

ANC men tell court of their bitterness

Six are found guilty on terror charges

By Chris Whitfield

S/TRIBUNE
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WHITE South Africans have been given a rare glimpse into the thinking of the African National Congress's cadres in a Cape Town Supreme Court terrorism trial.

Reading statements from the dock, some of the men convicted of terrorism described the life of hardship and increasing bitterness that had led to their joining the ANC. Lizo Bright Ngqungwana, a member of the ANC and commander of the Western Cape military machinery of Umkhonto We Sizwe, told how his "typical life of an African child" had sown the seeds which finally led to his conviction this week.

He was one of six men convicted of terrorism. Seven others were convicted of harbouring or assisting suspected terrorists.

Mr Justice Nel found him guilty of undergoing military training. Ngqungwana was also found to have trained others politically and militarily, commanded all the activities of the Umkhonto We Sizwe in the Western Cape, controlled the importation of arms into the area and their distribution among ANC members. He was also found guilty of being in possession of arms.

The stocky Ngqungwana, in an open-necked shirt, told the court he had been born in Ladysmith, Natal, 27 years ago.

"I come from a big family. As a child I used to see the manner in which my father struggled to fend for our upbringing. There were times when he used to move from place to place looking for casual jobs to provide us with clothing, food and education."

In 1971 his family moved to Port Elizabeth and then Alice. In 1976 South Africa was hit with peaceful demonstrations waged by students against the Bantu education system.

"As a student I read and heard with horror how the so-called maintainers of law and order, the police, dealt with these peaceful protests. These events made a great impact on us."

A year later the students at his school joined the rebellion against Bantu education. Ngqungwana was expelled and moved to Port Elizabeth where he enrolled at the Cowan High School. He joined the South African Students Movement (SASM).

"Through discussions within SASM, I became acquainted with the bitter history of the oppressed masses. I also became aware of the ANC."

That year he took part in the demonstrations against Bantu education which "shook PE". "I witnessed with my own eyes the brutal manner in which such demonstrations were suppressed. To crown it all, most, if not all, extra-parliamentary bodies including the SASM were banned. I realised that the oppressor would never hesitate to use force when threatened and that force was also the *modus operandi* of the Government. I then decided to join the ANC."

Theophilus Thembinkosi Mzukwa, also guilty of terrorism, asked if the court would understand "why an ordinary simple man like myself who has suffered all his life eventually turned to violence".

He was found to have placed a limpet mine at the Langa Police Station in June 1985, and to have thrown a handgrenade at the charge office. He also threw a grenade at a Casspir in Langa in April 1985.

Mzukwa said he had joined the ANC because "the suffering of my family and my own suffering made me look for ways in which we can achieve a better

life. I cannot tell you everything I have been through and all my suffering, but I will mention some.

"My father died when I was 13 years old and so the responsibility of looking after the five kids fell upon my suffering mother. She had to feed all of us. She had to educate us. She dressed us. She gave us shelter. She was earning R60 per month. It was very difficult for her to manage. But she suffered and sacrificed. She would be absent from home from dawn to dusk.

"She never saw her own house during day time. In fact so much did she have to work for us that she hardly had time for us. She would only see the children over weekends.

"We were deprived of mother love and mother care ... She did not know what we were eating while she was away slaving for us. She did not even know whether we attended school. She could not control or supervise us.

"But she was the one who took care of the children of her white employer. She had more time for the children of her white employer than she had for us. Those are the children whom she reared and I think they are the kids who grew up to shoot my mother's own children in the townships when they grew up.

"They are the children who, when they grew up, terrorised her own children and who trampled upon us in the townships. Once the children grew up and went through their posh schools and got their training, they ended up in the SADF and SAP. While my mother was forced to be away from home to feed these children, we were starving in the townships."

Later he found work to help with raising his brothers and sisters.

"All our white supervisors at work had slave-driver qualities and always insulted us — often calling us kaffirs.

"My dedication to work was shattered. Who likes to be called a kaffir or a baboon 20 or 30 times a day? Who likes to be shouted at or degraded by the way you are ordered around?"

He was eventually fired after several warnings for taking days off work.

At his next job, as a boiler cleaner at a power station, he contracted tuberculosis and began staying away from work when he began feeling ill.

He was fired and "I was not even compensated. I received no wages and no leave pay".

He went back to work and said he should be paid for the days worked and notice pay.

He was referred back and forth between the power station in Athlone and the company head office in Cape Town.

"I must have walked to Cape Town and back about 20 times. On the last day I became so furious that I refused to leave the place without my money.

"After all these experiences I came to the conclusion that it is better for me to fight to change South Africa and to die in the process rather than to continue living like a slave."

The others convicted of terrorism were Joseph Malusi Ngoma, 28, Sazi Livingston Veldtman, 29, Quentin Deon Michaels, 27, and Cecil Esau, 31.

Those convicted of harbouring or assisting suspected terrorists were Mthetho Douglas Myanya, 37, Joseph Susele Mkhulwa, 31, Anderson Zingisele Ncivita, 34, Reed Zwelethu Macozoma, 27, Gladwin Mthethihi Mabengeza, 35, Cyril Moyisi Ntabeni, 31, and Norman Siseko Macanda, 29.

The trial will continue on August 4.

MINISTER OF EVERYTHING

Could he end up with NOTHING?

A WEEK in politics can be a long time. Ask Chris Heunis.

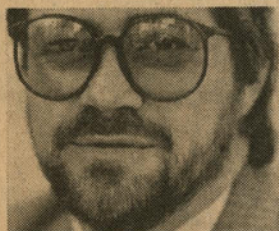
At the beginning of last week, Mr Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, presided over the most extensive and influential Cabinet portfolio empire South Africa had ever seen.

At the end of the week — after the leap-frog appointment of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development in the State President's office — parliamentarians and observers were openly talking about the decline of the Heunis empire.

Not too many weeks ago the constitutional platform that Mr Heunis's extraordinary energies and abilities had created was regarded as a springboard from which he would jump into a presidency when it was eventually vacated by Mr P W Botha.

Then came Helderberg. Mr Heunis's narrow, politically-emasculating 39-vote victory there last month crippled his presidential prospects.

But Helderberg was more than a matter of votes. Mr Heunis's brusque and emotive response to the results turned itself into a unscheduled test of his reaction to intense pressure.



By **LESTER VENTER**

DISMAYED

It was a test from which he emerged with less than statesmanlike standing.

Mr Heunis also damaged his standing, it is said, with Mr Botha. In a half-century in politics, the 71-year-old party leader has developed into a master of electioneering.

It is a reputation he is said to be jealous of — and it is a quality he prizes in his lieutenants.

Political insiders say Mr Botha was dismayed by Mr Heunis's prediction on polling day that he would win by between 3 000 and 4 000 votes, and his team's revised prediction after the close of polls was that they would win by 1600.

But if Helderberg torpedoed his presidential hopes, Mr Heunis was still left with the mantle of "Mr Negotiation" — the man who would usher in a proposed new dispensation through talks with blacks.

And the armaments of his empire were still in place behind him.

Then Mr Botha announced he was to become personally more involved in envisaged negotiations. Days later he placed Dr van der Merwe, an agile thinker

with a personable manner, at his right hand to give effect to that ambition.

The political stocktakers moved in on Mr Heunis.

No-one expects Mr Heunis to be in for anything as dramatic as the chop. That's not the style of the National Party.

IRONIC

Men, many of them highly talented, who are deemed to have peaked in their purpose are kicked upstairs.

And it is at this point that Mr Heunis's career becomes rich in portentous ironies.

One of the early building blocks of Mr Heunis's constitutional edifice involved embodying the enormous Bantu Administration bureaucracy. In so doing, he usurped the administrative power base of the then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

Dr Koornhof was elevated out of the foundry fires of power politics to the chairmanship of the President's Council — and thereafter to an ambassadorship (the USA), an often-used grassing field for old political bulls.

With the bureaucratic channels in place for effecting his political plans for blacks, Mr Heunis set about establishing himself as the constitutional guru of Government.

In doing this he eclipsed the man who formerly held that status, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The grey-haired Dr Viljoen, a former Broederbond chairman, has since then been ticking over in low profile Cabinet portfolios.

Time will tell whether a similar fate awaits Mr Heunis.

A further irony has arisen from Mr Heunis's most outstanding characteristic; his powerful intellect, a quality that not even his political enemies underestimate.

As architect of the multi-lateral, tricameral Parliament, Mr Heunis needed that intellect in the construction of one of the world's most complex con-

stitutions and most convoluted systems of government.

But many feel it is that driving intellect that hampers his effectiveness as a negotiator.

Rather than listen and exchange views, he is inclined to dominate the mentally less agile and propound his conclusions on what is best for them.

He has also developed thought at the expense of feeling.

UNFEELING

During the Crossroads squatter tragedy last year, when more than 30 000 people were rendered homeless, he showed himself unable — or unwilling — to descend from his palace of policy to identify with the suffering of the subjects of his empire.

His remoteness is often re-enforced by his manner of speech. As he soars into grand policy design, he rapid-fires sentences as complicated as his constitution. He has even earned a label for this: "Heunis-speak".

The political mechanics of the 60-year-old Minister's rise to power are nothing short of remarkable.

A former attorney, he came up through the ranks, from local government, through provincial administration, into Parliament and soon a series of Cabinet portfolios.

He became directly involved with constitutional matters when he was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs in 1980. At this time South Africa's present constitution was being thrashed out in Government backrooms.

INTENTIONS

But it was when the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning was created under his curatorship in 1982 that Mr Heunis really built up a head of bureaucratic steam.

The following year his intentions were clearly signalled when he introduced the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Bill.

In this and other legislation he embraced the second and third tiers of government and laid the groundwork for what was to follow — the abolition of old-style provincial government and the introduction of Regional Services Councils.

Mr Heunis extended his power base beyond his immediate office.

He became chairman of the Council for Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, chairman of the Cabinet committee to investigate the future of urban blacks, and chairman of the Parliamentary select



Professor Phillip Tobias: long a defender of academic freedom

committee on the constitution.

Apart from his activities as a constitutional engineer, he expanded his department to contain 27 directorates at its peak.

These included control over such hot-potato issues as the Group Areas Act, Improper Political Interference legislation, influx control, and responsibility for the explosive squatter problem.

Ironically once again, it was Mr Heunis himself who first started cutting back his monolithic bureaucracy. Late last year Constitutional Development and Planning was reduced from a personnel strength of about 1 700 to 327.

The move was largely a consequence of his "Own" and "General" affairs policy of devolution of powers to regional and local levels. The slimmed down department was intended to be the think tank for the next constitutional step, now to involve blacks.

With the appointment of Dr van der Merwe last week and the resignation this month of the department's director of constitutional planning, Dr Andreas van Wyk, it seems this "glamour government" task is not to be the exclusive preserve of Mr Heunis.

At the recent height of his influence, Mr Heunis's colleagues referred to him as the Minister of Everything.

Everything, it now seems, except that which he would have wanted most of all.

Sharpeville six to appeal against death sentences

Sunday Times EXTRA
14/8/87

By SAMKELO KUMALO

SIX people from Sharpeville have appeals against their death sentences set down for the August-September term of the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

They are among 22 condemned prisoners whose appeals will be heard during this term.

The six are Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, Reid Malebo Mokoena, Oupa Moses Diniso, Theresa Ramashamola, Duma Joshua Khumalo and Francis Don Mokgesi, whose sentences followed the death of Councillor Kuzwayo Jacob Dlamini at Sharpeville on September 3 1984.

Stoned

He was stoned and burnt to death after a protest march against councillors and increases in rent.

The appeal will be heard on September 10.

On September 4, the Appellate court will hear an appeal by Anton Werner Stoop against a finding that there were no extenuating circumstances for the murder of Mr David Ovumile Mthuthang, who was assaulted and burnt last February.

Stoop was sentenced to death by Mr Justice G A Coetzee in the Witwatersrand Supreme Court last October.

OTHER APPEALS

OTHER cases that will be heard during this term of the Appellate Division include:

● August 17: Jacobus Wynand Bosman, of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, will appeal against the death sentence for the murder of his 10-month-old illegitimate daughter.

● August 18: Johannes Stefanus Delpert will appeal against the finding that there were no extenuating circumstances in the murder of four-year-old Charmain Opperman, whose body was thrown into the Wilge River at Frankfort after she had been indecently assaulted on October 20 1985.

● August 20: Raymond Nobel will appeal against the death sentence imposed for the murder of a fellow-prisoner in Pollsmoor.

● September 1: Willy Jacobs Mpipi will appeal against the death sentence for the murder of a fellow-prisoner in Leeuwkop.

● September 4: Ishmael Mokone Marotholi, Zacharia Molefi Kodisang and Richard Motsamayo Buzakwe will appeal against the double death sentences they received

for murder, housebreaking and robbery.

● September 4: Cecil Scholtz will appeal against the death sentence for rape. He was convicted on August 22 1986.

● September 8: Mr Milton Mbuzeni Zungu of Nancefield and Mr Mshiyeni Miya of Jabulani will appeal against their convictions and sentences for murder and robbery.

● September 10: Piet Distin of Upington will appeal against the finding that there were no extenuating circumstances in the murder of Mr Jacobus Booysen at Upington on March 1 1985. He will also appeal against the resultant death sentence.

● September 11: Joseph Gcabashe and Mnuji Jerome Gcaba will appeal against the finding that there were no extenuating circumstances for the June 5 1986 murder for which they were sentenced to death.

They will also appeal against the death sentence for housebreaking and robbery with aggravating circumstances at a hotel.

Cops were killed with AK-47 rifle

Sunday Times EXTRA
14/6/87

THE murder of two young policemen near Witbank this week brings the number of Eastern Transvaal policemen killed in the line of duty during the past eight weeks to 14.

Brigadier Schalk "Broekies" Broekman, CID chief in the area, said yesterday a massive manhunt was ordered after the double murder of Detective-Sergeant S J Botha and Detective-Constable R Mashile.

Latest police reports indicate the two men were killed with an AK-47 rifle.

"All we know at this stage is that the two were shot in cold blood by two suspects they were escorting to Johannesburg on an investigation."

Police all over the country were told to look out for the policemen's car in which their assailants, two black men aged 19 and 20, are believed to have fled.

According to a police spokesman, the car, a beige Toyota Corolla with the registration number LTK 428 T, was found early yesterday morning in the East Rand township of Katlehong near Germiston.

Police on the scene said they were investigating the possibility that the same two men were responsible for three armed robberies on Friday night at filling stations in the area. A car matching the description of the stolen police car was spotted during the robberies.

The two suspects were previously arrested in connection with a case concerning the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, Brig Broekman said.

HUNT IS STILL ON FOR SOWETO GUNMAN

The two policemen, both from the Komatipoort police station, were married. Sgt Botha was the father of two toddler sons aged 18 months and six months while Const Mashile also had two sons.

Bodies

Their bodies were found late on Friday afternoon next to the Witbank highway, outside the town, with bullet wounds in their heads.

● At least 12 other policemen were killed in the line of duty the past two months, Brig Broekman said.

Seven of them were killed in a horror accident early last month which led to another tragedy when one of the widows committed suicide with her three children 10 days ago.

And, in December, two policemen, Warrant Officer Theuns Gerber and Sergeant Joggie Nel, were shot and killed near Messina by a captured ANC terrorist they were escorting to Middelburg. He managed to get hold of his confiscated AK-47 rifle and shot the police-

men in the vehicle while they were travelling.

The terrorist was re-arrested a week later.

At the time of going to press the two suspects in the Witbank double murder were still on the loose.

● Fear has gripped the Soweto township of Emdeni since the shootout between police and an armed insurgent on Thursday.

Gunmen alleged to have been holed up in a house, which was smashed through by an armoured

police hippo vehicle, left a suspected ANC insurgent dead and two security policemen seriously wounded.

The name of the insurgent has not yet been released by police.

Two men described as ANC members were among four arrested. The wounded policemen are Lt-Col Louis Sauer and Const J Theart.

The dead man was identified as a trained ANC member. He died clutching a Soviet Makarov pistol.



THE state of emergency has been reimposed and it looks likely to stay with us for some time. Does this finally spell the end of the liberal ideal in South Africa?

Certainly the radical curtailments of freedom of speech, freedom of association and of the right to a prompt trial if arrested strike at the heart of a liberal conception of the political order.

Liberals have a duty to fight (and are fighting) against the extension of State power in these spheres, as they always have done. But to fail to see the situation as a dynamic one is to become too pessimistic about the resources and prospects of liberalism.

Liberalism has three important strengths. The first is that it is deeply embedded in all the main segments of our national culture.

Even the demand for "people's history", for instance, often amounts to the demand for the replacement in black schools of a conservative Afrikaner historiography (which many Afrikaners themselves now find obsolete) by a liberal approach which stresses critical evaluation of viewpoints and the use of sources.

Liberalism has an irreducible moral component which stresses universal values. It is therefore a powerful resource in welding a national culture out of a series of sectional cultures.

The second, closely related, point is that both Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism have their liberal wings. The extremes will never touch; it is the liberal currents which will have to be strengthened if the understandings central to a political settlement are to be achieved.

The third stresses the incentives to all parties to reach a political settlement. For a revolution, in the rigorous sense of the term, means a collapse of the state.

And the collapse of the South African state will not mean socialism or a prosperous 'national democratic' state, but race war and every kind of atavism.

The French philosopher Pascal produced an argument for belief in God which went like this: even if you thought that the chance of God existing was small, it was better to bet on it.

DAMNATION

If you did and He didn't exist, your loss would be limited to wasted religious observance. If you didn't and He did exist, your loss would be infinite in the form of everlasting damnation.

So backing a political settlement is our form of the wager; one can by no means be certain that it will come off, but the certain outcome of not backing it is horrible.

The dynamism of the situation comes from the development of the economy. South Africa is a society

The renewed state of emergency again raises the question whether South Africa will ever return to the Rule of Law and basic liberal precepts. CHARLES SIMKINS, an economist and executive member of the newly formed Liberal Democrats Association, looks at the issue...

which needs be only a generation away from achieving advanced industrial status.

By the standards of semi-developed countries, it has a strong economy. It managed to grow in real terms last year (admittedly by a very small amount) despite all the difficulties it faced.

What will happen in the longer term remains to be seen — a growth rate in excess of the population growth rate is an essential condition for the success of liberalism.

Rising living standards will bring urbanisation, higher standards of education and a proliferation of different interests in the society, all of which present new opportunities for liberals.

The most important aspect of all this is the new opportunities for pluralism implicit in these developments — new groupings which will cut across the old irreconcilably antagonistic blocks, and by doing so create new opportunities for political solutions.

The bases for these

groupings will necessarily be more specific than the old racial and ethnic organisations. The development of trade unions is one critically important part of this process; they have a large but limited field of operation.

However the debates may rage within them, it will be very difficult to subordinate them simply to one political bloc.

As important will be community organisations with a specific agenda around community issues. But it is harder for the State than the private sector to open up the space for these to operate and for the communities themselves to disentangle specific community issues from more general nationalist mobilisation.

In the end, however, the degree of cross-cutting will be limited as long as statutory race classification remains.

And here the situation remains as liberals have always said: change is the key to progress. It is a perception which is spreading in white politics.

It is now to be found, for instance, among the Government's more liberal advisers and among the Natal Nationalists (and others) who support the Indaba. It is much more important than the details of economic policy, about which liberals will differ among themselves.

Liberals have no direct political power; there will not be a Liberal Party in the foreseeable future.

But they do have influence. The paradox is that the structural changes which, politically mishandled, have produced the state of emergency, have also produced circumstances in which liberals have more influence than at any time since the last Smuts government.

They are — and will be — using it.

Where
NOW
for the
liberal
ideal?

The audience was stirred into tumultuous excitement: the smallest gesture from the platform provoked a frenzy from the floor.

Then the Muzak-led laser show burst upon them. Twin screens revealed a succession of video images: Mrs Thatcher reviewing troops, Mrs Thatcher greeting statesmen, Mrs Thatcher addressing conferences, Mrs Thatcher visiting cities, Mrs Thatcher, Mrs Thatcher, Mrs Thatcher.

This was the politics of personality, of presidency, carried to the same limits as the campaign of Mr Kinnock.

There were no nods to Cabinet or colleagues or collective responsibility. There was only herself, the leader, the goddess of Conservatism.

And, indeed, she is a phenomenon, driven by a conviction and strength of purpose that sometimes seem otherworldly.

Here at last, on stage before the wildly applauding, hand-picked, security-searched, loyalty-certified Conservative audience, she stepped forward in the flesh and delivered her stentorian proclamation:

"Strong, clear and consistent leadership; that is the only way to secure success at home and respect abroad. To the charge of providing that kind of leadership, I gladly plead guilty."

She is a warrior to the roots of her soul.

Impossible to imagine her returning the sword of a defeated foe; she would merely wish to drag him in chains behind her chariot wheel. It is so easy to mock her because of her remorseless earnestness. Yet is this not also the root of her success, the heart of her claim upon national gratitude?

Britain began to take itself seriously again

The 1960s marked the low point of British post-war attainment and aspiration. This was the decayed period when the thought of everything, including itself, seemed to reduce the nation to helpless giggles.

History may perceive the 1980s as the period when, at last, Britain began to take itself seriously again.

Until it did so, there was scant hope that the rest of the world might do so.

Mrs Thatcher, it is sometimes said, wants this country to do more than it is probably capable of doing. Yet this, surely, is not an ignoble ambition.

Clever men and women who work closely with her have often remarked that she is not an especially clever woman, but very clever people

Maggie the WARRIOR marches on

MAX HASTINGS

renowned foreign correspondent and now editor of the Daily Telegraph, London, profiles the triumphant Thatcher

ple seldom make good civil leaders or military commanders.

Most of the great deeds of history have been done by moderately clever people propelled by immense energy and single-mindedness. Mrs Thatcher's tunnel vision, or laser vision, according to your point of view, has driven her since 1979 to do a host of things that cleverer people, even cleverer Conservatives, declared at the outset to be impossible.

How many of us did not feel moments of acute apprehension and misgiving when the Government took on the miners or President Galtieri? How many, eight years ago, considered that denationalisation on the present scale was feasible?

How many really believed that the frontiers of personal taxation could be rolled back so far?

So often her instincts have been right; those of the intellectuals have been wrong.

It is not surprising that today she is contemptuous of journalists, academics, the doubters, those possessed by the spirit of "no can do".

She is a real leader. She has broken new ground all the way. History will surely judge her an incomparably finer Prime Minister than Macmillan, for all his guile and culture and charm.

Her vices are easy to define. First, there is rigidity, the mirror image of determination.

A narrow definition of loyalty causes her to tolerate too many poor spirits around her whose chief merit is their willingness to accede.

She is not a good picker of people. The industrialists and businessmen who catch her eye — with notable exceptions such as Lord King — too often verge upon charlatanism.

The memory of even the more virtuous tycoons she has warmly praised still stirs blushes at Downing Street — Laker, Sinclair, Barret.

Her honours lists, while not as ill-judged as those of Lord Wilson, have revealed chinks in her armour of principle. She denied star athletes Coe and Ovett awards, surely rightly, after they went to the Moscow Olympics.

Yet the next year she gave them their gongs, plainly judging that this was politic. Her Fleet Street honours have aroused derision rather than respect for the absolute unworthiness of most of the recipients.

Bourgeois Victorian virtues

Her own favourite politicians, prominently including Messrs Parkinson and Archer, would scarcely be described in old-fashioned Tory circles as men with much "bottom".

It would do no harm to see

a few more Glasgow grocers at dinner in Downing Street, men who really possess the bourgeois Victorian virtues.

For the rest, her apparent indifference to the underclass, to the inevitable casualties of free enterprise, reflects her conviction that, if she can survive and prosper, so can they.

This is a conceit of the strong which inevitably frightens the weak. And on this issue she may prove to lack not only generosity of spirit but prudence.

The existence of a chronically disaffected, uneducated, unemployable class at the base of society may yet prove a significant threat to social cohesion in Britain.

But, then, alongside these failings consider her virtues: to my generation of Conservatives, they seem very great.

We grew up, in the 1960s and 1970s, openly or secretly resigned to the eventual triumph of socialism. We lived among the liberal consensus, hoping that with luck Armageddon might be deferred another decade or two, that Mr Benn might not become Prime Minister until the late 1980s.

The highest ambition of most British capitalists, great and small, was to dig a hole deep enough to bury their little bag of gold where the Labour Party would not find it.

Herein lay the stagnation, the demoralisation, the decay that prevailed through

the dreadful years of Mr Edward Heath.

Yet today we are on the brink of a society transformed inside a decade.

Perhaps Mrs Thatcher's greatest single achievement is to have persuaded us that the capitalist system in Britain can prosper and prevail.

It is the 1960s liberal consensus that today seems withered and discredited.

Morale among the entrepreneurs, the professionals, the bourgeois capitalists who are the bedrock of a Western democratic society, has never been higher. Mrs Thatcher has triumphantly reasserted their value and pre-eminence.

"Our side" in the war against the politics of envy stands close to victory. The importance of this success to the economy, to industry, to investment, to a stable society, cannot be overstated.

In our infatuation, perhaps as much as 80 years old, with the pursuit of a "middle way" in British politics, we have lost sight of the virtues of ruthless direction and purpose.

For years the British have over-estimated the merits of compromise and palliative.

Mrs Thatcher has brought steely and single-minded determination to the struggle to restore the country.

Ten years ago the British people still seemed to cherish the delusion that we could meander indefinitely along the rambling road pursued since the war.

Mrs Thatcher's victory in 1979 showed an encouraging new realism. Today the relatively narrow margins of the opinion polls reveal how depressingly close we have come to a return to the shabby, shoddy, tinplate panaceas of Wilsonian socialism — and worse.

Comfortable, humane approach

Mr Kinnock's essential message to the nation was that there was a comfortable, humane approach to modernising Britain which need hurt only the Duke of Westminster.

Mrs Thatcher offered a vision of an assertive, confident, commercial society, committed to the generation of new wealth.

Mr Kinnock proposed only a sordid scramble to dismember the carcass of British capitalism, and toss the bones to the baying wolves of envy and social equality.

If the British people had rejected the Conservatives, the implications would have far transcended any mere transfer of political power.

The nation would have declared its preference for a relentless return to economic decline, and a political preoccupation with the distribution of wealth. Power would have passed rapidly to the drones and leeches of council and state.

Mrs Thatcher is unlikely to become a figure beloved of the British people. She is too uncomfortable for that.

But she seems immensely worthy of respect, not merely for what she has done for Britain but for what she may do yet.

It would have been a tragedy if she had not been returned to power.

Potato dealer peels off bookies

THE TORY win in the British general election made potato chip shop owner Jim Kwan from Hong Kong R66 000 richer on Friday.

Kwan, 28, with the legendary skill of Chinese gamblers, staked R220 back in

January on a seven-stage accumulator bet, the winnings from his first bet going onto his second, and so on.

Bookmakers Ladbroke's said Kwan successfully predicted the results of a

horse race in Ireland, a snooker tournament in England, the American Super-bowl, a horse race in England, the English and Scottish soccer championships and Thursday's general election. — Sapa-AP

IT'S ME

SUNDAY TIMES, June 14 1987

MARGARET THATCHER'S victory in the British general election is an achievement for which there is no historical parallel.

For a party to win three elections in a row is rare, but by no means unprecedented.

The Conservatives did it in 1951, 1954 and 1959, but this was accomplished under three leaders — Churchill, Eden and Macmillan.

Mrs Thatcher's success is hers alone, and it is this that makes it so remarkable.

For when a party is in power for eight years — above all under the same leader — all kinds of illogical and irrational factors of hostility come into play among the British electorate.

This is particularly true of Mrs Thatcher, who arouses strong emotions of dislike as well as admiration, who always rejects the shoddy compromise for the sake of conciliating opponents and who proudly asserts she is not a consensus but a decisive politician.

Her sweeping victory, therefore, is a testimony to the success and soundness of her policies and the respect she has earned through them. There can be no other explanation.

It follows, then, that there are important policy lessons to be learnt from her victory — not just for Britain but for many Western countries.

Here are four:

□ **FIRST:** Mrs Thatcher has disproved the maxim of political scientists that the time-scale of elections in a democracy makes it impossible for governments to pursue tough economic policies which involve medium-term unpopularity.

Her cure for the chronically sick British economy, which at last is beginning to work, has involved a willingness to accept unemployment — at around the 3-million mark for a protracted period — in the belief that artificial attempts to reduce it would wreck the whole plan.

Ten years ago this strategy would have been rejected as electoral suicide, but Mrs Thatcher has shown that the electorate is adult enough to go for the long-term cure.

The ambassador of a major ally summed it up this week: "Mrs Thatcher has taught us all that consistency can be made to pay electorally, and that the voters will reward courage. My country should be profoundly thankful for this lesson."

□ **SECOND:** Mrs Thatcher has shown that it's not only possible to reduce the size of the state sector but even to turn it into a positive electoral advantage.

Yes, history was made this week. But the world can feel safer, too

PAUL JOHNSON

the distinguished British historian and commentator, assesses the significance of the Thatcher triumph

even in so-called capitalist or "mixed" economies.

For the first time in this century Mrs Thatcher has reversed a world trend by her privatisation programme.

The enormous flotations this has involved have only been made possible by the explosion in financial services over the past decade.

This, in turn, has brought into being an entirely new share-owning class in Britain.

The third term of office gives Mrs Thatcher the chance to carry the programme of sales much farther — to virtual completion, in fact — and to contemplate a Britain in which 75 percent of families own their own homes (the present figure is about 64 percent) and more than 20-million people own shares in the economy, including the companies for which they work.

This will mean the end of the traditional proletariat and the disappearance of such destructive concepts as "class warfare".

□ **THIRD:** Mrs Thatcher's victory involves the decisive rejection by the British voters of Labour's policy of unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons.

All previous Labour governments had accepted the principle not just of a Western nuclear deterrent but of an independent British nuclear capability.

On this occasion Labour unequivocally proposed to get rid of the British nuclear-weapons system — Neil Kinnock promised to

For the first time large numbers of working men and women have entered the share market, and the number of individual share-owners has risen from 2.5-million in 1979 to close on 10-million.

This is a cultural and social change of great importance. It marks the emergence of democratic capitalism as a popular alternative to old-style social democracy, and it explains why governments from many Western countries are sending Ministers and civil servants to Britain to study the Tories' privatisation programme.

Before 1914 state sectors in advanced countries accounted for five to 10 percent of the economy. Thereafter the growth was pretty steady until the late '70s, when it reached more than 50 percent.

MAGGIE THE WARRIOR:

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AGAIN!

Focus
on the
UK
election

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decommission it within a fortnight of being elected — and cast doubt even on the idea of a collective nuclear deterrent by promising to throw out US nuclear bases in Britain.

This in turn led Mrs Thatcher to pledge that Britain would remain a nuclear power for the foreseeable future.

As she told Soviet TV viewers during her recent Moscow visit: "It is the only way in which a small country can stand up to a big one."

On Wednesday, at her last Press conference before polling day, she said: "Britain must retain nuclear weapons until the end of the century at least."

The electorate has endorsed her judgment. This means that, whatever the superpowers decide, the two European nuclear powers (France has multi-party agreement on keeping the bomb) will preserve their independent deterrents so far as we can see ahead.

This, in my view, will contribute to general stability in the European theatre.

□ **FINALLY:** Over a wide range of world policy issues Mrs Thatcher rejects the liberal consensus, and her view has been endorsed by the voters.

She refuses to give any moral authority to the UN, and she followed America in taking Britain out of Unesco.

She did not think much of the way President Reagan handled the Grenada affair, and made that plain enough, but she stoutly refused publicly to condemn his action.

Against a great deal of opposition, and at some personal cost, she made British airfields available for Reagan's bombing of Libya.

Of all the world leaders, she has pursued the most consistently tough policy against international terrorism.

On the issue of sanctions against South Africa she has insisted — again despite a great deal of opposition — on pursuing a policy of practical wisdom and has scornfully rejected demands for moralistic and destructive gestures.

Here, too, her courage has been vindicated by events and endorsed by the voters.

How and when the remarkable career of Mrs Thatcher will end we do not know.

She said on Wednesday that she is fit and well — she certainly looked it at the end of a gruelling campaign — and that she hopes to serve a full third term of office.

So for the next few years the world can be sure that Britain's policies will be in the safe hands of one of the most experienced Prime Ministers of the post-war era — and one who has an enviable record for consistency, common sense and, not least, courage.

It is a comforting thought for all of us.



MAGGIE WAVES THE RULE . . . her consistency and courage earned a three-time vote of confidence