

# Sunday Tribune COMMENT

20 APR. 1986

## Taming of the shrew

WINNIE MANDELA'S deplorable call to violence in a speech at Munsieville last Sunday has shattering implications for those who still cling to some hope of an end to unrest and to settlement of the political turmoil by negotiation.

There is little doubt, for all her claim that she was quoted out of context, that she in fact had said: "With our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we will liberate this country." And having said it, context can have no relevance. Death by necklace is a horrifying manifestation of mindless mob murder, akin to, and if possible even worse than, the lynchings in the past in the United States. It is a ghastly factor in the upheavals now tearing this society apart, and one that will burden its perpetrators with perpetual shame.

Mrs Mandela should have been roundly, unequivocally denounced for her statement by those closest to her politically. That she has not been is itself a distressing indication of how far the largest part of the community has been dehumanised through the killings and the brutality that occur with such frequency as to make them almost seem endemic. Either they so fear the neckless as to be unable to decry the suggestion that it should become the instrument of revolution, or they no longer care how change is secured.

We are satisfied that had Mrs Mandela made her statement 18 months ago she would have been repudiated by all but the most radical and reckless. But, because she was then banned, no one could have known anything of her thinking. She was protected from her own extravagance by the blanket of silence enclosing her by official decree. The restriction exempted her from accountability.

But it is noteworthy that exposure to publicity worldwide has provoked the protest: quoted out of context. That is something. It indicates some sensitivity to public reaction either in Mrs Mandela herself or in the leadership of the ANC for which she speaks.

Mrs Mandela, her jailed husband and the exiled leadership of the ANC have all enjoyed sanctuary from the silence imposed upon them for so long — protection from making public their mistakes, a rare freedom from the strains of any leadership which is accompanied by responsibility.

The ANC is now courting recognition at levels in Western countries to which it was previously unable to aspire. It still talks of the armed struggle. But increasingly it talks, too, of negotiation. It has to if it is to preserve the recent gains it has made in its bid to be heard in Western capitals.

All this could well mean that licence to speak out will temper the tongue of a fractious Mrs Mandela and in turn moderate some of the excesses of the young radicals for whom killing and destruction are now almost commonplace.

## Well done, Mr President

At last the State President has announced a reform which will make a substantial difference to the black community. The end of the hated pass law system, under which an astonishing 18 million people have been criminalised, is also the first reform which may make a difference to the level of tension and conflict in the country.

What is iniquitous is that the long-expected announcement should find at least 3 000 pass law prisoners still languishing in jail.

Yet the President must be congratulated. It is an action rooted in realism rather than ideology and is likely to have as profound an effect on the everyday life of the public as the unleashing of the trade union movement has in the past few years had on commerce and industry. It is an action which will enrage a rightwing which is already apoplectic about the prospect of whites having "their" cities jammed with a black influx.

But for Mr Botha's action to have a lasting positive effect, it has to be an unqualified scrapping of punitive measures. Unfortunately, the Government has a long history of ostensibly giving with the one hand, but in fact taking with the other. If the planned "orderly urbanisation" legislation turns out to be just a more subtle attempt to control the right of citizens to freedom of movement, the results will be disastrous.

AP1986-1-4-20



# Security forces to stay on in township

SUNDAY  
TRIBUNE  
20 APRIL 1986

By Carolyn McGibbon

A BREAKTHROUGH in the education logjam in Lamontville was overshadowed this week by the determination of the security forces to prolong their stay in the troubled township.

On a fact-finding trip to Lamontville on Friday night, Natal leader of the PFP Mr Ray Swart was told by the chief of the Reaction Unit, Colonel Wynand van der Merwe, that troops would not pull out at the weekend as originally planned, but would stay until they were certain the situation had "normalised".

Seven hundred soldiers poured into the township at 2 am on Tuesday morning — hours after the Lamontville Education Crisis Committee (LECC) had informed the Department of Education and Training that pupils had decided to go back to school before the suspension of classes had been lifted.

The security force presence split the Lamontville community. On the one hand, community councillor Ella Nxasana said she had invited the police on a crime-prevention drive. On the other hand, the LECC said the presence of the security forces impeded school activities.

A call for an educational, rather than military solution was made on Friday in a marathon meeting between the Director-General (Operations) of the department, Jaap Strydom, and the Lamontville Education Crisis Committee.

In a joint statement released after the meeting, it was agreed that the suspension of classes should be lifted on Monday, and in future no classes should be suspended by the department before first consulting with parents.

Florence Mkhize, co-ordinator of the LECC, said this was a breakthrough, because the wishes of the community were recognised.

Other demands agreed to were that nine teachers be immediately appointed to Lamontville High School (eight teachers had recently been dismissed), the LECC help distribute books and stationery, the department provide books, stationery and teaching equipment wherever there was a shortage, the Lamontville High School be renovated and the department urgently consult the police about their continued presence.

On Friday evening PFP MP Ray Swart made a tour of Lamontville. While Casspirs, Buffels and hundreds of soldiers filled the streets, a light aircraft circled overhead broadcasting music and a message from the Ningizimu Community Council.

At the police camp Colonel van der Merwe told Mr Swart and a group of Lamontville women that police would stay in the township until the situation in the schools had normalised and pupils were not being "intimidated".

One member of the LECC said children would be afraid to go to school if there were hippos and soldiers in the streets on Monday morning.

Colonel van der Merwe brushed aside these fears, saying that children often waved at the soldiers.

Mr Swart said afterwards: "It would seem there is great hope that normality will be restored, helped considerably by the meeting that took place between the crisis committee and the education department. The only tragedy is that people have been hurt in the process and one person killed."

He said the PFP would continue to monitor the situation and would help where it could to assist in the peaceful solution of problems.

Meanwhile, a demonstration outside Natal Command on Friday aroused strong feelings among police and commuters, leading to an assault on two demonstrators.

Posters which read "Lamontville education crisis — no military solution" were confiscated by police.

The intention of the protest, which was staged by the End Conscription Committee, was to show that there were whites who did not support "the maintenance of political rule by military force".

The ECC regional organiser, Gary Cullen, and another member, Donn Edwards, laid charges of assault against two black men who allegedly hit them.



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SUNDAY TRIBUNE, APR

**IN FOCUS TODAY** / The men whose faith puts them in the frontline of the fight against apar

# God's stormy agent

Desmond Tutu, the stormy cleric who both shocked and delighted when he secured the top job as Archbishop of the Church of the Province in a steamroller election in Cape Town this week, is preparing to fight the good fight with all his might.

He will pull no punches and expects no special treatment. He sees himself as God's man on the spot and knows he can expect an inordinate amount of both opposition and support.





By JOHN MacLENNAN  
Political Correspondent



## TUTU: Poised to drag Anglicans to the frontline of conscience

### QUOTE

Wherever there is injustice, evil and sin, the church has a mandate to speak out against that, whoever the perpetrators are.

"I," says the Archbishop-elect, "am me!" He plans to speak out, to put his personal stamp on a position of authority from which incumbents have traditionally spoken in the hushed tones of a High Church Mass.

And this is where the diminutive, 54-year-old Nobel laureate is expected to have maximum benefit, not only for his church, but for society.

In the words of Professor Charles Villa Vicencio, who heads UCT's Department of Religious Studies: "We are going to have a black perspective put by a person who has power and who is articulate."

He has described the election (which was both quick and decisive) as a "breakthrough" because it has taken the Anglican church 200 years to reach this point.

The Archbishop-elect, who holds the job for life or until he wants to retire, will exert a powerful influence and is sure to drag Anglicans to the frontlines of conscience because of the anti-racist Gospel he will constantly be preaching.

There has been much speculation that Bishop Tutu will estrange white Anglicans because of his views. He supports, for instance, the aims and objects of the ANC and advocates sanctions. This has cost him dearly in his own diocese of Johannesburg, where whites are refusing to fund the church and he has had to travel abroad to raise cash.

It is also pointed out that although the church has only a 20 percent white membership, 80 percent of its funds come from whites.

But Professor Villa Vicencio says: "History will still show Tutu as one of the moderate voices in the black constituency. He speaks with tremendous grace and understanding. The majority of white Anglicans will not only learn to live with him, but they will be proud of him."

On the question of confrontation with the Government: "The church is in confrontation with the Government already. He will articulate that confrontation in a clear and therefore helpful way which will lead to a kind of reconciliation in this country."

Bishop Tutu has a clear view of what is necessary and what he believes he has to do as Anglican spiritual leader.

He spells it out like this: "I have to work as God's agent for the establishment of His kingdom in this country, to work for reconciliation, justice and peace. Wherever there is injustice, evil and sin, the church has a mandate to speak out against that, whoever the perpetrators are."

Asked specifically about his path — which many regard as plainly confrontationist with the Government, and the direction the church is likely to take — he says the ball is in President Botha's court.

If both the Government and Bishop Tutu stick to their guns, his pronouncements make it clear we may witness a mini holy war of words.

He says: "It depends what the Government does. If the Government heeds

out a definite signal to the rest of the world and to the authorities here."

The election of a black is certain to earn the church credits with the broad laity here and in circles abroad, where Bishop Tutu commands broad respect. But he pooh poohs the idea that a black man has specific attributes which he can bring to the job. "Each one of us is unique and each one of us does bring special gifts. My colour does not make me peculiar."

He also feels completely vindicated by the landslide vote which made him Archbishop, especially in the light of criticism he faced over his call for sanctions.

"It is good to know I am being welcomed," he says of the move to Cape Town, "and that the whole church is saying: 'We want to be led by you'. Our leadership is collegial — this is no one-man band — but there is a kind of symbolism at work here. At this stage of the game, in a society which is hag-ridden with racism, the church has made a statement of heightened opposition."

He has not yet made up his mind whether he will move into the plush and historic Bishop's Court, traditional home of the Anglican Archbishop in the suburb of the same name. He is mindful of the various demands of the job — and this would include top-flight talks and dinners with opinion formers — but says: "I would prefer to live in a black township."

Ever since being elected as Dean of Johannesburg in 1975, he has refused to apply for permission to live in a white group area and has residences in both Soweto and the city.

He still hopes he may be able to soften the impact of what he sees as an approaching storm by interceding with the Government, although President Botha has refused to meet him on his own.

Bishop Tutu has no time for delegations. "I would prefer to meet him on a one-to-one basis. In delegations people strut and strike poses."

the call of so many churches to dismantle apartheid, release political prisoners, urban organisations and gets ready to talk about a new constitution then there will be no need for the church to be critical. What stance we have to adopt in connection with the Gospel depends on what the Government elects to do."

His leadership style is likely to jolt the traditionalists. Bishop Tutu says he finds his new task daunting and lauds the targets achieved in quiet, unobtrusive fashion by his predecessors.

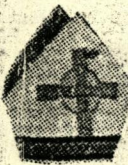
But Tutu will be Tutu. "I am me!" he exclaims. "I operate in the way that Desmond Tutu operates. I don't sit down to work out strategies. I operate almost instinctively as I believe the Gospel demands..."

"I don't mean that I utter the first words that come into my head, but I have such an abhorrence of oppression and injustice that every part of me revolts... and yet I do think I can choose my words carefully."

He believes the church is sending out a message by its election of a black Archbishop. "The church is mainly black. The synod of bishops is not conservative. The ones who (traditionally) control the purse strings have so far been white because of their greater money power. But the church is sending



By Chris Whitfield



**REVER-  
END** David  
Russell, this  
year elected  
Bishop Suf-  
fragan to St  
John's Dio-

cese in Transkei, is a man who has clashed with the Government often and spectacularly.

He spent six months living on R5 a month in Dimbaza township, near King William's Town, to highlight the appalling living conditions of pensioners in the area.

He was involved in campaigns to highlight the plight of migrant labourers at Crossroads and Cape Peninsula townships.

He was banned for five years, from 1977 to 1982.

He openly defied his banning order by taking his place at the 1979 Anglican synod, and in doing so infringed 11 provisions of the banning order. In short, he has been something of a thorn in the side of the Government with actions and statements that some might describe as overtly political.

"No. I see overtly political as party politics. My involvement in politics came out of my desire to give my life to God," he said in Cape Town this week.

"For me, life has always meant saying: Lord, what do you want me to do?" Political commitment flowed out of my desire to give my life to God.

"I have never been one who makes a distinction between the sacred and secular. I have never seen politics and religion as separate ... They fall under one seamless garment of God's world."

He will be consecrated as Bishop Suffragan of St John's Diocese on May 11. He sees his move to the Transkei as a continuation of work he did recently with people who live in hostels in the Cape Flats.

It will also be something of a case of going home to "EmaXhoseni" (meaning land in Xhosa). He spent eight years in the late 60s and early 70s in Ciskei. "First of all, I will have to get to know the people again. Obviously the situation is not the same, so I will have to listen, learn the people's needs and work with the church there.



## **RUSSELL: Whites have less to fear than they think**

"I will be going as Bishop Suffragan so I will be very much in a support role which is different from being in authority.

"It has been a honour and privilege to have been called to serve in

the ministry." His recent work has concentrated on migrant workers in the Peninsula, where he has been working in a "supportive role" with the Western Cape Hostel Association.

Many of the migrant workers' families are in the Western Cape, and Mr Russell sees part of his work in the Ciskei as a continuation of this.

"Poverty, the labour system and broken families are big factors."

He has become a familiar figure in Peninsula townships, and has helped with the breakdown of distrust between the hostel dwellers and the younger township residents.

He saw the election of Bishop Desmond Tutu to the head of the Anglican church as "most exciting, heartwarming ... A great statement".

"I have always believed that a relatively small number of whites would not accept what he stands for."

"I feel whites have much less to fear than they think. If only they would let go and stop clinging so self-destructively we could have a far more peaceful solution. I see myself bringing up my sons in South Africa and see every

who see themselves as part of South Africa."

"One wants to say: If you want to be true to your calling and open yourselves to the Lord you need have nothing to fear."

The great sin of apartheid was that it has been "wickedly effective in preventing people from experiencing others as ordinary human beings — no better and no worse.

"And so often the fear is in proportion to the lack of contact."

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By JOHN MacLENNAN



## HURLEY: The options are clear — apartheid or liberation

### QUOTE

The church must be concerned about that and about using its influence to remove apartheid and all its injustices and to work for a more just situation.

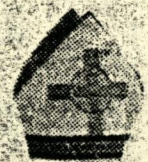
But sacrifice he must, for Archbishop Hurley's credo speaks of a conscience which does not allow for any deviation from the black on white teachings of his church. This determination to make his voice heard on the question of what he believes to be right has on occasion seen him take to the streets in a placard demonstration, he has been labelled

a "kaffirboetie" and he has received death threats.

He says: "The church is as much concerned about morality and behaviour (as it is with) values of the Kingdom of God like truth and justice. These values apply not only to personal life and domestic life, but also to social and political life. In effect, they are even more necessary in political life because their absence in political life leads to far greater disasters and the supreme disaster of South Africa is apartheid and the ferocious oppression it exerts on the black population.

"The church must be concerned about that and about using its influence to remove apartheid and all its injustices and to work for a more just situation."

These are the options he sees: "We can either leave apartheid in control or opt for the liberation for which black people are struggling. That is why we have been behaving so naughtily (by talking to the ANC)..."



ARCHBISHOP Denis Hurley is another turbulent priest who made it plain, by talking to the ANC this week, that he is leading the Catholic Church to confront a straight decision: support apartheid or support the liberation struggle.

President of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, he defied the Government and took the initiative to lead a four-man delegation for talks with the banned organisation's leadership in Lusaka.

His team, which included Bishop Wilfred Napier of Kokstad, Bishop Mansuet Binyase of Eshowe and secretary-general Father Smangaliso Mkhatsiwa, met ANC leaders, such as Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki and Mac Maharaj.

The ANC delegation spelled out the evolution of its policies and opinion of events in South Africa.

Archbishop Hurley says: "The ANC hopes to isolate the regime. It feels its armed struggle has led to the unrest. It feels it is irreversible. The participation of black people in the liberation efforts is just spreading and cannot be stopped. They expressed optimism this would lead to the overthrow of the regime."

On the future: "The ANC is not interested in negotiating anything but the 'how' of the hand over of power."

It wants one-person one-vote which will lead to a black parliament."

For its part, the church delegation questioned the ANC on its decision to attack civilian targets (this was denied by the ANC), how it proposed to run a sophisticated economy and deal with a predominantly white civil service. From ANC answers, says Archbishop Hurley, it appears the organisation has not really given much thought to what will happen if and when it emerges the victor.

He plans to keep in touch with the ANC and sees it as the church's task to mobilise its membership in support of what amounts to a crusade against apartheid.

Eighty percent of Catholics are black, and it is obvious they will find the message encouraging. His problems lie with the 20 percent of white laity. He makes the point that the church's hierarchical and theological leadership are already in confrontation with the Government, but "our great weakness is that we have not really prepared him (white laity) for it".

"It", in this instance, involves a massive church campaign to rid the country of apartheid.

"It could be civil disobedience, boycotts, acceptance of economic pressures" — in other words disinvestment and sanctions are "good" because they support the struggle in the long run — "but it will be difficult because whites have so much more to lose".

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"In practical terms we have a great obligation to educate our members and as many other people as possible in the values we see as essential, such as truth and justice.

"This entails understanding what the liberation movements are aiming to achieve, moral support (for them) where this can be given and honest criticism where this appears to be warranted."

But, he admits, the church will find it difficult to commend any programme of action.

"When you get down to brass tacks the choice becomes very difficult. We have to demonstrate even greater conviction and courage now if we choose we have to act in favour of black liberation."



## Winnie Mandela report irresponsible

THIS letter is not designed to seek publicity for myself. In your reply to correspondents, it is emphasised that for several reasons a letter may not be used. Fair enough, yet generous front-page space is given (Tribune, April 6) to the wife of an imprisoned terrorist to express ill-considered and provocative opinions calculated to invite black ex-

tremists to violence in the townships. When this occurs the police and those assisting them are then taken to task for resisting lawlessness by enforcing law and order.

Is one to understand your support is for this man and his wife, or is one to conclude the objective is for greater black readership and more profits for

your newspaper group?

Whichever way one sees it, there can be no doubt that the whole matter deserves a severe reprimand for what can only be considered as irresponsible and damaging reporting.

Durban

C Palmer



Winnie Mandela: Wife of terrorist

## Why has the Chief not ordered an inquiry into use of KwaZulu vehicle?

# BUTHELEZI AND THE TRIBUNE

I FIND it very distressing to read Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's letter to the Editor of the Sunday Tribune (April 13).

Nowhere in his letter do I detect even a hint of regret that some of his Inkatha followers might have been overzealous and followed a course of

act... that was unauthorised. Nor do I see any mention of an inquiry into the unauthorised use of a KwaZulu Government vehicle.

Ten years ago some overzealous employees of the South African Government committed unauthorised acts which re-

sulted in tragic consequences. At that time, the Minister of Law and Order was asked for his opinion, and he replied that the affair left him cold.

Where does the buck stop?

Durban

Deja Vu

CHIEF Buthelezi's overreaction to your editorial of April 6 is most disturbing (albeit predictable) because two important issues which you raise have been ignored.

First, it seems that one of the main messages that the editorial contained — that political leaders must, by virtue of their position in society, accept criticism — has been lost on him.

Second, although we readers are relieved to hear that the Chief does not approve of the violence in which Inkatha members were allegedly implicated (and the editorial did

not suggest that he did), nowhere in his response are we given the reassurance that an inquiry into the matter has been held, and that those responsible have been suitably disciplined. This is the very least that we Natalians expect from the leader of an organisation which is currently participating in negotiations about our future. If its leadership cannot control Inkatha, what possible hope have we in Natal for a peaceful future?

Durban

Democrat



# SPLIT VISION

By Garner Thomson

LONDON: Winnie Mandela's "necklace of fire" speech will almost inevitably polarise even further the situation in South Africa, although it does not reflect a change in policy by the African National Congress.

Some reports in Britain — by the right-wing Daily Express in particular — have interpreted Mrs Mandela's impassioned pledge to "return fire with fire" as giving the lie to the ANC's public commitment to dialogue and power-sharing.

However, political commentators in Britain, and the ANC itself, interpret her sentiments as "nothing new" and "a carefully considered judgment", emphasising the military option of the ANC's two-pronged policy on South Africa.

Jack Spence, professor of politics at Leicester University, says: "It could be argued that as Mrs Mandela speaks for the ANC, and we assume she does, the ANC is determined not to be seen to be lagging behind the perception of the young black radicals in the townships, and that it is committed to increasing the tempo and scope of the armed struggle."

"But this is nothing new. The ANC has said broadly what she has been saying many times in the past, most recently at their conference a few months ago."

But, Professor Spence

□ Winnie Mandela



## Winnie's fiery talk isn't new, but it's sure to widen rifts, say Britons

says, the tone of her speech would undoubtedly have the effect of polarising the South African situation even more.

"Even white progressives and white liberals have taken exception to the speech and this could mean that it will become increasingly difficult to maintain middle ground. The task (of reconciliation) could become that much more difficult."

Professor Spence "doubts very much" that

Mrs Mandela made her statements without ANC approval. "My guess is that this was a very carefully considered judgment."

Nor did it appear that Mrs Mandela's speech reflected a fundamental change in the ANC's stated policy on South Africa.

"The ANC continues to have this two-tier policy of talking to all sorts of people — to anyone who hopes to effect reconciliation, as well as pledging to

take the struggle into white areas, to aim at 'harder' targets.

"It may be that it does not want to be seen to be dropping the military side of its policy."

The British Foreign Office has taken the opportunity to reinforce its position on supporting "suspension of violence and the beginning of peaceful dialogue".

John Ellison of the Daily Express writes: "Mrs Mandela has now made clear what many in Botha's Government have known for a long time — that the ANC is committed irrevocably to a revolution, not aimed at sharing power with whites, but taking it away from them forever."

The ANC dismisses such an interpretation as "nonsensical".

Ruth Mompati in Lusaka says: "I have not had time to examine Winnie's speech in detail, but I find it difficult to imagine her departing greatly from ANC policy."

"As you know, we have said time and time again that the ANC is involved in an armed struggle."

However, the ANC still supports the other side of its policy: to enter into dialogue with anyone who wants the situation resolved.

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### **Praise for that editorial**

I MUST congratulate you on the spirit of your editorial, Trust is the key to success.

The South African political scene is becoming more complex, making group and party affiliations difficult and at times dangerous.

This appears to be particularly so in black politics, the intricacies of which I do not claim to understand.

One fact has been patently obvious to me, however: millions of underprivileged people are suffering under the yoke of apartheid. For more than 30 years I have been faced daily with the ghastly consequences of deprivation for the life and health of the people of South Africa.

It is a source of great dismay and pain to witness the dissipation of energy and resources by the opponents of apartheid in an internecine feud. Apartheid will continue to exercise its toll while the country burns and its sons and daughters have to starve — physically and intellectually.

Is it too naive to expect the opponents of apartheid to find sufficient common ground from which to come to grips with this basic evil?

One prerequisite will have to be met for this dream to become a reality: trust. However, before I can trust my fellow man I want him to state categorically and unequivocally that his prime objective coincides with mine and that he will not stab me in the back — neither physically nor metaphorically.

Walter Loening

Professor: Maternal and Child Health

University of Natal



THREE years ago he vowed not to visit Pretoria again, yet there he was, telling a large audience in the State Theatre about the "little dark brother" he dragged with him: "My Afrikaner, wherever I go".

Breyten Breytenbach himself is a bit like a little dark brother to the Afrikaner establishment, constantly reminding the volk of its contradictions.

In 1975, the establishment condemned him as a terrorist. He served seven years of a nine-year sentence.

In 1984, barely a year after his release, he was awarded the Hertzog Prize for his volume of poetry, *Yk*.

He rejected it because it came from the "bulwark of the Afrikaner establishment", the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.

Last weekend, he received a standing ovation in the Pretoria State Theatre from politicians, churchmen, businessmen, writers and theatre personalities on his acceptance of South Africa's largest literary award,

## Afrikaner alter ego

By Hannes de Wet

the R15 000 Rapport Literary Prize, for *Yk*.

In his acceptance speech, he attacked the Government and the "morally bankrupt" Afrikaans churches. He said

he would give some of the prize money to political prisoners.

"It is simply amazing, this parallel between Breyten's own contradictions and that of the Afrikaner volk," said his close friend, Professor



The dark brother  
returns  
briefly to  
the bosom  
of the volk

Ampie Coetzee, of the Department of Afrikaans/Nederlands at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"During the seven years he spent in jail, Breyten was regarded as the great terrorist by

most Afrikaners. After his release many saw him as the naughty boy who ran off to France to sit on the other side of the fence, pulling faces at us. Now we are honouring him and give him standing ovations."

Professor Coetzee says Breytenbach is a walking contradiction.

The son of a farmer, the poet was born at Bonnievale in the Cape 45 years ago. He was one of four brothers.

After matric he enrolled at the University of Cape Town and was appalled by racial segregation on the campus. He befriended Indian, black and coloured students.

In 1960 he left home, and travelled Europe for two years before settling in Paris and marrying Yolande, a student at the Sorbonne.

His poetry was by now winning praise in South Africa. Although in France, he continued writing in Afrikaans.

Of this he once said: "I found myself having to live with the contradiction of being a writer and an exile. I was a white Afrikaner, one of the oppressors. I felt as guilty as hell."

During his trials, Breytenbach talked of his passion for Afrikaans and became emotional about his identity as an Afrikaner.

He said he had no choice but to be one: "I remain attached to my language ... It is an extension of myself."

He was also conscious that "Afrikaans is fully identified with a specific policy, a race policy, a power policy".

On an American lecture tour last year, Breytenbach repeated this theme. As an Afrikaner, he said, his use of the Afrikaans language as a poet and a writer was a source of pride and of humiliation.



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## Mrs Mandela controversy

# Nothing new in Winnie's speech, says ANC

Garner Thomson

WINNIE Mandela's "necklace of fire" speech will almost inevitably polarise even further the situation in South Africa — but it does not reflect a change in policy by the ANC.

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"But this is nothing new. The ANC has said broadly what she has been saying many times in the past, most recently at their conference a few months ago."

But, Professor Spence said, the tone of her speech would undoubtedly have the effect of polarising the South African situation even more. "Even white progressives and white liberals have taken exception to the speech and this could mean that it will become increasingly difficult to maintain middle-ground. The task (of reconciliation) could become that much more difficult."

Professor Spence "doubts very much" that Mrs Mandela made her statements without ANC approval. "My guess is that this was a very carefully considered judgment," he said.

Nor did it appear that Mrs Mandela's speech reflected a fundamental change in the ANC's stated policy on South Africa.

"The ANC continues to have the policy of talking to all sorts of people — to anyone who hopes to effect reconciliation, as well as pledging to take the struggle into white areas."

"And it warned when this was first adopted that civilians would inevitably be caught in the cross-fire."

"It may be that it does not want to be seen to be dropping the military side of its policy and Winnie Mandela's speech served the purpose of balancing the policy of talking with that of the military campaign."

Other commentators and officials also fear that polarisation will be the inevitable outcome of such speeches.

The British Foreign Office took the opportunity to reinforce its position on supporting "suspension of violence and the beginning of peaceful dialogue" and Tory MP Mr Tim Rathbone, of the newly returned Conservatives for Fundamental Change, spoke of the speech as a "worrying reflection of the escalation in polarisation that has happened in South Africa in recent months."

But he said his group remained committed to getting both the British and the South African governments to talk to the ANC and other black organisations.

Though the ANC was banned in South Africa, it was representative of the viewpoint of almost all urban black South Africans, he said.

John Ellison of the Daily Express sees Mrs Mandela's speech as easily as significant as Harold Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech — except that in this case it heralded "The Wind of Fear".

He wrote: "Mrs Mandela has now made clear what many in Botha's Government have known for a long time — that the ANC is committed irrevocably to a revolution, not aimed at sharing power with whites, but taking it away from them forever."

But the ANC itself dismisses such an interpretation as "nonsensical".

Speaking from Lusaka, Ruth Mompati said: "I have not had time to examine Winnie's speech in detail, but I find it difficult to imagine her departing greatly from ANC policy."

"As you know, we have said time and time again that the fact of the matter is that the ANC is involved in an armed struggle. We have reiterated that we have been forced to take up arms."

At the same time, she confirmed, the ANC continued to support the other side of its policy — to enter into dialogue with anyone who wanted to see the situation in South Africa resolved.

TO:

CHIEF

M. G. BUTHELEZI

CHIEF MINISTER

EK Griffin