

the 'iireferendum
its digynot tell reformist voters too
nuchfwgabout theg, roposed
onstit'utionls imbult , whitey
lamination. Then the constitution
vasa start to better things, a
eginning not a final blueprint, a
tep in the right direction. As
oiling day approaches, Nationalist
tinisters are falling back on the
ormula which has worked in
iection after election: pandering to
lille fears and prejudices.

The co; stitutionls white
omination is now trotted proudly
) the fore in supposedly refomist
onstituencies like Constantia. Mr
'ik Botha, who once told the
Jorld that South Africa was
loving away from discrimination
; SATURDAY

TOPIC

FHE deasi' 'on to award this year's
Nobel Prize for literature to the
ritish novelist. William Golding. is
tie, sound and unadvenmrous. As the
inge of choice is intemational and
(tends beyond the novel, it may well
: felt that there are writers with
aims more powerful. even. than those
" runnets-up thought to include Doris
easing and Max Frisch. Justihtztion
t criticism eon. in fact. be found in
ose comments of the Swedish
mdemy that have been reported.

Discussing Golding's work, the
ademy has been quoted as saying of
s novels, for example, that they "with
e perspicuity of realistic narrative an
,d the diversity and universality of
yth, illuminate the human condition
the world today". While it is
tfectly true that Golding comments
rough myth on the human condition,
least one of his major preoc-
pations, a cosy. unrealistic. moral
de of the past is today being
reasingly discredited. in his "Lord of
: Flies", he is in attacking that
h-oentury attitude which. reiegating
i to savages and good to the right
t of English lad, is represented in
llantynels ltCoral Island". in his
he lnheritors", one of the best of his
leis, he Squara up to, for instance,
G Wells and the comforts Wells
ds in the theory of evolution.

iding doing this by examining the
1 significance of the elimination of
anderthal Man by Homo sapiertt.

Theiswedish Academy, it has
:n reported, has also declared, with
re unctuousness than accuracy, that.
lie Goldin '5 work has commanded
respect 0 scholars. the novels can
read "with pleasure and profit
bout the need to make much effort
h learning or auimenl'. Certainly
iding ean sometimes be read with
isure-heisoftentoogooda
ter to deprive us of this. and, if by

oict" is meant a sharper realization
he forces at work within us, of the
deceptions with which we blind
selves, of the brittleness of social
straints and what we regard as
iization, then certainly we can prom
11 what Golding has to tell us. But

A' Cape Times
double puzzle

No. 16379

(quick clues)

:ROSS DOWN

mely (9) 1 Repository (9)
eedy (4) 2 Hard (9)
ate (9) 4 Conspiracy (4)
suit (6) 5 Possessor (5)
ll (5) 6 Gift (5)
ippen (5) 7 Promontory (4)
zary (4) 9 Muffler (5)
riest (5) 11 Corpulenee (5)
nd (4) 12 Disclaimer (9)
gnisant (5) 13 Cleanser (9)
.truct (5) 17 Savour (5)
werful (6) 19 Epistle (6)
eedily (9) 22 Demand (5)
ief (4) 23 Solitary (4)
rth (9) 24 Daze (4)

IDONS TO QUICK CLUES No. 16379!

S: 1 Deny, 3 Assassin. 8 Same, 5 Dis-
11 Old-taahionod, 13 Ninety, 14 Cotter,
ontantad. 20 Overlook. 21 Aguado. 22 En-
23 Test DOWN: 1 Discount, 2 Nomad-
ght. 5 Astronomer. G Since. 7 Need, 10
an 12 Gradient, 15 Fatigue. 18 Income.

I, 19 Cope.

irget i.

any words 01 (our letter: or men can you
am the letters shown lion? in melting a
sch lotto! may be used om only. Each
tust contain the white lattes, and there
i at least one nlna-iattav word In the list.

ols: no tonign words; and no propel

tY'S TARGET: 22 words. good: 27

very good; 34 words. excellent. Solo-
Monday.

ERDAY'S SOLUTION: Airy arll lrlto
air Iaity liar Iiit lily literal LITEHALLY
reality retail rill rilla lillat rite tall taliler
r tila tiler till tiller tilly tire trail trill.

The Cape (Times

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1983

White... domination

WHEN _ 1...basedi 6n ooolor. rsays int: new
campaign started, '9National- "\$iconstitutionif Will be a better
Nobel laureate

; guarantee of white rights than the
. present one. He recounts how
black leaders told him they do not
believe in things like democracy,
the rule of law, press freedom and
private ownership of property. He
and his cabinet colleagues tell
whites to support the National
Party if they do not want a
coloured man to become executive
president under the new system.

Those who believe that the
system will develop, that
discriminatory laws will be
abolished, that black pie will
eventually be included, should take

note. The proposed system is
gn'evously delicient and will remain
so. There is no more to t me.
whether. paniculariy in his later work,
we can always understand what
Golding is trying to say, and whether
he is always in command of his ideas
and convictions is another matter. The
fact that there has sometimes been
controversy about what Golding is
driving at, particularly in his "Free
F ". indieates that we must rely on
more 11acumen" than the Swedish
Amdemy seems to think necessary.
But. whatever the dating that can
to some extent be found in "Lord of
the Flies" and t 'The inheritors".
Golding remains very much a man of
our times and, in a sense, of all time,
both in these two novels and in his
later work. Myth and symbolism may
be almost as old as man. but, in using
them to comment on human life as he
sees it, and using them realistically,
.Golding escapes some of the traditional
restraints of the novel. He has not
been as adventurous as Doris Lessing
or. particularly, Milan Kundera or
Nomtan Mailer. even if. in his latest
novel. "Ancient Evenings", Mailer
asks us to bite ad more than we can
swallow.
But Golding's basic preoccupation
and the fundamental justification for
his significance as a writer are his
consciousness of the interplay of good
and inherent evil (evil as in uDarkness
Visible"), and a consciousness that
. insists that what seems to be good is
often inescapably rotten. interlocked
with this are two other conditions of
his: that the motives behind what is
laudable may well be undesirable; that
too often we deceive ourselves, either
because we do not realize or because
the refuse to acknowledge that what is
activating us is not noble, but base.
Perhaps the best example of this is
Golding's novel, "The Spire". Dean
Jocelin has devoted himself to, has
made the justilication of his life the
completion of a mthedral spire to the
greater glory of God and the
editication of man. But his motive is
not simple sanctity. At work also an:
ambition. love of self. sex and sin. at
odds with piousness, dedication and the
knowledge that giving thanks to God
may bring salvation to man.

ACROSS

- 3 Breaks in air travel finish with spells
of bowling (9)
- 8 mink at the Kings Head in the wood
- 4
- 9 Convey what the voter should do? (3,
6
- 10 Some who guarantee terms are un-
steady (8)
- 11 A real problem for somebody sitting
(or a photo? (5)
- 14 Do return our scant (5)

15 Gather the crop again to get lather
back (4)
' 16 As taken by dancers to reach a high
level? (5)
18 Spun out part 01 meek editorial (4)
20 Picked 100 stockings (5)
21 Puts a stamp on marine creatures
perhaps (5)
24 They are groomed 01 course (6)
25 Wooing on royal vessel, perhaps (9)
26 In concert in former times (4)
27 The French one certainly is in no
hurry (9)

DOWN

Does be post his paper? (9)
What the music student is expected
to do? (4, 5)
Excursion heading for ancient city (4)
lnstruti...nt initially played in Amster-
dam, .N obsolete (5)
Church caretaker playing brinkman-
ship? (8) -
Plant In a hurry? (4)
Sort out spare fruit (5)
Insist on journalism (5)
Evidence that one has got a periorm-
anca taped? (9)
13 He's a last anal (9)
17 In this car people can get up any
I steep slope (5)
19 24 across sorted out the rubbish that
was left (8)
22 Victor opposed him (5)
23 501 finished (4)
24 He should be paid of course (4)
SOLUTIONS TO CRYP'nC CLUBS No. 1637!:
M28058: 1 Mass, 3 Doiacted, a Rout. 9 Re-
spomo. 11 Intermission. 13 Adritt. 14 Stroll. 17
Gratuitously, 20 Draw back. 21 Trio. 22 Sue-
ponu, 23 Boos. DOWN: 1 Marginal. 2 Shutter.
4 Eyelid, 5 Ex sltlon. 6 Tango. 7 Dyes. 10
Profitable, 12 Payboya. 15 Observe, 16 Pim.4
18 Roads. 19 Odds.
4..

NHWN Q GI# N-e

i!

A YES vote will make
no effective difference
to the attitudes of the
world. including the
West, to South Africa.
Nor will a No vote. The
world simply does not
care. Have your referen-
dum by all means but
don't let your vote be in-
fluenced by fantasies
that Washington or Lon-
don is waiting on tenter-
hooks to know whether
reform is alive or dead.
International interest
in the November 2 ref-
erendum, I proffer, is
small, "Who cares?" is
the response tram Fleet
Street and, I suspect, the
European chancelleries.
Admittedly these are
early days. It may con-
centrate a man's mind

wondermll to know he
is to be hanged in the
morning but it does
nothing for a news edi-
tors adrenalin to hear
that 2.7 million out of 30
million South Africans
are to vote next month.
There have been plen-
ty of local complaints
here in the Republic
about the ox-wagon
pace of the Great De-
bate, and the conse-
quent danger of
national boredom. but
no-one can fairly claim
that the debate has gone
unreported. In contrast,
internationally the pro-
100 years

Q ago

From the Cape Times,

October 15, 1883:

THE Border line of rail-
way will be opened to
Sterkstrom. on the
Stormberg, today; the
Eastern line to Colesv
berg tomorrow. While
our extension works are
thus crawling forward,
it is interesting to note
that on the Canadian
Pacific line the average
rate of progress is four
miles a day, not includ-
ing sidings. and the
average weekly record
22 miles.

From the Bible

"Well. religion does
make a person very rich,
if he is satisfied with
what he has. What did
we bring into the world?
Nothing! What can we
take out of the world?
Nothing! So then. if we
have food and clothes,
that should be enough
for us."

(1 Timothy 6: 6-8)

fwd

SIM; W/Kugit ."

"Excuse me, Madam, your slip is showing."

Outside the laager: how referendum
is Viewed abroad

By J D F JONES, Associate Editor and Southern Africa Correspon-
dent of the Financial Times, London. This article was written for
the Spring issue of the quarterly journal Leadership SA, which is
now on sale. This is a slightly abbreviated version.

posed "Constitution of
1983" has so far failed to
excite curiosity, let
alone sympathy or sup-
port. Furthermore.
come November I am
convinced that there is
still going to be only a
very limited. and spe-

cialist, international interest overseas in the referendum result
This may indeed be a function of the world's ignorance or error. But the reason is very straightforward: rightly or wrongly, it is because the proposed constitution is not seen adequately to confront the central South African issue as the world (rightly or wrongly) perceives it.

I offer a very simple truth: only a significant move towards the enfranchisement of the black (African) majority can at this stage influence for the better the attitude of world opinion, including the West, towards South Africa.

To think otherwise is propaganda or self-deception.

National states
Such a change is of course specifically ruled out in the new constitution, and indeed ministers do not evade the point: they have been bluntly emphasising the necessity for the 72 million blacks to find their democratic fulfilment in the system of national states. '

And of course, to the great majority of whites the black franchise is as unacceptable as ever, and for that reason alone there will no doubt be a large Yes majority on November

2

i do not intend to doubt the good faith of Messrs Botha, Heunis, etc. I may even accept the assurances of Messrs Myburgh, Mulholland (Sunday Times and Financial Mail) et al that this constitution is intended to be a step in the right direction. But it is going to be a devil of a job to explain this. The experts are good players, but far from perfect. This week we'll study the blunders some of them made in the recent North American Championships. North's jump to three

notrump was risky since South's failure to respond in a major suit indicated that he had three heart: at most. Still, North expected his partner to have a good play (or nine tricks if the opponents didn't take the first five.

The blunder was West's opening lead. You don't blame a player (or leading low iron live or more cards headed by the ace-king, but it's silly to do so from a shorter suit.

Miami Beach expert Peter Weichsel gratefully won the (int trick with the queen of hearts. took the diamond finesse and got 11 13 tries when West discarded a spade.

when you decide to open from A-K-x or A-ch-x against a notmmp contract. don't lead low. My own preference is to lead the ace. and partner should encourage or discourage on the assumption that you've led from one at those two holdings.

DAILY QUB'HON
Youhoidiosstisz
K3200107wQ10.

il
,a

Partner opens with one club, you respond one he t. and he then bids one spa e. The opponents pass. What do you say?

NORTH
0A1075
9109
OAKJSSZ

0 J

VJ7651

054

\$1813

8

UTH

K81

Q3

9 6

K 9 7 6 5 2

West North Eaat

Pass 10 Pm

Pass 3NT AllPass

Opening lead - V 2

ANSWER: Bid (our spades. promising four-card spade support. with about 12 to 15 points. counting distribution as well as high cards. With only 10 or 11 points: you would jump to three spades. and partner would pass most hands of minimum opening strength.

it you bid only three spades
with this hand. partner
might pass. and you'd be
ready to jump out at the
window.

.06.

South

1 NT

Chief Butheiezi . . .
an impact abroad
to anyone beyond these
shores.

Again. a part of a
problem is ignorance.

The new constitution re-
lates to the mathematics
of South Africa's popu-
lation projections.

Three and a halfmillion
"brown" South Africans
are to be offered a vote
while 22 million black
South Africans are ex-
plicitly excluded from
the system. It is a fact
that many non-South Af-
ricans. including rea-
sonably well-informed
Europeans and Anteria-
cans, can scarcely re-
member who the
"coloureds" and the "In-
dians" are. (My Anteri-
can colleagues here. for
example. have various
formulae to explain
every time they write.
even in the briefest
news report. who the
"Indians" are!)

Issue evaded

The coloureds and the
Indians have no over-
seas constituencies. No-
one cares in particular
whether they have a
vote or not; frankly (i
am talking of non-expert
world opinion). no-one
gives a damn. The
general impression that
remains is that the basic
issue is being evaded . . .

There are of course

more expert and more
interested outsiders

Some of them remem-
ber, though pretty
vaguely. that the
National Party went to
extraordinary pains 30
years ago to disenfran-
chise the coloureds in
the Cape; the real ex-
perts remember that a
young politician called
P W Botha was involved
in the process. They as-
sume that he has
changed his mind.
though they never no-

ticed any apology.
That is the limit or the
interest of all but the
professional South
Africa watchers. Scarce-
ly anyone is qualified to
Follow, at such a dis-
tance. the arguments for
and against a "Colour-
edstan".

What else is there in
the constitution of 1983
to grab the interest of
the world?

My colleagues and I
will be writing about
the creation of an
executive state presi-
dency. The best short-
hand description we can
think of is that it will be
"Gaullist" in flavour --
though I agree that that
is not very accurate. The
word also has implica-
tions of authoritarian-
ism, which will tend to
confirm the instinctive
worst suspicions of
much of international
opinion.

We shall try to explain
a system of three cham-
bers in one parliament.
those chambers being
racially demarcated.

Our readers will not be
surprised. The Presi-
dent's Council has
always been more dim.
cult to put across be-
cause outsiders can
cope with the concept of
a Senate or a House of
Lords but the PC has
been neither. nor is it
going to become so.

Simple sum
We shall be unable
properly to report the
manner in which the
standing committees
will function. or the role
of the opposition parties
in those communities or
in the new system. be-
cause despite our best
efforts we still cannot
understand what is in-
tended. But we have
noted that power is allo-
cated on a formula of
four whites to two
coloureds and one
Indian. We do not need
to explain to our read-
ers the import of this
very simple sum.
After this - inad-
equately and truncated -
description of the con-

stitution we shall have to make a reference to black reaction. This is where Chief Gatsha Butheiezi's recent statements become so important - and why minister have been so angry with him. Buthelczi has become extremely well known overseas (though in his general rather than particular capacity: for example, as a black rather than a Zulu leader; as a critic of Pretoria rather than as chief minister who has been prepared to work. up to a point, inside the system). There is no doubt that he has a constituency abroad - that he has an audience.

Bulheiezi has been saying: "We reject the new constitution as Al' - Continued on page it Up against a blank wall INDIA is the latest country to put its faith in long-distance fencing. It will build a barbed wire fence along its 3 300-kilometre border with Bangladesh to prevent illegal crossings. A wall would, of course, have been preferable. The Chinese kept a lot of people out with a wall until someone brought a ladder along. And the Roman emperor Hadrian build a somewhat lower wall right across the top of England to keep out the Scots, who climbed over it anyway.

The Berlin Wall has been more effective, but only because its approaches are mined and constantly surveyed by men with searchlights and machine guns.

India, however, is a poor country. It cannot afford a 3300-kilometre wall. It is rather in same position as the Cape colony in Jan van Riebeeck's day when Hotentots persisted in entering the settlement by way of Bishopsoun.

So Van Riebeeck planted an almond hedge.

Mrs Indira Gandhi

hasn't really the time to wait for an almond hedge to grow. By the time it matured. the indian population would have doubled. And long before then. the people of Bangle. desb would have chopped it down for firewood on their way into India.

Therefore a barbed wire fence. which doesn't burn well, is be. in: built instead. It will require constant guard- a

i)-

John Scott

ing. not only to prevent people from climbing over it o: crawling underneath it. but also to stop them tt'om stealing it. Millions of refugee families could soon be subsidizing themselves by the sale of barbed wire to the authorities who put it up in the first place.

That's the way things happen in India.

No. if you want to keep people out. walls are the only thing. Near- ly 10 years ago the Farmers Weekly called on the government to build a wall along the northern border of South Africa to save our agricultural resources h'om terrorists.

But at the time Mr Vorster was busy build- ing bridges with black AMca. and a wall didn't seem appropriate. espe- cially as no one had yet blown up a mealie lield.

Further south. howev- er. a wall may be the only way of keeping squatters out of the Cape Flats. A study of the map shows that ii' a wall were to be built from Meibosstrand on the west coast east to Klipheuwei. south-east to Klapmuts. south to Stellenboseh. south- west to Firgrove and 11- nally south to Macassar. people lrom any area on the far side ol' the wall would take several clays.

N

or hours. longer to

reach Crossroads.
Alternatively the wall could incorporate the main mountain passes leading to the 1Cape Flats. It could run (tom Biouberg straight to Bain's Kloof: snake over the Slanghoekberge and Witteberg to Du Toits Kloof: straddle the Wemmershoek mountains to the Franschhoek Pass; cross the Hotteniots Holland mountains to Sir Lowry's Pass; and end in the sea at Gordon: Bay.

The second proposal. particularly. has great tourist potential. Visitors would come from far and wide to see "Koornhofs Kraal" or. it" Dr Piet modestly relinquished the honour to his deputy minister. "Morrison se Muur". Such a wall would contain only two drawbacks:

First, it would not only keep new squatters out. It would keep old squatters in.

Second. it would have to be patrolled day and night to prevent aquatters dismantling it and using the bricks and stones to build housing for them :lves.

On reenction. why not forget about the wall. which is bound to be turned by the s uallcrs into a symbol 0 proves cation anyway. and Just use the materials to build new housing?

The best way to get rid of a squatter is not to put him behind a wall. but inside four walls. with a root.

Yesi majonty
is shn'king

C

THERE are signs that an agonizing reappraisal of referendum options is under way It the English-speaklng community - so'much so that the government's comfortable "yea" majority is shrinking by the day.

At the start of the referendum campaign

there was a discernible trend of pro-Botha opinion among supporters of the Opposition. Quite a few felt inclined to vote "yes" in a referendum.

mainly on the round: that the Coast tution Bill seemed to represent a move in the direction of reform. however modest

In the Cape Peninsula. in the business community particularly. a good 50 percent of the mostly English-speaking Opposition constituency seemed set to give Mr P w Botha the support he was seeking.

Now. suddenly. the position is changing. and the "yes" vote in this constituency Its eroding - in the Pentn' sula and elsewhere in the country. particularly in Natal.

No one will be abso lutely sure what is afoot until the final returns are in on November 3.

There is no certain way of accurately assessing electoral phenomena of this kind. particularly as Gallup polls are banned by law. But experienced observers. relying on gut instinct, are convinced that a new stirring of opinion is in process. although the extent is dillicult to gauge.

Why should this be so? What has caused the turn-about? The first reaSon seems to be that the actual terms of the bill are becoming rather more familiar, notably the exclusion of Atri-
x

Mr Obpenheimer . on a serious back- ward step cans. The frightening implications 0 this an of presidential authori- tarianism have likewise become plain.

The "stop in the right direction" argument. on closer scrutiny. has be- come discredited. It has almost dropped out of use. The s mbolic inclu- sion of co oured people and Indians on a second

class basis. on strictly apartheid lines, is seen as too high a price to pay for the permanent exclusion of Africans from rights as South African citizens.

No one has been more effective in getting this across than the tireless Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu. Chief Gatshu Buthelezi. leader of the Zulu people and of the 700 000-strong Inkatha organization.

Chief Buthelezi has shown how Africans. as South African citizens. have used constitutional and political means since Union to strive for improvement in their position. He has pointed out that their progressive exclusion from participation in government. notably since the Hertzog bill of 1930: and. later, with the advent of Dr Verwoerd. has been a matter of party political policy _ open at all times to reversal through the ordinary political process.

Now it is proposed to entrench the exclusion of Africans in the permanent structure of the state. having stripped them of their South African citizenship and deprived them of rights of representation in Parliament.

As Chief Buthelezi explains this destroys the role of the African leadership which has been seeking to work within the law, using legitimate political means of lobbying and persuasion.

Under the new constitution. opposition to the Verwoerd system becomes unconstitutional. amending the modern era as an opportunity into the hands of the militant underground organizations which are committed to sabotage. urban terrorism and revolution.

if the constitution flees through a Christian era or such a Chief Buthelezi will

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Cape Town this week, i(3'0"
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Chief Buthelezi's at. orng
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ry Oppenheimer. chair. "cw,
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He will do so with great The!
regret, and after sits. be . :
tained reflection and duds.
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luted Mr P W Bolhu's said 1
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