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To subscribers:

This issue is intended as the fourth for 1982, during which year only three were published. There will, therefore be five issues during 1983. We apologise for any inconvenience this may cause.

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United States and Southern Africa

Remarks by the Minister Counsellor and Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Pretoria, Mr Walter E. Stadtler, to the South African Institute of International Affairs, Pretoria Branch, on 30 November 1982

The United States is committed to the search for constructive change in southern Africa. As Vice-President Bush declared on his recent trip through Africa, we hope to be a catalyst for peace, especially in this part of the continent. We want to help to reduce the growing tensions, as well as the increasing chances for widespread violent conflict, which now haunt the region. American policy to achieve this goal is clearly shown in our approach to three countries in the region: Namibia, Angola and Zimbabwe.

In Namibia, we are fully committed to achieving independence for the territory at the earliest possible date. In co-operation with our allies, and in close consultation with Africa's leaders, the United States has engaged its influence and resources in the effort to bring Namibia to independence. We are fully committed to work for a settlement that will enhance regional security, and assure Namibia's early independence on terms acceptable to its people, and to Africa and the world at large.

Significant progress has been made. Since the Contact Group re-launched the settlement effort a year ago, we have achieved virtual agreement on phase I, the constitutional principles which would guide a Namibian constituent assembly. Moreover, we have also made substantial progress on the remaining issues concerning the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435. We are close to agreement, and we are confident the remaining issues can be solved.

But the United States recognizes that there will be no agreement unless all the parties know that their security is protected, and that means that a Namibian settlement can only take place in the context of an overall improvement of security in the region, and that brings us to the question of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

From the beginning of the Reagan Administration, the United States has emphasized that there are important unresolved problems which must be dealt with if Namibia's independence is to take place. For the entire seven years of its independence, Angola has been engulfed in conflict, its territory a battlefield for a number of the armed forces of the region. The Cuban forces have been a key factor in this situation.

We believe that the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola in a parallel framework with South Africa's departure from Namibia is the key to the settlement in Namibia that we all desire. It is also the surest way to guarantee Angola's long-term security and independence as well.

To bring about a settlement in this troubled area, all the parties must be assured that their own security is protected. Each party must be willing, against that background, to make the concessions necessary so that we can soon begin to concentrate on building a brighter economic future for Angola, and Namibia, and the entire region.

Another key country in the region which plays an important role not only in the effort to achieve a Namibia settlement but also in improving the security and economic development of the entire region is Zimbabwe. On his departure from Zimbabwe on 17 November, Vice-President Bush proclaimed the United States' unrelenting support for Prime Minister Mugabe's efforts both to heal old wounds in that country which has still so recently come to independence and to lead Zimbabwe to political and economic stability. The Vice-President said he was encouraged by the progress already achieved and the emphasis being put on national reconciliation by the Government. A clear measure of US support for Zimbabwe is our commitment of economic assistance, which over the first three years of independence will total over 250 million dollars.

The United States sees Zimbabwe as a country not only committed to solving its internal problems, but also destined to play a key role in the region and, as a new member of the UN Security Council for the next two years, in the world at large. We wish Zimbabwe well. We believe the country has both the physical capacity to achieve economic growth with equity, and the good will among Zimbabweans to overcome the political and social problems facing the country. In the region, as well, we believe that Zimbabwe can help to apply the principles of reconciliation and mutual understanding which the country is seeking to implement at home.

Zimbabwe and relations with South Africa

- A. Extract from an address by the Zimbabwean Foreign Minister, The Hon Witness Magwende, to the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly, in New York, on 11 October 1982.

Regarding the obnoxious apartheid system in South Africa itself, Zimbabwe's position is well known. We have always said that we would like to see the total dismantling of apartheid and racist minority rule in that part of our region. We demand, instead, a democratic system of government which sees all the people of that country, regardless of race, religion, language, and sex, as equal citizens of their land.

We call upon the leaders of the apartheid regime in Pretoria to negotiate with the legitimate leadership of the oppressed and exploited black majority with a view to working out ways and means of establishing a system of Government guaranteeing every South African freedom and social justice.

The recently proposed so-called presidential council giving limited representation to South Africans of mixed races and Asians is totally unacceptable to the people of South Africa, who are now solidly behind the armed struggle prosecuted by their liberation forces.

The Government and people of Zimbabwe support the struggle for freedom, equality and social justice being waged by the liberation movements in South Africa. We strongly condemn the incarceration of Cde Nelson Mandela and other legitimate leaders of the people of South Africa by the racist Pretoria regime. This and the numerous political murders committed by the racist rulers against the opponents of the iniquitous system are gross violations of human rights.

We appeal to the international community to continue and, even intensify its material, moral, diplomatic and political support to the struggling people of South Africa in their commendable efforts to free themselves from the apartheid yoke.

In its desperate efforts to frustrate the liberation process in Namibia and the dismantling of the apartheid system within its borders, the oppressive regime is busy waging destabilising campaigns against the neighbouring independent and sovereign states of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Economic blackmailing, bullying and sabotage, political propaganda and subversion, and open military aggression and mercenarism are the common tactics employed by apartheid in its campaign of regional destabilisation. As this assembly is well aware, the regime's forces have been occupying part of Angola's territory for over a year now and there is sufficient evidence that even more military incursions into Angola are being planned.

The abortive *coup d'etat* against the legitimate Government of the Republic of Seychelles earlier this year by Pretoria's mercenaries and criminals is also part of this campaign of destabilisation. So also is the recruiting, training, equipping and supporting of dissident groups in some of the neighbouring independent states for the purpose of resisting legitimate governments there.

Zimbabwe's position on the question of destabilisation of neighbouring states by apartheid South Africa is that this will not deter us from our declared policy of offering moral support and whatever material support we can towards the liberation struggle in that land. Zimbabwe demands that the Pretoria regime should stop forthwith its destabilising campaigns against our countries. It should withdraw its forces from Angola forthwith and unconditionally. The white minority Government of apartheid South Africa must be warned that no country has any right to violate international law with impunity.

Press statement supplied by the Zimbabwe Department of Information

B. Speech by the Zimbabwean President, Rev The Hon Canaan Banana, at a banquet for the President of Botswana, the Hon Quett Masire, in Harare on 26 October, 1982

The Government and people of Zimbabwe welcome you and your delegation to Zimbabwe. We realise that this is not your first visit to Zimbabwe.

You came to Harare in July 1981 to attend the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference Summit. Your present visit is of greater significance to us in Zimbabwe as it symbolises the fraternal bilateral relations that exist between our two republics and our peoples. The

visit will afford us a great opportunity to further consolidate the relationship and understanding between our two sister republics.

The people of Zimbabwe fully realise and appreciate the vital role that Botswana played during the liberation struggle. Over 20 000 Zimbabwean men, women and children lived in your country as refugees. They had fled from the ruthless oppression of the minority regime. I personally look back to the year 1973 when I passed through your country on my way into forced exile, from the repressive system then existing in this country.

Your country's role in the process of the liberation of Zimbabwe was consistent and principled. Botswana did this in spite of threats and acts of aggression by the colonialist forces. I am hopeful that your visit will enable Zimbabweans in all parts of the country to express their deep appreciation and gratitude to you and to all the people of Botswana. Our people undoubtedly appreciate Botswana's commitment to the liberation of those African territories still under the yoke of colonialism.

Your contribution in Zimbabwe's struggle resulted in the attainment of independence in 1980. Since then, we have made great strides towards consolidating the gains of our independence through the policy of national reconciliation. We chose this policy with a view to fostering unity among the once diverse and warring groups in the country. This could only be done in an atmosphere of peace and security. Our policy of reconciliation is thus intended to engender such an atmosphere.

Botswana, together with other Frontline States, has contributed enormously in redressing the tension in this region resulting from the acts of aggression perpetrated by the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

South Africa, disregarding the territorial integrity of its neighbours, is out to destabilise the whole of the southern African region. The racist regime's long-term objective is to set itself up as the economic and military giant of southern Africa, forcing us to continue to depend on it economically.

Zimbabwe joins her frontline neighbours in resisting South Africa's unacceptable policies. We stand unshaken in condemning South Africa's acts of destabilisation against its peace-loving neighbours. We shall relentlessly support the progressive forces fighting the inhuman apartheid system. To this end, we shall give the necessary moral, material and political support to the ANC and PAC.

We condemn South Africa's intransigence in the current international effort towards a solution of the Namibian question. We continue to demand the immediate implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435, and strongly object to the linkage of the solution to the Namibian question and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

We are satisfied that the struggle for economic independence in our region is fully underway. Our political freedom must become the launching

pad in that struggle. The creation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Committee (SADCC) is part of the strategy towards this goal. As Chairman of this, our economic organisation, we give you our full support.

Press statement 100 3/82/ST supplied by the Zimbabwe Department of Information.

C. Address by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, The Hon Robert Mugabe, to the 13th Annual African-American Conference in Harare on 10 January 1983

On behalf of the Government and people of Zimbabwe, I wish to welcome all of you to our country, and to thank the African-American Institute for bestowing on Zimbabwe the honour to host and co-chair this 13th annual African-American Conference. I also wish to express appreciation for the full support all of you have given to the conference by helping in the preparations for it and by attending.

We are confident that your deliberations will be most fruitful. In any event, the topics before you are of such importance and urgency that you have to put every ounce of effort into these deliberations to make a success of them. In a real sense, you have no option but to succeed.

I wish to note that this conference has brought together a large gathering of representatives of former colonies. In this connection, I hope you will have an opportunity to compare notes on one another's colonial and post-colonial experiences, all with a view to facilitating the shaping of better African-American relations and, above all, the development of a richer and more fulfilling life for our peoples.

We know, for example, that the Americans rose up against colonialism, emerged victorious and proceeded to create a democratic political system whose essence is ideally captured in Abraham Lincoln's apt definition of democracy as government of the people, by the people, for the people. After creating a new political order, the Americans proceeded to transform their economic system.

Significantly, this transformation had national and international dimensions. As far as the latter aspect was concerned, the Americans put an end to their former dependence on their colonial rulers, and they established relations with other countries. Internally, the transformation of the American economic system included the abolition of slavery which had characterised the colonial development of its southern states.

Here in Africa, independence has been achieved much more recently. But our aspirations are quite similar. And, following independence, we in

Africa have also found it inescapable and imperative to break away from colonial dependence, to build a new socio-economic order and to seek co-operation with others on the basis of the equality of nations, mutual benefit and respect for national sovereignty.

I wish to note in this connection that, over the last two decades, Africans have made significant progress in achieving the goals of independence, national sovereignty and a sense of shared destiny continentally. It will be recalled that founder-members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 were virtually all newly-independent countries which sought to forge unity among themselves with a view to the continuation of the struggle to liberate the remaining colonies and to develop their economies for the benefit of their long-suffering people. To this end, the OAU, and indeed a number of sub-continental interstate organisations, have set out to transform the African condition such that the African personality, long-suppressed and down-trodden, might come into its own.

It is a matter of the deepest regret and concern to us that the first and most crucial task that the OAU set itself 20 years ago is yet to be completed. I refer here to the task of decolonising our continent and ridding it, for ever, of the cruel scourges of racist domination and oppression. In Angola, South Africa continues to occupy parts of the south and to give succour to the UNITA bandits who, so we are told by some American writers, have a history of connections with the United States. The people of Angola have not known peace since the invasion of their country soon after independence which forced the government of that country to ask for assistance from friendly countries.

The United States has not demanded South African withdrawal from that country. Before 1980, South Africa gave the Ian Smith regime in this country assistance in its aggression against Mozambique, Zambia and even Angola. Today bandits trained as saboteurs and equipped by the apartheid regime are daily involved in acts of banditry against the Mozambican people, while the regime's mercenaries have gone as far afield as the Seychelles. Our own forces here in Zimbabwe have clashed with regular South African forces and also captured some bandits and dissidents who have admitted to having been trained and deployed by South Africa.

Recently, a South African terrorist gang invaded Lesotho's territory, and slaughtered innocent Basotho citizens and South African refugees in that country. These barbaric acts associated with South Africa's policy of destabilisation will continue to happen for as long as apartheid exists in this region. South Africa's behaviour is based on its determination to defend its apartheid system. In the first place, South Africa fears the power of example which may become a potent force giving further inspiration to the African majority it oppresses if neighbouring states develop viable economies and stable democratic societies.

Secondly, South Africa's goal is to reduce neighbouring states to the status of its economic satellites in line with its Bantustan policy in order to create the so-called constellation of states in the whole region. Finally, South Africa seeks to intimidate independent states so that they cease to support the liberation movement struggling to overthrow the apartheid regime.

Furthermore, South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia has continued in the face of both the gallant armed resistance of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, and in defiance of the wishes of the international community to implement Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council. Until recently, South Africa had used delaying tactics at the negotiating table in a lone battle to frustrate efforts by Frontline States and the Western Contact Group to achieve an early and peaceful solution to the Namibian problem. When SWAPO accepted that elections should be held on the basis of either of two electoral systems, preferable (sic) proportional representation as opposed to the single-member constituency system it prefers. Up to now this issue has not been resolved.

So we wonder and ask ourselves: What more concessions must SWAPO make, short of abject surrender to apartheid and apartheid-colonialism, before any further forward movement toward a settlement is sanctioned by all the parties to this dispute? But the more distressing aspect of the Namibian problem at present is the fact that blackmail has been introduced in the form of the so-called linkage idea. I am referring here to the American and South African demand for the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from the sovereign state of Angola as a precondition for the decolonisation of Namibia. As a member of the Western Contact Group, which was supposed to play a mediating role, the United States has obviously introduced a stumbling block that may well impede the decolonisation process of Namibia, albeit temporarily.

The Frontline States, and indeed the whole of the OAU, have rejected this linkage.

The United States' insistence on this linkage, has given solace to the South African regime. Not only has South Africa continued its plunder, incarceration and murder of the Namibian people, but it has also escalated its campaign to destabilise the independent states of the sub-continent. That Pretoria is now more daring and aggressive than before cannot be doubted.

In the economic sphere, as you are well aware, serious attempts are being made by individual African countries, regional communities and the OAU as a whole, to meet the challenges of under-development and promote industrialisation, self-sufficiency and inter-dependence in Africa.

The OAU drew up the Lagos Plan of Action in 1980 which now guides our efforts, first to create regional communities, and subsequently to

achieve Africa-wide co-operation. In this regard, I am pleased to say that regional organisations involving many states are already in existence. Here in Southern Africa, there are two such organisations which address themselves to different aspects of co-operation. These are the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the much larger Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern African States (PTA).

While the former focusses on regional development co-ordination in such fields as transport and food security, the latter seeks a broad-gauged liberalisation of trade among the member countries of the PTA. I am glad to say steady and sure progress is being made towards the realisation of the objectives of both organisations.

Yet in spite of our own positive efforts the economic situation in Africa continues to worsen in large part due to external pressure. In this respect the inequitable distribution of the world's economic resources must be examined with the urgency the situation deserves. There is a burning need to reorient international economic relations to the benefit of all member countries of the international community.

However, it is clearly evident that the concept of a New International Economic Order has not found equal support among all nations: some nations are reluctant to find a more equitable way to redistribute the wealth on this small planet of ours.

The little progress made towards the leading (sic) of global negotiations for a New International Economic Order has been disappointing, and one cannot here avoid mentioning the reluctance of some developed countries to continue the momentum generated prior to the Cancun summit. Several opportunities in the quest for fairer economic relations between the developed and industrialised countries have been missed.

The deteriorating global economic position has regrettably been used as an excuse by industrialised countries to apply protectionist measures against exports from developing countries. Blocking markets to the south only exacerbates the economic imbalance and denies it the chance to experience real development. The lifting of protectionist measures and the liberalisation of the terms of trade is an immediate necessity.

The democratisation of the international monetary institutions is another economic priority. There is a real and urgent need to restructure and reform these institutions in such a way that they reflect contemporary realities. What is required is greater participation by developing countries in the process of decision making within these bodies.

Zimbabwe attaches great importance to the establishment of a world food security system. The eradication of hunger and malnutrition is a global responsibility and should be viewed as an international obligation. While playing its own role within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference to ensure regional food security, Zimbabwe would

welcome greater efforts by the developed countries to establish an international co-ordinated system of nationally held food reserves. We must make provision now for our expanding populations.

Given our serious economic problem and in order to achieve our development goals, we in Africa have solicited both bilateral and multilateral assistance from the developed countries. In this respect, I regret to say that the level of aid presently received falls far short of the 0,7 per cent of their GNP which was recommended more than a decade ago by the Pearson Report and accepted in UN Resolution 2626 (XXV) of October 1970. Furthermore, it is unfortunate that some powers have tended to provide more military aid than development assistance.

We also find it disturbing that there is an increasing tendency to give aid with political strings in order to reduce the recipients into neocolonies and puppets of the donor countries.

It is more unfortunate that some governments believe that aid should be an instrument to pressurise developing nations to adopt or abandon postures at international and national levels irrespective of the latter's own chosen principles and convictions. Such attitudes are not promotive of mutual understanding and the strengthening of good relations. I hope that during your present dialogue, you will examine frankly US-African relations on this vital issue.

We are well aware that aid is not charity. We note that it is often given as much to benefit the donor as the recipient. This we understand as long as the terms are mutually agreed to.

Similarly, we in Africa have encouraged trade and investment. However, we note that as far as the US trade is concerned, South Africa continues to top the list of non-oil producing African countries which trade with the US. The US imports mostly from South Africa. It is our hope that this trend will be reversed.

In other spheres, we in Africa together with other developing countries will continue to press for the creation of the proposed New International Information Order in order to break the monopoly in the media that is enjoyed by developed countries and to counteract the present low levels of coverage of African matters in the media not to mention the distortions and other forms of misreporting of which we are victims.

I hope that this conference will increase the awareness of the American people of the nature of our needs, and promote respect for our own priorities, goals and strategies by providing the correct perceptions of the problems we face. Politically, Africa is united in its desire to liberate the entire continent from colonialism and its vestiges. Economically, Africa is striving to industrialise to become self-reliant, and establish co-operation among our many nations, and with other continents.

Africa values co-operation between developing and developed countries

which promotes these goals. Therefore, we hope this conference will provide a useful opportunity for you to discuss the ways and means by which unfair and unequal relationships, injustice, exploitation, and disharmony can be eradicated.

As people who are greatly concerned about African-American relations and the problems that affect them, I am convinced all of you will bring the experience of your long-standing involvement to bear on the very pertinent issues on your agenda.

Press release issued by the office of the Zimbabwean Prime Minister.

D. Address by the Zimbabwean President, Rev The Hon Ganaan Banana, to the Kushinga-Phikelela Agricultural Institute, on 25 January 1983

Let me first of all thank you very much for accepting my invitation to you and say how very pleased we are to have so many of you here today as we look towards this New Year, 1983 — one which promises to be a challenging year for us here in Zimbabwe, for our continent in general, and indeed, for mankind as a whole.

Since I last had occasion to speak to you all, the international situation has deteriorated even further. The world in which we live now faces an even greater threat of violent confrontation and war by nation upon nation, and the prospect of universal peace and harmony is now even more distant than it was just 12 short months ago.

The never ending scramble for military and nuclear superiority between the world's major powers continues and as each day passes, so that dark cloud of despair spreads across our world, threatening each and every one of us with horrifying death and mutilation.

As the major powers continue to pour billions of dollars each year into the development of their deadly technology, so we, in the developing world, continue to struggle to achieve recognition of our plight, a greater understanding of our aspirations and, above all, a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth.

1983 threatens to be a most difficult year for the developing world, as the full weight of the current world recession comes to bear on the fragile, highly sensitive economies of the Third World, and as the developed world, itself a victim of the depression it created, cuts back its development aid even further.

For years, now, we in the developing world have urged the developed nations to stop their senseless wastage of human and material resources and to divert some of the enormous resources currently channelled into the de-

velopment of more advanced weaponry, into worthwhile, humanitarian aid projects in our world — projects which could do much to alleviate the intense suffering of so many across our troubled planet.

We know that the developed world itself will face tremendous difficulties during this period, but just imagine how different all this could have been today if our appeals had been heeded, and had a more just economic order been established all that time ago.

As we face the perils ahead, I pray that we will all derive one common benefit — a realisation of the need to work together and to co-ordinate our activities for our mutual benefit and advantage.

The selfish, egocentric ways we have known in the past have failed — our present international situation provides more than adequate proof of that. There has to be a reduction in world tension, a slowing down and eventual halt to the senseless arms race and a far greater proportion of resources channelled into developmental projects within the Third World.

Without these changes, we are lost. It is, therefore, incumbent upon each and every one of us to strive, in our own way, for this better world — for international unity and peace.

We in Zimbabwe, have done much towards achieving this goal in our part of the world, and although our efforts are currently being frustrated by a few misguided malcontents on the one hand, and a vicious, ruthless enemy on the other, we are nevertheless certain that we will win through in the end.

When my Government came to power in a free and independent Zimbabwe nearly three years ago, we made it quite clear that our first and over-riding commitment was to the preservation of peace and stability in our land.

There can be no clearer evidence of this commitment to peace than in our policy of reconciliation — the offering of a hand of friendship to past foes in the sincere hope that they, too, after years of bitter, misguided warfare, could turn their backs on their past prejudices and commit themselves to the struggle for a better life for all Zimbabweans.

I am happy to say that the vast majority of Zimbabweans have risen to our call, and have responded admirably to the Nation's call for peace and unity. There are certain malcontents who have rejected our hand of friendship and who have always sought to undermine our freedom and national progress.

Sadly, this element of dissidence was predictable. But, just as predictable is the ultimate, inevitable failure of their treachery, their treason. For, as we have proved in the past, the wishes of a misguided minority can never withstand the overwhelming desire of the majority, and the majority of our people are for peace.

Relations with South Africa

Similarly, when our Government came to power, we made it clear that we sought to follow a policy of peaceful co-existence with all our neighbours. We stated from the start that we could never accept the abhorrent policy of apartheid, or have any political or diplomatic contact with the Pretoria regime as long as the racists there continued to impose their cruel policies on the suffering of South Africa and of the illegally occupied Namibia.

We stated from the start, that despite our reluctance to do so, we would maintain our trade links with South Africa — basically, because we inherited them as such, and had little option but to maintain them. We made no secret of the fact that we would, however, in close collaboration with our brother states around us, embark upon a campaign to increase our inter-regional co-operation and work towards a lessening of our individual and collective dependence on Pretoria.

Hence SADCC and PTA were born, and began to flourish.

The racists in Pretoria, alarmed by the speed with which our policies were taking shape, and alarmed, certainly, by any thought of a decrease in their power within the region, embarked upon a campaign of their own — a campaign of terror and murder, of destruction and pillage — their aim being to frustrate all our efforts and to ensure that we remain totally dependent on them.

We need not recount the countless acts of sabotage, subversion and outright aggression against our brothers in Mozambique, Angola and Zambia. More recently, we have seen the Kingdom of Lesotho come under deliberate and sustained attack by the brutal Pretoria regime and the murder of sleeping refugees, including women and children, by the barbaric racist troops.

You all know of the South African incursions made into Zimbabwe last year and the increasing tension that permeates our society as a direct result of South African backed and sponsored aggression and interference.

It is a fact that many of our current difficulties, including the acute fuel shortage we have all endured for some weeks now, are the direct result of such aggressive interference — You are all witness to that.

My Government regrets the inconvenience the fuel situation has created for you and all our motorists. We are extremely grateful for the understanding the public has shown towards this problem. Everything possible is being done to bring the situation back to normal.

As we move into 1983, the outlook for a Namibian settlement looks sombre indeed. The optimism of 1982 is gone, largely due to the introduction of such extraneous issues as the linkage of Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

Those responsible for this development must bear a heavy responsibility for the bloodshed in Namibia.

It is perhaps because of the horrors of war that we have known in Zimbabwe that we feel so strongly about peace — but, not peace at the cost of justice or of our principles. It is this love for peace and justice that leads us to fully support the Palestinians, under the leadership of the PLO, in their struggle against Zionist aggression and racism in the Middle East. In East Timor, we support the just cause of Fretilin and the East Timorese.

Let us hope that 1983 brings us all closer together — not only as individuals, but as communities and, above all, as an international community of Nations, united by a common desire for socio-economic justice, good will, long and durable peace among all of mankind.

Press statement 62/83/JM/PR issued by the Zimbabwe Department of Information.

South Africa and Mozambique

Statement, including message to the Mozambique Government, by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, The Hon R.F. Botha, on 3 December 1982

The President of Cuba in his capacity as Chairman of the group of the non-aligned countries had addressed a letter to the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries in which he states that the Government of Mozambique had informed him that South Africa was concentrating troops in the region of Ressano Garcia on the Mozambique/South African border.

The Mozambique Government has already been advised, as South Africa has stated on various occasions in the past, that it is the desire of the South African Government to maintain peace and stability in the region. In this connection I refer to a message sent to the Mozambique Government which the Secretary General of the United Nations has been requested to circulate as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council. This message reads as follows:

I have the honour to refer to your telex 46/GHA/82 of 23 November 1982, and to state that as has been mentioned on various occasions in the past, it is the desire of the South African Government to maintain peace and stability in our region. The assurances of the People's Republic of Mozambique that this is also its objective are welcomed.

During discussions, such as those on 15 January and 27 February 1980, in Maputo; on 11 December 1981, at Komatipoort; as well as in telex messages of 19 February 1980, and 5 February 1981, the subversive activities of the ANC which necessitate counter-measures were stressed from our side.

In the message conveyed in September 1982 to the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique through the good offices of another

country, it was indicated that acts of aggression across borders would not be tolerated.

I wish to emphasise once again that acts of violence by the ANC who enjoy facilities in Mozambique, which may lead to follow-up operations with resulting serious implications for the people of the region continue to be a matter of grave concern to the South African Government.

In this connection information received by the South African authorities that acts of violence in South Africa have been planned by the ANC in Mozambique are most disturbing and the South African Government therefore in the interest of realistic relations again urges the People's Republic of Mozambique not to give facilities to any organisation which directs such actions against South Africa or any other country of our region.

Apart from ANC actions there have been other incidents on the border. I wish to refer you to my telex dated 28 May 1982 informing you of an incident at Komatipoort border post. A further incident took place on 17 September at 12.05pm when troops from Catuane village fired five to eight bursts from a heavy calibre weapon at a civilian aircraft flying 100 to 200 metres south of the Usutu river.

The South African authorities are, as previously indicated, prepared to discuss these matters and I would refer to my telex no Y409, dated 4 October 1982, in which it was suggested that discussions take place to which no definite response has yet been received.

In regard to alleged violation of Mozambique's territorial integrity it is South Africa's policy not to allow its territory to be used for carrying out violence against others. I wish to recall that the Mozambican authorities have been advised on several occasions during talks between Mozambican and South African delegations, the latest being on 11 December 1981, that the South African authorities would be glad to investigate allegations of this nature provided full details are immediately given. No such details have since been received.

If this present manoeuvre on the part of the President of Cuba should in any way be a pretext for Cuba to prepare the way for the introduction of troops into Mozambique, the South African Government reiterates emphatically that such an eventuality will not be tolerated. South Africa likewise does not and will not tolerate the operations of the ANC across the border into South Africa from Mozambique.

The South African Government is prepared to put facilities for an on-the-spot investigation of the allegations of the massing of South African troops on the Mozambique border at the disposal of any member of the Press or Ambassador or Head of a Foreign Diplomatic Mission stationed in South Africa.

Text supplied by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information

Namibia

Uittreksels uit 'n toespraak deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Eerste Minister, Sy Edele P.W. Botha, tydens 'n openbare vergadering te Walvisbaai, op 23 September 1982

Die feit dat u vanaand hier is in u honderdtalle, bewys dat u wil deelneem aan die verkiesing van verteenwoordigers wat ontstaan het uit 'n paar stappe wat die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering geneem het.

Die eerste is, die vasberadenheid aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering se kant om Walvisbaai te behandel as 'n deel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Dit is die eerste feit. Nie omdat dit 'n willekeurige besluit van die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering wat nou sommer kan beskrywe word as 'n gril nie, maar omdat Walvisbaai onteenseglik, sedert 14 Desember 1878 'n deel van Kaapland was en nog is. Hy is nie 'n uitsondering in die wêreld nie, daar is baie gebiede wat kan vergelyk word met Walvisbaai en waarvoor internasionale stryd ontstaan somtyds, maar waarvoor die beherende lande bereid is om oorlog te maak ten einde daardie gebiede te behou. So het ons onlangs 'n oorlog gesien uitbreek tussen Westerse lande oor 'n gebied, wat alhoewel hy ver van die moederland af lê, 'n deel is van daardie land.

So is daar Gibraltar, so is daar Hong Kong en talle ander gebiede wat ek kan noem. Die Republiek van Suid-Afrika se standpunt is dat Suidelike Afrika nie uitgesonder kan word oor Walvisbaai se toekoms sonder dat die hele wêreld bymekaar kom om te praat oor gelyke gevalle van hierdie aard elders in die wêreld nie. Met ander woorde, die eerste rede waarom u hier is en waarom ek saam met u hier is, is om vir u te sê dat die Republiek van Suid-Afrika vasbeslote is om Walvisbaai, soos sedert 1878, te beskou as deel, nie alleen van Kaapland nie, maar as deel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika wat sal deel in die lotgevalle van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika.

In die tweede plek is ons hier bymekaar omdat ek aan u wil sê die gesag van die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering, die Suid-Afrikaanse Parlement, wil Walvisbaai in staat stel om gehoor te word in die Provinsiale Raad van Kaapland, maar ons wil Walvisbaai ook in staat stel om gehoor te word in die Parlement van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika.

Hierdie reg wat voortspruit uit die omstandighede wat ek so pas geskilder het, is 'n historiese en 'n regsbeginsel waaraan ons nie gaan toelaat dat getorring word nie. Dit is deur die Ou Volkere Bond erken, dit is deur die Wêreldhof erken en dit word baie deeglik deur die Westerse Vyf begryp omdat die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering nie twyfel daaroor gelaat het nie in al sy besprekinge met die Westerse Wêreld. Daarom is my versoek van-aand tot u, maak gebruik van die geleentheid wat vir u gegee word om op 3 November regte uit te oefen. Maak gebruik van daardie geleentheid om 'n direkte skakel daar te stel, nie alleen met die Parlement van Suid-Afrika nie en die Provinsiale Raad van Kaapland nie, maar om 'n direkte skakel ook daar te stel met die Regering van Suid-Afrika aan wie u direk dan u behoeftes kan stel.

.....
Laat my toe, in die eerste plek, om weer terug te kom na Walvisbaai. Weens Walvisbaai se ligging en sy hawegeerie is u nie net belangrik vir die Republiek van Suid-Afrika nie. Ek kan dit noem dat hier is 'n moderne hawe aan die Weskus. U is 'n strategiese punt op militêre gebied, maar u is ook 'n toegangspoort na 'n groot deel van Suidelike Afrika. U is dus belangrik vir die Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Net soos wat die Republiek van Suid-Afrika vir u belangrik is. Maar u is ook belangrik vir Suidwes-Afrika, want weens u geografiese posisie staan u in 'n besondere mate 'n besondere verhouding tot die gebied van Suidwes-Afrika. Daarom dat die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering, in die verlede en nou nog die standpunt inneem dat Walvisbaai Republiekgrondgebied is en behoort aan die Republiek en dit sal bly.

Is ons verstandig genoeg om te sê dat, wat ookal die toekoms van Suidwes-Afrika, as daar 'n vriendskaplike Suidwes-Afrika met 'n vriendskaplike regering tot stand sou kom, wat binne Suider-Afrika verband ook met die Republiek van Suid-Afrika wil saamwerk in sy eie belang, dan kan ons oor die gebruik van Walvisbaai onderhandel met mekaar. Nie oor die afstaan van Walvisbaai nie, maar oor die voordelige gebruik daarvan in beide gevalle van ekonomiese belang.

Meneer, om u baie deeglik die probleem waarvoor ons staan, u in Walvisbaai, die mense van Suidwes-Afrika maar ook die mense van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 'n beter begrip te gee van wat is die stryd waarin ons is. Ek wil hierdie paar opmerkings maak.

Daar is vandag 'n internasionale magstryd wat woed dwarsoor die wêreld oor sekere strategiese punte. 'n Magstryd tussen groot moonthede, tussen geweldige magte wat in die wêreld ontketen is, wat as hulle daardie strategiese punte sou kon bereik en sou kan beheer, dan sal dit hulle in 'n posisie plaas oor die ganse aardbol. Ek wil net 'n paar daarvan noem.

Daar is in die eerste plek die olievelde van die Midde-Ooste en alles wat daar aangaan op die oomblik. Wat onder godsdiens verskuil word, wat

onder ekonomiese belange verskuil word, wat heen en weer beskuldiging meebring kan in sy wese gereduseer word tot die magstryd om die olievelde van die Midde-Ooste in te palm.

Die tweede strategiese punt is die Horing van Afrika waar daar 'n groeiende magstryd ontwikkel en waarvoor Somalieland en Etiopië gebruik word as instrument. Die supermag wat die Horing van Afrika beheer dié het die pad na die Midde-Ooste onder sy beheer.

So is daar 'n derde strategiese punt, te wete, suider-Afrika met sy geweldige minerale rykdomme, veral sy strategiese minerale rykdomme. Saam met ander strategiese punte waarna ek vanaand hier wil verwys moet daar 'n magstryd om beheer oor hierdie strategiese punt te kry, wees. Laat ek vir u aanhaal wat Brezhnev gesê het, die Russiese leier. 'n Paar jaar gelede toe het hy vir die wêreld uitgespel wat Rusland se doel is. Hy het gesê:

“Our aim, Russia's aim is to gain control of the two great treasure houses on which the West depends. The energy treasure house of the Persian Gulf and the mineral treasure house of Central and Southern Africa”.

Hy het dit uitgespel. Hy het gesê Rusland het twee doelstellings. Die eerste is, die energie kragbron van die Midde-Ooste, om dit te beheer en die tweede is om die minerale kragbron van suidelike Afrika te beheer.

Hierdie aanslag wat hy maak op hierdie kragbronne, die geskied deur propaganda oor die lug, die geskied deur ondermyning van bestaande orde, deur sabotasie, deur subversie en dit geskied ook waar nodig, met militêre aksie. Daarom moet u kyk, soos daar onder leiding van Rusland en sy sateliete 'n georkestreerde poging om 'n revolusionere klimaat in sekere lande van die wêreld te skep, ook in suider-Afrika. Hy wil dinge met geweld omver gooi. Propaganda word gebruik, valse stories word gebruik, die aftakeling van leiers word aangewend om 'n klimaat te skep vir rewolusie.

In die tweede plek, om deur sluwe propagandaveldtog die wil van jou teikenland soos Suid-Afrika se wil om te veg, te ondermyn. Derdens, om jou opponente se veiligheidsmagte te probeer ondermyn. Daarom word alerhande skinderstories en klakkelose onwaarhede versprei omtrent jou Polisie, omtrent jou Weermag, om mense se vertroue in daardie veiligheidsdienste te ondermyn. Verder word daar dwarsoor die wêreld pogings aangewend om onder Russiese leiding die teikenland te isoleer. Te isoleer op sportgebied, te isoleer op ekonomiese gebied, te isoleer op kerklike gebied, te isoleer op kulturele gebied. Elke moontlike middel aan te wend om daardie land af te sny van die res van die wêreld sodat hy hom kan doodwurg.

Verder, veral in 'n land soos Suid-Afrika waar meer as een bevolkingsgroep woon, om spanning tussen die volkere te skep, want hoe meer spanning jy skep, hoe meer geleentheid skep jy vir botsings en hoe meer ge-

leentheid jy vir botsing skep, hoe makliker is dit om daardie land te destabiliseer en te ontwig en sy ekonomie te benadeel en hom te verarm. Dit is mos die patroon wat Rusland in Afrika gevolg het. Dit is die patroon wat hy nou in die Midde-Ooste volg, dit is die patroon wat hy volg in Suid-Amerika. So geskied die eerste georganiseerde aanslae teen die Republiek van Suid-Afrika met openlike organisasies. Die aanslag teen Suidwes-Afrika deur Swapo wat Russiesbeheerd is. Die aanslag teen die Republiek van Suid-Afrika deur die ANC wat Russies beheerd is en wat internasionaal saamwerk met die PLO wat nou in die Midde-Ooste al die moeilikheid maak. Ons het bewyse daarvoor.

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering het aan die Westerse moonthede bewyse gelewer van dokumente wat ons van Swapo afgeneem het wat bewys dat ANC leiers en Swapo terroriste in die Midde-Ooste deur die PLO opgelei word in hulle aanslag teen Suid-Afrika. Ek sê Rusland sit daaragter. Hierdie internasionale terrorisme die werk saam om te destabiliseer, om wantroue te skep, om mense se bestendigheid te vermurwe en te ondermyn. Daarom het 'n gesaghebbende publikasie waarin manne wat 'n spesiale studie maak van Suid-Afrika se posisie in die wêreld in 'n lang stuk wat hulle uitgebring het, 'n maand gelede, hierdie raak paragraaf gebruik wat ek vir u wil lees. Hulle sê dat:

“If Swapo gained control over Namibia the outcome would be a major strategic victory for the Soviet Union and also the South African port Walvisbay would be surrounded by hostile territory”.

Dit is wat mense, wat 'n studie maak van hierdie aangeleenthede, moet toesien waar hulle moet kom.

Ek het nou vir u gesê wat is die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering se gesindhede teenoor Walvisbaai. Ek sal netnou meer daaroor sê. Ek wil ook vir u sê wat is die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering se gesindheid teenoor Suidwes-Afrika. Ons het dwarsdeur ons geskiedenis nooit aanspraak gemaak op die grondgebied van Suidwes-Afrika nie. Suidwes-Afrika was na die Eerste Wêreld Oorlog aan ons toevertrou vir administrasie en ons het ons plig teenoor hom gedoen. Veral sedert die Nasionale Regering aan bewind gekom het, het ons honderde-en-honderde miljoene rande in Suidwes-Afrika ingeprop vir sy ontwikkeling. Ons Spoorweë wat teen 'n verlies daar loop, behoort aan Suid-Afrika. Ons het op die gebied van kommunikasie honderde-miljoene rande gespandeer. Ons het op die gebied van kragopwekking en waterbewaring, honderde-miljoene rande in Suidwes-Afrika gespandeer. Ek kan maar net verwys na die Kunene-skema wat die Republiek van Suid-Afrika geweldige bedrae gekos het.

Daarom sê ek die Republiek van Suid-Afrika het geen ander begeerte as om Suidwes-Afrika as 'n vriendskaplike buurstaat te behandel nie. Ons het begeerte dat Suidwes-Afrika se mense so ver moontlik deur 'n verteen-

woordigende regering en doeltreffende regering sal bestuur word. Ek wil vanaand van hierdie verhoog af sê, niemand op politieke gebied het meer gedoen, niemand op politieke gebied het meer gedoen om die veiligheid van Suidwes-Afrika te help bewaar en om die mense van Suidwes-Afrika in staat te stel om hulle eie regte uit te oefen as ek nie. Ek het my afgesloof vanaf 1967 vir die belange van Suidwes-Afrika en daarom beskou ek dit as my reg om oor Suidwes-Afrika te praat.

Meneer die Voorsitter, ons het lang ure en dae en weke en maande gestoei met die internasionale gemeenskap oor Suidwes se belange omdat ons veral gedrewe was deur 'n paar oogmerke met Suidwes. Die eerste was dat ons Suidwes wil hou uit die kloue van die kommunisme, omdat dit in suider-Afrika se belang is dat Suidwes nie 'n kommunistiese staat word nie.

In die tweede plek, omdat Suidwes-Afrika nie sonder ekonomiese hulp van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika kan klaarkom nie. Ek weet waarvan ek praat, ek weet van die geweldige bedrae wat jaarliks gespandeer word uit die Suid-Afrikaanse belastingbetaler se sak aan Suidwes. Ek sê dit nie verwyttend nie, dit is in belang van die hele suider-Afrika.

In die derde plek, omdat Suid-Afrikaanse Regering graag in Suidwes-Afrika die regte van minderhede beskerm wil sien. Die meeste mense in Suidwes behoort afsonderlik tot een of ander groep wat 'n minderheids-groep vir Suidwes-Afrika vorm. Dit is nie net Blankes nie, dit is nie net Kleurlinge nie, dit is nie net Rehobot-Basters nie, daar is ook Swart minderheids-groepe in Suidwes-Afrika.

In die vierde plek is ons positief gesind teenoor Suidwes-Afrika omdat die Republiek van Suid-Afrika 'n toonaangewende staat is van suider-Afrika. As toonaangewende staat van suider-Afrika sê ons dit is nie in suider-Afrika en in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika se belang dat Suidwes deur Kubane of kommunisme geregeer sal word nie.

Ons het in 'n positiewe gees aan samesprekings met die Internasionale Gemeenskap deelgeneem en ons is nog bereid om in 'n positiewe gees met die Internasionale Gemeenskap samesprekings te voer, want ons is verstandige en verantwoordelike mense. Ons soek na 'n moontlike aanvaarbare oplossing vir Suidwes-Afrika se toekoms. Onder leiding van Amerika en ander Westerse Lande is daar in vooruitsig gestel dat daar drie fases sou wees vir die skikplan oor Suidwes. Alhoewel ons sekere bedenkinge gehad het, as 'n Regering, oor fase een het ons dit tog aanvaar omdat ons nie die gees van onderhandeling wou vernietig nie. Toe het ons beweeg na fase twee. Ons het alles in ons vermoë gedoen om fase twee aanvaarbaar te maak maar ons het deurgaans, in al ons onderhandelinge, ook rekening gehou met die binnelandse partye van Suidwes-Afrika en ek het persoonlik en my kollegas wat direk daarmee verbonde is, konsekwent elke keer na Suidwes gekom of hulle na Pretoria of Kaapstad om te onderhandel en te

verneem wat wil die binnelandse partye hê. Nie dat hulle altyd weet wat hulle wil hê nie.

Daar is mense wat my voorhou as 'n baie ongeduldige man maar laat ek vir u dit sê, hulle weet nie wat geduld is nie.

Nou staan ons op die pad na fase drie van daardie onderhandelinge. As fase drie bevredigend afgehandel kan word, ek sê as hy bevredigend afgehandel kan word dan kan daar 'n eerlike, regverdige verkiesing plaasvind wat Suidwes se mense in staat sal stel om daartoe oor te gaan om ondermekaar oor die toekoms van hulle land te beslis. Maar ons het dit baie duidelik gemaak aan die Internasionale Gemeenskap. Ek hoef dit nie eers vanaand te herhaal nie, dat alhoewel ons gereed is om fase drie af te handel en die uitstaande punte te help afhandel, kan daar geen finale skikplan wees nie as die Kubane nie uit Angola padgee nie. Om die eenvoudige rede, daar kan nie 'n regverdige en 'n billike verkiesing wees in Suidwes solank as wat die Kommunisties beheerde Kubane die kommunistiese beheerde Swapo in staat stel om op die punt van 'n geweer sy wil op die mense van Suidwes te probeer afdruk nie. Daarom sê ons die Kubane loop eers en as hulle nie loop nie, dan word die Suid-Afrikaanse troepe nie verminder nie.

Let wel, ek sê die Suid-Afrikaanse troepe word nie verminder nie, want daar is nie sprake dat Suid-Afrikaanse troepe geheel en al onttrek word nie. Daarom het ek voor die Transvaalse Kongres van die Party 'n lang verklaring oor Suidwes gemaak en dit is nie my voorneme om dit vanaand te herhaal nie, dit is daar vir almal om te lees. Ek wil dit ter wille van u wat vanaand hier is net kortliks herhaal. Waar ek gesê het dat so onlangs as Julie vanjaar het ons dokumentêre bewyse voorgelê toe ons dokumente vrygestel het wat in Swapo basisse gevind is waarin Swapo self 'n program aangekondig het om die leiers van Suidwes-Afrika te vermoor. Die Minister van Buitelandse Sake en Inligting het hierdie en ander belangrike sake saam met die Minister van Verdediging in Windhoek op 28 en 29 Julie breedvoerig met al die partye bespreek en het daarna gewaarsku dat as Swapo met sy moordplan sou voortgaan, die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering sy posisie ten opsigte van verdere onderhandelinge implementering van enige plan in heroorweging sal moet neem. Swapo word dus in staat gestel om byvoorbeeld 'n vrye en billike verkiesing in die wiele te ry deur die sambreel van beskerming, sielkundig en fisies, wat die Kubaanse magte in Angola aan hom voorsien. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering het 'n billike houding aan die dag gelê wat betref die voorwaardes van 'n skikplan, maar die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering is nie nou nie en sal ook nie in die toekoms gewillig wees om enige skikplan ten opsigte van Suidwes-Afrika ten uitvoer te bring tensy 'n duidelike ooreenkoms vooraf tot stand gekom het in gevolge waarvan die Kubaanse magte uit Angola moet onttrek nie. Ek hoef dit nie verder te neem nie, ons wag hierop.

Intussen moet Suidwes geregeer word. Dit is droog daar, dit het lank-

laas gereën. Groot dele van die land kry swaar. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering spandeer miljoene rande om hulp te verskaf aan hierdie droogte. Nie Amerika of Frankryk of Duitsland of Engeland nie, nie hulle nie, maar die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering dra die las van die droogte. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering help mense. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering help mense staande bly in hierdie tyd van beproewing. Ons sal voortgaan daarmee maar dan het ons rede om te verwag en die reg om te verwag dat daar in Suidwes onder die verskillende politieke partye verstandhoudings moet kom waardeur hulle prioriteite sal rangskik en die dinge wat die swaarste weeg die swaarste sal laat tel.

Daarom is die Administrateur-generaal besig om te onderhandel oor Suidwes-Afrika se binnelandse partye. Op my versoek, natuurlik, maar ook op baie van hulle se versoek. Dit is nie asof die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering gaan sit het en nou 'n plannetjie uitgewerk het wat jy in die keel van die mense van Suidwes wil afdruk nie, wat die huidige Nasionale Vergadering se tyd wat haas verby is sal verleng nie. Ons sê daar moet 'n meer verteenwoordigende Nasionale Vergadering tot stand kom.

Ek het geen twyfel oor hierdie dinge gelaat nie, vriende. Ek wil net vir u lees wat ek vanjaar in die Parlement daarvoor gesê het. Ek moet dit miskien maar lees, want u is ongelukkig nou in hierdie verkiesingstryd ook natuurlik onderhewig aan 'n klompie ander mense wat allerhande kwaadwillige stories hier sal kom aandra. Hulle sal nie hulle koppe vanaand uitsteek nie, hulle sal dit môre doen wanneer ek weg is. Daarom wil ek vir u lees wat ek in die Suid-Afrikaanse Parlement gesê het vanjaar, met al die verantwoordelikheid waaroor ek beskik. Ek het dit gesê:

Oor die jare heen het Swapo daarna gestreef om deur middel van intimidasie en wapengeweld in Suidwes aan bewind te kom. Swapo is van plan om sy wil op die mense van Suidwes-Afrika deur die loop van 'n geweer af te dwing. Tot dusver het die weerstand van die mense van die gebied en die optrede van die Gebiedsmagte van Suidwes-Afrika bygestaan deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag en Polisie, Swapo se oogmerke verydel. Suid-Afrika kan nie 'n bedeling in die gebied aanvaar wat sal lei tot die onderwerping van die mense van Suidwes-Afrika aan 'n kommunisties beheerde bewind wat deur die loop van 'n geweer gedwing word nie. Suid-Afrika sal nie deel hê aan die skepping van so 'n dwinglandy nie. Ons is vasbeslote, om so ver moontlik, saam met die Verenigde State van Amerika en ander lede van die Vyf asook enige ander lande wat opreg begaan is oor die welsyn van die mense van Suidwes-Afrika en hulle toekoms na oplossings te soek. Voorts het die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering dit duidelik aan die Vyf gestel.

Ek het die persoonlik gedoen terwyl die mense wat my loop en beskinder nie eers gedink het hieraan nie, "dat die beskerming van die

minderheidsregte ernstige aandag moet geniet, dit is fundamenteel. As daardie regte nie beveilig word nie wat sou die toekoms vir daardie gebied inhou?"

Dit is vanaand nog my standpunt. U sien, ek sluip nie hier in Walvisbaai rond om u stem te beïnvloed met allerhande halwe waarhede nie. Ek moet die geveg voer namens die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en namens Walvisbaai en namens die mense van Suid-Afrika ter wille van die beskawing en van wat reg en geregtigheid nastreef.

Nou my vriende, nou kom ek terug na Walvisbaai. Sedert 1 September 1977 toe die Administrasie van Walvisbaai kragtens Proklamasie weer as 'n integrale deel van die Republiek geadminestreer is, het die Regering sekerlik meer aandag aan Walvisbaai gegee as aan enige ander plek van vergelykbare groete in ons land. Ek wil net na 'n paar daarvan verwys. Eerstens, het ons dadelik begin om 'n program te ontwerp wat daarop gerig was om die belange van Walvisbaai te bevorder. Die Regering se doel was duidelik om toe te sien dat Walvisbaai ekonomies gesproke nie slegter daaraan toe is as voor 1 September 1977 nie. Die insinking van die visbedryf in dieselfde periode is natuurlik 'n afsonderlike kwessie wat met die plasing van Walvisbaai niks te doen het nie. Hy het internasionale komplikasies. Op 3 April 1978 is daar reeds 'n Streeksontwikkelingsadvieskomitee vir Walvisbaai saamgestel wat vir ons kon advies gee oor beheer oor staatsgrond, oor uitbreiding van die visserysone, oor watervoorsiening aan Walvisbaai, oor toerisme, oor desentralisasievoordele, oor baggerwerk, oor uitstaande leningslaste, oor hoë pryse vir dieselbrandstof, oor Kleurlingbehuising, oor maatskappybelasting, oor die witvisbedryf, verlaging van spoor- en hawetariewe, kleinsake ondernemings, radio- en TV-diens aan Walvisbaai, elektriese krag, probleme van individuele ondernemings en ontwikkelingsplan vir Walvisbaai. 90 persent goeie resulte is behaal. As u nou vir my vra, het julle al hierdie dinge gedoen dan sê ek vir u hier voor die verkiesing, nee, want as ons alles gedoen het dan sou alles volmaak gewees het. Ons is net 'n bietjie meer volmaak as die klomp wat nou die Nasionale Party hier wil ondermyn.

Ek kom nog later by hulle meer direk. Voortspruitend uit die ontwikkelingsplan wat beide fisiese en ekonomiese opponente bevat het, is verskeie maatreëls getref en wat een van die belangrikste gevolge, die toestaan van desentralisasievoordele aan Walvisbaai en die insluiting van Walvisbaai as 'n nywerheidsontwikkelingspunt in die nuwe Streekontwikkelingsbeleid wat die Regering vanaf 1 April vanjaar toegepas het dwarsdeur die Republiek en wat besig is om groot suksesse af te werp. Benewens die spesifieke desentralisasievoordele waarna daar kortliks verwys word het ons ook daartoe oorgegaan om 'n breër verteenwoordiger as die vorige Streeksontwikkelingsadvieskomitees daar te stel en sedert Walvisbaai vir die eerste keer nywerheidsdesentralisasievoordele ontvang het, is dieselfde aan-

sporingspeil toegepas wat byvoorbeeld vir Atlantis naby die Kaap toegepas word en hierdie verskil dat dit nie net geld vir Kleurlingarbeid of Swartarbeid nie. Ingevolge die nuwe Nywerheidsdentralisasieprogram wat op 1 April 1982 in werking getree het is Walvisbaai een van die geïdentifiseerde nywerheidsontwikkelingspunte en geniet dieselfde peil van nywerheidsaansporings as byvoorbeeld my eie kiesafdeling George en Vredenburg-Saldanha en De Aar-Upington. Met ander woorde ons het Walvisbaai op 'n punt geplaas waar hy groot voordele kry onder nywerheidsontwikkeling en tot vanaand toe is minstens 'n dosyn ondernemings al gehelp in hierdie rigting.

Dit is wel waar dat daar ten opsigte van sekere rabatte op die spoor nou probleme ontstaan het met die hawe. Hierdie aangeleentheid geniet die Desentralisasieraad se aandag en sal hulle binnekort probeer om 'n verbetering daar aan te bring.

Dit is nie waarom ek gekom het om met u vanaand tepraat nie. Ek lees hier in allerhande koerantjies wat ek met u gaan praat. Hierdie koerantjies skryf nie vir my my toespraak nie. Ek skryf my eie toesprake.

Nou my vriende, ek sê dat onder die desentralisasievoordele van Walvisbaai wat hy op gelyke grondslag geniet met alle punte in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika word u nie soos 'n stiefkind behandel nie, word u behandel soos 'n eie kind van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika.

.....
Laat ek sommer nou dadelik met Suidwes afhandel, hoekom sal ons dit uitstel? Kom ons handel dit gou af.

Toe ons fase een aanvaar het van die skikplan in die begin van hierdie jaar, toe was die leier van die KP mos in die Kabinet. Voordat ek fase een aanvaar het, het ek aan elke Kabinetslid gevra en gesê ons stuur 'n maand voor die tyd die inhoud van die skikplan aan u. Op daardie datum sal die Kabinet daarvoor beslis en toe ons die dag moes beslis het ek elke Kabinetsminister gevra, jou persoonlike mening. Nie die leier van die KP nie en ook nie sy onderleier, dr Hartzenberg, het gekwiek of gekwak nie en het daarvoor gestem. Hulle het geweet dat Suidwes se omstandighede is totaal anders as die van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Suidwes is 'n internasionale karakter. Hulle het ook geweet wat my standpunt ten opsigte van Suidwes is, die ene wat ek netnou hier voor u voorgelees het, dat minderheidsregte in die toekomst moet beskerm word en dat ons uit ons pad uit sal gaan om dit te probeer doen.

Teks verskaf deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Departement van Buitelandse Sake en Inligting.

Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference

- A. Address by the Zimbabwean Minister for Education and Culture, The Hon Dzingai Mutumbuka, at the opening of the Southern African Documentation — Information Systems (SADIS) meeting of representatives of SADCC Governments, on 15 November 1982

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you to this consultative meeting of the SADIS working group of members from SADCC Governments.

I see that some of the faces are familiar from the last meeting. This is reassuring and is a manifestation of the hope that I expressed at the February meeting, that SADIS should help to foster economic co-operation through the creation of a region-wide development system.

We extend a special welcome to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) representatives who have come in response to our request for UNESCO to play a leading role in the establishment of the SADIS network. The presence of all of you clearly demonstrates the importance which member Governments of the SADCC region attach to the establishment of a means by which the flow of technical, scientific, economic and social research information and documentation could be enhanced for the co-ordinated planning and development of our region. . . .

I would now like to take this opportunity to thank the African Bibliographic Centre (ABC) of Washington D.C., sponsors of this meeting, first on behalf of the Government of Zimbabwe for having made it possible for us to host this meeting, and also on behalf of the SADCC member Governments. We appreciate the continued interest of the ABC in this project and we look forward to continued fruitful co-operation with them in the future.

The present meeting has been called as part of the programme of action which was set out at the consultative meeting in February.

More specifically, this is a working meeting which is expected to take

initiatives for the implementation of SADIS. Zimbabwe was asked to co-ordinate the SADIS initiative and it is in this spirit that we invited Government representatives and non-Governmental organizations to assist and to participate in our SADIS endeavours.

Since the last meeting, in February, we have seized upon every opportunity to generate wider support for the project. Where there were difficulties, the necessary initiatives have been taken to clarify matters in the spirit of promoting greater understanding and mutual respect between member states and other interested organizations.

We want to assure all the SADCC member states that we will maintain this approach as long as we continue to enjoy your confidence. I shall return to this theme in another context.

The Government of Zimbabwe, first as a sovereign state and secondly as a nation dedicated to SADCC objectives, has accepted your SADIS mandate in a spirit of deep commitment. We are cognizant of the implications of SADIS.

This SADIS initiative, therefore, is a pioneering effort and this meeting introduces the first co-ordinated and regional approach in Africa to the new world of information resources and technology. The benefits of information technology to our peoples are unlimited.

New forms of hardware and software are being introduced almost on a daily basis, and costs are being reduced at a commensurate rate. These significant developments will enable the peoples and the Governments of Southern Africa to benefit from the accelerated socio-economic and cultural advances the world over in a manner which is best suited to our specific needs.

Further, the world computer industry is looking towards Africa as a growing market. For example, the computer industry and related services in the United States of America have retained a 13 per cent growth rate despite a world recession. The rate of growth in this field in South Africa is a staggering 300 per cent.

This has significant implications for the future, not only for SADCC member states, but also in our efforts towards lessening economic dependence upon South Africa.

Osborne, the world's largest producer of personal and portable computers, less than a week ago, announced that these inexpensive machines will be manufactured either in Zimbabwe or Kenya next year. This venture not only provides Africa with jobs, but also with technology vital to our rapid economic socio and cultural development.

At the last meeting, we expressed particular concern about the creation of the infrastructure requisite for the gathering and dissemination of information resources for development. In my view, this should be the central theme of your discussions at this meeting.

What infrastructure is needed for the establishment of SADIS? This is a broad question which although it cannot be answered in full here, will be discussed at length. During the SADIS feasibility study, it is essential to determine the detailed requirements for a SADIS infra-structure.

Here, I feel the need to clarify our position as members states of SADCC. We feel the urgent need for the establishment of SADCC's own information system which is a *sine-qua-non* for success in our various joint sectoral efforts. Moreover, we accept full responsibility, as sovereign states, for determining how best this should be achieved.

There are many options open to us and member states will no doubt make the necessary decisions. However, it should be stressed that we want to find assistance where it is immediately available if we are to fulfil our urgent regional needs.

We are fully aware of the initiatives which have been taken by such organizations as the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa for the establishment of a PADIS system. We support that programme, and we stand ready to co-operate with them as our ability to do so is created.

We are equally aware of the efforts of UNESCO in establishing regional information facilities, and the interest of the United Nations Development Programme, in assisting member states in enhancing the flow of information for the Technical Co-operation among developing countries programme, the TCDC.

These initiatives have been important in showing the way forward. But what is of greatest importance to us is that each member state should have the infra-structure capability which it needs at a national level in order to benefit from any regional or international network. This I understand compels us to look at all available technical and financial resources which will enable member states to create such capabilities.

Our ability to actively participate in the PADIS programme is at this stage, limited. The same could be said of the PADIS ability to participate more actively in the creation of SADIS in so far as their Pan African or regional continent-wide capability is predicated on the establishment of lower level infra-structures.

As members of SADCC, we are obliged to fulfil our sectoral responsibilities within the SADCC framework and cannot overstrip any mandate given to us by ceding the authority of our Heads of Governments to any other organizations.

I wish, therefore, to emphasise that the establishment of SADIS will be decided by the SADCC Summit of Heads of Governments. This consideration of SADIS will be facilitated by the data generated through the SADIS feasibility study. I cannot help thinking that the SADCC Summit will be greatly influenced by our demonstration of credibility through access to sound and reliable technical resources for SADIS.

This is where careful consideration must be given in evaluating the available options. I am confident that you will deliberate more fully on these issues and advise the member states accordingly. I shall, therefore, on my part look forward to the results of your discussions with a great degree of anticipation.

Press statement 1078/82/PR/JJS issued by the Zimbabwe Department of Information.

B. Address by the Zimbabwean Minister of Industry and Energy Development, The Hon Simba Makoni, at the opening of the SADCC Energy Seminar at the University of Zimbabwe, Harare, on 29 November 1982

The Minister of Industry and Energy Development, Cde Simba Makoni, today said that there was ample scope for greater and diversified utilisation of coal than at present.

Officially opening the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) Energy Seminar at the University of Zimbabwe in Harare, the Minister said: "It is estimated that our proven coal reserves amount to about 12 billion tonnes and consumption at present averages about four million tonnes annually.

We are all gathered here this week to attend the first ever SADCC sectoral seminar. The Beijer Institute first proposed in early 1981, to sponsor a seminar for Zimbabwean energy planners and experts. But after full consultations with our sister partners in SADCC, it was agreed that this becomes a regional energy seminar in the context of SADCC energy sector programme development. I wish to register Zimbabwe's gratitude and appreciation to our SADCC partners for having chosen our country as the venue for this important occasion.

The availability of energy of various forms in adequate quantities and at affordable prices is increasingly becoming a decisive factor in development. Economic development, particularly industrialisation, after the second World War was fuelled by cheap, apparently inexhaustible oil and electrical power.

In recent years, the balance between supply and demand of energy has been greatly disturbed; and yet energy, in its different forms is a basic prerequisite for formal societal function, irrespective of the state of organisation or development of the society in question.

Our seminar is convened to address the questions of energy planning and management, as part of the strategy for regional co-operation. Some of the specific areas of concern to us during this seminar are:

— To assess the energy supply and demand position in our region;

- To identify and quantify the various forms of energy available in the region, as well as to determine the extent of utilisation or under utilisation of each form;
- To consider the opportunities for and constraints on future energy development, including assessments of human resource, technical and financial requirements; and
- To formulate the planning requirements for the enhancement of SADCC energy co-operation.

Our region is endowed with substantial and varied energy resources. We, collectively, have installed capacity for power generation which is double our peak demand requirements. Thus, the region as a whole has a massive power surplus.

Within the region, hydro-electric power generation accounts for over 60 per cent of total power output, a small part is produced by oil-powered generators and the balance is from coal-fired stations. Some of our member states engage in power both amongst themselves as well as with outsiders. Thus, although the region as a whole has surplus power, there is no overall regional self-sufficiency.

This situation is a colonial legacy for which neither of us is responsible. But, this situation is in my view, one of the most rational justifications for SADCC. For, it is urgently imperative that we take steps to speedily eliminate this irony.

But it is even more urgent that as we individually or collectively plan for our future, we take into full account the available capacities before we install new ones. To this extent, some of the proposed or potential projects for interconnecting national power grids are most desirable.

It is also important that in planning for future power facilities, careful site-selection be undertaken to facilitate regional inter-connection and integration. The formulation of least cost long term regional power development plans will facilitate the eradication of the present contradictions of surpluses in some countries and deficiencies in others which characterise our present situation.

Petroleum fuels account for a substantial portion of our energy consumption, but all of our countries, except one, have no petroleum deposits. Thus, the region as a whole depends on imported oil and/or products.

It is, however, noteworthy, that the proven and exploitable oil reserves in the one member state, are capable of meeting the needs of the whole SADCC region. I am sure that you will all join me in hoping that the indications of possible oil finds in other member states of SADCC will be confirmed. In addition to the availability, within the region, of adequate oil reserves, it is common knowledge that we have adequate, if not surplus, refining capacity.

This leads to the situation where in some member states, refineries are either idle or operating well below capacity, while other member states are importing refined products. It is, therefore, important that we work out a mechanism that enables us to utilise the available resources and facilities to the collective and mutual benefit of all the member states. In this regard, I am gratified that SADCC ministries of energy, decided to sponsor, for donor funding, a project study on the best ways of meeting the region's petroleum requirements primarily from resources already within the region. It is my fervent hope that this project will be speedily implemented.

Our region is also well-endowed with coal deposits. Seven of our nine member states have established coal resources, and mining is underway in six of them. It is estimated that our proven coal reserves amount to about 12 billion tonnes and consumption at present averages about four million tonnes annually. There is therefore, ample scope for greater and diversified utilisation of coal than at present.

Whereas the foregoing indicates that this region is capable of meeting its requirements of commercial energy, it provides no comfort for the vast majority of our people who live in the rural areas. These are the worst victims of racist colonialism and, therefore, the primary target of our national as well as co-operative regional development efforts. The search for energy to meet the modest requirements of our rural population has become a burdensome and agonising chore paralleled, if not marginally excelled, only by the search for food.

The spectacle of our women-folk travelling long distances to collect small bundles of firewood has become a common feature of our rural life. All of our countries are faced with serious problems of forest denudation which poses grave dangers to our environment. This area presents the greatest challenge for our countries for its effects will be felt not only in the energy field but in many other areas. It is regrettable that planners tend to under-rate if not actually ignore, the importance of this commodity.

The general area of New and Renewable Sources of Energy (NRSE) holds meaningful prospects for meeting some of our energy requirements.

The climatic conditions of our region render viable the harnessing of the sun, wind and other resources for energy supplies.

But, much as we recognise, and indeed, emphasize the potential role of New and Renewable Sources of Energy in our economies, I must sound a word of caution. At the international level, there is a growing tendency to promote NRSE as the solution to Third World energy problems; whilst at national levels the only tendency is to offer NRSE as solutions to rural energy problems.

In other words NRSE becomes the energy of the poor whilst the established commercial energies are channeled to assuage the insatiable appetites of the rich. In order to avoid the consolidation and perpetuation of present

energy imbalances, all forms of energy must be equitably distributed to all sectors of the economy and the society.

I have attempted, in the foregoing, to expose the characteristic features of the energy sector in our region and the problems attendant there-to. I have attempted to offer, let alone prescribe solutions to those problems. I would urge that this seminar be a forum for seeking down-to-earth practical solutions to problems, rather than becoming a forum for high-sounding academic or political pontifications. Our people need energy now, not tomorrow; and we must pave the way for meeting that need.

In conclusion, I would like to express our gratitude, i.e. SADCC's gratitude to the Beijer Institute and the Swedish International Development Agency for sponsoring and funding this seminar. Our gratitude also goes to the SADCC secretariat for its assistance in the practical arrangements for this gathering.

We are also grateful to the various experts, both national and international who worked so hard to produce a wealth of background documentation, without which our task here would be well nigh impossible.

Press statement 1142/82/TG issued by the Zimbabwe Department of Information

South African Statements

- A. Extract concerning South Africa's policy of non-interference in other states, from a statement in Parliament by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, The Hon R.F. Botha, on 6 May 1982*

The question of mercenaries has been raised by the hon. member for Cradock. We saw some reports in the papers that there are attempts to create a mercenary force to act in neighbouring countries and I think it is time that I took a stand in regard to this matter. As far as the question of mercenaries is concerned, I want to express the hope that South Africans will not join such a movement. Our country has a proper Defence Force and our loyalty is to this Force. If people want to do service in the protection of our country they are welcome to join our Defence Force, either the Permanent Force or the Citizen Force or the commandos. I do not believe in the type of effort we have been reading about during the last couple of days. I must therefore express the hope that people will not follow such an example. We do not believe that it is in the interests of the Republic to interfere in the affairs of other countries because we do not want other countries to poke their noses into our affairs. I take this stand on principle.

The previous Prime Minister also made it clear in this House on 30 January 1976 that —

It made no difference whether or not one liked that Government. . . .

That is the Mozambique Government —

South Africa's foreign policy is still that if there is a Government which it does not like, it does not make war against it. As long as that Government leaves South Africa in peace, South Africa will leave that Government in peace. Surely we made it very clear that we were not seeking a quarrel with Mozambique, that we were not interested in who comprised that Government, just as long as there was a stable Government and that country was not used as a base for an attack on South Africa

*During the Committee stage of the Minister's Budget vote.

As recently as 9 October 1981 I wrote a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations — a letter which is now an official document of the United Nations — and I should like to quote from this letter. It was apropos of a complaint lodged by Lesotho against certain alleged South African activities. I quote —

“In contrast with Lesotho’s policy of harbouring subversive elements which operate against South Africa, the South African authorities have consistently acted against armed persons or groups endeavouring to traverse South African territory en route to Lesotho. South Africa’s practical co-operation in containing the security threat against Lesotho is known to that Government.

In fact, the South African Government has on several occasions apprehended armed Lesotho citizens when it determined that these people were plotting physical action from South African soil, and has delivered them to the Lesotho Government.”

On 28 November 1981 I stated —

“The simplest and most convincing test of whether a country wishes to engage in subversion and destabilization is its declared willingness to enter into non-aggression agreements with neighbouring States and whether it harbours subversive elements actively engaged against the Governments of neighbouring States. The South African Government has consistently stated its view that it is in the interests of all countries in southern African that agreements should be entered into on these issues. Ideological differences should not predominate, but economic and practical considerations should be the determining factor. The need for all States in Southern Africa to act against any form of subversion aimed at neighbouring States is greater than ever.”

On 3 December 1981 the hon. the Prime Minister said that legislation was being considered to prohibit the recruitment of any serving member of the South African Defence Force for mercenary purposes in the future.

South Africa (Republic). *House of Assembly Debates*, no. 13, 4–11 May 1982. Cols. 6236–6238

- B.** Persverklaring op 18 November 1982, deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Minister van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling, Sy Edele P.G.J. Koornhof, na aanleiding van berigte in sommige nuusblaaie oor die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die Nasionale State

Aangesien die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die nasionale state een van die hoogste prioriteite van die Regering van die RSA is, word die effek-

tiwiteit van sy instrumente met die oog op die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van hierdie state op 'n deurlopende basis ge-evalueer.

Veral die volgende drie breë instrumente word aangewend, naamlik:

- (a) Die afsondering van grond en die konsolidering van die nasionale state;
- (b) die desentralisering van nywerhede na veral die nasionale state self en ook die aangrensende RSA-gebied; en
- (c) die verlening van finansiële en ander hulp aan die regerings van die nasionale state.

Ten spyte daarvan dat daar op verskillende terreine van ontwikkeling in die nasionale state, soos byvoorbeeld landbouontwikkeling, mynbouontwikkeling, ontwikkeling op die gebiede van vervaardiging en dienste, onderwys, gesondheid, ensovoorts, relatief goed presteer word, is die Regering nie tevrede met wat tot dusver bereik is nie. Met inagneming hiervan het die Regering dan ook aan verskeie kommissies/komitees opdrag gegee om indringend ondersoek in te stel na die *opskerping* van genoemde breë instrumente of selfs die *skep* van *nuwe* instrumente met die oog op die versnelling van die tempo van ekonomiese ontwikkeling in die nasionale state self. So, byvoorbeeld, is die Van der Walt-kommissie aangestel om ondersoek in te stel na die sinvolle konsolidasie van die nasionale state. Die aanbevelings van hierdie Kommissie dien tans voor die Kabinet. Die Paneel vir Ekonomiese Samewerking en Strategie, die Spesiale Konstellasië Komitee en die Werkgroep vir Ekonomiese Aangeleenthede het weer ondersoek ingestel na nywerheidsdesentralisasie. Laasgenoemde ondersoek het dan ook uitgeloop op: *Die bevordering van nywerheidsontwikkeling — 'n element van 'n samehangende streeksontwikkelingsstrategie vir Suider-Afrika*. Dit is belangrik om daarop te let dat die nywerheidsontwikkelingsvoorstelle nie net vir *gewysigde* en *verbeterde nywerheidsaansporingsmaatreëls* as sodanig voorsiening maak nie, maar dat 'n totaal *nuwe ruimtelike ordeningsstrategie* vir Suider-Afrika geskep is.

Wat die *nywerheidsaansporings* as sodanig betref, kan tereg daarop gewys word dat dit van die beste ter wêreld is. Dit moet egter beklemtoon word dat nywerheidsontwikkelingspunte in die nasionale state self vir hoër konsessies as soortgelyke ontwikkelingspunte in die Blanke kant van 'n bepaalde ontwikkelingstreek kwalifiseer. Sedert die implementering van die nuwe nywerheidsaansporings gedurende April 1982 tot Oktober 1982, dit wil sê slegs ses maande, is 396 aansoeke om konsessiehulp deur die Desentraliseraad goedgekeur. Hierdie 396 aansoekers beoog 'n totale investering van R668,5 miljoen en die skepping van 35 239 werksgeleenthede vir alle bevolkingsgroepe waarvan 26 616 of nagenoeg 76 persent ten opsigte van Swartes is. Hierdie syfer vergelyk baie gunstig met die 355 aansoeke wat gedurende die volle kalenderjaar 1981 deur die Raad goedgekeur was, en waarby 'n totale kapitaalbelegging van R903,7 miljoen betrokke was, met 'n totale indiensneming van 28 831 persone. Wat verder betekenisvol

is, is dat daar ook 'n *toenemende* belangstelling is aan die kant van buitelandse beleggers in die vernaamste nywerheidslande in die vestiging van fabriek in hierdie streeksontwikkelingsgebiede.

Met die nuwe *ruimtelike ordeningstrategie*, in welke geval suider-Afrika in agt ekonomies funksionele ontwikkelingsstreke verdeel is, val die klem op ekonomiese samewerking en ontwikkeling wat oor *politieke grense heen* strek. Hierdie "nuwe" benadering onderstreep die belangrikheid dat die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die nasionale state nie in *isolasië* gesien moet word nie, maar dat die ekonomieë van die nasionale state 'n integreerende deel vorm van die breëre ekonomiese stelsel van suider-Afrika en derhalwe ook voordeel kan trek uit ekonomiese samewerking op 'n streeksgrondslag.

Die stigting van 'n multilaterale Suider-Afrikaanse Ontwikkelingsbank op 1 September 1983 is 'n verdere inisiatief van die Regerings van die RSA en die betrokke nasionale state om ekonomiese ontwikkeling in veral die nasionale state te stimuleer.

Die geskiedenis het bewys dat die ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die minder ontwikkelde gebiede dwarsoor die wêreld, 'n proses is wat, ten spyte van reusagtige hulpverleningsprogramme deur die Wêreldbank, regerings van die ryk lande en ander finansiële instellings nie *oornag* resultate lewer nie. In Suid-Afrika moet daar dus ook nie oor die korttermyn skou-spelagtige resultate verwag word nie — veral nie voordat die nuwe inisiatiewe ten volle ontplooi is nie. Wat meer is, resultate wat reeds in die RSA op hierdie terrein behaal is, vergelyk gunstig met dié van ander lande in soortgelyke omstandighede, en is nie sonder mooi prestasies wat uitgelig kan word nie.

Uitgereik deur die Departement van Buitelandse Sake en Inligting op versoek van die Ministerie van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling

C. Toespraak deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Minister van Buitelandse Sake en Inligting, Sy Edele R.F. Botha, by geleentheid van die vyfde Onathanlikheidsfeesviering van die Republiek van Bophuthatswana, te Mmabatho, op 4 Desember 1982*

Ek beskou die uitnodiging om vandag hierdie plegtige geleentheid as die verteenwoordiger van die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering by te woon, as 'n hoë eer en wil graag my opregte dank aan u, mnr die President en u Regering vir die uitnodiging uitspreek. Dit is eweneens vir my 'n groot

*As is customary, this speech was delivered in Afrikaans, English and Tswana, alternately

genoeë om namens die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering vir uself, u Regering en die mense van Bophuthatswana van harte geluk te wens met die vyfde onafhanklikheidsviering van die Republiek van Bophuthatswana.

Die Republiek van Bophuthatswana het vyf jaar gelede as 'n verteenwoordigende demokrasie die veeleisende weg van onafhanklikheid in die statery ingeslaan. Van die vernaamste faktore waarop die vooruitgang van Bophuthatswana kon steun sedert die vlag van onafhanklikheid oor sy vlaktes en heuwels wapper, is die trots en selvertroue waarmee u, Kgosi Mangope, u volk geïnspireer het. Onder u toegewyde leierskap het die Republiek van Bophuthatswana in vyf jaar 'n ontwikkelingstand bereik wat 'n soliede grondslag daarstel vir die verwesentliking van u volk se nasionale aspirasies.

Maar ons dink nie net aan toekomsdeale nie. Diegene wat vandag hier teenwoordig is sien in konkrete vorm die beeld van vooruitgang en selverwesentliking van 'n nasie voor hulle.

Die nuwe regeringsgebou van Mmabatho, wat vandag ook as hoofstad verklaar word, is 'n versinnebeelding van die doelgerigte en praktiese benadering van die Regering en volk van Bophuthatswana. Hierdie imposante en doelmatige struktuur van gesag skep 'n interessante eenheid van die tradisionele en die moderne. Dit is simbolies van die stabiele en sterk regering van Bophuthatswana en die volk van hierdie vooruitstrewende staat. Tswanas het met ywer beplan en aan hierdie gebou gewerk. Die Tswana siel leef in die sement van hierdie gebou en die skeppingsidealisme van hierdie volk is in elke faset sigbaar.

Maar hierdie gebou se simboliek strek verder. Net soos die boumateriaal van oral bymekaar gemaak is, so het u, Kgosi Mangope, ook u mense versamel en met u visie, geloof en staatsmanskap het hulle tot 'n hegte eenheid gegroei.

Ek wil graag vandag ook dank betuig, mnr die President vir die vriendskap en bedagsame behandeling wat u en u mense steeds aan die Suid-Afrikaners betoon wat in u land werk en woon. Die bilaterale verhoudinge tussen ons twee lande het in die tydperk so ontwikkel dat daar byna daaglik wedersydse samesprekings plaasvind oor 'n wye spektrum van belange op menige terreine. Die samewerking wat daar bestaan, en wat verder sal groei, is een van die redes waarom ek glo dat ons in suider-Afrika die toekoms met vertroue tegemoet kan kyk. U het al by geleentheid gesê dat u nie slegs streef na internasionale erkenning nie maar dat u eerste taak is om u land ekonomies op te bou, u mense te voed en ander te help voed. Hierdie benadering en die sober stem waarmee u praat, vind ook, en daarvan is ek oortuig, in verantwoordelike buitelandse kringe aanklank. Ek wil vir u sê dat die feit dat Bophuthatswana voedsel uitvoer deur die wêreld raakgesien word en dat dit 'n prestasie is wat menige land beny.

The soil is the primary source of food and life, together with the air we

breathe and the water which is our sustenance. The fact that you, Mr President, and your Government have concentrated your attention on the development of agriculture as well as the sound utilisation of your country's mineral and other resources has added to your country's stature in world economic circles.

The recent Summit Meeting, held in Pretoria, of Heads of State and Government of South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, reaffirmed the positive and constructive spirit of our economic co-operation in southern Africa. The decisions taken by our Governments on that occasion indeed underline our joint commitment to develop the enormous potential of the human and natural resources of the countries of southern Africa and to realize the aspirations of all our peoples.

The wide range of common interests, common goals and interdependence among the states of Southern Africa were best demonstrated by the wishes expressed by the participating states to increase co-operation and co-ordination over a wide field of economic and development activity. Allow me to pay particular tribute to the valuable contribution made by Your Excellency and for your words of wisdom from which all of us benefited.

The determination of our countries to engage in joint efforts for the advancement of our peoples, was highlighted by the agreement reached at the Summit to set a definite date for the establishment of the Southern African Development Bank, particularly since it comes at a time of a world-wide recession and an unfavourable world economic climate. We are jointly aware of the pressing nature of the problems that confront us. However, South Africa and Bophuthatswana remain committed to continue to work together towards a better future — a future of good hope.

The stability of the Bophuthatswana Government and its firm adherence to the principles of democracy and a free market system have contributed materially to the substantial economic growth which Bophuthatswana has enjoyed since independence. This is an achievement of which you, Mr President, and your people can be justly proud.

Mmabatho is today officially declared the capital of Bophuthatswana. I am honoured to be present at such an historic event.

.....
The creation of the world's newest "polis", the capital city of Mmabatho — the mother of the people — where, too, the leaders and representatives of this nation will gather to debate, to decide, to create and to steer the people of Bophuthatswana to their destiny amongst the family of nations.

Dit maak nie saak wat die VVO of wie ookal oor Bophuthatswana sê nie — uiteindelik sal die waarheid omtrent u land en sy prestasies die deurslag gee. Die waarheid sal erken moet word.

Motlotlegi Tautona, mo bofelong ke batla ke lakaletsa wena gammogo le lefatshe la gago, katlego le tswelopele mo ditirong tsa lona. Mo Kontinenteng e ka nako tsothle e senang katlego mo ekonoming, ke batla ke gatelela gore Bophuthatswana ke nngwe ya dinaga tse di kgethigileng. Ke eictsa gape gore wena le setshaba sa gago le nne le katlego le tswelopele e e ka sekeng ya fela. Jaaka Repaboliki ya Afrika-Borwa e na le tlotlo e e kgethigileng go wena jaaka motho le jaaka Mopresidente Tautona wa lefatshe le le nang le tswelopele e e kitlaganeng, ke itumetse mo go menaganeng go go neela mpho ena, ka keletso le mathogonolo a Puso ya naga ya Afrika Borwa le setshaba sa yone.

Text supplied by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information

D. New Year's message by the South African Prime Minister, The Hon P.W. Botha, on 31 December 1982

It is with hope and confidence in our hearts that we wish one another a prosperous New Year.

It is our earnest prayer that the blessings of the Almighty will bring peace, security and freedom to the world and to us in Southern Africa as well.

Although there have been failures and disappointments, the past year has also given us cause for gratitude and good cheer. In the first place we remember those who, as members of our defence force and our police, sacrificed their lives so that South Africans can enjoy the peace that we have. We wish to convey our sincere sympathy to their next of kin.

While our country has experienced a period of economic prosperity over the past few years, the world economy is in serious difficulties at present, which inevitably has certain adverse effects on our economy. In addition, we have not yet achieved a satisfactory level of productivity, and drought conditions caused us further problems in the past year. Consequently we are deeply grateful for the good rains that have fallen in large parts of the country. Both the Government and the private sector will have to try to solve our economic problems by means of the exercise of self-discipline and by effective planning.

But much was also achieved in 1982. The implementation of a new strategy for regional development has imparted greater momentum to decentralization and has stimulated economic development.

In the social sphere we have resolutely endeavoured to find solutions and have brought about many improvements.

In the constitutional field we have taken important steps to introduce orderly reform, while never losing sight of the principles of self-determination and collective responsibility in matters of common concern. An outstanding feature of the year was the large measure of consultation and deliberation among leaders of the various population groups in our country.

As far as the security of our country is concerned, we have succeeded in maintaining law and order and safeguarding our borders. Peace and security cannot be taken for granted. Every loyal citizen of the country who desires peace and security has to work for it and must constantly pay a price for it.

We live in an uncertain and struggling world, and this frequently causes conditions of unrest in our own sub-continent and our own country as well.

There is, for example, the South West Africa issue, which has been internationalised for years. For the sake of the people of South West as well as the strategic interest of our own country we are seeking a just solution for the future of that territory. Such a solution must contribute towards ensuring stability in Southern Africa, but to allow the red flag to fly in Windhoek will not serve the cause of stability and progress. For this reason we cannot yield to communist demands.

In its fervent desire to dominate the world and to draw Southern Africa into its sphere of control, the Soviet Union is making ever increasing demands on our ability to maintain our security and to introduce arrangements which will improve relations among the various population groups in our country.

The Government will not hesitate to act, wherever it may be necessary to combat forces that want to destabilize our country. The State cannot allow its authority to be undermined, and our defence force and our police deserve our wholehearted support in the performance of their task.

We have to be prepared for the challenges of the future, and we must at all times be fully aware of the designs our enemies are harbouring against us.

But at the same time we owe it to one another to maintain a balanced reasonable attitude and to exercise self-restraint in our mutual relations.

The present is certainly not a time for extremism and extravagant demands.

The fostering of mutual goodwill and tolerance among our various population groups remains one of our main responsibilities.

Let us endeavour to support one another in those things on which we agree.

There can be no mutual respect without the preservation of self-respect. One can maintain one's self-respect and cherish what is one's own without wanting to destroy the spiritual and cultural possession of others.

What our time demands of us is that we ensure the maintenance and perpetuation of Christian Western values and standards at the southern tip of Africa.

This will also be to the benefit of our neighbours, who have their own traditions and values, and will add to their stability.

The Republic of South Africa extends the hand of friendship to all its neighbours who seek economic progress, the upliftment of their people and the recognition of the national and cultural values and the freedom of nations.

The Republic of South Africa is prepared to conclude non-aggression pacts with all its neighbours, as well as treaties which prohibit the use of our respective territories against one another. We are absolutely sincere in making this offer, and our neighbours would be acting wisely if they accepted it.

But no one must doubt the national will and determination of our country and its people to maintain and to defend our security. Anyone who underestimated this will be severely disillusioned.

While wishing all of you peace and prosperity in the New Year, I call upon you to dedicate yourselves anew to South Africa.

We live in a beautiful country.

We live in a land of grand opportunity.

We live in a land of good hope.

Let us enter the future with courage and in faith.

Let us move forward without fear.

Text issued by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information at the request of the Prime Minister

E. Uittreksels 'n toespraak deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Eerste Minister, Sy Edele P.W. Botha, tydens 'n openbare vergadering te Nylstroom, op 18 November 1982

Suid-Afrika word weens sy belangrikheid en weens sy bevolkingsamestelling en weens sy strategiese posisie by probleme ge-internasionaliseer. As die wêreld nie van ons notisie geneem het nie, sou ons nie op elkeen se lippe in die wêreld gewees het nie. Of hulle vloek op ons, of hulle maak sluwe planne teen ons, of hulle begeer ons, of hulle prys ons. Maar Suid-Afrika is op almal se lippe in die wêreld. Daarom word hy ge-internasionaliseer.

Daarom is daar 'n voortgesette klimaatskepping teen ons en teen ons land. Deur Moskou, deur sekere VVO kringe, deur sekere linkse elemente in die wêreld. Op een of ander manier is hulle besig om Suid-Afrika te

probeer bykom. Veral Sowjet-Rusland het in die woorde van Brezhnev, wat nou onlangs dood is, het hulle twee punte in die wêreld uitgekies wat hulle wil verower — en hulle het nou 'n harder man daar as wat Brezhnev was. Hulle wil die Midde Ooste en die Persiese Golf verower want daar lê die olierykdomme van die wêreld. Daardie plekke is so strategies geleë dat as hulle dit beheer en hulle kan deurdring na Indië dan kan hulle Sjina omvleuel. Die tweede belangrike punt wat hulle uitgekies het vir verowering is suider-Afrika omdat hier lê die belangrikste strategiese minerale vir die wêreld. Chroom, platinum, mangaan, ander strategiese minerale, wat nodig is vir die industrialisasie van die wêreld, wat nodig is vir wapenproduksie. En Rusland weet dat as hy suider-Afrika kan beheer en hy kan die Midde Ooste en die Persiese Golf beheer, dan kan hy voorskryf vir die res van die vrye wêreld. Ons bevolkingsamestelling die leen hom daartoe dat dit uigebuit kan word deur onverantwoordelike mense. Daarom moet ons in ons hantering van hierdie vraagstuk so optree dat ons nie in die hande van ons vyande speel nie. Dit is die werklikhede waarmee ons te doen het.

We in South Africa, because of our strategic position, because of the importance of our strategic position as well as the economic potential find ourselves in the thick of the international struggle for power and our multi-national composition exploited by ruthless elements and forces in the world, drags us into the international melting pot.

Suidwes-Afrika

Meneer die Voorsitter, ek hoef u nouliks vanaand 'n relaas te gee van hoe daardie dreigemente teen ons opbou, maar dis genoeg om vir u te sê dat Rusland gebruik die African National Congress en SWAPO om in Suider-Afrika rewolusie te probeer aansteek en hy probeer om geweld te laat plaasvind en hy probeer om terrorisme te bevorder en hy skakel hierdie bewegings saam met internasionale terrorisme om Suid-Afrika se stabiliteit te ondermyn en om Suid-Afrika deur propaganda te destabiliseer. Die pogings wat in Suidwes-Afrika aan die gang is vir jare nou al, dié is onder andere almal pogings van vyandige elemente veral om Suidwes-Afrika te ontruk aan die dampkring van suider-Afrika en om hom te gebruik as afspringplek vir kommunistiese elemente. Daarom het die Republiek van Suid-Afrika voortdurend gesê alhoewel ons die mense van Suidwes-Afrika die reg gun om oor hulle eie lot te beslis, en alhoewel ons nie in die pad van hulle eie vryheid wil staan nie, is daar een ding wat ons nie kan aanvaar nie. Ons kan nie aanvaar dat vir die mense van Suidwes-Afrika op die punt van 'n geweer voorgesê sal word watter rooi vlag in Windhoek moet waai nie. Daarom, in die moeilike samesprekings wat daar ook nou nog moet plaasvind en wat ook baie geld ook van Suid-Afrika verg, is een ding seker. Ons kan nie 'n situasie in Windhoek aanvaar waarin die rooivlag met geweld in die kele van Suidwes-Afrika se mense afgedruk word nie.

Daarom staan ons sterk op die Kubaanse kwessie, naamlik dat die Kubane wat die wegbereiders is van die kommunisme in suider-Afrika, saam met SWAPO, saam met die ANC, dat daardie Kubane suider-Afrika moet verlaat voordat ons finaal oor Suidwes-Afrika se toekoms kan beraadslaag.

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En nou, ek het gesê almal van ons soek veiligheid. Weet u wat spandeer ons aan die veiligheid van hierdie land direk? Weet u wat kos dit vir ons om 'n Weermag in stand te hou, om die Polisie in stand te hou, om ons Intelligensiedienste in stand te hou wat vir ons die inligting kan bring van wat beplan word teen Suid-Afrika? Weet u dat dit ons gekos het in die afgelope jaar R3 600 miljoen? Dis 'n ontsettende bedrag. Maar is hier iemand in hierdie gehoor of buite hierdie gehoor wat by sy verstand is wat sal sê ons moet dit nie doen nie? Ons moet dit doen. Natuurlik moet ons dit doen. Optrede teen terrorisme. Bewaking van ons grense. Eie wapenproduksie terwyl ons 'n wapenverbod teen ons in die wêreld het. En behoorlike daaglikse inligting moet op die Kabinet se tafel kom sodat hy weet wat sy vyande vir hom voorberei.

Nou is dit interessant — jy kry mos nou mense wat vir jou vertel — ja, maar hierdie Regering verkoop die land uit. Dit is nou die stories wat so om die hoeke gefluister word. Hulle is nooit op die vergaderings en kom kyk vir jou in jou oë en sê ek beskuldig jou daarvan, dat jy hulle kan toets nie.

Maar ek wil vir u vertel hoe is ons Polisie saamgestel, want u moet weet. Ek wil nie vir u goed wegsteek nie. Daar is 18 526 Blankes in die Polisie. Daar is 2 300 Kleurlinge in die Polisie. Daar is 15 200 Swartmense in die Polisie en daar is 1 200 Indiërs in die Polisie. Nou wil ek hierdie vraag vra. Moet net Blanke seuns Polisiewerk doen? of moet ons ook die Kleurling en die Swartman vir Polisiewerk gebruik? En as ons hom moet gebruik moet hy lojaal wees? Nou hoe kan jy verwag dat hy lojaal moet wees as jy hom elke dag van die publieke platform af vloek? Dis die eerste vraag wat ek wil stel.

Meneer, van die Verdedigingsmag se getalle wat op die noordelike grens van Suidwes ontplooi is, wat in die operasionele gebied ontplooi is, daarvan is 40 persent Swart of Gekleurd. Wil ons hê daardie mense moet help saam met ons om kommunisme te beveg? Of moet hulle aan die kant van die kommuniste gaan staan? En as hulle aan ons kant staan, dan moet hierdie Regering mos so optree dat hy hulle aan sy kant hou nie waar nie?

Laat ek nog 'n voorbeeld gee. Die wêreld het 'n wapenverbod teen ons ingestel soveel so dat ons nie eers 'n skroefie vir 'n vliegtuig in die laaste tyd kon kry nie en ons moes 'n eie krygstuignywerheid opbou, van die grond af. Ons het met die privaatsektor gaan praat. Ek persoonlik het met hulle gaan praat en hulle hulp gevra. Ek het vir die industrialiste in Suid-Afrika gesê ons sal hierdie taak aan julle toevertrou onder ons leiding en

toesig. Gaan julle ons help? En hulle het na vore gekom en ons gehelp. Maar vir u word vertel dat ek heul met die kapitaliste en met die groot geldbase. Daar is selfs die gemene storie versprei dat ek die oorlog wil sien voortgaan in Suidwes-Afrika sodat hulle kan geld maak. Ag, ek ken al hierdie ou storiëtjies. Niks is meer vir my snaaks nie. Net die enigste verskil is dit word agter jou rug gesê en 'n man wat agter 'n man se rug 'n skinderstorie versprei is 'n lafaard.

Meneer die Voorsitter, laat ek nou vir u wys wat het ons reggekry. Ek het hierso die Krygstuig Ontwikkelingskorporasie se syfers voor my. Krygkor. Daarvan is daar oor die 15 000 Blankes wat in Krygkor en sy filiale werk. Hoogs gespesialiseerde mense, meestal. Wat of by PFP, of Lyttleton Ingenieurswerke, of Naschem of Somchem of Musgraves werk. Daar is oor die 5 000 Kleurlinge wat daar werk. Daar is oor die 6 000 Swartmense wat daar werk. In al hierdie tyd wat die wêreld so teen ons tekere gaan het ons dit reggekry om hierdie Witmense, Bruinmense en die Swartmense in Krygkor se diens so tevrede te hou en so gelukkig te hou dat hulle van die beste wapentuig maak wat in die wêreld geproduseer word.

Ek vra net 'n eenvoudige vraag. Moet ons hierdie mense in die kommuniste se hande jaag of moet ons hulle aan ons kant hou?

U sien meneer, dit is die werklikhede van Suid-Afrika. Dis die pad van verstandigheid.

.....
Meneer die Voorsitter, maar as ons veiligheid het en ons het die stappe genceem om ons voorspoed in 'n moeilike wêreld te probeer bevorder, dan bly daar nog oor 'n derde vereiste. Dit is jy moet handel met die menslike materiaal se ideale en hulle geestelike behoeftes. Nou is dit so dat die Afrikanervolk, waarvan u en ek lid is, sedert die Anglo-Boere-oorlog moes veg vir sy selfbeskikking, vir sy regte en vir sy vryheid. Dit is nie alleen vir hom ontnem nie, maar dit was hom misgun en hy moes in die eeu van onreg moes hy worstel en daarna worstel om daardie eeu van onreg ongedaan te maak. Nou is hy aan bewind en het hy die politieke mag en Suid-Afrika in sy hande.

Nou vra ek hierdie vraag aan u. Hoe gaan u met mense se ideale, hulle behoeftes en hulle geestelike verlanges handel? Gaan u met hulle handel soos daar met u s'n gehandel is? Of gaan u met hulle handel soos u gewete vir u sê reg is om te handel?

Daarom het die Nasionale Party onder voorgangers van my reeds 'n rigting ingeslaan dat vir die Swart volkere in Suid-Afrika sê ons dat julle hoef nie wapen op te neem om julle vryheid te kry nie. Julle hoef nie rewolusie te pleeg om jul vryheid te kry nie. Ons sal vir julle selfbeskikking laat toekom binne julle eie gebied, want die historiese loop van sake het meegebring dat daar gebiede in Suid-Afrika is waar julle natuurlike tuistes het.

Daardie natuurlike tuiste word vir hulle met konsolidasie afgerond en in hulle nie rewolusie te pleeg nie, julle kan daar selfregering kry, julle onafhanklikheid kry en ons is bereid om met julle as onafhanklike state saam te werk oor gemeenskaplike belange, oor ekonomiese sake, oor die bestyding van veesiektes, oor gesondheidsdienste, oor ekonomiese ontwikkeling, is ons bereid om met julle op 'n gelyke basis te onderhandel soos ons verlede week met onafhanklike state in Pretoria onderhandel het.

.....
Meneer die Voorsitter, ek sluit af. Ek het aan die begin gesê ons moet ook worstel met die vryheid van ons vaderland. Nie net met sy veiligheid nie, of vrede nie, of voorspoed nie, maar ook met sy vryheid. Daarom, soos die ou Vrystaatse volkslied sê, ons strewe na rang in die statery, strewe hierdie Regering daarna om 'n plek in die statery vir ons vaderland te verseker. Ons hande hang daarvan af. Die voorspoed en veiligheid van Suid-Afrika hang daarvan af. Die vrede in Suid-Afrika hang daarvan af of ons 'n plek kry in die statery. Ons vyande wil ons isoleer. Ons durf hulle nie toelaat om dit te doen nie. Daarom soek ons samewerking met vreedeliewende lande, maar ons weet ons kan uiterste eise van die internasionale gemeenskap nie bevredig nie. Daar is sekere eise wat die internasionale gemeenskap aan ons stel wat ons nooit kan bevredig nie. Ek sê dit heeldag in my kantoor, wanneer ander mense loop en my beswadder en my kollegas loop en beswadder dan sit ek met mense in my kantoor wat uit die buiteland uit kom soos ons gister, môre en vandag weer met mense gesit het om vir hulle te sê daar is sekere eise wat julle aan ons stel wat ons nie aan kan voldoen nie, want ons is nie bereid om selfmoord te pleeg nie. Maar ons weet daar is vriende in die wêreld. Daar is in Duitsland vriende, in Groot-Brittanje vriende, selfs in die Anglo-Boere-oorlog in Groot-Brittanje vriende. Daar is vriende in Amerika, in Spanje, in Frankryk, in Italië, in die Verre Ooste, en ons moet rekening hou met ons vriende in die wêreld. Nie om hulle te bevredig nie maar om dit vir hulle moontlik te maak om vir ons 'n goeie woord te kan doen. Dit is waarop die Regering se beleid gerig is.

Aangeleenthede met Buurstate

Vir ons bure het ons gesê ons wil julle nie binneval nie. Ons wil nie met Zimbabwe in oorlog verkeer nie. Ons wil nie met Angola in oorlog verkeer nie of met Mozambiek of Zambië nie. Ons is bereid om met julle ooreenkomste aan te gaan. Verdedigingsooreenkomste waarin daar staan dat ons sal julle nie aanval nie dan moet julle onderneem om ons nie aan te val nie. Ons sal nie toelaat dat mense van ons grondgebied af op julle grondgebied moeilikheid maak nie, dan moet julle onderneem om nie julle grondgebied te leen om moeilikheid in ons s'n te maak nie. Ons is bereid om met julle ooreenkomste aan te gaan om op ekonomiese gebied saam te werk,

veesiektes te stry, ander gesondheidsdienste te behartig, en ons is bereid om ons kundigheid tot julle beskikking te stel om julle te help ophef. Maar dié sê ons aan julle ons aanbod staan, maar as julle ons grense versteur, of as julle toelaat dat ons grense versteur sal word, dan sal ons terugslaan.

Daarom staan die aanbod vir vrede. Ons soek nie moeilikheid in suider-Afrika nie, maar moenie ons verdraagsaamheid aansien vir swakheid nie.

Daarom bly die Nasionale Regering gebonde aan 'n beleid om terrorisme te beveg. Die Nasionale Regering bly gebonde aan 'n beleid om ondermyning van ons stabiliteit teë te gaan, terwyl hy aan almal in Suid-Afrika 'n verhoogde lewensstandaard probeer verseker.

Uittreksel uit Vrae Tydens die Vergadering

Vraag: Meneer Botha; Ek is lid van die KP . . . Ek stem vanaand saam met die Eerste Minister ten opsigte van die brutale aanslag. Ek wil sê dat ek by u staan en veg vir hierdie land net so hard soos enigeen wat hier staan. My vraag is dit dat die Minister van Buitelandse Sake, meneer Pik Botha, het in Stellenbosch gesê dat ons 'n SWAPO-bewind in Suidwes-Afrika sal erken. Nou vra ek hoekom veg ons teen hulle in Suidwes-Afrika terwyl ons die SWAPO-bewind in Suidwes-Afrika sal erken?

Die Eerste Minister: Kom ons begin by u verklaring van wat Meneer Pik Botha gesê het? Hoekom vertel u nie die volle waarheid nie. Hoekom moet julle altyd 'n skewe stert aan enige ding plak? Is dit dan mooi vir julle? Dis mos nie waar wat u daar sê nie. Nee ek praat noe en u luister. U lyk vir my 'n redelike ordentlike mens. Hoekom moet u met so 'n skewe storie voor 'n klomp mense staan? U is mos net besig om 'n refleksie op uself te werp.

Wat het meneer Pik Botha gesê? Maar u moet dan sê, volgens die pers het meneer Botha dit gesê. . . . Wat het gebeur? Meneer Botha het in 'n toespraak op Stellenbosch tydens die verkiesing gesê — hier is meneer Piet Marais, dit vir u kan sê.

Daar was 'n vraesteller gewees wat vir meneer Pik Botha gevra het, as daar 'n verkiesing plaasvind wat regverdig is in Suidwes, 'n regverdige verkiesing, en SWAPO neem daaraan deel, en hy wen dit wat sal die regering se standpunt dan wees? Toe het meneer Botha gesê ons staan vir 'n regverdige verkiesing. Dit wil sê 'n verkiesing waaraan daar geen buitelandse inmenging is nie. As dit regverdig is, wat beteken dit dat almal wat daaraan deelneem moet nie onder 'n ander land se invloed wees nie. Enige party wat so 'n verkiesing wen sal deur ons natuurlik erken moet word as die konstitusionele owerheid.

Dis mos 'n ander storie as wat u nou kom verkondig. . . . Weet u dan nie dat die hele stryd oor Suidwes gaan oor die woorde; "a fair and just

election". Die hele stryd in Suidwes gaan daaroor. Ons wil nie toelaat dat op die punt van 'n geweer vir die mense voorgeskrywe word wie hulle regering moet wees nie. Ons sê die mense van Suidwes-Afrika moet self besluit en as dit nou 'n "fair decent election" is — 'n regverdige verkiesing, en daar is nie buitelandse invloede wat daarop inwerk nie, en die gewere is stilgemaak en die politieke partye neem konstitusioneel deel daaraan. Het u geweet dat SWAPO ook 'n binnelandse vleuel het? Nouja, sê nou hulle neem daaraan deel, wil u hê ons moet die mense van Suidwes se keuse oor wie hulle moet regeer smoor? Regtig u behoort dit ook te kan verstaan.

Teks verskaf deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Departemente van Buitelandse Sake en Inligting.

Publications

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Compiled by Susan Jean Gowan, 1982.
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The second of a three volume bibliography on Portuguese-Speaking Africa has been published by the South African Institute of International Affairs.

This volume focusses on the former Portuguese colony of *Mozambique*. It covers both pre- and post-independent Mozambique from 1900 to 1979. The bibliography comprises 2 077 entries in all languages, concentrating on politics and government, economics and development, and its foreign relations. Documentation on the liberation movements forms an integral part of the work.

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