his political skin, DP leader Zach de Beer said last night.

"His adherence to the NP and its leadership thoroughly undermined his credibility and trustworthiness among a great many of the black people whose votes he is eager to win in the new SA," he said.

De Beer, delivering the keynote address at the SA Institute of International Affairs banquet in Cape Town, said the lesson from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that De Klerk would save his future career if he now disbanded the NP to form a non-racial party in its place.

### Failed

He would like to see both Gorbachev and De Klerk survive, but he wondered if, in their pursuit of personal political survival, they should stick to their parties. He acknowledged that one could not expect either to sacrifice a loyal following built up over a lifetime.

Each, however, had completely overthrown the substance of the party from which he came.

Although Gorbachev had belatedly moved against the party after the coup, it was highly doubtful whether this was enough to regain for him any significant support from the Soviet masses. "We have seen how Gorbachev failed; what shall we see with De Klerk?"

Certainly De Klerk's decision so far to stick with his party — with the NP's history — undermined his credi-

### Political Staff

bility among blacks whose votes he was eager to win in an election.

"Particularly when, in the past couple of months, he climbed on Nat party congress platforms and lambasted the ANC, as though it was his opponent in a by-election at Wakkerstroom, he won himself a great many enemies among people he may need."

"Would De Klerk save his future career if he now disbanded the NP to form a non-racial political party in its place? One cannot really know, but the lesson from Gorbachev suggests that this may well be so."

De Beer said De Klerk had committed himself to changes which implied that black people would dominate the government of SA. But he always managed to argue that he and the NP would be part of a ruling coalition, and that they would somehow still the shots.

"On the face of it, given the demographic facts, this is extremely unlikely," said De Beer.

"I am tempted sometimes to believe that the President knows perfectly well that he is not going to run the new SA and is simply handing out this line to prevent what is left of his following from running off."

"But then, again, I look at this man in action, observe his confidence, and I think that he really believes that he can pull off a political miracle by persuading millions of blacks, who have personally experienced oppression at the hands of his party, to vote for him against the organisation which mostly gets the credit for liberating people from the Nationalists," De Beer said.



## NEWS BACKGROUND

# In whose hand is the stone?

the Black Sash, which has received substantial cash from abroad through agencies like the Ngiso Trust, would have the world believe that the KwaZulu police are behind much of the violence.

Without wishing to apportion blame or point accusing fingers, one is surely entitled to ask why the pattern emerges. If Inkatha is the villain of the peace - or more correctly the violence - as propagandists from all corners of the globe aver, why did it ensure peace in Natal prior to 1979, albeit in those areas under KwaZulu control?

Is it that people so readily forget that it was an remains the declared policy of the African National Congress to render the country ungovernable, a goal that appears to be in sight in several areas in which black people live in Natal.

In September 1987 UDF spokesman Maulana Farid sack carried a "message" from the ANC to South Africa that the people were to stop necklacing. According to a SAR report he said the ANC had urged them to "return home (from Harare) and tell the people to stop necklacing."

"They said they understood the anger that gives rise to this kind of action (against those who, in their view, are collaborators), but that it cannot be justified," Mr Esack said. He added that "the

Why is Natal so racked by violence? And what can be done to halt spiralling violence?

The media continue to portray events in Natal as a power struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress. There is nothing new in this - it did much the same thing before the unbanning of the ANC, only then the battle was between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates. Then, as now, most of the reporting tends to point accusing fingers at one or other of the contending parties.

The efficacy of propaganda has been proved repeatedly as more and more public commentators lay the blame for violence at the door of the IFP.

How short most peoples' memory is! Even more

surprising is the fact that liberal and open-minded people of goodwill do not recognize that we have been through all this before.

The roots of the current conflict can be traced to 1979, the year in which Inkatha held formal talks with the African National Congress in London. Those talks foundered on the question of violence, an issue on which Inkatha would not compromise.

From that year forward Natal, and Durban in particular, became the target of ever more bomb and sabotage attacks. Durban became the most bombed city in the country and by 1985 the number of serious attacks stood at 69. Was this coincidence? Is it not reasonable to assume that the ANC having failed to win Inkatha over to its cause, had to try and prove to the masses

that its policies of violence were working to counter the rapidly growing power of Inkatha.

And why is it that the violence in Natal has, in recent years, almost always started in areas under "white control." First it was KwaMashu, that most unhappy of areas that will still for decades live with the bitter legacy of Cato Manor, to which it owes its origin. It was here that first attempts were made to use the weapon of the school boycott to foment disorder.

When this happened, KwaMashu was under white control. An enormous amount of energy was spent by the Inkatha leadership to stop the classroom boycotts and to halt violence. While trouble simmered for years, it appears to have been less severe since the area came under full KwaZulu control in April 1977.

Then it was the turn of Lamontville, another township under Pretoria's direct control. And at Chesterville real stability has been absent for years. It too is under white control. From there the action moved to Hambanathi, where ordinary people were subjected to months of brutality and the destruction of an enormous amount of private property.

eMlazi, which has been under KwaZulu control for many years had a short spell of serious violence late in 1985, when attempts were made to render the township ungovernable. Have people forgotten what happened then?

Faceless individuals moved in and intimidated large numbers of people into handing over cash to be used for the "struggle." Non-compliance would result in serious assault, if your were

lucky, or the burning of your home. Most of those confronted complied.

Those who had cars were forced to hand over the keys. If you were lucky, your car would be left in the yard - after the petrol had been drained from the tank, to be used to fire buildings and make petrol bombs. In a span of a few days damage to private property amounted to more than R20 million.

Both the police and the army moved in, but could not contain the lawlessness. eMlazi was not under the control of the KwaZulu police at the time, but, the South African Government was informed that KwaZulu would not countenance the lawlessness. KwaZulu moved in its security services and the violence was brought to a halt within hours.

Yet now agencies such as



group. This has brought forth aggressive behavior, particularly among young men, formerly known as "tsotsis," but who later became generally known as thugs. (The comrades of today?)

These people remain a serious threat to the community and are widely feared because of their utter ruthlessness.

This is the seedbed into which people with all manner of covert political agenda's have sown their plans. More law enforcement and the re-introduction of the rule of law is a must, but it will not solve the underlying problems caused by decades of assaults on black family life.

A last word about the parties the Press says are locked in a battle for power in Natal and elsewhere. This is what an edemic from the University of Natal, Gerhard Mare, and a former reporter from the Sunday Tribune in Durban, Georgina Hamilton, have to say about the nature of the "struggle." It is taken from their book, "An Appetite for Power, Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa," a publication highly critical of Inkatha and laudatory about the UDF and its affiliates.

"To try to unravel who made which accusation first, the UDF or Inkatha, and which pamphlet and event preceded which accusation, would be a most difficult task.

However, a clash between the two was inevitable following the political history of the 1970s and the changes that had occurred in resistance to apartheid. The immediate, if not longer-term, initiative had slipped from those who were caught in the politics of

resistance from within the structures of apartheid, whether the ban-tustans, the CRC, or, more recently, the tri-cameral parliament. The focus of struggle had moved into the hands of those who throw stones, who stay out of schools and universities and away from the workplace and shopping centres, who blow up powers stations and oil refineries and set off car bombs, who work towards making the country ungovernable and setting up alternative structures of government, rather than participating in government and repression."

Even making allowances for generalizations and rhetoric, in whose hand is the stone - in Inkatha's?



organisation (the ANC) was facing international pressure concerning racial

His punchline was: the ANC had sent a message to political activists that they should recognize each others legitimacy, but that it had warned against Inkatha "which was not part of

the struggle." Has anything changed?

Does this not explain what is going on in areas like Richmond, Mooi River, Greytown and Estcourt? So the AK47, the dagger, the bushknife, the petrol bomb and rocks have replaced the necklace - but does this signify a change in policy towards peace?

One is almost tempted to believe that if direct white control were removed, it would not be long before a semblance of peace would be restored in this province.

But having said that, it is equally important that one should look closer at the social forces at work in Black South African society. For no matter what short-term solution is found to the problems of violence, it is going to take a Herculean effort over many years to heal the underlying malaise with which our society has been afflicted.

White people in particular need to carefully note that while the explosive anger in Black society is currently deeply wounding that society itself, it is nurtured by an even more explosive anger towards the more affluent section of society (white society), that is seen as the root cause of black suffering.

That anger has been bred by the disintegration of black family life, coupled with grinding poverty and overcrowding and the resultant personal degradation.

The brutality described in newspapers almost daily has strengthened the stereotypes which many whites have of Black people - that of a people which does not have a high regard for human life. This is one of the most dangerous of racist misconceptions - the more so since it is the actions of successive white-controlled governments that have done vast damage to black society.

Black people are caught up in the third phase of South Africa's industrial revolution and it is true that the concomitant rapid urbanisation has imposed traumatic social stresses similar to those experienced in every country that has industrialized.

But these stresses have been magnified inordinately by the policy of apartheid. For decades the very fabric of the already-stressed black society was torn asunder by the evils of migratory labour, the pass laws and the abolition and curtailment of Black family housing, which was implemented as a matter of policy. Black leaders are thus correct in blaming the violence on apartheid and today's generation of young people are accurately described as "children of apartheid."

Yet, if it is true that many black South Africans blame their white fellow countrymen for the misery they now suffer, it is also true that few will not also call those to account who have embroidered on the legacy of apartheid through programmes of ungovernability, of school boycotts, and the mayhem of undisciplined youth.

Let us now look briefly at what has happened in Black society under the impact of urbanisation.

Although black Christians vastly outnumber white Christians, there is no gainsaying the fact that the bulk of black people still cling to basic and noble tenets of their traditional beliefs.

Chief among these is the very special relationship with ancestors. This is not what many - crudely - describe as "ancestor worship", but rather an acceptance of the cyclical nature of life. Each person completes a lifecycle

of being born, having a definite role and place in society and of having a special relationship with his ancestors. He in turn has children, dies and is integrated with his ancestors.

## Quote

"To try to unravel who made which accusation first, the UDF or Inkatha, and which pamphlet and event preceded which accusation, would be a most difficult task. However, a clash between the two was inevitable following the political history of the 1970s and the changes that had occurred in resistance to apartheid. The immediate, if not longer-term, initiative had slipped from those who were caught in the politics of resistance from within the structures of apartheid, whether the bantustans, the CRC, or, more recently, the tri-cameral parliament. The focus of struggle had moved into the hands of those who throw stones, who stay out of schools and universities and away from the workplace and shopping centres, who blow up power stations and oil refineries and set off car bombs, who work towards making the country ungovernable and setting up alternative structures of government and repression."

Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton

It is for this reason that abortion is abhorrent to Black society - it negates the concept of immortality by destroying the lifecycle of parenthood. Illegitimacy as it is understood in white society was equally unheard of in traditional black society. On the rare occasions where there was "illegitimacy", it was resolved through the expedient of adoption by the girl's mother, the child thus becoming the sister or brother of the biological mother.

Sex education was given to adolescents and young adults through what sociologists call age-set groups.

Christianity frowned upon many of these customs and discouraged them without putting anything meaningful in their place. The disappearance of the age-set groups has had a dramatic impact. Black mothers, even if they are Christian - and some-

times especially if they are Christian - are unable to discuss sexual matters with their children.

Promiscuity abounds and although many whites would again rationalize this with racial stereotyping, it is the destruction of the family and social system that are the real causes. And for this white people must take most of the blame.

Squatter settlements mushroom everywhere, thus compounding the problems of family life. Influx control may have been scrapped, but it will do nothing to ease the lot of black people striving to keep the family intact.

And although few seem to have noticed it to date, is it not true that powerful trade unions are fast becoming much more efficient enforcers of influx control than the Government ever was? Their bargaining powers have grown to such an extent that they are forcing ever more employers to look to capital intensive methods of production. And when serious disputes arise, intimidation is used as an effective weapon to protect privileged urban insiders from the competition of rural people seeking to uplift themselves in the cities.

To conclude, let us have a look at the violence in Natal in broader perspective. For those who know what life is like in Black urban areas, the events in many black townships are nothing new. Violence has been

present for years - all that has changed is the scale of violence.

Murders and serious assaults have been so common that they have not been reported in the white press for years, while the murder of a whiter person makes banner headlines.

Why is this? Is it because white people believe that black people are "savages" and do not have respect for human life, or is it because their editorial judgment tells them that when something happens frequently it is no longer news.

Be that as it may, let us try and find an explanation for the high incidence of crime in black

As far back as 1975 the then head of the University of Natal's Department of Psychiatry, Professor R Cheetham, and Mrs Harriet Sibisi, then a Research Fellow at the same University's Institute for Social Research, published a paper on the psychiatric problems encountered by young black adolescents.

They showed that escalating aggression, violence and depression were directly linked to the radical disruption of family life and what they called social "disorganization."

They noted that the age-set group had disappeared and been replaced by a loose heterogeneous



# WAITE

## Hero who built his life on a foundation of faith

By **PHILIPPA KENNEDY** and **RACHEL SIMPSON**

**H**E IS thinner, greyer and gaunter than he was 1,763 days ago. He is also free. And nothing became the man more than the manner of Terry Waite's re-emergence into the world. The same calm, reassuring voice that had been so familiar when he was captured nearly five years ago, hushed a scuffle of a press conference and produced a performance that showed above all that he was still a man with a mission.

He also relished the buzz that danger gave him... and the excitement of the world of diplomacy he found himself in. Once, in the peaceful atmosphere of Lambeth Palace where he would often be seen wearing a cassock over an open-necked shirt, this towering man — he is 6ft 7in — was asked why he was never ordained. With his size 11 feet up on his desk he replied with a smile: "I never had the vocation. I have too many satanic virtues."

Terence Hardy Waite was born on May 31, 1939, in Styal, Cheshire, the son of a policeman. The family moved to the Warrington area and Terry, his brother David and sister Diana, went to Stockton Heath Secondary School where Terry was affectionately teased about his great height. He was known for his good-humoured, easy-going nature and well liked by his schoolmates despite his lack of sporting skills. Terry left school at 16 having learned the Prayer Book by heart. He originally opted for a career in the Army, but his National Service in the Grenadier Guards lasted just one year because of his allergy to dye in the uniforms.

His second career option was the Church and he studied theology at the Anglican Church Army College in London. "Somehow I wanted to live my life as a vocation and not just have a job," he said. "Without understanding why, I knew that I did not want to be ordained." Instead of becoming a clergyman he became a captain in the Church Army which is linked to the Church of England. It was when he was studying in London that he met his wife Frances, a Belfast solicitor's daughter and a diminutive figure at 5ft 4in. Frances, a domestic science graduate, managed the kitchens of the Senate House.

During the first few years of their married life Terry was always on the move. Within two weeks of their 1964 marriage, he went off to Geneva without Frances for a fortnight's conference on church affairs. A quiet, private woman, Frances' loyalty and courage has been tested several times during her marriage.

Her husband's first post was adviser to the Bishop of Bristol on adult education. Five years later, in 1968, he was posted overseas, working for the Archbishop of Uganda, Ruanda and Burundi. When he arrived in Uganda at the beginning of a three-year stint to train church workers, he hit the headlines immedi-

ately, by intervening in a hold-up and preventing two men from stealing a car.

It was there also that he first learned the meaning of real danger when he was taken hostage along with a pregnant Frances and two children by a band of marauding rebels shortly after dictator Idi Amin's expulsion of Uganda's Asians. Frances later described the events as "quite frightening at times".

Often she was left alone as Waite went away on church business. Even his official Church Army biography, issued in 1987, noted the fact, saying: "Fortunately he had a very happy home base in Rome with his wife and four children — on the rare occasions when he was there."

The Waites have three daughters and a son who have largely been brought up by their mother — twins Ruth and Clare, now 26, who studied together at Cambridge and Gillian, 25, a physiotherapist. Their son Mark was a soccer-mad schoolboy of 15

when his father was snatched. He has now finished technical college and is considering further education.

Terry's career as a church diplomat was furthered when, in 1972, he became a globe-trotting consultant on missionary work for the Roman Catholic Church in Italy.

Eight years later Dr Runcie appointed him secretary for Anglican Communion Affairs to liaise with Anglican churches abroad and organise the Archbishop's foreign trips, frequently mistaken for the Primate's bodyguard.

At £15,000 a year he was hardly overpaid, but the bearded giant quickly became an international figure in his role as envoy, better known than the Archbishop and clearly enjoying his maverick role.

Within months, he was called in to secure the release of missionary Dr John Coleman, his wife Audrey and the Bishop of...  
Turn to Next Page



**GENIAL GIANT...** Waite, inset, with Frances, children Ruth and Mark, and Dr Runcie in 1982



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# THANK GOD



SO HAPPY: Freed U.S. hostage Thomas Sutherland

*I. EXONES 2/11/91*

## Waite set free after 1,763 days of hostage hell

By MIKE THEODOULOU in Damascus and PAUL FULLER in London

**FREED** hostage Terry Waite faced the world on Monday night as church bells rang out across Britain in celebration.

The 52-year-old Church envoy, hollow-eyed and his beard now grey, spoke in Damascus of his joy — and his suffering chained almost continuously for 1,763 days in a Beirut dungeon.

His first words, in a hoarse but firm voice, were: "I am happy to be free."

He pleaded for the captives he left behind: "Free the innocents and free them soon."

And he revealed three of them, all Americans, could be liberated by the end of the month, including the longest-held hostage Terry Anderson.

As he spoke, champagne corks popped in London's Lambeth Palace. Dr George Carey, Archbishop of Canterbury, said: "The prayers of so

many people have been answered. We thank God."

It was a dramatic moment watched by millions on TV when Mr Waite entered a chandeliered room in Syria's Foreign Ministry with released fellow prisoner, Scots-born American Tom Sutherland, 60.

They had been driven to Damascus after being let out of their hell-

**FULL STORY INSIDE**  
**See Pages: 2, 3, 23,**  
**24, 41, 42**

hole in Lebanon at 1.30pm British time.

Mr Waite, stooping slightly, wearing a shabby cardigan and beige and white T-shirt, joked with reporters and smiled for the cameras.

The Church envoy has obviously lost a lot of weight. He said: "This afternoon when we were sitting

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