

Kantoor van die Staatspresident State President's Office Kabinetsekretariaat Cabinet Secretariat

# **NOTULE MINUTES**

SAMESPREKINGS: STAATSPRESIDENT MET KABINET VAN DIE OORGANGS-REGERING VAN NASIONALE EENHEID (ORNE) VAN SWA: 21 MEI 1986, KABINETSKAMER, TUYNHUYS, KAAPSTAD

## Teenwoordig

### (i) RSA:

Die Staatspresident
Minister J C Heunis
Minister R F Botha
Minister F W de Klerk
Minister B J du Plessis
Adjunk-minister A J Vlok
Mnr L A Pienaar (Administrateur-generaal)
Dr J P Roux
Genl J J Geldenhuys
Mnr D Auret

#### (ii) SWA:

Mnr S Cleary

Minister F J Kozonguisi (tans Voorsitter van die Kabinet)
Minister A Shipanga
Minister E van Zyl
Minister D F Mudge
Minister M K Katjioungua
Minister D Bezuidenhout
Minister J G A Diergaardt
Minister A Matjilla
Mnr T Boonzaaier (Sekretaris van die Kabinet)

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### President

I wish you all welcome. As usual, you know you are welcome to have discussions with us. In that spirit I can assure you, we are meeting here this morning. U het blykbaar die gevoel gehad dat u moet oor sekere aangeleenthede met ons so 'n bietjie gedagtes wissel en van ons kant is daar miskien ook een of twee vrae wat ons graag sou wou stel en gedagtes wat ons wil uitspreek. Ek dink nie die vergadering is bedoel om 'n vergadering van besluite te wees nie, maar eerder 'n informele gedagtewisseling. As ek verkeerd is moet u dit vir my sê, maar dit is soos ek dit benader. Ek gaan nie my kollegas aan my regterhand aan u voorstel nie. Ek dink nie dit is nodig nie. Hulle is almal bekend en ek neem aan ons ken al die Ministers uit Suidwes.

Daar is aan my 'n agenda voorgelê, net vir die goeie orde en ek wil dan die eerste drie punte, tewete die implementering van Resolusie 435, die posisie in SWA na l Augustus 1986 en die skakeling en oorlegpleging met die Kabinet van die Oorgangsregering. I suggest we start discussing these points and I leave it to you to start.

## Mr Konzonguisi

Mr President, before I come to the items on the agenda, and possibly myself and my colleagues, I wish to express, on behalf of the Cabinet, our appreciation to you, Mr President, and the government of SA for once more agreed to meet us at our request. We appreciate it very much, we feel this is an indication of the government's preparedness to as often as the President has indicated, time and again, that it is for us to take decisions regarding matters in our own country and that this

government is always prepared to give assistance where it can. It is in that spirit that we take the agreement to meet us and also may go further and to state that on our side also that we have to be open whenever we have a problem, we should indicate, we should not go behind this government's back, we should come straight to this government and say this is our problem. As Mr President has indicated, I don't think we have come here for decisions as such, but we have come here to exchange views, may be to ask a few questions and to answer any questions, and most important thing, I think this is the first time that we are meeting since the inauguration of the government in SWA and therefore, I should mention that we have had few achievements in a very difficult period of only 10 months. It is not a period in which a government can be charged in terms of success, but I think our achievements do not so much lie in what we have done, but in the direction we have taken. I should mention that today in the country itself, whatever groups may be at this moment organizing against us, politically, we are quite satisfied that the people are prepared to give us a chance.

Mr President, I personally feel that I don't think that the problem in our country is political as such, the problem is whether we can provide what the people want. The people are tired with this political organisation comes to say this and the other one coming to say that. Today what they are interested in is what goods we can deliver. This, I can say with the help of the SA government, materially, we have been able to endeavour to provide for the people. It is not possible to satisfy each and everybody, but I can assure you, Mr President, that at least we have it planned that we should do whatever we think is best for the people. I told a group of businessmen from SA, that what we are trying to do is to provide our people Not necessarily with what they want. with what they need. Usually it is the politicians who want things, but the people always have needs.

On our side we have the time to maintain international contacts. This flows directly from the visit of the Multi Party Conference at that time to Lusaka, to the Ivory Coast and elsewhere. Particularly my department has had to continue to try to maintain these contacts which were made. In the end, may be, they could produce something for us. Recently, this weekend, I saw the President of the Ivory Coast and, of course, I did indicate to him that we are coming to see the State President of SA this week, and of course he did say to us that he is seeing representatives of this government and whatever message he, would have, convey it to them. But what I wanted the State President and the government of SA to know, is that at this point we are trying to, at his own request, trying to get him to organize some support for us in Africa, and to this effect we had addressed a letter to the various African leaders and this is the letter I want to discuss with him to ascertain whether from his point of view this is a kind of matter that would help him in his efforts to try and secure us support. But at least to make sure that the opposition is lessened. This is the letter we have presented to him and he agreed to that letter and this is what we send to the various African leaders in due course.

To come back to the agenda today, this request of ours goes back to around March or April when we did indicate that we had a few things to discuss. Apart from the progress, or otherwise, we may have made during our short term of office, we had problems in ascertaining exactly what the relationship, in terms of consultation, is between the Government of South Africa and our administration when it comes to matters that have to do with the future of SWA. In a very short discussion this related to the announcment of the President on the 4th of March, that had to do with the position after the 1st of August, that is the implementation of Resolution 435. And at that particular time it was the feeling of the Cabinet that

they did not have more or less time to think about that, because they were informed only by 12 o'clock that Mr President was going to make the announcement at 2.30 that afternoon. At that particular time it was very much felt that perhaps Cabinet should have known that before that time, because there were many questions which were being asked by people in the coun-But I must hasten to mention, Mr President, that today the Cabinet would regard that as water that has passed under the bridge. We think there are more important things we can decide on or consider for the future of the country. And the main concern of the government, of this administration, is what is going to happen after the 1st of August, because both ways whether the Angolan government agrees that the Cubans should leave the country, we still need to know exactly how we are going to go about it in the implementation of Resolution 435. Or if the Angolans do not agree that the Cubans should leave by then, what the position is going to be of the transitional government of SWA. This simply is a matter of trying to clear ourselves in terms of what our planning, in terms of our answers to the people in the country, what we can explain, how we can explain to the people. This is why our main discussion here should be around what the position is going to be on Auqust the 1st. As we can see, more or less all the subjects here are related, whether it is 435 or whether it is the position of the transitional government after August the 1st or whether it is the question of consultation.

I have merely summarised what there is in the minds of the Cabinet and, with your permission, Mr President, I should at this particular point, try to ask any of my colleagues whether they can add any flesh to what I have just now related. Mr State President, I should also thank you very much for having made it possible, transport-wise, for us to reach Cape Town.

## President to the United Nations' continuing bies-

Thank you, Mr Kozonguisi. Is there anybody else in the SWA Cabinet who would like to make a contribution?

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#### Mnr Van Zyl

Nie in dié stadium nie, dankie mnr die Voorsitter.

#### Mnr Mudge

Mnr die President, net in aansluiting by wat my kollega gesê het, wil ek graag net op een punt wat hy genoem het uitbrei. U sal onthou dat ons ook by geleentheid daaroor gesels het dat daar altyd die probleem bestaan van 'n gebrek aan koördinasie, nie alleen tussen ons en moontlik tussen u regering nie, maar ook tussen verskillende instansies en departemente, en ek dink wanneer ons praat van konsultasie dan moet ons dalk oorweeg hoe ons dit kan doen. Ons sou graag u menings ook daaroor wil hoor. Hoe kan ons 'n gesprek bewerkstellig, 'n voortdurende gesprek bewerkstellig?

## President we we will depart, we will deviate, from our mtan-

Let us first take this point. Thank you for raising it. I wish to refer you, for the record sake, to my statement that I made on the 17th June in Windhoek. I think you have it available. I said there, when addressing that meeting, and I quote: "You will recall that South Africa had envisaged that SWA/Namibia should become independent before the end of 1978." We are long passed that date. "We are disappointed, as you are, that this objective has not yet been attained. The fact that SWA has not yet acceded to independence may be ascribed to the deviations by the United Nations and SWAPO from the original

Contact Group proposals to the United Nations' continuing biassed in favour of SWAPO and to the continuing threat posed by the presence of more than 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola." Then I proceeded to deal with certain ground rules for relations between the states of the sub-continent and I spoke about it, I don't want to repeat them, they are available in my speech as reported. Just for interest sake, firstly, "no state should make its territory available to individuals and organisations who wish to promote or prepare for violence against other states in the region" and I still adhere to this principle. Secondly, "no foreign forces should be permitted to intervene in the region." I still adhere to that. When I made the further statement as regards to the 1st of August, I did it in the same spirit as I made that statement in Windhoek last year. There was nothing new in it. I was only trying to expedite matters to see whether we cannot get the Cubans out because we all know that the United States has taken a very strong stand on the question of the presence of Cubans in Angola, and we agree with the United States that, unless the Cubans go, there can be no proper solution, not only for SWA, but for Southern Africa. I want to pose this question this morning. Say for instance, let us take an argument, that the United States and we we will depart, we will deviate, from our standing on the presence of the Cubans and the Cubans can now stay and we will carry out 435. Say for instance, I am only posing this question as an item. Have you ever considered what would happen? The only thing that will happen is that South West Africa will replace Angola as the battle field in the South Western part of this continent. Because I can assure you, the Republic is not going to take it lying down. In that case, you will see a full force of South African Defence units making their appearance in South West Africa, and then we will force the Cubans out with military force. Then there is going to be a hell of a battle, there

is no question about it, make no mistake about it. It is not only my point of view. This will be the consequences if we allow things to take that course and I think the United States is very wise to say: Let the Cubans go, let them depart, and you have a new ball game in Southern Africa. That very moment, if the Cubans depart from Southern Africa, the whole of Southern Africa will switch from a highly embattled area into a new phase of development and discussion and deliberation, as I see it. And the only reason why I made that statement, was to test the possibility of Angola agreeing, because Angola is going down the drain, I can assure you, I know what I am talking about. Angola is going down the drain and before they totally collapse, surely reasonable people in Angola must say: Why keep the Cubans here and destroy our country? This was only a test on our part to deal with it. It was in accordance with the statement I made on the 17th June.

Secondly, perhaps we could have made a more positive gesture on informing you in time that I was going to make such a statement. In future we will remember it, and the link between you and us will be the Administrator-General. He will be informend and he will then call you in, to in confidence inform you on what you should know. But on the other hand you must also remember, we cannot always, in dealing with these international matters, we cannot always first consult and then move. I believe in moving first. You will have to live with it as long as I am here. I grant you that we must, as far as possible, inform you and when we deviate, of course, that is a different matter. If we deviate from agreements or understandings, but I don't think this was a deviation from what had happened on the 17th of June, the Administrator-General must be used as a link and we will have to keep him informed. But sometimes it even happens that we move so fast that we can't even inform him, as happened last Sunday night.

I must say, Mr Konzonguisi, I agree fully with you that you should go out of your way, make all the efforts possible, to inform African leaders and to try and seek from them their support for a reasonable solution. If the African leaders, especially in Southern Africa, come forward with a solution which is better than 435, surely we will have a look at it, but they are, consistantly, they are telling the world that 435 should be carried out. But I know that it it is to be carried out, there is one precondition, the Cubans must leave, and the Angolans know it, the President of Angola knows it, he knows it full well from information we gave him first hand. Dr Savimbi knows it, he is fully informed on this principle and he agrees with it. The United States is very strong on this principle. So you see we are dealing here with quite a number of factors which are important. But the moment the Cubans leave, I say again, there will be a new ball game. I don't want to discuss with you my own feelings on 435, that is well-known, but on behalf of the Government, I have declared that I will carry out commitments of my predecessor in this regard and as far as the international community is concerned. But it is also placed on record that as long as the Cubans are there, no 435 will be carried out.

Any further points you wish to raise, before we proceed to others?

#### Mnr Van Zyl

Kan ek net 'n vraag stel? U het nou gesê dat, en ek kan u verseker ons het baie waardering daarvoor dat die Suid-Afrikaanse Kabinet staan baie vas op sy standpunt dat die Kubane Angola moet verlaat. In u verklaring het u ook verwys na "a fixed and satisfactory agreement to be entered into." Ek sal net graag miskien groter duidelikheid daaroor wou gehad het.

Beteken die verklaring wat u gemaak het die fisiese verwydering van die Kubane uit Angola uit, of beteken dit die aangaan van 'n ooreenkoms in terme waarvan hulle verwyder kan word?

#### President

Nee, u kan nie verwag dat die Kubane almal in 'n bondel op 'n skip moet klim en weg wees nie. Daar moet 'n bevredigende reëling wees, 'n ooreenkoms wat almal bevredig. Minister Botha kan miskien vir u uiteensit wat ons tot hiertoe met almal se kennis bespreek het in dié verband.

#### Mnr Botha

Dit is presies soos u sê. Die sleutelwoord hier is, soos die President gesê het: Ooreenkoms. Wat ookal daardie program of skedule of getalle of tye is, dit moet deur ons ooreengekom word. So u kan verseker wees dat hierdie regering sal nie ooreenkom op 'n program wat nie 'n wesenlike onttrekking van Kubaanse troepe tot gevolg het nie, volgens 'n realistiese skedule wat nie 'n toestand sal laat ontstaan waar ons troepe verminder het en hulle s'n in sulke getalle kan aanbly dat die posisie nie besleg kan word as daar omgedraai moet word nie. Ons sal nie tot 'n ooreenkoms raak tensy meganismes ook geskep word in die ooreenkoms waardeur geverifieer en bekragtig kan word, dat troepe wat onttrek moet word, inderdaad onttrek is en nie sal terugkom nie en nie vervang sal word nie. beskryf het: "Other hostile forces." Ons sal nie omgee as troepe van Taiwan soontoe kom nie, ons sal nie daarvoor omgee nie, maar die ooreenkoms is: "Not to be replaced by any other hostile forces." As hulle op 'n grootskaal byvoorbeeld burgerskap toeken aan Kubaanse troepe, dan sal ons nie toestem nie. Wat ons aanbetref bly hulle Kubaanse troepe vir doeleindes van

onttrekking. Ons dring nie aan op 'n absolute onttrekking nie. Soos die President gesê het, ons sal nie die druppels in die tenks tel nie, maar daar moet 'n gelykmatigheid wees van vermindering van Suid-Afrikaanse troepe teenoor onttrekking van Kubaanse troepe. Nou kan ek vir u sê, dit is vertroulik, dat twee jaar gelede reeds het die Luanda regering in beginsel erken, die eerste keer, dit het ons baie gehelp, dat daar 'n verband is tussen Kubaanse onttrekking en uitvoering van Resolusie 435. Ons was 'n bietjie onder skoot, internasionaal, by die VVO en selfs hier by die PFP en ander linksgesindes in hierdie land. Hulle het gesê hierdie "linkage" van ons, waar het dit vandaan gekom, dit is nie in die aanvanklike 435 nie. Toe Luanda erken dat daar 'n "linkage" is, het dit ons baie gehelp, maar hulle program het ons nie gehelp nie. Hulle wou die eerste Kubaanse troepe laat onttrek, agt maande na die begin-fase van die implementering van Resolusie 435. Dit is 'n sewe maande fase. So jou volle komponent Kubane sit tot die agtste maand noord van die grens. Die Amerikaners het dit so aanvaar, maar dit wil nie sê dat die Regering en Unita, nie bereid sal wees om tot 'n wesenlike onttrekking, wat geverifieer moet word deur meganismes waar op ooreengekom moet word, sal toestem nie. Ons aan hierdie kant, die President, ekself, genl Malan en die ander wat ten nouste hiermee betrokke is, ons het nog nooit getwyfel, van daardie dag, 5 jaar gelede, terwyl u aan die bewind gekom het, het ons nie getwyfel nie, het ons nog nooit getwyfel hier kom nie Kubaanse onttrekking nie. kan alleen Kubaanse onttrekking kry as daar rekonsiliasie in Angola is. As jy rekonsiliasie in Angola kry, is dit verby met Dos Santos. Die moment as hulle met Savimbi begin praat, en dit is dr Savimbi se eie beoordeling, ons stem saam, dan is dit verby met die huidige regime in Luanda en dan is dit finaal verby met SWAPO.

### Mnr Van Zyl

Ek het nou die dag oor dié onderwerp baie uitvoerig gesels met die Amerikaners en ek het onder andere die vraag aan hulle gestel, uit ons oogpunt gesien sal ons graag die versekering wil hê dat of die Suid-Afrikaanse regering of die Amerikaners of beide daardie ooreenkoms, waarna u verwys het, sal waarborg. Dit is uit ons oogpunt gesien. Ons kyk nou weer 'n bietjie uit 'n ander hoek na die ding as Suid-Afrika of Amerika, met ander woorde die ooreenkoms moet nie net "fixed and satisfactory" wees nie. Die ooreenkoms moet nie net al die dinge bevat, ook wat u nou daar genoem het en waaroor ek baie bly is nie, maar 'n mag wat daartoe in staat is, ons is nie in staat daartoe nie, moet die uitvoering van daardie ooreenkoms waarborg.

#### Mnr Botha

Ekskuus President, mag ek net help hier. There is no guarantee to guarantee an international guarantee. 'n Deel van die ooreenkoms is dat die moment as daardie ooreenkoms verbreek word, hou die Suid-Afrikaanse regering op om Resolusie 435 te implementeer. Dis jou waarborg.

#### President

Say for instance for argument sake, the Cubans leave and SWA achieves its independence, then you will have the same position that you have just described, namely that you haven't got forces to guarantee your independence and before that moment you will have to decide for yourself what you are going to do to maintain your independence.

## Mr Kozonguisi

With your permission, Mr State President, I should ask my kollegas nou. Die Staatspresident het nou gepraat van konsultasie en gepraat van hoe ons ingelig word en ek dink ek wil net van my kollegas seker maak dat ons nou mooi verstaan het, of dit nou duidelik by ons is hoe die konsultasie sal plaasvind en hoe ons ingelig sal word. Ek wil hê ons moet dit hier regstel sodat môre en oormôre ons nie sal terugkom en sê, ons is nie ingelig of ons is nie gekonsulteer nie. Dit is waarom ek, voordat ons na die ander item gaan, ek wil duidelikheid van my kollegas hê sodat hulle dit hier voor die Staatspresident kan stel.

## Mr Katjioungua

Thank you, Mr President, and a very good morning. Just on the issue of consultations. Of course the AG remains the link between yourself here and we down there. But just in that particular direction, if we cannot consider - now, of course you have got a lot of work and it takes a lot of time sometimes to see you on certain matters and may be if we cannot consider structions of ministerial committees that possibly could meet on a continuous basis to discuss mutual concerns and problems through the channels of communication of the AG. If one cannot look at a continuous basis, more systematically, not just when the problems come out, but on a continuous basis whatever problems may come up of mutual concern.

#### President

I have no objection that if there is a necessity for discussions and consultations, it not always takes place under my

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chairmanship. There are Ministers in the Republic of SA with whom you can consult, but then it should be arranged through this link that we have created. It should be arranged through this link and Foreign Affairs must know about it, my Office must know about it and we must all know about it, I mean I cannot agree to consultations taking place of which I am not informed.

## Mr Shipanga

Mr President, we are seeing the lights of some of the departments in your government which are directly on the ground there. I am happy to see Mr Du Plessis here, he is the man of money, naturally the Foreign Minister, and Mr Vlok. These are the big departments we are in need of having consultations with. The money are not grown like mushrooms in that country. I was thinking, Mr President, and this is not really a formal proposal, but the Department of Foreign Affairs and other departments, may need to be consulted with and of course it is just correct, it must be made through the AG and with the prior knowledge and full approval of the State President.

#### President

Not necessarily approval, but I must be informed, because the Ministers, if they feel the necessity they can do so. I am not deciding for the Ministers here everything they should do, they are independent men, who must use there discretion, but the only point I am raising is, I must be informed.

#### Mr Botha

Mr President, perhaps we could agree even today, perhaps to start off, we could have a meeting with whoever you want on our side, either in Windhoek or elsewhere, it depends on you, not give it publicity and set aside a number of hours and thrash out a lot of matters in various technical fields, financial fields, co-operation in various fields etc, because we cannot go on forever like this.

#### Mr Kozonguisi

Mr President, what is being suggested here is that generally we can have these consultations through the AG, but specifically, as was said by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and I think what he is suggesting is a particular meeting, which as far as I am concerned, it is an idea I have discussed with him, we will have a full day of meeting, say with the various departments, Foreign Affairs, Defence, Finance, so that they can hear what our problems are. We can put them in detail because every time we meet the State President, we can only touch on this because there are so much to be discussed. That day could be spent and that is something that should have happened before, even before taking off, but I think this is what is being suggested and I think this is something which we are going to see to it that it happens, through the AG, it can be arranged. But I think that is agreed upon, on this consultations in terms of administrative matters and so on. What I want, before I hand it back to you, Mr State President, I want my colleagues to indicate whether in terms of consultation about the future of this country, the way the State President has put it, that is, do we accept that or not? I want us to be clear about that,

because there is a point, which he also made, that there may be times when we may not have to be consulted, when something had to be done and we may have to be informed later, he did state that. So what I would very much like to be indicated, is do we accept the position as he put it or not?

## President

One thing I want your Cabinet to accept for once and for all. We want to see South West Africa independent, but we want to see South West Africa an independent country with whom we can remain on friendly terms and we would like you to progress and to prosper. If you accept that, then you will know that at no stage is it necessary to distrust the actions of the SA Government as far as you are concerned. We will always be honest with you, which I am going to do now.

Firstly, you say that you had a good year. I know that you had a good year. I am informed quite often on what is happening in that country. We had a bad year, and SA plays godmother to many people around us, even in Africa. We have a lot of children using us as a milk cow and shouting at us in the company of others. We had a bad year and our Minister of Finance is not in big trouble, but he has many serious problems. I can assure you it is a very difficult problem to decide on priorities for the SA Government. We have, established by Parliament, a priority committee. This committee meets under die chairmanship of the State President from time to time. There we try to arrange our priorities in such a way that we can deal with all our commitments in a reasonable way. And we don't always succeed. That brings me to a thing that worries me about the SWA administration, without interfering now in your

affairs. But as a friend, I know that you are experiencing some trouble, especially in the northern parts of your country, with the inflow of foreign money, which is being used against you as a government. I understand it amounts to more or less R8 million per annum, used by the CCN against the interests of you as a government. I also know that you are spending quite a large amount on trying to convince the outside world of your good cause and I would suggest that you also try and rearrange your priorities, so as to use more money to counteract the activities internally and use less money for outside activities. I think we must try and do more to have your case put by way of the Department of Foreign Affairs, because it is no use you telling the world what good cause you have and you loose the internal fight. I would rather see you win the internal fight. That applies to us too. That is why we are spending millions and hundreds of millions on the internal fight against forces who would like to overthrough South Africa. To take one example. On education we are spending large amounts this year because we believe it is right, because we believe it is good, but also because we know that it can contribute to stability. Now in rearranging your priorities, as against the attacks from these quarters, used by the CCN against you as a government, I would really seriously suggest that you go back and consider it.

Then I wish to make two further observations and perhaps you can reply to it. I pleaded with you during my last visit to Windhoek that you must broaden the base of your government and as far as my information goes, it doesn't seem that you have made very much headway in this regard. Perhaps you could inform us what you have in mind. Because if you want to succeed, you will have to broaden your base so as to enable you as a

government to speak more and more on behalf of all reasonable people in your country. I am not referring to revolutionary elements, because revolutionary elements you cannot speak to.

Secondly, I would just like to listen to you on another topic which I have very strong feelings on and that is the protection of minority rights in your country. I don't want to prescribe to you but it is a well-known fact that also in abolishing the old systems in South Africa itself, I stand very strongly on this question of minority rights, not only white minority rights, not only coloured minority rights, also black minority rights. Because essentially your country is like ours, a country of minorities. You can argue just as you wish, your country is a country of minorities and unless we accommodate these minorities in future systems, peace is not possible. That is my considered opinion.

Then lastly, I have with great interest followed certain suggestions and proposals you were making on the future possible Constitution that you have in mind. Apart from my suggestion about minority groups, I just want to raise this one point. I understand you have in mind a Parliament consisting of two Houses with 60 members each. Gentleman, a parliament is like a crocodile, if it is too big you will spend all your money on providing for these large numbers and you will find that you have no basis on which to build that Parliament. I am very much in favour, and it is a well-known fact, as far as our country is concerned, to follow something on the road of the Swiss system. We cannot compare ourselves in Southern Africa with Switzerland, because Switzerland is a highly developed

country as you know, it is a wealthy country, the communities in that country are highly developed people, they can perhaps afford a National Council of a maximum of 200 and a Council of States of 44. They can perhaps, after all their bonds they have made over a period of 250 years, they can perhaps achieve this and pay for it, because they pay for it sometimes with money also from South Africa. I am not interfering in your affairs, I am only expressing an opinion. Won't you consider not to increase the numbers of your Parliament to such an extent that you have a top-heavy Parliament? Mustn't you think more in terms of devolution of power as we are trying to achieve now in South Africa. I am only raising these matters, I am not laying down proviso's for you, but I am raising it because I want you to think about it.

## Mr Kozonguisi

Thank you, Mr President, the ball is back in our court on what the President has put forward, whether we could have any comments on that, and if I can just recollect, the President has spoken about the money that is being spent on by the CCN, that much we know, and he has indicated that would we not think in terms of spending more money to counter the work of our enemies inside the country rather than outside, and he spoke about the base of government, whether we could not think in terms of broadening it, and the protection of minorities in the country, how we suggest we can proceed about that, how you can protect the minorities. And then, of course, the number of members in Parliament which we envisaged, whether it is not better to decrease the members of the Parliament and to think more in terms of devolution. He has stated clearly that he is a concerned person about what is happening in our country. He is not interfering, he is merely stating things as he sees what are some

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of our problems. So in that spirit we would wish that we could respond to what he has said, whether we respond right away or whether, on some matters we may have to find time to think about, before we can respond.

## Mr Shipanga

Mr President, I will only address myself on two points, that is the CCN as well as the broadening of the base. Actually the CCN is now openly SWAPO. They had a conference in Windhoek, called by the CCN for the parties opposed to our government. They met SWAPO, they met all kinds of elements, but I think the time is coming, we have talked about that among our ranks, something has to be done. But then, Mr President, you are right about counter-acting the CCN/SWAPO alliance money, with the money of the State also. Because it is no use to prevent people trying to say they are helping those who are in need. I think the time will come when, I think, we have to look at the South African Council of Churches, we could have a closer look at the report of the Eloff Commission, whether we could not do something on those lines.

Concerning the broadening of the Government base, Mr President, we started off first with 8 parties ... two left the MPC. We have had a problem Mr President. When Mr Garueb, while sitting with us in the MPC, the Multi Party Conference, he used to disappear, he claims he went to Botswana ... But all the same, he was in Lusaka informing Sam Nujoma about our plans. We are afraid, if it is only for the sake of broadening, we may also accommodate some snakes who are working with our enemy. It is, I think, Mr President, we believe it is better to work with people we know they are not in ... with your enemy. Things are

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happening in our country, we know which groups are being used now, trying to get information from our Government. Since, if we have to talk about other parties, SWAPO is not one of them, they would not come in, it is Garueb and Kalangula pulled out of their own free will out of the MPC ...... moved freely together. Kalangula refused to be associated with the MPC, from the beginning. When ... talked to him to spread unfounded rumours against the security forces in our country, as well as to make problems for the Defence Force personnel, whether they are teachers or doctors, we don't know. Where Mr Kalangula must come into this Government is not clear to me, whether he could really contribute positively. He may even bring a lot of problems and confusion, I don't know.

### Mnr Mudge

Mnr die Staatspresident, nee baie kort, ek wil weer terugkom na die struktuur wat ons moet skep om hierdie konsultasie te kan behartig. Ek wil net sê dit moet van u kant af kom hoe u voel u Regering verteenwoordig moet word, want ek wil nie graag hê ons moet nou naderhand indiwidueel na Ministers toe gaan en vir die AG miskien probleme skep nie. Ek dink dit sal goed wees as u maar vir ons sê die volgende van my mense sal beskikbaar wees en ons moet van ons kant besluit wie ons gaan verteenwoordig. Daar mag gevalle wees, dit het al gebeur en ek hoop dit het u goedkeuring weggedra, maar ek het dit deur middel van die AG gedoen, wanneer ek byvoorbeeld finansiële aangeleenthede met die Adjunk-minister van Finansies bespreek het. Maar dan het dit nou nie oor die konstitusionele toekoms gegaan nie, dit het suiwer net oor doeane en aksyns gegaan. So mag dit wees dat ons ook met ander Ministers wou gesels het.

Mnr die Staatspresident, as u my sal toelaat wil ek net graag een opmerking maak. Toe u gepraat het van minderheidsgroepe, het u dit op so 'n manier gedoen dat ek dit nie kon misverstaan het nie, dit was goed bedoel en ek aanvaar dit so. Ek wil net vir u sê dat ek persoonlik baie bekommerd is oor een minderheidsgroep in Suidwes en dit is die minderheidsgroep wat die verkiesing gaan verloor, die politieke minderheidsgroep in vergelyking met SWAPO. Ek dink dit is die minderheidsgroep waaroor ons die meeste bekommerd moet wees want dit is hulle op wie die ander minderheidsgroepe weer moet staatmaak om 'n reg van bestaan in die land te hê. As SWAPO die verkiesing wen, is daar in elk geval geen toekoms vir minderheidsgroepe nie. As ons as 'n politieke ideologiese groep, wat anti-kommunisties en anti-marxisties is, as ons maar net eers die hekkie kan spring, dan dink ek tussen ons wat hier sit, is daar, wat die ander minderheidsbelange betref, geweldig baie begrip, ek het dit agtergekom. Ek dink nie ons wil ortodoks wees in die wyse waarop ons dit doen nie, miskien moet u ons toelaat om maar op ons eie manier dit te doen. Maar dat ons belange daarby het, ek twyfel geen oomblik nie, ek dink daar bestaan daarvoor 'n besondere waardering en ons sal dit miskien op ons eie manier doen.

U weet, om die basis van die regering te verbreed, ek het al 'n paar pogings in my lewe aangewend om te kyk of ons mense kan bymekaar maak, maar ek kan vir u dit sê, u weet dit ook beter as ek, dit is makliker om 10 000 mense aan jou kant te kry as om een leier aan jou kant te kry. Gewoonlik vind 'n mens, vat die leier dan het jy die mense. Ons het een so 'n geval gehad dat ons dit reggekry het sover, andersins dink ek moet ons maar die mense onder die leiers uitvat en dan kyk ons of ons nie daarmee vinniger kan vorder nie. Ek maak net die stelling,

ek is nie 'n profeet wat dit betref nie, maar ek dink dit is werklik 'n probleem wat ons met 'n leier soos Garueb het. Hy is 'n draadsitter, hy was sy lewe lank nog 'n draadsitter en u weet, as u net, ek weet u propageer hom nou nie, maar as u net dink, ons het probeer om hom in die Turnhalle te kry, hy was amper daar toe loop hy weg. Ons het probeer om hom in 'n vorige regering te kry, hy was amper daar toe loop hy weg, ons het hom halfpad in hierdie regering in gehad, hy was amper daar toe loop hy weg. Ons het nou al drie keer die trein gestop om hom op te laai, hy klim nie op nie, hy sal ook nooit opklim nie. So al genade is ons vat maar sy mense en ons los hom waar hy is dat hy maar na SWAPO toe gaan. Ek is bevrees mnr Kalangula is presies dieselfde. Hy sal nie opklim nie en ek dink die eerste tekens is daar dat sy mense besig is om hom te verlaat. sal maar die mense oplaai en op dié manier dink ek sal ons ons basis sover as moontlik verbreed sodat ons die bevolking agter ons kan kry. Ons begryp die belangrikheid daarvan.

### Mr Katjioungua

Mr President, I fully agree with your advice in terms of our priorities and I think that when we discuss our budget, we should make a number of calculations in terms of domestic requirements and concerns. I fully agree with you and I think that when we come to the point, we must definitely take that into account. CCN is buying people and it is very funny that they are not buying the most hungry ones in the streets who were looking for jobs on the pavements, but they are sorting out communities who are political sensitive ... but they are very selective. To broaden the base of this government, I think one can also look at it from an entirely different perspective. I think that the capacity of this Government of

ours the ... as we call it, to deliver the goods to the people, to be seen as being helpful, to provide jobs, schools, services etc. Those are the things that will make the people to look more sympathetically to us than the pure objective of trying to get over political figures in the Government. People must see us as big, a change, a progress for them and that type of thing. On the 12th August 1983 I went to ... to talk to Peter Kalangula. Kalangula's problem is Dirk Mudge ... political problems, .....

One morning we were having breakfast at the table and Mr Mudge, .... The last point is, minority rights. In section 9 of our Bill of Rights, we think we have gone an extra mile to provide that protection ... I also agree with you, Mr President, that two institutions are going to be too expensive for us, therefore we should try to make a trade-off between accommodating everybody and making things economic. I think that is very important. I agree with you about the devolution of things to allow people to take part in local affairs.

#### President

You see there is one thing that the people of SWA have in common with the South Africans. You are a lot of individualists and so are we. I have more or less 18 million vice-presidents in South Africa, telling me how to do my job. I think you will find that you have more than a million vice-presidents or vice-chairmen of your Cabinet in South West Africa. So the only solution is a system of devolution of power to allow people to carry the responsibility and that is why I raised this matter. In Russia you don't need the devolution of power because there have been slaves for more than 600 years.

## Mnr Van Zyl

Dit gaan baie kort wees. Met dit wat mnr Katjioungua gesê het oor die benadering ten opsigte van minderheidsregte en wat u gesê het, stem ek saam, ek dink nie dit is nodig dat ek daaroor enige iets hoef te herhaal nie. Ek wil ook dus net baie kortliks twee punte aansny en dit is die kwessie van ons prioriteite. Ek gaan nie nou daaroor in besonderhede praat nie, maar ek wil net vir u een ding noem. Daar is verskillende maniere waarop jy die CCN-aksie kan beveg. Maar ek dink die belangrikste manier waarop jy hom kan beveg is byvoorbeeld om die mense, en nou verwys ek meer bepaald na die werkloses, tevrede te stel. Hulle sit, ek belowe vir u, hulle sit op die sypaadjies, met ander woorde daardie mense het amper nie 'n ander alternatief nie, as om kwaad te doen nie. Ek gaan nie vandag nie, maar ek rig my nou tot u Minister van Finansies, ek belowe nou vir u as ek R5 miljoen in die hande kan kry, dan praat ek nou op landbougebied, kan ek 'n skema in werking stel, hy is klaar uitgewerk, in terme waarvan ons 10 duisend werksgeleenthede vir 'n jaar kan skep. Dit is nie net 10 duisend werksgeleenthede wat ons skep nie, maar ons gaan in daardie proses ook 'n ander groot probleem van ons oplos en dit is vir bos .. Die 5 miljoen word onmiddellik 10 miljoen want dit sal op 'n rand-vir-rand basis gedoen moet word. Ek gaan nie nou vandag in besonderhede daaromtrent nie, maar u weet dit is daardie soort ding waar Suid-Afrika R500, R600 miljoen spandeer aan werkloosheid, kan ons van baie kleiner syfers praat om min of meer dieselfde soort effek te kry. Maar ek belowe vir u ek kan nie daardie 5 miljoen kry nie. Dit is my dilemma. Die skema is klaar uitgewerk. Dit noem ek maar net so in die verbygaan.

Kan ek net baie vinnig nog net een punt aanhaal, mnr die President, en dit is die kwessie van die verbreding van basis. Ek dink daar is tussen ons almal nie presies dieselfde beklemtoning nie. Miskien lê die aksente nie altyd op dieselfde plek nie. Ek wil nie herhaal wat my kollegas gesê het nie, ons ken ons persoonlikhede, ons politieke leiers in SWA, u ken ook baie van hulle, soos u ook u eie kollegas in Suid-Afrika ken. Dit gaan nie vir my daaroor nie. Dit gaan nie vir my oor die aanvaarbaarheid van byvoorbeeld 'n Kalangula, of 'n Garueb of so nie, dit gaan vir my oor die legitimiteit van die Oorgangsregering en hy kan alleenlik legitimiteit kry as hy die meerderheid van die inwoners van Suidwes-Afrika aan sy kant kry. kan ek maar net vir u sê is dit my persoonlike benadering dat, ek gaan vandag vir u sê, ek en Pieter Kalangula is definitief nie persoonlike vriende nie, ons kon nooit as persone op dieselfde golflengte kom nie. Maar ek gaan my nie daarvan laat afsit nie. Mnr, as ek Lusaka toe ry om met Sam Nujoma op dieselfde golflengte te probeer kom, dan kan ek dit baie moeilik teenoor my mense verdedig dat ek by die Kalangulas en die Garuebs en daardie manne, verbygaan. Daarom wil ek net vir u sê, my gevoel is dat hierdie Regering moet probeer om sy legitimiteit by die mense van SWA te verhoog. Hoe hy dit moet doen, oor daardie besonderhede wil ek nou nie vandag my probeer uitlaat nie. Ek dink daar is verskillende maniere waarop dit gedoen kan word. Ek dink u het 'n paar van die goed behandel, ons moet baie ernstig oor daardie dinge praat.

#### Mnr Botha

Ek wil net dit sê. Die persepsie oorsee oor Owambo, en ek sê nie dit is noodwendig die waarheid nie, ek het nie die feite nie, is dat mnr Kalangula inderdaad 'n oorweldigende meerderheid van die Owambos verteenwoordig. Dit is 'n persepsie. Die

persepsie is ver in Westerse lande, maar moet nou nie vir 'n oomblik dink ek maak staat op Westerse standpunte nie want hulle oordeelsvermoë ten opsigte van belangrike sake is baie sleg. Maar ek praat van 'n persepsie, dat in Kalangula is eintlik 'n effektiewe teenvoeter teen SWAPO, dat in Owamboland staan net Kalangula teen SWAPO, dat Kalangula die vermoë het om SWAPO daar 'n drag slae toe te dien. Dit is 'n persepsie wat ek net hier noem en as u dus hierdie persepsie in ag kon neem, ek persoonlik, op grond van inligting waaroor ek wel beskik, dink nie dat mnr Kalangula op die oomblik by u sou wou aansluit nie, maar dat hy sou wou saamwerk, daaraan het ek geen twyfel nie, dat hy sou wou saamwerk as 'n sekere probleem van "facesaving" en so aan oorkom kan word. Maar die eintlike probleem - ek wil dit nie opper hier vandag nie, President, ek vra net dat die here daaraan moet dink - hy is die hoof van 'n regering in Suidwes. 'n Regering op 'n ander vlak. Hy het die meerderheid en 'n wetgewende raad. Moet 'n mens nie, ek vra maat net, internasionaal, sou dit suiwer uit Suid-Afrika se buitelandse oogpunt, nou nie 'n aangename ding wees as net in Owambo 'n verkiesing of referendum gehou moes word nie, maar dit is so belangrik dat, wat my aanbetref, moet ons maar die bietjie pyn dan vat van internasionale teenkanting teen so 'n poging. Moet 'n mens nie maar oorweeg dat Owambo 'n verkiesing kan hê nie? Dan kan dit mos uitgemaak word watter steun DTA het, of u het of van die ander partye het en watter steun mnr Kalangula het. As die man dan die bewese steun het, en hy is anti-marxisties, en hy is anti-SWAPO en hy kan met u saamwerk en 'n samewerkingsooreenkoms bereik, dan sal die internasionale persepsie teenoor u ook baie gunstig wees. Ek noem dit net.

#### Mnr Mudge

Kan ek net sê mnr Botha, die Minister van Buitelandse Sake, het nou 'n baie belangrike punt genoem toe hy van die moontlikheid van 'n verkiesing gepraat het. Ek weet wat al die risiko's verbonde aan 'n verkiesing in Suidwes-Afrika in hierdie stadium Ek persoonlik wil maar net vir u sê ek is 'n baie groot voorstaander van verkiesings, ek sê dit vir u. Daar is net een probleem wat ek daarmee het en dit is dat ons moet nou nie op so 'n manier verkiesing hou dat dit lyk of ons 435 vooruitloop nie, maar as ons dit op 'n manier kan doen, sal ek 'n ondersteuner daarvan wees. Nou wil ek net dit vir u sê, mnr Kalangula het van ons destyds weggegaan net om een rede, ek kan dit vir u sê, ek ken die man, Kalangula is 'n diktator, hy glo nie daaraan om saam met 11 of 8 of 6 of 7 ander leiers te regeer Dit was nog al sy lewe lank sy probleem. Hy is 'n absolute diktator en hy is weer nou in Owambo 'n diktator. Ek kan maar vir u die versekering vandag hier gee, dit is 'n kwessie van tyd of sy kollegas gaan hom los. Kalangula is die een leier in Suidwes-Afrika wat nog nooit aan 'n verkiesing deelgeneem het nie. Hy is nooit verkies nie, hy was 'n tolk in die stadium toe die verkiesings plaasgevind het, hy het homself ingemaneuver in die posisie waarin hy nou is, en hy gaan weer op dieselfde manier daaruit. Dit kan ek u verseker. Mnr, die Owambo kan ons nie ignoreer nie, die mense van daardie gebied moet ons aan ons kant kry. Maar regtig, mnr die Staatspresident, eerlikwaar u weet u het ook mense in hierdie land wat u vir my sal sê: Dit help nie om hulle aan jou kant te kry nie, want hulle gaan net vir jou geen voordeel wees nie, hulle gaan net vir jou 'n verleentheid wees. Kalangula is een van die mense wat vir ons net 'n verleentheid gaan wees, want sy mense

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volg hom net vanweë die magsposisie waarin hy verkeer. Hy sit daar, hy maak en breek soos hy wil, hy intimideer die mense en op daardie manier hou hy hulle, hulle is bang. Maar nou het die Kwanjamahoofman al weggebreek, die senior man soos u self weet. Laas naweek was Ndonga, tweede hoofman, ook in 'n geveg met Kalangula betrokke en ek dink dit is net 'n kwessie van tyd, dan gaan ons dalk 'n meer verstandige man daar kry en dan kry die Regering hulle samewerking. Ek is oortuig ons kan daardie mense aan ons kant kry. Shipanga het invloed onder hulle, ons almal saam het 'n bietjie invloed daar. Maar hy sit in 'n gesagsposisie, nou intimideer hy die amptenary, intimideer die hoofmanne, hy is op 'n roekelose manier besig en om hom aan jou kant te kry is om moeilikheid te soek.

## Mnr Du Plessis

President, ek wil net graag vir die here sê dat, wat lopende inkomste betref, het ons baie groot probleme met ons begroting. Ons het werklik vanjaar ons begroting tot op die been gesny, in terme van die beplanning. Ons is werklik nie in 'n posisie om op die basis van 'n bewilliging uit lopende inkomste vir u te help nie, maar ons kan met u gesels om te kyk of ons vir u teen baie lae rentekoers geld kan voorskiet, want ons sal dit self moet leen en wat betref die rentekoers kan ons dus met mekaar gesels om dit so laag as moontlik vir u te kry. Met ander woorde ons kan nie vir u uit en uit 'n bedrag oordra nie, maar ons kan vir u dalk heelwaarskynlik 'n lening gee teen 'n baie lae rentekoers om vir u daarmee te help. Ons het self die diepste begrip, nie net vir die persoonlike ontbering wat gepaard gaan met werkloosheid nie, maar die politieke implikasies

in 'n plofbare sensitiewe situasie van mense wat op die sypaadjie sit. So ons het begrip daarvoor en ons sal vir u op daardie basis kan help, maar vergewe ons as ons ten opsigte van
selfs 'n relatiewe klein bedrag soos daardie, nie 'n bewilliging kan oorweeg nie. Tewens, as hierdie tafel kon praat dan
sou hy vir u gesê het hier het al baie bloed geloop hierdie
jaar oor bedrae wat kleiner is as dit wat betref die Suid-Afrikaanse begroting wat in sy wese eintlik soveel groter is as u
begroting. Derhalwe, ook in billikheid teenoor my kollegas,
sal ons liewer moet praat oor 'n laekoerslening. Die besonderhede daarvan kan ons so gou as moontlik met mekaar uitklaar.

## Mnr Diergaardt

Ek het totale en volle vertroue in wat die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering doen in Suidwes-Afrika. Trouens, ek wil u geluk wens met die ferme standpunte wat u ingeneem het in verband met ondermyning die afgelope tyd. Sover dit my aanbetref is hierdie Oorgangsregering van Nasionale Eenheid 'n goeie regering en hy is in staat om vir SWAPO te verslaan, mits ons die regte dinge doen. Wanneer ons praat van verbreding, en ek was persoonlik gekonfronteer in Duitsland met die feit dat die Owambos nie daar is nie. Ek wil vir u sê my eie persepsie is dat Kalangula en Garueb twee sterk leiers is. Ons het hulle nodig en ek is oortuig dat ons die kleiner partye kan akkommodeer, al is dit ten koste van die getalle wat nou daar is. Ek sou vanmôre 'n voorstel gemaak het dat ons R101 so wysig dat daar plek gemaak word vir hierdie mense en dat die onus by hulle is om aan te sluit wanneer hulle wil, sonder om probleme te skep. Mnr die Staatspresident, ek wil vir u sê dat SWAPO is nie alleen besig om vriende te soek nie, hy is ook besig om vriende te koop en hy was al by my ook gewees. Ek is ook bly oor wat die Minister van Finansies hier gesê het en dit is 'n oplossing.

Ek wil net so 'n paar woorde praat oor minderheidsregte. Ek wil nou nie 'n groter storm veroorsaak as wat dit nou alreeds veroorsaak het nie. Wat soek ons in Suidwes-Afrika? Ons soek onafhanklikheid en hierdie onafhanklikheid moet vrede hê, dit moet 'n verbetering wees, dit moet doeltreffend wees en uiteindelik internasionale ondersteuning geniet. As ons nie ontevredenheid wil skep nie, hoe sal ons ooit daar kom deur die regte van minderhede te ignoreer? Ek wil nie meer as dit sê nie. Ek wil net sê dat indien hierdie Regering 'n paar dinge doen, en hy kan staat maak op Suid-Afrika, ek weet, dan kan ons die toekoms tegemoet gaan. Ek sal my nie bepaal tot 'n tyd nie, ek sal normaalweg praat van twee jaar. In twee jaar se tyd kan ons vir SWAPO aandurf en verslaan. Ek weet, maar dan sal ons hierdie goed moet doen. Ons sal ook vriende moet soek en daar is mense wat belangstel. Ek het met Kalangula in besonder gepraat, mnr die Staatspresident, en ek het vir hom gevra hoekom kom jy nie? Toe sê hy ek word beskuldig dat ek nie verteenwoordigend is nie en ek soek 'n verkiesing om te bewys dat ek verteenwoordigend is en as ek nie verteenwoordigend is nie, dan onttrek ek en dan het u nie 'n verdere probleem nie. Ek het na die Weermag gegaan en hulle gevra of hulle 'n probleem daarmee het. Toe het hulle gesê, maar dit kan gereël word, so ek weet nie hoekom doen ons dit nie? Garueb self is ek oortuig daarvan hy het sy kop gestamp en hy is reg om geakkommodeer te word. Ongelukkig is die enigste probleem, solank dit by ons berus, sal ons heelwaarskynlik die mense nie maklik kry om by ons aan te sluit nie. Daarom het ek hier gepraat van, miskien moet 'n mens nou al ruimte skep tot wanneer hulle oortuig is om te kom, dat die plek daar is. Dankie.

#### Mnr Bezuidenhout

Mnr die Staatspresident, u het netnou aan ons uitgewys dat ons moet sorg dat ons toekomstige staatkundige struktuur nie "top heavy" moet wees nie. Nou dit is juis een van die dinge wat vir ons gehinder het en wat dan nou vir ons ooreen laat kom het dat ons 'n werkbare aanvaarbare alternatief vir proklamasie AG8 daar moet stel, omdat wanneer jy nou daardie verskillende tweede vlak owerhede se lede bymekaar tel, dan kom jy in die omgewing van 244 lede uit plus 62 in die Nasionale Vergadering en dit is nou al 'n struktuur van oor die 300. Hoewel ons op die oomblik uiteenlopende gedagtes het, hoe ons nou kan wegkom van daardie omvang van 'n staatkundige struktuur en om sodanig dan te sorg dat ons 'n goedkoper besteding daar kan stel ten opsigte van ons staatkundige struktuur, is daar uiteenlopende gedagtes op hierdie oomblik en is ons besig in die Gekose Komitee oor Nasionale Eenheid om te skaaf en om te kyk hoe ons mekaar kan akkommodeer. Ek wil net vir u noem dat vanaf totstandkoming van die VPK tot in hierdie stadium, het ons nou, ek weet nie of dit ten goede of ten kwade is nie, 'n reputasie opgebou dat ons verskriklik verskil omdat ons demokrate is, maar, omdat ons redelike mense is, wat versoening voorstaan, dan ontmoet ons altyd iewers in die middel. Ek wil net vir u hierdie versekering gee dat ons wel kennis neem van daardie wyse raad wat u vir ons gegee het en dat ons sal sorg dat ons nie ons hele totale begroting in die regeringstruktuur steek en niks het om die land mee te regeer nie.

#### President

Baie dankie. Dit is 'n mooi bydrae wat u gelewer het. Ek is

saam met u bekommerd en dit is vir ons die grootste probleem. Ek wil afsluit deur net dit te sê, dat mnr Mudge het die kwessie van skakeling weer geopper. Ek dink u moet maar van u kant af vir ons op skrif, deur die AG, laat kry dié terreine waarop u dink daar nou normaalweg skakeling sal wees. Ek praat nie van 'n ding wat opkom waarvoor ons vinnig ekstra maatreëls tref nie. Dan sal ek kyk of ons nie hier uit die SA Regering se geledere ook mense kan aanwys wat op 'n gereelde basis beskikbaar sal wees vir skakeling van dié aard nie. Die Minister van Finansies sal nie altyd teenwoordig kan wees nie, ek weet watter las hy dra, maar hy het 'n adjunk wat kan instaan met opdragte om te handel. Maar laat ons van weerskante kyk, bietjie eksploreer op watter terreine daar gereeld geskakel moet word en dan probeer ons om 'n komitee van daardie skakelkomitee so saamgestel te kry.

## Mnr Van Zyl

Kan ek net 'n inlgtingsvraag stel, mnr? Ek is nou juis besig om, deur middel van die AG, 'n afspraak te probeer reël, onder andere met die Minister van Landbou, om te onderhandel in verband met sekere landbou-aangeleenthede. Dit gaan suiwer oor landbou. Dit ressorteer nie daar onder nie?

#### President

Nee. Ek het nou gepraat na aanleiding van die behoefte wat u self uitgespreek het, maar ek staan nie in die pad van sulke skakeling nie.

Die laaste ding wat ek net wil sê voor ek afsluit. Ek wil u bedank vir die gees waarin ons kon beraadslaag het vanoggend. Vir my was dit goed om weer met u te kon gesels het. afsluit deur net een ding te sê. Wyle genl Smuts het in sy tyd 'n ding gesê wat destyds nie op my so 'n indruk gemaak soos wat dit nou, lank na sy dood, op my maak nie. Hy het hier in die Parlement van Suid-Afrika gesê daar sal 'n Derde Wêreldoorlog kom, maar hy sal nooit verklaar word nie en, het hy gesê, hy sal net ontstaan. Toe het hy daarby gesê, ons moet ons verdediging opknap. Toe het iemand vir hom gevra: Teen wie moet ons ons verdedig? Dit staan hier in Hansard. Toe het hy gesê: Teen die hele wêreld. Komende van 'n man soos genl Smuts, wat kort nadat hy van die VVO af teruggekom het as een van die mede-stigters daarvan, so 'n ding te kon sê, dit het destyds by my verby gegaan, maar dit word al hoe meer duidelik vir my, dat daar is sekere elemente in die wêreld wat jy nie kan tevrede stel nie, omdat hulle deel vorm van 'n onverklaarde oorlogsmaq. Hulle is teen stabiliteit, teen vooruitgang en teen ewewigtige regering. Daarop moet ons ons voorberei en daarom moet u ook begin dink aan maatreëls wat u nie onder gewone omstandighede sou getref het nie, om hierdie magte teen te gaan nie. Dit is waarom ek hierdie kwessie van die CCN geopper het.

Mnr Botha sê ons sal vir die pers moet sê dat u hier was en die name moet gee van almal wat hier was, dat u op u versoek met ons gesprek gevoer het oor belangrike binnelandse en buitelandse aspekte van Suidwes-Afrika en dat die gesprek in 'n aangename atmosfeer plaasgevind het. (Almal is tevrede.)

#### Mr Kozonguisi

Mr President, I think I should at this point express my appreciation, our gratitude for having received us. I think what

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comes out of here, as far as I am concerned, is the emphasis on the question of trust. I can assure you, Mr President, that as far as this is concerned, it is my view that this Government was founded on trust and it has got to be maintained on trust. Sometimes we may be called puppets but what is important is what we can do for our people. We know who are our friends and our enemies. What we do externally, we put these things like you feed a computer, because one day when things change the information will already be there. That is why we keep tackling the external world. ....Thank you very much, Mr President, for receiving us and we wish you everything of the best.

## President

Please convey my best wishes to your families and to your country men.

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