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I hear some people say : "The PFP must help Mr. P.W. Botha", "There must be a blurring of the ideological lines in order to facilitate debate", "For the sake of political realignment, the PFP will have to shed itself of some of its members". This is the kind of talk I hear while moving around the country and it is also what I read in the political columns of some of the English-language newspapers.

Last Sunday the "Sunday Tribune" published the results of a survey which shows that the PFP stands to lose some of its support if the Prime Minister introduces reform now. There lies the rub of course, with the word "if". Two questions immediately arise : Firstly, whether and when the Prime Minister intends introducing reforms, and, secondly, what is meant by the term "reform"? Until there is clarity about these two issues - and we are nowhere near clarity at present - any talk about "toenadering", reconciliation or coalition politics is purely academic and entirely irrelevant. As a matter of straightforward fact, this Government has not come with a clear and understandable declaration of intent as to what reforms it has in mind, when it wishes to introduce them and at what tempo. For the Prime Minister or cabinet ministers to say a few nice things about Coloureds and Indians and a few nasty things about A.P. Treurnicht and the Conservative Party, does not constitute reform or give any reason for the PFP to start making cooing noises and rush into an artificial white solidarity

because the Prime Minister "is in trouble" with his right wing. This country needs reform, reform and reform and only on that basis can bargains be struck, deals negotiated and realignment brought about.

Any white voter who believes that a black man should not be a citizen of South Africa, that he cannot own property like anyone else, that he cannot move around as freely as anyone else to look for work, that there must be laws which force a person to belong to a race or ethnic group even if the individual does not want to, and that this must be backed up by other laws that blatantly discriminate against the person on the basis of race or ethnicity - such a voter does not understand what "reform" means and does not appreciate the potential for conflict in our land. All these aspects are part and parcel of official government policy and as yet no indication has been given of any intention to change this.

I have no intention of making a virtue out of being bloody-minded or being deliberately uncompromising and obstinate. There is nothing more that I desire than to have a situation where a determined and united government moves systematically away from white domination and discrimination towards a non-racial and shared South Africa. That this is going to be extremely difficult to achieve I also do not doubt and I do have appreciation and sympathy for tentative steps in this direction even from the Government. But I and the PFP dare not allow ourselves and our

supporters to bluff ourselves that things are happening when in fact they are not. We dare not offer up whatever bargaining position we have for half measures and ineffectual attempts at reform. What is involved is not the future of the PFP or the careers of its public representatives, but the possibility of relatively peaceful progress and the future of us all. Surely this demands serious consideration when issues of policy, principle and strategy arise.

There is a tendency of late to compare "step-in-the-right-direction" politics with an "all-or-nothing" position and then to argue as if the one is the same as a willingness to compromise and the other as being implacably committed to principle. This is a totally false distinction. To be committed to principle does not mean that you are not willing to negotiate or compromise. On the contrary. How can you recognise a step in the right direction if you do not even know what the right direction is? If two parties differ on the "right direction" and they reach a compromise, then it either means the compromise does not pose a threat to their respective principles or the compromise means a sacrifice of a fundamental principle in favour of the "right direction" of the other party. Let me make it quite clear : a step in the right direction towards reform in South Africa means that the NP is going to have to sacrifice some of its principles to bring this about. How will the PFP judge whether this is actually taking place? The following could serve as guidelines :

- (a) Does it increase or decrease racial polarization between black and white?

- (b) Does it move towards recognizing the rights of citizenship and effective franchise of all South Africans irrespective of race or ethnicity?
- (c) Does it clearly show a move away from discrimination on the basis of race or ethnicity or not?

I mention these guidelines not in a spirit of arrogance or moral superiority or as if the PFP has all the answers and the NP none. On the contrary, these guidelines, I believe, provide a basis for negotiation and bargaining in terms of our respective commitments to different principles. If no agreement can be reached, then determined opposition and not the "blurring of lines" or "being kind to the NP in difficult times" is called for.

It is true that the style of white politics has changed in South Africa since the break-away of the CP. To use a metaphor : Politics has changed from being a straightforward contact-confrontation sport between a vastly stronger team and a weaker opponent to a tug-of-war. After all, a government that wishes to hold a successful referendum with only 43% of the electoral support needs to seriously concentrate its mind about where and how to get additional support. In this tug-of-war, on the one side one has the CP and its support clearly against reform and on the other side the PFP and its support clearly for reform with the NP government in the middle. What should the PFPs strategy be? (Remember the tug-of-war is already under way!) Does it slacken now and join the middle? This simply means the right wing pulls it all in their direction. So this kind of strategy is obviously out. The PFP must go for the balance of power so that

the tug-of-war moves in the "right direction" towards reform. But to go for the balance of power means that one must consolidate and increase one's own support and not offer it up or bargain it away for the sake of some artificial white solidarity. It is the NP, not the PFP, nor the CP, that has to make up its mind about where it wants to go with South Africa.

We are moving towards challenging and interesting times in South Africa. Already there are those who would wish to pressurize the PFP towards adopting a position on, for example, the President's Council recommendations, irrespective of their merit or contents. Let me make it quite clear : whatever those recommendations are, they need to be considered seriously, patiently and in depth before we or anybody else adopts final public postures on them. There will be various opportunities in the coming weeks and months to do so. As far as we are concerned, they will be judged against our commitment to our principles and the guidelines in terms of which they represent a step in the "right direction". The PFP has repeatedly made its position clear as to the kind of constitutional change it regards as necessary and effective. Two points were emphasized at our Federal Congress in this regard by me : the one being the central position of blacks in any relevant constitutional change in the future; the other being the drift towards unfettered executive control - the so-called "De Gaulle Option". I do not know what the President's Council recommendations are going to be or how the Government is going to react to them. But I have to give clear warning that the PFP is strongly committed to the creation of checks and balances against the abuse of power and any development towards an executive-style president with no, or

very little, constitutional checks on his powers will be strongly resisted by us.

I mention this simply to illustrate the kinds of challenges and problems that all parties will have to face up to. To the PFP and its supporters I say : "Now that we are in the tug-of-war for power to be used for or against reform - for heaven's sake don't slacken now, keep tugging! All of us may some day look back with pride and gratitude that we did so when South Africa needed it most?"

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5 May 1982