

Prof. Sampie Terreblanche Interviewed by Sunday Times

# Call For Alliance Between English And Afrikaners

"We in the N.P., since the split, now have the New National Party; and we will need the support of English-speakers . . . but the P.F.P have not adapted — what we need now is a New P.F.P.," said PROF. SAMPJE TERREBLANCHE in an interview with Stanley Uys of the Sunday Times.

Below is an extract from that interview:

There has been a chronic tendency in the National Party to do too little too late.

Only since the split have we really had the potential to become a reform party, and it is perhaps too early to judge whether, in the new circumstances, the Government will be able to do enough.

But I believe the New National Party, as I call it, will unleash reforming powers of unexpected dynamism and that in 10 years South Africa will be a very different country.

We can't talk about Afrikaner unity any longer. The National Party is no longer the party of Afrikaner unity. What happened last year was traumatic. There was a complete change of attitude within the N.P. Afrikaner unity has been finally shattered.

English-speakers are welcome to join the National Party. About 25 percent of them supported the N.P. in the 1977 general elections, and possibly the same percentage in the 1981 general elections. Since the split in the N.P., English-speaking support, we believe, has increased.

The N.P. for too long was an Afrikaner clan, and with people like Treurnicht on its right wing who would blame the English-speaker for not supporting the Government? But the situation has changed entirely.

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Mr Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development) says that whenever he met a certain important English-speaking businessman, the man would say to him: "Please tell the Prime Minister I support him."

Eventually, Mr Heunis replied: "No, I will not tell him until I am sure you have voted for a National Party candidate." To which the businessman replied: "But I can't do that — I am chairman of a P.F.P. branch."

## SUPPORT IN HIS STRUGGLE

This is no good. If people support the Prime Minister in his initiative they must also support him in his struggle against the right wing.

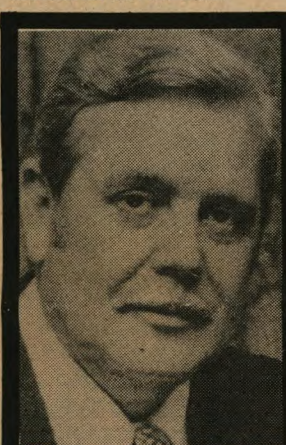
It would be helpful if there was not such a clear-cut division between the N.P. on the one hand and the P.F.P. and the English-language Press on the other. But the problem is that neither the P.F.P. nor the English-language press are being honest — they refuse to take a clear stand on what I call the economic costs of the constitutional reforms.

They have never counted the economic cost of political democratisation.

South Africa is a Third World country, with a dynamic, modern sector. But it is a very small sector considering that the total population numbers nearly 30-million.

If the blacks sit in Parliament they will have the bargaining power to make all manner of demands. But the tax capacity of the economy sets important limits on constitutional and political change.

Why did Britain refuse to allow one man one vote in the 1832 Reform Acts? Because the country was still in the early stages of the industrial revolution.



MIN. CHRIS HEUNIS

## Story of the Businessman

MR. CHRIS HEUNIS, Minister of Constitutional Development, says that whenever he met a certain important English-speaking businessman, the man would say to him: "Please tell the Prime Minister I support him."

Eventually, Mr Heunis replied: "No, I will not tell him until I am sure you have voted for a National Party candidate." To which the businessman replied: "But I can't do that — I am chairman of a P.F.P. branch."

• This is not good enough, writes Prof. Terreblanche. If people support the Prime Minister in his initiative they must also support him in his struggle against the right wing.

It was only during the First World War that Britain and the industrialised countries got effective universal franchise.

Once a country has an electoral democracy there is inevitably a welfare state — health, education, welfare spending, medical services. The crucial factor then is whether it can afford this economic price.

After Versailles, democratic constitutions were granted to all the new countries in the Balkans and elsewhere, and all, with the exception of Hungary, became fascist.

The western countries managed to survive democratisation, except Germany, which could not withstand the economic demands created by a democratic system and turned to Nazism.

After the Second World War, democratic systems were granted to Third World countries, but hardly any of them have remained democracies.

Democracy coupled with a trade union movement generates massive demands through parliament on the economic system and only highly industrialised countries are able to support the burden.

South Africa is a limited democracy — limited to the whites. I don't think this is justified any longer. The base needs to be broadened, but in such a way and at such a pace that it does not over-stress the economy.

## SCALE DOWN STANDARDS

Even modest reforms in South Africa would make it necessary for whites to scale down their standard of living over the next 10 or 20 years by at least 20 percent: that would be the price we would have to pay for a modest process of democratisation.

If coloureds and Indians acquired bargaining power on a Parliamentary level — and blacks for what it is worth on a confederal level — and if we wanted to

spend adequately on education and on improving their quality of life, whites would not be able to maintain their present position of privilege and protection.

The way the English-language press talks, one would imagine that if apartheid were to be lifted tomorrow, the economy would jump like a jack out of a box and there would be 10 or 15 percent growth.

There could instead be a breakdown. Even at a 15 percent growth rate, the economy would be overstrained under the demands that would come from whites and democratised blacks.

What we are engaged in, I hope, is structural reform that will at the same time clip the wings of the bargaining groups to stabilise the situation.

June 1983



PROF. SAMPJE TERREBLANCHE

Apartheid is more than a policy. It's a structure. And it's not possible to abolish a structure overnight.

All we can do is to start dismantling our structure over a very, very long period.

But there is no realisation of this among English-speakers — that it will necessarily have to be a long and painful process, even for the richest whites, and possibly particularly for them. The problems of South Africa cannot be solved by economic growth alone.

Consider the gap between State expenditure on whites and blacks. To close the gap, Government spending would have to be at least one-and-a-half times the GNP and this is just not possible.

For every R800 spent on a white child, less than R100 is spent on a black child. We must close the education gap as quickly as possible.

Our growing economy needs all the skilled people it can get. We have simply not spent enough on blacks. But that kind of expenditure would put a heavy burden on the whites. Yet it will have to be undertaken: not for humanitarian reason — we are not at that point yet — but to keep the wheels of this capitalist economy turning.

Even that would not be enough. We would have to improve housing, transport, recreational and other facilities for the newly skilled people.

All the services, like pensions, for which the Government is responsible reflect discrimination. But equalisation at this stage is just not possible.

All we can do at this stage is to narrow the gap, and whites must realise they will have to take a knock and make big sacrifices.

• Many English-speakers will accept this but many others often dismiss the Prime Minister's initiative as "cosmetic".

Have they done their homework on the economic implications of putting too much bargaining power too early in the hands of poor and unproductive people?

The Government's constitutional reforms are much more significant than is generally recognised. Once they get off the ground and acquire their own momentum, they are going to be truly significant.

## VERLIGTE ADVISOR

In what the "Sunday Times" called "an amazingly frank and controversial interview — headlined 'IT'S TIME FOR A NEW ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLISH AND AFRIKANERS'" — Prof. Sampie Terreblanche, the noted verligte academic of Stellenbosch University and one of the Government's key advisers, told Stanley Uys:

• Since the split in the NP, English speaking support has increased

• The New National Party will unleash reforming powers of unexpected dynamism

• The tax capacity of the economy sets important limits on constitutional and political change causing it to adapt stage by stage

• If P.F.P. demands were met immediately there would be an economic collapse; a breakdown in civilised standards

• To bring about evolutionary change we will need to change the hearts and minds of whites — and this will take a long time

• The P.F.P. and the English-language press, with certain exceptions, have become a stumbling block to reform, because they want to go too far too fast

• South Africa can proceed up to a certain point at this stage; and then to a further point at a later stage

• The N.P. have made adaptations, but the P.F.P. has not adapted; we have a New National Party — now what we need is a New P.F.P.

(Sunday Times Interview 27th March 1983)

## HUMAN FACE

Another favourite demand of the P.F.P. and the English-language Press is for civil rights without discrimination.

Discrimination can be abolished though only if there is one man one vote.

Personally, I don't like discrimination. I admit there are indefensible forms of it, but I also believe it is possible to give apartheid a more human face, and I hope that is what is happening now.

If the Government meets the P.F.P.'s demands there will be an economic col-

lapse, a breakdown in civilised standards. Here, I am not talking about the white man's luxurious lifestyle, but about South Africa's civilised standards, as an industrialised, Western-orientated country.

As whites we are all terribly spoiled. To bring about evolutionary change we will need to change the hearts and minds of whites, and this will take a long time. For this we will need the help of the Afrikaans churches, whose role will be crucial.

cont. on pg. 8.

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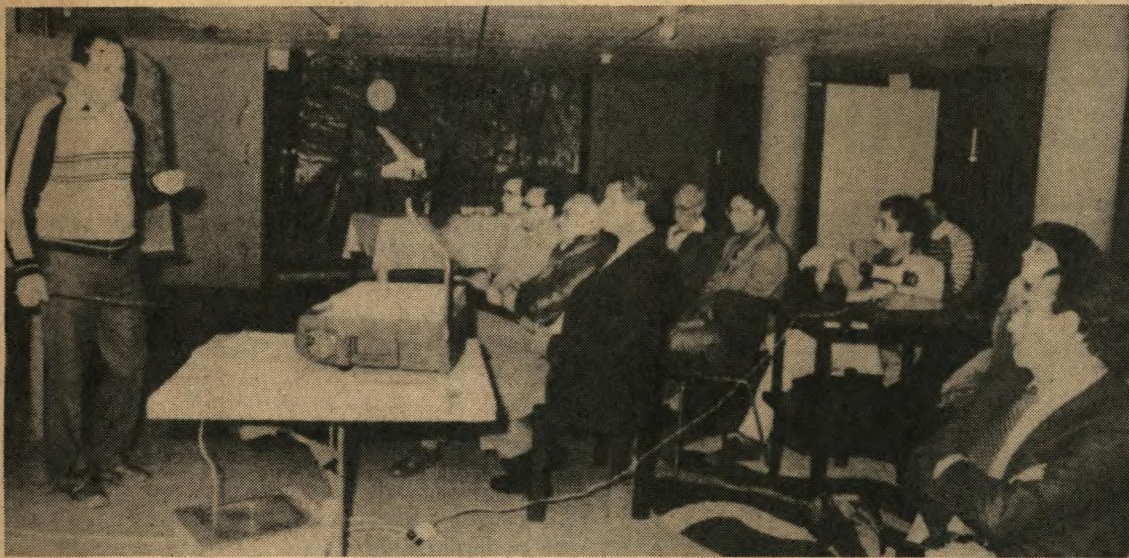
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PROF. ABRAHAM GAGIN OF THE Hebrew University's Department of Atmospheric Sciences explaining Israel's cloud-seeding success to the delegation from South Africa's Water Research Commission three of whose members may be seen in the front row (left to right): Dr P.J.T. Roberts, Mr P.E. Odendaal, Mr J.G. du Plessis. In the second row on the left is Dr M.R. Henzen. Photo: Jewish Herald.

## SA Scientists in Israel:

### Learning to Increase Rainfall

JERUSALEM: A team of South African scientists, impelled by the prediction that demand for water in South Africa will exceed supply by the year 2020, has visited Israel to learn how to increase rainfall.

The programme of the group in Israel included meetings with a team of Hebrew University experts in weather modification headed by Professor Abraham Gagin, visits to the laboratories at the university's department of atmospheric sciences, and observations of cloud-seeding techniques and facilities.

Gagin and his colleagues have achieved international renown in the area of weather modification.



### Local Govt.

CAPE TOWN: Speaking in favour of the Bill for the furtherance of Local Government, MR JAMES KLEYNHANS former PE Mayor now MP for Algoa Park, said that Minister Chris Heunis had for the past two years been involved with this activity, and therefore the allegation that the Bill had not received consensus for its introduction was entirely without foundation. Replying to Mr Colin Eglon of the PFP, he added that the suggestion that the NP achieve consensus with the PFP was "laughable" since that party had from the very beginning boycotted everything in the NP's initiative towards change.

• In spite of the local press' attempts to depict a constitutional crisis, with the "new deal bordering on collapse" headlines, leaders of the Coloured and Indian Management Committees (Assomac) have since come out in support of the Bill. (See Stop Press in page one.)

• An astute businessman (as well as politician) Mr Kleynhans' Panorama Estates in Westering recently won the Trophy from the United Building Society for the UBS agency in the Eastern Cape with the largest turnover.

### Our community leaders are steering

## AWAY FROM PATH OF PARTY POLITICS

By the Viewpoint Municipal Reporter.

"AN unpleasant surprise awaits those politicians who think that, with the coming of the new constitutional dispensation, they will be able to sit in opposition and criticise. Depolitisation has become an established fact in the President's Council. In due course, it will filter through on all levels, until people in local management also observe that matters are moving away from traditional party political positions. Co-responsibility will demand that people reflect on the nature of their own interests as well as those of others who also inhabit South Africa."

So said MR N.F. TREURNICHT, chairman of the President's Council Committee for Community Relations, on a visit to Port Elizabeth last month. Mr Treurnicht is the former MP for Piketberg and chairman of a commission of inquiry into the fishing industry. He was a member of the renowned Theron-Commission of Inquiry into the socio-economic circumstances of the Coloured Communities.

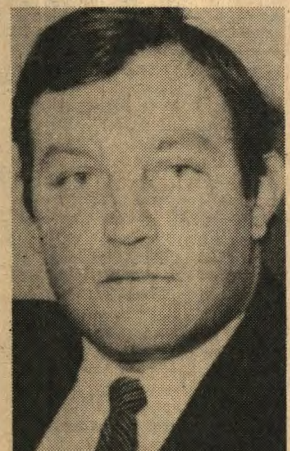
• At a meeting of community leaders of the Eastern Cape, representatives were unanimously agreed that honesty was of the greatest importance when the different race groups were in consultation with each other, and when they deliberated together over conditions in the South African milieu.

Mr Treurnicht also told delegates that local community relations committees should not try to do the work of the various city councils and management committees. Their task was to promote mutual relations by helping the various race groups to get to know and understand each other better. "For example," he said, "whites were frequently unaware of various obstacles which inconvenienced and obstructed people of colour in their everyday lives."

### Appointments



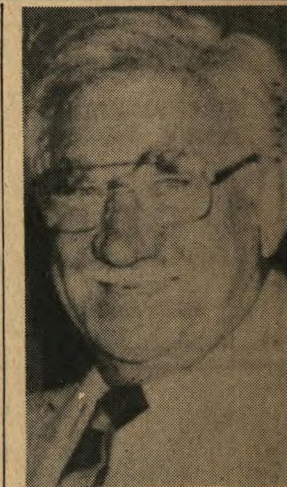
MR R S (RONNIE) KRUGER has been appointed Public Affairs Manager by Volkswagen South Africa.



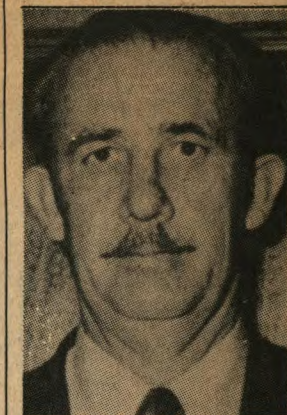
MR MARTIN LINDER, the new Head of Concept Communications in PE, was for a while with South African Embassy in Madrid, and in the Protocol section of the Department of Foreign Affairs.



MR N.F. TREURNICHT



CLR. BEN OLIVIER, chairman of the Committee for the Rehabilitation of National Servicemen which is attending to Heroes' Acre, the area in the Forest Hill Cemetery dedicated to the fallen heroes of Port Elizabeth. Mr. Olivier expects that the plans for Heroes Acre will be presented to the PE Municipality within a month.



### SOLUTIONS NEEDED

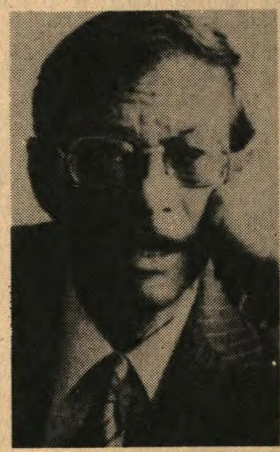
MR FRIKKIE KOTZE, replied to criticism of Government policy on the squatter problem at a special meeting of the Diaz Council and representatives of agriculture in the region.

Mr Kotze, also a City Councillor and member of the East Cape Administration Board, reacted to MR E.W. TRENT'S (MPC for PE Central) remarks that the Government should do something immediately and that Mr L. Koch, director of E.C.A.B., does not know how many squatters there are in the area; the highest authorities in the country should be contacted otherwise the problem would get out of hand.

Mr Kotze said that even if E.C.A.B. worked 24 hours per day, certain land factors prohibited the solution of the problem; it did not help matters to point fingers of accusation, without producing proposals for a solution.

Mr Trent said he merely meant that the problem was so great that even Mr Koch did not know how many squatters there were. He had every sympathy with the task of the Board.

### MUNICIPAL RECORD?



COUNCILLOR TERRY HERBST who may enter his name in the Deputy Mayoral stakes in September this year.

He has been approached by a number of his colleagues on the City Council to make himself available, but has not yet decided on the issue.

"It will depend on who else will be in the running. I would not want to be responsible for someone, perhaps better qualified than I, not getting the position," he told VIEWPOINT.

Mr Herbst, who is semi-retired and fully bilingual, has not missed one committee or Council meeting in the current municipal year. Apart from the Community Services and Administration and General Purposes Committee (deputy chairman of the latter) he has also attended every meeting of the Utilities, Works and Traffic and Policy and Resources Committees.

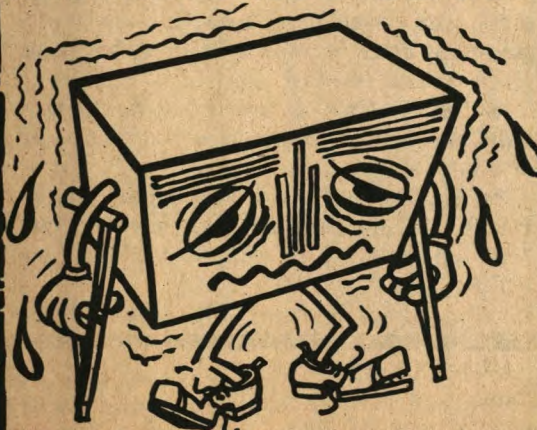
• This is believed to be a municipal record equalled by few Councillors in the history of the City Council.

### On Transfer



HENDRIK ROODE, convener of the EP Rugby Selection Committee, recently received a farewell presentation from the Union on the occasion of his transfer to Pretoria after many years of sterling service to the sport.

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