

the 'iireferendum
its digynot tell reformist voters too
nuchfwfgabout theg, roposed
onstit'utionls imbutlt , 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
lhlle fears and prejudices.

The co; stitutionls white
omination is now trotted proudly
) the fore in supposedly refomtist
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
l 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

oiit" is meant a sharper realization
he forces at work within us, of the
dcoptions with which we blind
selves, of the brittleness of social
traints and what we regard as
iization, then certainly we can prom
ll 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)

riiest (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. 1637.!

S: 1 Deny, 3 Assassin. 8 Same, 5 Dis-

Il Old-taahionod, 13 Ninety, 14 Cotter,

ontantad. 20 Overlook. 21 Aguo. 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 oololur. rsays int: new

campaign started, '9National-"\$iconstitutioniFWill 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 llacumen" 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,
 .Goiding 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 he post his paper? (9)
 What the music student is expected
 to do? (4, 5)
 Excursion heading for ancient city (4)
 Instruti...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 sltton. 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
 Stret and, I suspect, the
 European chancelleries.
 Admittedly these are
 early days. It may con-
 centrate a man's mind

wondermllly to know he
is to be hanged in the
morning but it does
nothing for a news edi-
torls 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
Sterkstroom. 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 irorn 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 trieita 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 Ea at

Pass 10 Pm

Pass 3NT AllPass

Opening lead - V 2

ANSWER; Bid (our spades. promising lour-card spade support. with about 12 to is points. counting distribution as well as high cards. With only 10 or 11 point: you would jump to three spades. and partner would pass moat 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 Ahicans
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

"coioureds" and the "ln-
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. Scarcely anyone is qualified to follow, at such a distance, the arguments for and against a "Coloured state".

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 presidency. The best shorthand 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 implications of authoritarianism, which will tend to confirm the instinctive worst suspicions of much of international opinion.

We shall try to explain a system of three chambers in one parliament, those chambers being racially demarcated. Our readers will not be surprised. The President's Council has always been more difficult to put across because 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, because despite our best efforts we still cannot understand what is intended. But we have noted that power is allocated on a formula of four whites to two coloureds and one Indian. We do not need to explain to our readers the import of this very simple sum.

After this - inadequate 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 state-
ments become so impor-
tant - and why minis-
ter have been so angry
with him. Buthelezi has
become extremely well
known overseas (though
in his general rather
than particular capac-
ity: 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 con-
stituency abroad - that
he has an audience.
Butheiezi 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 pre-
vent illegal crossings.
A wall would, of
course, have been pref-
erable. The Chinese
kept a lot of people out
with a wall until some-
one 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 ap-
proaches are mined and
constantly surveyed by
men with searchlights
and machine guns.
India, however, is a
poor country. It cannot
afford a 3300kilometre
wall. it is rather in same
position as the Cape
colony in Jan van Riea
beeck's day when Hot-
tentots persisted in en-
tering the settlement by
way of Bishopscoun.
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. Nearly 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 building bridges with black AMca. and a wall didn't seem appropriate. especially as no one had yet blown up a mealie field. Further south. however. 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 il-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 lCape
Flats. It could run (tom
Biouberg straight to
Bain's Kloof: snake over
the Slanghoekberge and
Witteberg to Du Toits
Kloof: straddle the
Wemmershoek moun-
tains to the Fransch-
hoek 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. Visi-
tors would come from
far and wide to see
"Koornhofs Kraal" or.
it" Dr Piet modestly re-
linquished the honour
to his deputy minister.
"Morrison se Muur".

Such a wall would
contain only two draw-
backs:

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 aquat-
ters dismantling it and
using the bricks and
stones to build housing
for them :lves.

On renection. 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'nking

C

THERE are signs that
an agonizing reapprais-
al of referendum or-
tions is under way It
the Engliah-speaking
community - so'much
so that the government's
comfortable "yea" ma-
jority is shrinking by the
day.

At the start of the ref-
erendum 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 absolutely 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 difficult 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 backward step cans. The frightening implications of this an of presidential authoritarianism have likewise become plain.

The "stop in the right direction" argument. on closer scrutiny. has become discredited. It has almost dropped out of use. The symbolic inclusion of coloured 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 Gatsho
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 progres-
sive exclusion from par-
ticipation in overn-
ment. notably since the
Hertzog bill of the
1930: and. later, with
the advent of Dr Vor-
woerd. has been a mat-
ter of party political
policy — open at all
times to reversal
through the ordinary po-
litical process.
Now it is proposed to
entrench the exclusion
of Africans in the per-
manent structure of the
state. having stripped
them of their South
African citizenship and
deprived them of rights
of representation in
Parliament.
As Chief Buthelezi ex-
plains this destroys the
role of the African lead-
ership which has been
seeking to work within
the law, using legitimate
political means of lob-
bying and persuasion.
Under the new consti-
tution. opposition to the
Verwoerd system be-
comes unconstitutional.
Furthermore the mo-
vement is put into
the hands of the mili-
tant underground orga-
nizations which are
committed to sabotage.
urban terrorism and
revolution.
If the constitution
flees the hands of a Chris-
tian or such a
Chief Buthelezi will

come under enormous
rouure to back the vio-
on; option or.,at tho
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Political
Survey
Ilt
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to mt
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leomc'
ve least, to lead (ht: n1 .
mak- in civil disubt-tli- 3:"?
once and industrial un. i zdt
ms" tontai
it is not in Chieilluth- e
clezi's nature to utter encolil
threats. idle or (tlhur- f" l
wise. As he explained in neg"
Cape Town this week, i(3'0"
he did not spell out the ublit
truth in blunt terms. he P110 a
would be rejected as 'nlvy
leader. In his view. nde
blacks would render the g? u"
new constitution unwor- struct
kabie. if it was ever in- troller
piemented. on p0
Chief Buthelezi's at. orng
sent plea to white clcc- Muc
tors to reject the consti- had
tution and demand achie
negotiation with blat-ks were i
was followed by an zin- ovorco
nouncement by Mr iar- deu
ry Oppenheimer. chair. "cw,
man of De Beers: that om"
he will be voting "no", iii: lot
He will do so with great The!
regret, and after sits. be . :
tained reflection and duds.
much diniculty: sideret
Mr Oppenheimer sat ceptal
luted Mr P W Bolhu's said l
courage yet concluded. traditit
reluctantly. but with no . the a
doubt whatsoever in his ; houses
mind. as he ut it. llilti
the propose eonstitu- __'
tion. in excluding Alri- . .
cans. would be a serious t
backward step. J
Central issue . 9..."...
Suddenly. the cxciu- . -
sion of Africans had be e 32:21 ,'
come the central issue 7; foundgd
in the campaign. over- clples !
riding all other consld- ., part Of
erations. . : can be i
In the English-speak- tion w,"
in: community most . mentlyi
people are clear-sighted over th:
enough to realize that f the lot:
the Alt-ican community ETThe new
will have to be accom- ; danger:
modated in the South r Africa. l
l African body politic un- ment pet
less the whites are de- total poi
terminated upon a hora. "a ho)

rendous Inter-racial war M! has
- which nobody will consider
win. on to
Suddenly. a rather un- Mug",
real constitutional da- eat it
bale has come down tr: Yes Vote,
earth with a bang. The , going to
central South African 5 Overseas.
issue 01' black political 'ubly.
rights stands revealed The n
as the real question lm- Buthelei
fore the voters. bcwm
it was interesting to "I nww
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