

THURSDAY, 11 JULY 2019

PROCEEDINGS OF MINI PLENARY SESSION – NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CHAMBER

Members of the mini plenary session met in the National Assembly Chamber at 14:01.

House Chairperson Ms M G Boroto took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayer or meditation.

APPROPRIATION BILL

Debate on Vote No 6 – International Relations and Co-operation:

The MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION:

Chairperson, Ministers, Deputy Ministers, hon members, excellencies, ambassadors, high commissioners – I'm so grateful for your presence here today – all members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of international organisations attending this debate, dear colleagues and distinguished guests, I am pleased to have the opportunity to report to this House on

our progress and activities in the 2018-19 financial year and to indicate our plans for 2019-20.

Last year our department was allocated R6,552 billion to be utilised to advance our agenda for global co-operation. The development of our region and continent was to be supported by this funding. This year we are allocated less – R6,508 billion. As with all departments, we are confronted by the limitations of our low economic growth and, thus, reduced budget allocations. As a department we also unusually face the impact of currency fluctuations and rather inadequate provision for our compensation budget.

Given these challenges, we have to use our resources wisely and strategically. The reduced budget severely impacts on our ability to support government in reaching our national priorities. Fortunately, we have an excellent team in the Department of International Relations and Co-operation and we shall do our best to execute our tasks.

Debates on the International Relations budget and programme are incomplete if they are not associated with the tremendous role the international community played in supporting us to achieve our freedom. We have in many ways sought to honour these

solidarity-based contributions through reciprocating in creating a just world order that has a human face – a face of empowered women and girls, of men and boys free from war, living with human security. I am pleased that our statements and voting patterns in Geneva and New York reflect our support for a more just world. Our work must always reflect this commitment to return the privilege of international solidarity with attention to the plight of those who seek refuge, democracy, freedom and peace.

Fortunately, this world has improved vastly from the world in which racial domination could thrive. Yet, Palestine is still occupied and not free, South Sudan has internal conflict, Western Sahara is still occupied and not free, Cuba remains blockaded, and extremism and terrorism destabilises the world. Powerful forces of economic bullying seek to alter the established multilateral world order.

Africa, too, continues to have many development challenges that must be addressed. We have to promote our relations in this challenging context. We have to use our extensive network and limited resources to support the emergence of a world in which all enjoy freedom and democracy with increased human security

and peace. Our relationships with the world will be centred on achieving these outcomes.

This year, South Africa celebrates 25 years of freedom. Even though we are young adults in democracy, we can, as President Ramaphosa said in his state of the nation address, "move forward together towards achieving a stronger, greater, more compassionate, more united and harmonious South Africa" – and, might we add, Africa.

We recall too that this year Rwanda commemorates 25 years since the genocide of 1994. We reaffirm our friendship and solidarity with the people and government of Rwanda, and salute them for their determined efforts to achieve reconciliation and a nation at peace with itself. The search for social cohesion and reconciliation has been put to good effect in both our countries and we should use this common experience to forge greater links.

The work we do will advance such links and also actively contribute to the seven priorities announced by President Ramaphosa. These priorities are global. They are in our National Development Plan – our Vision 2030. They are in the Sustainable Development Goals – Agenda 2030. And they are in our African Agenda 2063 – describing The Africa We Want. We will promote

action to realise them for our country and our continent. We pursue the priorities in a period in which Africa has entered a phase that holds much promise for genuine sustainable development. We plan to use our diplomacy to build stronger links with Nigeria, Egypt and Kenya as anchor countries that should advance these goals.

Many African countries are achieving positive economic growth and developing social and economic infrastructure that expands the likelihood of national development, higher growth levels and broad social development for all. It is noteworthy that democracy has also taken hold on much of the continent, with free, fair and regular elections on the rise.

We are very encouraged by the launch of the African Continental Free-Trade Area Agreement, AfCFTA. Now that it has come into force, immense opportunity for trade within Africa has come into being. South Africa must ensure it is ready to take advantage of the potential offered by this expanded market access. Once the agreement is fully operationalised, Africa will be one of the world's largest single markets – encompassing 55 countries, a population of 1,2 billion people and a combined GDP of US\$3,2 trillion. The development of the necessary infrastructure

for this expanded trade is going to gather speed and we as South Africa must be ready to play a key role.

In addition, I believe that our capacity for research and innovation could play a critical role in advancing our industrial development ambitions. Minerals beneficiation, the use of advanced manufacturing and the wider use of digital technologies could place us at the leading edge of economic innovation support in Africa.

South Africa has excellent research universities. We train a significant number of African postgraduate students and researchers, and yet we absorb just a small number of them. As a country we also have very competent research councils. Imagine the contribution we could make to our continent if we multiplied this capacity. The development potential of a vibrant Africa-based knowledge economy would become a genuine reality. Our capacity for innovation must become part of our diplomatic interactions and be utilised to advance our continent's ambitions. We should promote the creation of hundreds of research institutes all over Africa and ensure that they are supported to be innovative, productive and responsive. We have the capacity; let us use it strategically.

One of our major co-operation successes is our regional economic community that has established a strong platform for greater integration and growth. We must consolidate and expand trade and investment in the Southern African Development Community, SADC, and give effect to the President's assertion that:

Within the SADC region, we should prioritise development of cross-border value chains in key sectors such as energy, mining and mineral beneficiation, industrialisation and enhancing manufacturing capacity, infrastructure development as well as agro-processing.

We will therefore intensify several related SADC initiatives. I am pleased with the progress that was achieved during South Africa's tenure as SADC chair. Progress on regional trade has been increased by the operationalisation of the integrated Real Time Gross Settlement, RTGS, system, which is hosted by the SA Reserve Bank. A total of 81 banks participate in this system. The system aims at establishing a firm platform for increased intra-SADC trade and investment to further strengthen regional financial integration. The SADC-RTGS system has performed impressively since July 2013 when the system went live, with a total of 1 275 591 transactions settled as at the end of 2018, representing R5,21 trillion.

The benefits of the cross-border payment system are its efficiency and the reduction in transaction costs. We believe this experience is going to make a valuable contribution to the development of the continental payment system announced at the AU summit in Niger just three days ago.

A second example is the completion and adoption of the SADC Energy Foresight and Assessment Study for Renewable Energy Value Chains. Member states are going to use the recommendations to develop SADC's renewable energy capacities. Our Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, CSIR, was tasked to conduct a mapping exercise of potential renewable energy value chains for use by SADC member states. A progress report will be presented to Ministers in June 2020.

Thirdly, the SADC Engineering Needs and Numbers study has been concluded. It will assist in implementing programmes for developing enhanced engineering training at national and regional platforms to enable career development and the sharing of experience and expertise within SADC. Member states have also been urged to introduce science, technology, engineering and mathematics at very early stages in SADC education systems to increase the number of students able to take up studies in engineering fields.

We are also going to work hard to promote the tripartite free-trade area, TFTA. The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, Comesa, SADC, as well as the East African Community, EAC, at their summit in 2008 agreed to accelerate the programme to harmonise trade arrangements among the three regional economic communities, with a view to establishing a single free-trade area encompassing all member states of these three regions.

Our country appended its signature to the agreement establishing the TFTA on 7 July 2017 in Kampala, Uganda. To date, the agreement has been signed by 23 member countries. We require 14 ratifications to enter it into force. Thus far we have three and we need more. We will intensify our diplomatic efforts aimed at urging other member countries to sign and ratify this important instrument in order for it to become operational. A summit of the tripartite communities is scheduled to take place in January 2020. We hope that the ratification threshold would have been achieved by that date when we meet in Kigali, Rwanda.

The recent report of Africa's regional bodies submitted at the AU's extraordinary summit in Niger confirmed the critical role that regional economic bodies are playing in our development

programmes and particularly in acting on our programmes linked to Agenda 2063.

I confirm that our commitment to Agenda 2063 remains steadfast. We are honoured to have been selected as the 2020 AU chair. We are cognisant of the huge responsibility ... [Applause.] ... this places on South Africa, particularly the pursuit of the ambitious agenda of silencing the guns on our continent by the end of 2020.

We have a rare opportunity to place this goal at the top of the agenda of the UN Security Council when we assume the presidency of the council in October this year. The theme for our council presidency is, Continuing the legacy: Working for a just and peaceful world. It is important to use our tenure at the security council and as chair of the AU to implement the enhanced co-operation agreement on peace and security as it foregrounds commitment to conflict prevention, and to addressing the root causes of conflict.

This commitment is the embodiment of the legacy of Nelson Mandela who, during his tenure as President of our country, worked tirelessly to advance peace and stability on the

continent and globally through mediation and preventative diplomacy.

The continued existence of conflicts diverts us from our goal of peace and development. In this regard, we repeat our call for a total ceasefire in Libya and the pursuit of an inclusive national dialogue led by the AU.

Regarding Sudan, we deplore the recent violence and deaths in that country and welcome the agreement reached by the Transitional Military Council and the Forces for Freedom and Change. This is an opportunity for the people of Sudan to begin entrenching peace and stability. We applaud the mediation efforts of the AU and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, Igad. As South Africa, we stand ready to assist where we can. Our experience in conflict resolution and in drafting a progressive constitution makes us a partner genuinely able to resolve complex national problems.

Our President has done much to assist the Kingdom of Lesotho as the envoy of the SADC. While appreciating the progress reported recently, we implore all the people of the Kingdom of Lesotho to work diligently on the finalisation of the necessary constitutional and security sector reforms. We thank former

Deputy Chief Justice Moseneke for his work as the presidential facilitator.

A peaceful and stable, as well as economically integrated Africa, will contribute towards transforming the world to ensure that people of the global South are not marginalised. We have partnered with like-minded countries to improve our condition and that of our partners. Work on Africa's partnership with China in the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation and with Japan in the International Conference on African Development can make a significant contribution to our progress.

Brics is also a formation which has the potential to change the global political and economic outlook. The work of the New Development Bank, NDB, its Africa Regional Centre, ARC, located in South Africa, and the Contingency Reserve Arrangement, CRA, are concrete examples of the effectiveness possible in Brics.

The regional centre is focussed on providing financial and project preparation support and funding for infrastructure and sustainable development in South Africa, Africa, and we hope, in future, to other developing countries.

In April this year, the NDB approved around US\$790 million of loans for three projects in South Africa. One half of the funding is for Eskom to stabilise our national electricity grid. The NDB and Eskom signed a separate agreement for a US\$180 million loan to implement an integrated renewable energy project. This is all evidence of the use of diplomacy to address national imperatives.

The NDB will also provide infrastructure and sustainable development project funding to countries that are not members of Brics. It has confirmed that part of the US\$790 million will fund the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. The implementation of the second phase of this project is important to both South Africa and Lesotho, and is of immense development value to the two countries.

We also continue to enhance our co-operation with institutions and countries of the North. Our partners continue to play a constructive role in bridging the global development divide. President Ramaphosa has been consistent in using platforms such as the G20 and the G7 to argue for support for Africa and for a fair, inclusive and balanced world trade environment.

As a country, we believe in multilateralism and reject attempts at unipolarity and a neglect of the poor and marginalised. We believe much more must be done for shared growth, for the empowerment of women, and for the eradication of poverty as well as the eradication of inequality. Success in pursuing these objectives means leadership, hard work, consistency and commitment. We as Africans must rise and act in our own interest. We need to execute our own agreed agenda.

We have a number of important strategic partners whose support and solidarity we appreciate. One which we often don't talk about is the USA, a very important strategic partner in the fight against HIV and Aids. The USA has been instrumental in supporting our national HIV prevention and support programmes, and American businesses continue to invest in South Africa to create employment and reverse the frontiers of poverty. We have excellent trade relationships and are determined to expand them for increased growth and job creation.

We will affirm these links while also working to support measures for peace in South Sudan, freedom and justice for the people of Saharawi, and freedom, security and democracy for the people of Palestine. We will also continue to strive for the end of the unilateral economic blockade against Cuba and continue to

strengthen our collaboration with the government and people of Cuba.

We have been closely monitoring developments regarding the UK's planned exit from the EU. South Africa remains strongly committed to our strategic partnership with the EU, which has created a platform for engagement at a number of levels, not only on bilateral matters, but also on matters pertaining to regional, continental and global challenges. As a bloc, the EU is South Africa's largest trading partner, with total trade having increased from R497 billion in 2014 to R620 billion in 2018. While there remains a significant trade deficit, South African exports to the EU have increased from R197 billion in 2014 to R268 billion in 2018. The R1,4 trillion in foreign investment from Europe – representing approximately 77% of total foreign direct investment, FDI, in our country – has made a significant contribution to our economic goals and to industrialisation in our country.

We will work with greater energy to increase our co-operation with India, Russia and Brazil. Our partnership with the People's Republic of China will continue to grow and thrive. The recent conclusion of 90 trade and export contracts will enhance our partnership even further.

In his recent state of the nation address, the President referred to the need for us to increase tourist arrivals to support our economy. Europe and Africa remain among the leading continents in terms of tourist arrivals in South Africa. I have tasked all our missions with the responsibility to help manage and brand South Africa to attract more tourists. Similarly, they have been given the huge task of assisting us in securing more FDI, while identifying and leveraging trade and cultural diplomacy opportunities in their host countries.

Our foreign policy principles remain centred on promoting peace, human rights and dignity for all throughout the world. We continue to be guided by our apex mandate, which is our Constitution. I am currently studying the ministerial review panel's report on foreign policy and hope to report very soon to our portfolio committee and Parliament on our response. We also hope that Parliament will assist us by finally processing the Foreign Service Bill.

I would like to conclude by thanking the two Deputy Ministers for their guidance and support in preparing for the Budget Vote. Deputy Minister Botes will outline further details of our work in his contribution. Deputy Minister Mashego-Dlamini is away on official duties attending a Commonwealth governing council

meeting. I thank our director-general and the management of the department, my special advisors and the staff in the Ministry. I also thank my family, especially my daughter who, rather late at night, had to listen to my draft of this speech and was falling asleep, poor thing, but kept up! [Applause.] I thank her for that. Sorry to have put you through that pain. Let me also thank the Dirco team for their role in ensuring that we were ready to provide an overview of our work in this debate. Thank you very much, hon Chairperson. [Applause.]

Ms T MAHAMBEHLALA: Hon Chairperson, Minister and Deputy Ministers of International Relations and Co-operation, hon members of the Portfolio Committee on International Relations and Co-operation, members of the diplomatic corps, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to greet you.

We meet here on an historical day, 11 July, the very same day on which our revered Rivonia trialists were rounded up at Liliesleaf farm. We have come to learn from the annals of history that these great heroes were incarcerated for making the world a better place.

So today, I start from the premise that the world we live in can be a better place. And I say this with great certainty. We need

a paradigm shift. Africa should be peaceful, united, and prosperous. After all, it is a continent blessed with all the raw materials – from oil to any other natural resource you can think of. It has been said many times that Africa is the poorest continent. Is it really poor? Is it not high time we confront the truth in its entirety, which is that some amongst us are stealing from the continent with the assistance of former colonial masters, while others are simply the conduits of former colonialists?

Collectively, we must continue to celebrate the victories won for our liberation. We must dedicate ourselves to rise together whilst we ensure that we defend our liberty and unity. In the words of the Kwame Nkrumah: "We face neither East nor West; we face forward."

Hon members, whilst we celebrate and deepen the liberation of our fellow African states, we cannot for one moment forget about the rest of the world. Our own sovereignty is strengthened by our ability to influence the world's outlook on humanity's development in economic terms and the advance of human rights. South Africa in itself is a great testament to the truth that, if you ignore the human rights of certain groupings of humans in your society, in the long run, you cripple the economic growth

of the country. This is one obvious lesson that apartheid taught the world.

Perhaps our greatest diplomat, liberation stalwart and former President of the ANC Oliver Reginald Tambo coined it best when he said,

We who are free to eat and sleep at will, to write, to speak, to travel as we please, we who are free to make or break a revolution, let us use our comparative freedom not to perpetuate the misery of those who suffer, nor to give indirect aid to the enemy they fight by withholding our own contribution.

Indeed, we cannot stand by and watch whilst our sisters and brothers in Western Sahara continue to be deprived of statehood and complete independence. We must take tangible and decisive steps to ensure that, after this sixth administration, we speak of a liberated Western Sahara.

Hon members, we may think that we no longer live in an era of colonisation and imperialism, but recent events in Venezuela and Libya, to some extent, show us a completely different picture. It is no coincidence that oil-rich countries experience similar

levels of unrest and disenfranchisement, albeit at different times. We cannot be at ease whilst history repeats itself in any part of the world, for the simple reason that, when a regime is changed outside of a country's own volition, that change almost always results in a human rights crisis.

We cannot ignore the plight of Libyans today, especially because it was not of their own doing. The crude colonisation of that country has had a profound effect on the world's take on immigration, especially in Europe. We now live in an era in which thousands of migrants die whilst fleeing states which used be to functional before. If we do not take decisive steps against the resurgence of an imperialist agenda, we run this risk of seeing a relatively progressive human rights agenda deteriorating.

There are few countries in the world which have resisted the cudgels of capitalism and imperialism like Cuba. For 50 years, the Cuban people have suffered as a result of an unjust economic, commercial and financial blockade by the USA. This has been a major hindrance to Cuba's development.

Despite this, the Cuban nation has maintained its independence and sovereignty in the face of a vicious, imperialist-

orchestrated campaign to destroy the impressive gains made by the Cuban revolution. We must continue to assist the Cubans to be the masters of their destiny.

In many ways the internationalist character of the Cubans has aided many revolutions on this continent. It is this internationalist character that we should continue to embody in our approach to peace and security in the world.

Hon Minister, as the ANC, we have been unanimous regarding the plight of the Palestine people. In the Palestinian people we see ourselves. We see the rightful owners of the land being oppressed, killed and degraded as human beings. It is an inescapable sense of déjà vu. It is for this reason that the 54th National Conference of the ANC came to the conclusion that boycotting Israel is as justified as boycotting apartheid. We cannot speak in moderation on matters of manifest injustice.

As former President Mandela put it:

The temptation in our situation is to speak in muffled tones about an issue such as the rights of the people of Palestine ... we can easily be enticed to read reconciliation and fairness as meaning parity between justice and injustice.

Having reached our freedom, we can fall into the trap of washing our hands of the difficulties that others face ... yet we would be less human if we did so.

The implementation of all Nasrec resolutions insofar as this question is concerned, is undoubtedly framed around this logic. The Gaza Strip has become a war zone, a site of injustice and the definition of human rights violation. To this end, we look forward to a concise plan on the full implementation of Israel's downgrading. And, if needs be, we must be willing to go the route of economic embargos against Israel. [Applause.]

I conclude with a profound but simple quote by Che Guevara, "Words that do not match deeds are unimportant." In other words, the efficacy of a better Africa, a better world approach will not be judged by what we say but rather by what we do. International solidarity is meaningless without any real tangible actions. I have no doubt that this Budget Vote supports an action-based plan.

As the ANC, we support Budget Vote 6. I wish to thank the officials of Parliament, the Department of International Relations and Co-operation and the members of the portfolio committee for assisting us and having a robust debate in all the

issues that we have taken as a collective. Thank you very much, Chairperson. [Applause.]

Mr D BERGMAN: Hon members, the time has come to ask ourselves some tough questions: Are we the masters of our destiny or are we doomed to repeat the same mistakes as the dark past that we came from? Have you ever asked yourselves about the value we as a country are getting from our Brics membership? Has South Africa not been reduced to playing second fiddle to countries such as China and Russia? South Africa is trying so hard to move away from its colonial past. Would it not be fatal for the country to land in the same trap as before?

The problem is that we give off mixed signals, to the extent that there is a communication discord between the Department of International Relations and Co-operation and the executive. South Africa has come out of a devastating Zuma administration, which our current President rightfully described as wasted years. We watched in dismay as international fugitives wanted by the International Criminal Court, such as the Sudan's deposed dictator, Omar al-Bashir, were assisted by organs of state to exit the country in violation of our international obligations. We witnessed the assault of a South African citizen on our soil, but the state bent over backwards to protect the perpetrator

instead of the victim. We were constantly bombarded with reports about allegations of smuggling by our diplomatic staff.

Hon members, we cannot allow this assault on our image as a country to continue. Our inconsistency in defending human rights abroad is unacceptable. We only seem to raise our voice on human rights abuse when the offending country is not one of our so-called friends. We enter the UN Security Council with a string of illogical voting patterns that seem to be more about an appeasement of our allies than a firm stand for a cause.

Hon Minister, I appeal to you through the Chair to allow the Department of International Relations and Co-operation to do its job without undue interference from other arms of government. Time and again, the Department of International Relations and Co-operation has been called upon to clean up the mess caused by politicians. It is time that the Portfolio Committee on International Relations and Co-operation is given the space to conduct its oversight role unhindered over all the department's functions. What South Africa needs is a predictable and logical international engagement framework that will guide our diplomatic personnel on what is expected of them.

Diplomatic staff must know that there are consequences for deviating from the set code of conduct. Members of the executive must be made to understand that message discipline is a key requirement to successful engagement with our international partners. The era of burdening the Department of International Relations and Co-operation's staff with cleaning up the mess caused by motormouths in the executive should be a thing of the past. Just as we need stability in the country, so too we need stability in our interactions with our international partners and allies.

A DA-led government would review all current missions with a view to measuring their contribution to South Africa's development. Whether in increasing bilateral trade or increasing tourism receipts to our shores, any mission that does not measure up will either be closed or downgraded. South Africa's interests, and not political considerations, will inform our approach to diplomatic engagements with the rest of the world. We must be careful that, when we shout for downgrades, those very same actions that we call for do not cause own goals in our own country in terms of loss of jobs, loss of trade and loss of technology and enhancements.

Our role in the AU will be to facilitate the deepening of democratic practice, consolidation of the recently signed inter-Africa free trade agreement, infrastructure development and value addition of our natural resources. Gone should be the days we mine a resource, send it abroad for manufacturing and then buy that very resource back from another country.

We will be unwavering in our condemnation of human rights abuses, wherever they may be. Even as we try to live in the letter and spirit of our Bill of Rights at home, we should fight for the same privilege for oppressed people around the world and not just in three countries as was mentioned by the Minister. Our approach to ongoing raging conflicts across the world should be guided by a firm commitment to justice and the defence of human rights. We should leverage on our internationally acknowledged conflict resolution reputation to advocate for peace and protection of vulnerable people. It is time that South Africa occupies its rightful role as a beacon of hope for the oppressed.

Hon members, a back-to-basics approach in our engagement with international partners will bring us back on track to fulfil the vision set by our democracy's greatest statesman, the late President Nelson Mandela. Let us take a deliberate decision

today to refocus the role of the Department of International Relations and Co-operation and ensure that it prioritises key drivers of change in South Africa, namely, trade and investment.

Hon Minister, the ball is in your court to ensure that the Department of International Relations and Co-operation becomes a key driver of change, both locally and internationally. It is up to you to position South Africa as a key global player and a country that is ready and open for business. I thank you.

[Applause.]

Mrs T P MSANE: Chairperson, on behalf of the EFF, I would like to take this opportunity to pass our condolences to the family of the late Mam'Nomhle Nkonyeni, who passed away early yesterday morning. Mam'Nkonyeni had a distinguished career spanning close to 60 years and inspired generations of Southern African actors to aspire for more. May her beautiful soul rest in peace and rise in eternal glory!

Minister Pandor, as a distinguished freedom fighter yourself, you need no one to lecture you about the critical role played by the international community, particularly our siblings on the African continent, in the Caribbean, our comrades in Latin America, Europe and the Middle East, in the struggle for the

liberation of this country. This history ought to underscore the premise of our international relations policy which must be underpinned by the experience of the international anti-apartheid movement, which was the largest human rights campaign in the world, through which people all over the world responded to the oppression of the people of this country, and committed themselves to our liberation.

They never needed to come here, but they mobilised themselves and held their governments accountable for the diplomatic and economic ties they had with the murderous apartheid regime. Today these historical lessons should constantly poke our conscience and international relations approach. We must ask ourselves whether we have remained true to the values that underpinned our liberation struggle and if we have not betrayed the hopes of millions who sacrificed their own Tanzania, Nigeria Cuba and Angola.

Today, we live in a global community in which imperialism is raising its ugly head again through economic manipulation of less-developed countries, the US trade embargo on Cuba, the shameless attempt to remove Nicolas Maduro in Venezuela, the constant undermining of the right of the people of Haiti to choose their leaders, the deliberate destruction of Iraq and

Syria, the unforgivable assassination of Colonel Gaddafi, and the destabilisation of the Congo ... All these and more tell us that the forces of imperialism will never rest until they have sucked the last drop of blood from developing countries.

It is for this reason that we need our international relations approach to be embedded in the principle of Pan-Africanism and progressive internationalism. We must be driven by solidarity with the oppressed and the exploited in the world. We must understand that we will never be completely free until there is democracy and peace in Congo, until the people of Libya and Sudan have full control of their natural resources, and until the people of Palestine are free from the oppression of apartheid Israel.

Above all, Minister, we must be unapologetic about the Pan-African nature of our international relations approach. We have unfortunately lost our moral and strategic voice in the continent, and are therefore unable to provide leadership for the regeneration of Africa. As we take over our non-permanent seat at the UN Security Council, we must agitate for tangible reforms of the Security Council, and remove the veto powers of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The world is far bigger and more complex than the five countries which have the power to veto any decisions taken by the UN. To foster Pan-African development, we must recommit ourselves to the Abuja Treaty, which remains the only radical plan for African integration and development with clear and tangible goals for integrating Africa's development to ensure that Africa benefits from its wealth and its natural resources, and that there is a deeper entrenchment of freedoms across the continent.

To attain this vision, we must strengthen the Pan-African Parliament, and give it real and exclusive authority to legislate on the elimination of intra-African trade barriers. We must applaud the bringing into force of the African Continental Free Trade Area, AfCFTA, which seeks to eliminate trade barriers between African countries. We must, however, emphasise that the trade and movement of goods within Africa must be for African-produced goods. This must emphasise the local production and beneficiation of goods in Africa. African mineral resources must be processed in Africa to create jobs in Africa.

In the midst of all this, President Ramaphosa had nothing to say about the Pan-African development, and he did not even mention anything about Africa in his state of the nation address. The continent looks up to South Africa because of our relatively

advanced capitalist economy, even if that economy serves a minority while the rest of our people languish in poverty.

In conclusion, we need to work towards the African isolation of Botswana, which has been home to an imperialist military base, and fight for progressive reforms within Botswana which should involve the people of Botswana. Fight for democratic political reforms in eSwatini, including the political and economic isolation of that monarchy, until there are meaningful political changes and tolerance in the country. Protect Zimbabwe from imperialist threats and sanctions. Ensure that Zimbabwe is self-sustainable and that the land remains in the hands of the Zimbabweans. Hon Minister, we reject your budget. [Applause.]

Mr M HLENGWA: Hon House Chairperson and hon members, at the outset, the IFP wishes to welcome hon Minister Pandor and her team to the Department of International Relations and Co-operation and we wish her well as she carries our hopes, dreams and aspirations to the world as Tshwane's top diplomat.

Hon Minister, I was very happy when you spoke about world bullies and world bullying. On Saturday, I had the privilege of attending the birthday celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Pretoria, which was hosted by his office here in South

Africa. The shirt I'm wearing was given to me then as a reminder that we as South Africa, the land of the free, should be the refuge of those in the world who are oppressed.

So, hon Minister, we must reflect therefore on the decision we took not to grant the Dalai Lama a visa, as a reminder that we should never walk away from human rights. [Applause.]. As we speak about Western Sahara ... which I support you fully Minister ... and on the issues of Palestine and Israel in ensuring a lasting solution ... the two-states solution ... we agree with you Minister.

Equally, Minister, we must speak about the big bully - China and it's one China policy - and what it is doing by wreaking havoc on the people of Tibet and Taiwan, who themselves also want their freedom, democracy and universal suffrage. So, if India was able to stand up and give a home to the Dalai Lama, we too as South Africa must be able to trade with China without negating our human rights outlook.

Minister, you speak about Sudan, and whilst we are happy with the developments, the fundamental question becomes: Where was South Africa when we allowed Omar al-Bashir to escape South Africa? We chose not to stand with the people then, and as we

choose ... [Inaudible.] ... the people now, let us not make the mistake of again walking away from human rights. That was the irony of course of what the Minister said.

Hon Minister, we fully understand that yours is not an easy task, given the current political and socioeconomic climate in which South Africa finds itself. We all agree that foreign investment is critical for growth, productivity and competitiveness. This country remains weak in terms of its integration into global trade systems and value chains, and this reduces the critical access that is required for our domestic enterprises to access foreign markets. It additionally makes imports, which include tech-intensive capital goods, more expensive.

Chairperson, foreign direct investment is wary of South Africa and, in all fairness, why shouldn't it be? The land question has not been resolved, infrastructure and public service is poor, bureaucracy is high, corruption is rife, and policies and regulations change on an almost daily basis. There is no certainty, and this will in no way, shape or form inspire foreign investment. One needs only look at the volatility of the rand to see the effects of such policy uncertainty.

International migration, although necessary to attract international skills, is difficult, and you would only have to walk across the road from this very chamber to our IFP offices and the many Home Affairs offices and the Department of International Relations and Co-operation offices in South Africa to see the number of problems with visa applications we are trying to assist with in respect of applications being made at our embassies abroad that are now either lost or languishing in the system or being denied in error. The interface between the departments of International Relations and Co-operation and Home Affairs must be thoroughly scrutinised, its problems identified, and the entire process re-engineered. Fast, accurate and efficient must be the mandate in this respect and in all respects if we wish to be competitive and attractive to foreign markets and individuals.

Additionally, to our credit and for the third time in 12 years, we have been elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2019-20. In this regard, the reforms of the United Nation Security Council, hon Minister, must not be negotiable. These must be celebrated but further we must build upon and strengthen them for the benefit of South Africa, the region, the continent and for all the multilateral forums of which South Africa is a part.

In conclusion, we must also prioritise climate change and mitigate, adapt and develop resilience to the same and we must stand against human rights abuses wherever they may occur in the world without cherry-picking. South Africa must be a leading light not only on the continent, but also upon the global stage in respect of the advancement of human rights and the condemnation of its abuse.

Hon Minister, the IFP supports your Budget Vote. In conclusion, let me say, we speak of budget cuts ... let us also reduce the high number of foreign missions. And the process of rationalisation in that respect must be fast-tracked. I thank you.

Dr C P MULDER: House Chairperson, today is indeed a good day since the FF Plus yesterday won a ward from the DA with a huge majority. The FF Plus won that ward with more votes than all the other parties participating combined and that just indicates that the swing towards the FF Plus continues.

Be that as it may. [Interjections.] No, they were not, they were not!

Hon Minister, allow me to congratulate you on your appointment. You are also a veteran since 1994. We all know that, at the moment, there is term used when we refer to President Ramaphosa ... when people talk about Ramaphoria. I would like to suggest that we also look at the term when it comes to our International Relations department and maybe we speak about Pandorphoria. What I mean with that is, I think we have a chance, we have an opportunity, we have a window. We can continue as we have done over the past couple of years in Parliament or we can turn over a new leaf in this department, and I would like to appeal to you to consider that. When our President, Mr Ramaphosa, refers to nine wasted years, it, no doubt, must have had a huge impact on our international image as well. The challenge, hon Minister, facing you and the department - and I think it is a very important challenge - is to restore South Africa's gravitas and image in the world in terms of foreign relations, because I have no doubt that the last nine years did have a strong impact on our image internationally. That's what I mean.

Now, hon Minister, you referred in your speech to the theme for our seat when we occupy the chair of the African Union when you said, "Continuing the legacy: Working for a just and peaceful world". I understand that. I heard in your speech today you twice referring to the Palestinian question, as did some of our

other colleagues did as well. But I did not hear you say that the government is still committed to a two-state solution and that you are also committed to respecting the self-determination of the people of Israel as well as their right to security. I think that is very important and I think we should say that. I would like to hear that from you.

Hon Minister, when you addressed the personnel of the Department of International Relations and Co-operation recently in June, you said that you believe in values and ethics, and that you abhor corruption as well as those who abuse others. I understand and support that.

My problem is that South Africa has become a country without consequences. I want to refer you to two instances. I have to do that. I refer you to the utterances by our ambassador to Denmark. We all know what happened there when our hon Ambassador Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane basically said – and I quote in Afrikaans –

“Wit Suid-Afrikaners is grond dié wat soos ongenooide gaste weier om te loop.”

Verder het sy voortgegaan om wit Suid-Afrikaners uit te kryt as verkragters ... afstammelinge van Van Riebeeck. (*Translation of Afrikaans paragraphs follows.*)

[White South Africans are land thieves who, like uninvited guests, refuse to leave.

She further continued to dismiss white South Africans as rapists ... descendants of Van Riebeeck.]

You reprimanded her and I commend you for that.

However, since then, she has continued. She once again went ahead with further tweets that are extremely offensive to South African citizens and I really implore you that we cannot act that way. Since then, her appointment has been extended to the end of the year. I understand that is a decision that needs to be taken in terms of all our ambassadors where there is a change in that regard. But with all due respect, I think this a case where we could have done differently and we should act.

The second one deals with our ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr Koloane. We all know the facts. Everything in terms of reality points to his involvement in the landing of a plane at the

Waterkloof Air Force Base when the Gupta family came here with their little wedding excursion. What happened to him? He was suspended for two months and then he was promoted and appointed as the ambassador to Netherlands. Currently, he is appearing before the Zondo Commission. Clearly, Madam Minister, this is not a situation that we can tolerate and I will implore you to take steps in that regard.

In the few seconds remaining ... a couple of members have mentioned that already. It is nice to have ... there is a difference between the nice-to-have and what we can afford. It's good to have our representation across the globe and I understand that. But I'm afraid because of economic reality and in terms of priorities we simply cannot continue in that vein. I know that you will address those issues with the assistance of the department as well as the assistance of the Treasury, but in the interest of South Africa, I implore you to look into that as soon as possible. I thank you very much.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION
(Mr A Botes): Hon Chairperson, our Minister, Dr Pandor, other Ministers and Deputy Ministers present, our portfolio committee chairperson, hon Members of the House, our director-general, Your Excellencies, ambassadors, high commissioners, members of

the diplomatic corps and representatives of the international organisations, leaders and members of civil society, distinguished guests, comrades and friends, we are proud of our past and confident about the future. We are proud of our freedom fighters, who did not flinch, who did not submit, and who pursued our struggle for a just South Africa and a noble world order.

Today we salute the Rivonia trialists – Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Bob Hepple, Arthur Goldreich, Andrew Mlangeni, James Kantor, Dennis Goldberg, Harold Wolpe and Elias Motsoaledi, some of whom were arrested on this exact day in 1963, 56 years ago.

The Rivonia trialists made a choice to fight for the achievement of the provisions of the Freedom Charter, which contains a clause stating that, "There shall be peace and friendship." The Freedom Charter argued that South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations ...

Mr T M LANGA: Chairperson, on a point of order.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): On what point of order are you rising, hon member?

Mr T M LANGA: Chairperson, yesterday we requested that other official languages be covered as well, but we only seem to find English.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Is that so?

Mr T M LANGA: Yes.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Okay, let me request that they work on it. They will do that, and I am sorry for that, but I think it will be rectified. Continue, hon Botes.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION (Mr A Botes): Chairperson, the Freedom Charter argued that South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations; shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and not war; and that peace and friendship amongst all people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.

Our Constitution as well as Chapter 7 of the National Development Plan envisages an activist, developmental state, with an overarching foreign policy architecture premised on Pan-Africanism, progressive internationalism and human solidarity, in particular with the countries of the South, a human rights-centred foreign policy with due regard and respect for international law, multilateralism and an international rules-based order to resolve conflict peacefully, and economic diplomacy. The Department of International Relations and Co-operation's mission is to promote South Africa's national interest and values and the African Renaissance, and to create a better world for all.

Our national interest is to eradicate poverty, to confront joblessness and to reduce inequality. Our value proposition is to construct a better Africa and a noble world – a new world order. When we pause to reflect on what needs to be done, we recall Nelson Mandela who inspired us, and I quote:

We owe it to all the peoples of the continent to ensure that they see in us not merely good leaders waxing lyrical about development but, as the front commanders in the blast furnaces of labour, productive investments and visible change.

African unity and international solidarity is integral if we wish to accelerate our economic diplomacy. Moreover, Patrice Lumumba was unambiguous in asserting that African unity and international solidarity are no longer dreams. They must be expressed in decisions. Our concrete expression, as it relates to South-to-South solidarity, is through the African Renaissance Fund, to which we committed more than R770 million for projects that are currently under implementation from previous financial years. These projects include, amongst others, humanitarian aid, conflict resolution, peacekeeping, and post-reconstruction and development projects. Countries that have benefited included Namibia with drought relief, the Kingdom of Swaziland with emergency food assistance, and emergency humanitarian assistance for the Saharawi refugees.

Furthermore, we have supported peacekeeping missions, conflict mediation, promotion of democracy and good governance in both the Kingdom of Lesotho and Madagascar. The establishment of the African Ombudsman Research Institute and South Africa's participation in the African electoral observer missions of Zimbabwe, Swaziland, the DRC, Mauritius, Madagascar and the Comoros were also supported.

For the 2019-20 financial year, the African Renaissance Fund has committed a further R138 million to new projects. These new projects commitments include, amongst others, to Zimbabwe, humanitarian, specifically disaster assistance to the value of R5 million; to Mozambique, deployment of a border boundary expert; to South Sudan, humanitarian aid to the value of approximately R115 million. Another project is the African Women in Dialogue leadership programme which brings to together 1 000 woman leaders from across the African continent.

We will continue to support electoral observer missions in the forthcoming elections across the continent and strengthen electoral training support and democratic institutions as they relate to good governance.

We draw inspiration from Che Guevara who defined what a revolutionary and a comrade is when he said, if you tremble with indignation every time an injustice is committed in the world, then you are a comrade of mine.

To solidify our posture on progressive internationalism and revolutionary solidarity we approved – in 2015 already – an amount of R350 million as a means of economic assistance to the people of Cuba. We will continue to strengthen our bilateral and

multilateral co-operation with Cuba which includes, amongst others, skills transfer, development assistance and trade. We will continue to increase our trade with the regional economic organisations. We remain steadfast in our call to end the unjust economic blockade by the USA against the people of Cuba.

We remain concerned about the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela. We call for a peaceful solution to the crisis and for development assistance to be provided through internationally recognised humanitarian organisations. As a country we will continue to ensure that the African continent and the Global South remain on the agenda of Brics, Ibsa, and the Indian Ocean Rim Association, Iora. Our national interests and the interests of the Global South remain the driving force behind our membership of these noble formations.

Through our bilateral, regional and multilateral relations we will work with our European counterparts to address mutual geopolitical global challenges. This includes the rise of extremism, terrorism, right-wing populism, narrow nationalism, neo-fascism, xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and migration.

We believe that these challenges are not unique to Europe and are instead the effects of the failure of neoliberal

internationalism that has taken root globally over the past three decades. We will therefore commit ourselves to working and building alliances with like-minded countries in the North to push back the threat to multilateralism, to challenge climate change denialism and oppose political interference in the sovereignty of countries.

There are more than 2 000 companies from the Americas and Europe operating in South Africa. Many countries in the Americas and Europe allocate significant funding to technical exchanges, collaboration in the fields of science and technology and other vocational training. It therefore holds true that there is significant potential and interest in collaboration and probable collaboration on Fourth Industrial Revolution programmes.

Whilst we believe that our future economic growth opportunities are in the South, the EU countries, as the Minister indicated earlier, collectively remain our largest trading partners currently. Therefore, we require equal commitment to both the North and the South to advance the economic diplomacy of South Africa.

South Africa will continue to engage with North America, as an important region for trade, investment, tourism, technological

transfer, health and education co-operation, in pursuit of our national priorities.

The United States of America is our most significant economic partner with R76,7 billion in South African exports to the United States in 2018, with R73,1 billion in imports, supplemented by investments in South Africa worth R129 billion.

There will also be continued focus to work with partner departments and our friends and partners in the USA on removing impediments to South Africa's value-added exports to the United States under the African Growth and Opportunity Act. The attraction of higher levels of foreign direct investment, FDI, from the United States will be a key focus to secure increased support for the President's investment drive, including for the follow-up investment conference to be held in November 2019.

Aligned with the national objectives identified by President Ramaphosa in his state of the nation address, South Africa will receive in excess of US\$ 915 million in development co-operation from the United States in 2019.

In the area of health, that will further be complimented by a funding allocation from the USA to an amount of US\$730 million that will support antiretroviral treatment.

To illustrate the strategic and significant role our missions play in the reconstruction and development of our country, I wish to site the work of our mission in Germany. Our economic diplomacy has resulted in an increase of South African exports from R125 million in 2017 to R133 million in 2018, translating to an 11% increment. In 2018, we further increased our export orders for beverages, fine food and meat to R893 million, and for fruit and vegetables to R372 million.

In the automotive industry, Germany, through BMW, Mercedes Benz SA and VW SA, has been able to increase human capital development to enable South Africa to produce high quality vehicles, parts and accessories to the same standard of Germany. Importantly, we are now part of the global manufacturing supply chain which makes South Africa an exporter of high quality products.

I wish to thank our dedicated ambassador, Stone Sizani, for his excellent work in this regard. Our appreciation is extended to

all heads of missions and staff for their commitment and devotion to promote our country abroad.

President Ramaphosa has been unequivocal in maintaining that the current generation of youth has chosen as its mission the attainment of economic freedom. We should, therefore, maximise our resources in the Department of International Relations and Co-operation to break intergenerational poverty and maximise the democratic youth dividend.

In this regard, we wish to commit the Department of International Relations and Co-operation to the exposure of our young people to the diplomatic world, and we will announce a pragmatic programme in this regard on the United Nations' International Day of the Youth to be convened on 12 August 2019. We will, equally so, continue to provide consular services to our vulnerable youth, particularly the girl child who, because of their socioeconomic conditions, become exploited by drug traffickers and end up in foreign prisons. We will do this in line with the Vienna Convention.

Ladies and gentlemen, as I conclude, the President of the Republic of South Africa detailed his better vision for South Africa, Africa and the world, and was inspired by Dr Mae

Jemison, first African-American female astronaut, who insisted that we should never be limited by other people's limited imaginations and that we should continue to dream and re-imagine a world free from poverty ... [Time expired.] [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Before I call on Reverend Meshoe ...

... mhlonitjhwa Langa, ukutologwa kwamalimi kukhona. Amalimi wesiNguni akhona; isiZulu sisenomborweni yesihlanu. Emalimini weSesotho kuneSepedi kunomboro yekhomba. (*Translation of IsiNdebele paragraph follows.*)

[... hon Langa, the interpretation service is available. The Nguni languages are available. IsiZulu is available on number five. For the Sesotho group, Sepedi is available on number seven.]

I think you are now okay. Thank you.

Rev K R J MESHOE: House Chairperson and hon members, the ACDP would like to congratulate hon Dr Naledi Pandor on her appointment as head of this very important Department of International Relations and Co-operation. I also want to give

credit to my former colleague, Ms Cheryllyn Dudley, who did a sterling job while serving on this committee for many years. In one of her many speeches she said, and I quote her:

The ACDP will support all government efforts to promote peace and sustainable development within South Africa, regionally and globally.

This position will not change in the ACDP as we are committed to peace, reconciliation and nation building.

The ACDP is aware that pressure is constantly put on South Africa to take sides in many conflicts. We would like to encourage government to remain committed, despite the pressure, to meaningful and positive engagement with all stakeholders, particularly when dealing with the Middle East conflicts.

Government should attempt to not only remain impartial at all times, but also aim to convince those in conflict that peaceful negotiations are the only way to restore peace, reconciliation and stability in their land, and we hope that these will ultimately bring them prosperity too.

Our peacekeeping forces have to date managed to remain impartial in the missions they have undertaken on the continent, and for that we are grateful.

The ACDP would like to see government maintaining the same position of impartiality wherever South Africa is involved in mediation anywhere in the world, including in the Middle East.

Obviously, a number of things have been said about the conflict between Israel and Palestine. That also deserves a comment from the ACDP. South Africa has the opportunity to negotiate peaceful coexistence between Israel and Palestine. But attitudes have to change and South Africa must prove itself to be a credible and impartial mediator.

If government is truly committed to peaceful coexistence, then they should be heard condemning Iran, Hamas, the Palestinian Authority and all other Israel haters who are calling for the destruction of the state of Israel. Otherwise, all the noise that is being made about world peace is hypocrisy. Nobody or no country in the world should have the right to try to annihilate another nation. That should be totally unacceptable.

The mandate of the Department of International Relations and Co-operation is, among other things, to co-ordinate and align South Africa's policy abroad and monitor developments in the international arena. It is also to contribute to the creation of an enabling international environment for South Africa to do trade abroad. Furthermore ... [Time expired.]

Ms B SWARTS: Hon House Chairperson, hon Minister of the Department of International Relations and Co-operation, Dr Naledi Pandor, all Ministers and Deputy Ministers, hon chairperson of the committee, hon Tandi Mahambehlala, hon members, esteemed guests, ladies and gentlemen and fellow South Africans, it is indeed a special pleasure and honour for me to address this House on the occasion of the Department of International Relations and Co-operation's Budget Vote.

It is befitting that this debate takes place in the month of July during which we pay homage to an illustrious world icon, the founding father of South African democracy, President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who laid a firm and solid foundation for human rights and active involvement in multilateral processes.

For us as the ANC this month is made even more sacrosanct and firmly rooted in our hearts because it is also the month during

which we commemorate the inspiring life and death of the ninth president of the ANC, iNkosi Albert Luthuli.

These two great icons of our people have left us all with important lessons on how to serve our people, of the need to put the interests of our people before our own personal interests, to be prepared to sacrifice for the greater good and to refuse to sink into the cesspool of greed, of lust for power and the betrayal of the noble ideals and traditions that many heroes and heroines of our protracted struggle, such as Inkosi Bambatha, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, John Langalibalele Dube, Mahatma Gandhi, Charlotte Maxeke and others had bequeathed to him and to us.

The late former Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan asserted in his book titled *Interventions: A Life in War and Peace*:

What do we stand for as a global community? What are the responsibilities for our common fate in a world that is simultaneously coming together and coming apart - and how do we exercise those responsibilities? How do we strike the balances between growth and development, equality and opportunity, human rights and human security?

The ANC as a government has, over time, used progressive internationalism including a commitment to multilateralism, peaceful resolutions of conflicts, human rights, social justice and the reform of global political and economic order as a prism of its role in international affairs. It has been guided by the need to link South Africa's national interest to the achievement of a better Africa and a better world as envisaged by the forbears of our liberation struggle. These developmental imperatives are in line with the objectives of Chapter 7 of our lodestar visionary document, the National Development Plan, NDP.

South Africa is required to understand the current balance of forces in so far as global realignment is concerned. This is a moment that we must never take for granted in relation to the constant changes that continue to straddle domestic, regional and global domains. I am stressing global realignment in the context of the current situation as it relates to referendum developments regarding the UK's exit from the European Union and Africa's tensions and conflicts which continue to be on the rise. We must deepen our collective understanding of the associated implications of such developments. This is a highly dynamic and complex environment that must be closely monitored if we are to meet the goals of Agenda 2063 and the

implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development, Nepad, programme.

It remains in our interest to continue to work with partners such as the European Union and countries of North America to ensure the continued consolidation of the relationship with South Africa's bilateral ... These regional partners in America and Europe will promote partnerships with international priorities such as infrastructure, information, communication and technology, industrialisation, and water and sanitation. The NDP acknowledges that only about 10% of African trade is within the continent, compared to about 40% in North America and about 60% in Western Europe.

It is our firm belief in the portfolio committee that South Africa as an emerging economy must continue to grapple with a large majority ... of Africa's role in the European Union, EU ... in its populace that lives in poverty. It is against this backdrop that South Africa's role in the EU as the largest trading partner in Africa should be able to utilise the strategic partnership in promoting trade, investment, tourism, technology transfer, education and health co-operation for the realisation of our national objectives. We are looking forward to the impact of the investment drives that our President is

heading with the special envoy team to attract more foreign direct investment to the country. This will go a long way towards growing our economy and create jobs, particularly for young people.

We must be aggressive and radical in promoting South Africa's brand so as to attract more investors to the country. We are hopeful that the next round of the President's investment drive for the conference in November 2019 as announced is already a welcome boost to the country's economy.

Let me hasten to congratulate South Africa on being afforded the opportunity of a seat on the United Nations Security Council for the period 2019 to 2020. We further welcome the expression of confidence by our counterparts in the African Union, AU, who have elected us as the 2020 AU incoming chair. It is our hope that these seats will help us as a country to advance and drive the vision enshrined in our National Development Plan which posits that South Africa seeks to build strategic partnerships for development in order to realise our national priorities including contributing to peace and prosperity across the continent.

We welcome the call by the Minister to all the missions abroad, in particular our mission in the US, to indeed work around the clock to remove all impediments to South Africa's value-added exports under the African Growth and Opportunity Act, Agoa.

It is worth reminding ourselves that South Africa is a signatory to many international conventions and global partnerships which are not limited to the UN Charter, but inclusive of the Sustainable Development Goals. These conventions enjoin us to work through sustained efforts to promote strategic relations with countries of the North, among others. These conventions and partnerships represent a moment of ushering in a new dawn wherein our country can respond to the problem statement of South Africa and reposition herself once again to reclaim her space in the global arena.

In conclusion, we are looking forward to the conclusion of the Medium-Term Strategic Framework 2014-19 that will form the basis of the 2015-20 revised strategic plan, and the African Union's Master Roadmap on Practical Steps on Silencing the Guns in Africa by the Year 2020.

African Union Agenda 2063 as well as the blue print for Sustainable Development Goals, UN Agenda 2030 for Sustainable

Development and global partnerships with strategic formations and countries of the North are essential vehicles for driving our international relations political agenda for this term of office. This will position South Africa in the world as asserted in the opening statement of Chapter 7 of the NDP.

We are Africans. We are an African country. We are part of our multinational region. We are an essential part of our continent. Being Africans, we are acutely aware of the wider world, deeply implicated in our past and present.

God Bless Africa. God Bless South Africa. The ANC supports this budget. I thank you, hon House Chair. [Applause.]

Mr A M SHAIK EMAM: Hon House Chairperson, the NFP welcomes the report of the Department of the International Relations and Co-operation.

Hon Minister, allow me to congratulate you on your appointment as Minister. I am quite certain that this department is now in very good hands.

Minister, let me start off by talking about our participation in some of the international structures. One such structure is the

Southern African Development Community, SADC, Parliamentary Forum. Now, SADC has two sides to it. One is the heads of state and SADC Parliamentary Forum. I think it's one of the matters that you need to look at to determine whether it is really serving the intended purpose that is ... We spend a lot of money. We go there twice a year to the different parts of the region and we need to look at whether it's really serving the interest of our people particularly in the country and in the region. So, I will leave that in your good hands, Minister, to look into.

I think the issue of the leasing of the premises has been going on for many, many years and the question that arose was, instead of leasing them, should we rather purchase these properties since they are going to be used for long-term? But I think your department is dealing with that issue.

The issue of Palestine ... now, Chair, I don't know whether we read different dictionaries or what but, when I look at the word impartial, it looks like some of us interpret it differently. But I have an answer for why we interpret it differently. There is only one reason and that one reason is money. So, if you get money for anything, you sell your principles, you sell your soul, you sell your values, you sell everything!

[Interjections.] So, you can't be impartial. That is clearly what it is.

Now, look at this one, you come there, you take over something that it is not yours, you violate the human rights of these people and you tell me I must be impartial. I don't understand this! So, to be honest with you, some of these people need to go back and search their souls.

But let me tell you where it comes from. Those who were privileged during the days of oppression in South Africa and were part and parcel of the oppressors will never understand what the Palestinian people go through.

We as the NFP say no-one, anywhere in the world, must be allowed to be oppressed.

I hear lot of words about China and, yes, indeed we must be mindful of China and what they can do. But why is it I don't hear the same of the greatest monster on earth and that is the United State of America? [Applause.] There is no peace in the world because of the United States of America. Wherever there's trouble it's the United States! Where there are diseases there's the United States! Where there's war there's the United States,

but nobody wants to say anything! And they talk about impartiality! This is a sick joke as far as I am concerned. I think they need to have their heads read!

The NFP fully supports you, Minister, and your entire team and congratulates you on the work that you do. Thank you very much.
[Applause.]

Mr D L MOELA: Hon Chairperson, Minister and Deputy Minister present here today, hon Members of Parliament, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman, sanibonani [Good day.]

It is my greatest honour to address this Sixth Parliament which was recently installed as our legislative authority in the year coinciding with the 25th anniversary of our constitutional democracy.

I would like to thank the ANC for affording me this opportunity to represent the people of our country in this important institution of our democracy. We thank the generations of young leaders and activists who came before us who, in their own sacrifices, paved a way for many of my generation to enjoy the freedom and opportunities that we have today.

This debate takes place in the month wherein we observe Nelson Mandela Day, which is a global call to action that celebrates the idea that each individual has the power to transform the world. This is done in honour of the distinguished service by our founding father in the promotion of freedom, human rights, peace and democracy in the world.

We draw strength from his wise words when he said:

We cannot allow, for our common wellbeing, that the unilateral interests of single nations or groups of nations dictate international conduct and affairs.

These are the same values that have become the cornerstone of our foreign policy outlook, wherein we use our own historical experiences to promote a better Africa and the better world.

I want to reflect on the promotion of global democracy to transcend unilateral decision-making. It must be stated without any fear of contradiction that unilateralism is an outdated 20th century phenomenon. It also has no place in the modern world wherein there is an existential urgency for all of us to promote multilateral governance, security and trade architecture. Be

that as it may, what we can no longer be in doubt of is that multilateralism is under siege.

There is a rise in narrow nationalism, trade protectionism and a scant view of international institutions and rules. The unilateral withdrawal by the Trump administration from the Paris Climate Change Agreement, at a time when the effects of global warming are so devastating to the developing world, underscores the crisis that faces us.

The ongoing trade war between Washington and Beijing has serious implications for an equitable global economic order. We have seen how sharing of technological innovations such as Huawei's 5G technology – that will meet the demands of the Fourth Industrial Revolution – is stifled through arbitrary trade wars that militate against the World Trade Organisation, WTO, rules.

Europe, our major trading partner, is dealing with its own challenges caused by Brexit.

The Iran nuclear deal is under threat with an escalating stand-off between all parties involved. As a consequence, the Middle East can explode further at any moment now.

These developments do little for the advancement of global democracy that is rooted on international solidarity. Instead, we see the rise of inward-looking populism, which seeks to elevate national sovereignty above all else.

In countries like Myanmar, Syria and Venezuela, we are faced with complex political and security situations that require a global response. This requires of us to use available international and regional instruments to find lasting solutions that benefit the people of those countries in particular, and the world in general.

The end product of these developments is displacement of ordinary people who happen, in the main, to be women and children. They find themselves caught in unresolved civil conflicts or trapped in humanitarian crises due to a disruption of lives and of the supplies necessary for their livelihood. It is under such conditions that the mass rape of women occur, leading to the spread of diseases like HIV and Aids.

Therefore, it should concern us that unilateralism in global decision-making is in the ascendance whilst global democracy is on the back foot.

It is an indictable reality that the post-Cold War international system still has to reckon with pockets of unilateralism meant to benefit the military-industrial complex whereby, for example, defence budgets far outstrip national investments in health care, education, infrastructure upkeep, and elemental service delivery.

The tangible costs of not sticking to international democratic systems include the undermining of the authority of international bodies such as the United Nations, the WTO, the African Union and the European Union.

In his lecture, "In Larger Freedom", Kofi Annan, the late UN Secretary-General, reminds us that:

Dealing with today's threats requires broad, deep, and sustained global co-operation. Thus, the states of the world must create a collective security system to prevent terrorism, strengthen non-proliferation, and bring peace to war-torn areas, while also promoting human rights, democracy, and development.

It is in global co-operation that we will manage better trans-border migration. It is in global co-operation that we will

defeat acts of terrorism. It is in global co-operation that we will prevent human trafficking by organised criminal gangs. Indeed, it is in global co-operation that we will prevent international drug smuggling and illicit financial flows. It is in such co-operation that we will achieve more in placing the African agenda at the centre of global deliberations and action.

The ongoing political and security challenges in Libya, Cameroon, Sudan and South Sudan are of great concern. We have long held a policy position that South Africa's development and prosperity is inextricably linked to peace and development on the continent. Our foreign policy posture and outlook should be alive to current realities. That is why we must not just celebrate being part of multilateral fora without a clear and tangible plan to advance our domestic and regional agenda. Our commitment to contributing to a stable, peaceful and prosperous African continent working with other nations within SADC and the African Union should be the basis of our agenda. [Time expired.]

Mr M G P LEKOTA: Hon Chairperson, hon Minister, may I join those who have extended their congratulations on your appointment to office.

I want to comment on an issue that I think is very important. We as South Africa took a position when we graduated to democracy that with regard to the issue of the Middle East, we would not take sides, however we would be pro-peace. It is for that reason that our government under the leadership of President Mandela adopted the position of inviting both Palestine and Israel to have missions here, and for us to have our missions in those two countries. The idea that we wanted to convey to them was that South Africans, without interference from outside, had discussed the problems of their country and found a solution to it. We did so because we also recognise the fact that the two-state solution of the Middle East was an initiative from both Israel and the Palestinians. It may not have been perfect, but it was the product of the owners of the conflict. What was important for us was to join the international community to support a process that saved the lives of people on both sides, but that necessarily needed to be helped and guided towards a more complete and acceptable solution.

I would like to say to you Minister and your department, that South Africa must not be part of those who lose patience in the drive towards achieving the objectives both Arafat and his counterpart identified for their people and for which they laid the foundations.

We are now sitting in the United Nations with both sides. The flag of Palestine and Israel are flying there. We have a duty to continue to prevail upon both sides to return to the negotiations when they do not agree on issues, and there find solutions in discussion and not spill more blood.

The countries of the world today understand that peace in any struggle, in any battle ... killing people can go on and on but, in the end, you can solve it if you go and sit down and negotiate. Our leaders in this country, when they took up the armed struggle, they made the point quite clearly that we are not taking up arms because we want to kill whites or to spill blood or to do that; we are doing so to put pressure on the government to enter into negotiations with us. Thank you. [Time expired.]

Mr M G E HENDRICKS: Hon Chair, hon Dr, Minister and sister, when you were given the great honour to be our Minister of International Relations on the eve of commemorating President Mandela, we saw you realising his dream of a free South Africa which we all know he said will only happen when occupied Palestine is free.

Hon Minister, now is not the time to talk about a two-state solution. We do not want a solution for Palestine; we call for freedom for the Palestinians! The same freedom South Africans enjoy today. One man, one vote!

We cannot thank the leadership of International Relations enough for the position on the Palestinian struggle. It was the Palestinians who facilitated a huge shipment of arms and weapons from Libya via Angola and then in a Russian truck and more trucks to South Africa where former Defence Minister Modise took delivery. We should send weapons to Palestine. The truck is still here!

It is disappointing that the African Renaissance and the International Co-operation Fund's budgets have declined over the years. Does that help our President as Chair of the African Union, AU, to take further the dream of brother Colonel Gaddafi, for a united Africa?

However, we still have former President Thabo Mbeki who will support him and we are waiting for the identification of a site for a Pan-African Parliament which we hope will be a stone's throw away from Parliament in District Six, the hub of the resistance in the 1960s. This was the dream of President Thabo

Mbeki. Judge Fikile Bam was arrested in District Six. The great African intellectual Archie Mafadi spoke about the African Renaissance in District Six. So, Minister, we are waiting for you to take the lead and take forward the African Renaissance.

Minister, we have to express our disappointment with your silence on the untimely death of the first democratically elected president of Egypt.

We also want to suggest to you that you look to Pakistan for the nuclear energy to help us with our electricity crisis.

Our hopes lie in you to negotiate a settlement between Morocco and the Western Sahara, whose ambassador Al Jama-ah hosted recently because they are both close to our hearts. [Time expired.]

Mr M CHETTY: Greetings and salutations hon Chair, hon Ministers, hon Deputy Ministers, hon members, diplomatic corps present, our guests in the gallery and fellow South Africans.

Hon Minister, it will be a disservice to South Africans watching this debate if I did not bring to light that some members have come to this podium having not attended the committee meetings

or even read the annual performance plan, but express blinding support for this Budget Vote. That is an act of criminality towards those constituencies that sent them here. [Applause.]

I quote the late great Martin Luther King Jr, who said:

Life's most persistent and urgent question is: What are you doing for others?

How apt, hon Minister, is this quote not when in reference to the Department of International Relations and Co-operation and its role on the African continent.

According to the annual performance plan presented to the committee ... and, Minister, depending on who you ask, the chief financial officer will tell you it is R855 million, the director-general will tell you it is R955 million and, if you look at the annual performance plan, it is R1,1 billion. You take your pick, Minister.

This allocation is for Programme 5 - International Transfers, which provides for South Africa's membership to international organisations, such as the United Nations, African Union and SA Development Corporation.

A persistent source of discomfort during the Fifth Parliament was always that South Africa did not receive value for money in return for these membership fees. The amount contributed should surely ensure that we are at the forefront of setting the agenda, not merely sitting on the sidelines, as is currently the case. South Africa has always been the reluctant leader, even when our African compatriots view us as a beacon of hope for the continent.

But then again, one need not look too far to see why we struggle to own our place as a geopolitical leader. Despite the international embarrassment that Ambassador Zindzi Mandela caused our country, President Cyril Ramaphosa still went ahead and extended her tenure.

Also, Minister, the shocking testimony at the Zondo Commission by yet another delinquent ambassador, Bruce Koloane, ambassador to the Netherlands, and his involvement in the irregular and illegal landing of the infamous Gupta plane at the Waterkloof Air Force base, should warrant his immediate removal from office. [Applause.]

Frankly, Minister, we can do better at vetting ambassadors and diplomatic staff. Hon Minister, you need to awaken from the

dream that President Ramaphosa concocted during the state of the nation address and come to the realisation that the appointment of ambassadors needs to move away from the current patronage model where political rejects are given a soft landing.

Government should be bold enough to appoint ambassadors from opposition parties who have played a role in the advancement of South Africa's democracy. [Applause.]

Minister, this government's foreign policy – which veers to the East, where we seem comfortable to be playing second fiddle to China and Russia – has not been met with the same zeal from our own citizens. Students who, not of their own choice, but out of desperation, go to China to study medicine, suddenly find themselves with medical qualifications that do not allow them to practice in their very own home of South Africa. The Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Blade Nzimande, made an unfulfilled executive promise to recognise these medical qualifications.

Minister, you have an opportunity to right this wrong by taking up the plight of South Africans who spend years studying at foreign universities, only to be rejected by their own country. We simply cannot lose this vital human resource.

The department's handling of the suspension and ongoing investigation of its CFO leaves much to be desired. The lack of decisiveness has a direct bearing on how we effectively use the Department of International Relations and Co-operation for the South African brand and meet our obligations internationally.

Inasmuch as we seem to sing our own praises regarding the country's international footprint, this does come with financial constraints. Serious consideration should be given to downsizing some diplomatic missions and merging functions such as tourism advocacy with consular services.

The need for cost-cutting measures has further been reinforced by the department's own acknowledgement that there is widespread fruitless and wasteful expenditure across our missions and properties abroad. Spending money on properties that are not being used is not only a waste of money, but is an insult to South Africans who are both homeless and destitute. [Applause.]

Hon Minister, the Fifth Parliament went by and the department failed to ensure that the Foreign Service Bill was approved. It is my sincere hope that you will play your role to facilitate the passing of this legislation during the Sixth Parliament.

One of the mandates of the Department of International Relations and Co-operation is to assist South African citizens abroad yet, on numerous occasions, most of them have often been left stranded due to red tape at ... Thank you, Madam Chair. [Time expired.]

Mr T S MPANZA: Hon Chair, the hon Minister, hon Deputy Ministers, the hon chairperson of the portfolio committee, hon members of the portfolio committee, hon members, ladies and gentlemen ...

Chair, I think we must state for the record that all political parties in our portfolio committee yesterday adopted the report unanimously with no objections.

I am going to focus on the issue of the African Renaissance. Africa must take its rightful place in the global politics and development of the continent. There are a number of instruments that we can use to achieve this goal of Africa taking its rightful place in global politics and development. Fortunately, for us who are now in the sixth administration, our predecessors were visionary leaders who, in their wisdom, established an instrument called the African Renaissance International Cooperation Fund, ARF, to take the African agenda forward. The

ARF was established immediately after 1994. The democratic government took a deliberate decision to establish this fund to promote the development, assistance and consolidate peace and reconstruction in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The fund was thus established in the year 2000 pursuant to an Act of Parliament, the African Renaissance International Co-operation Fund Act, Act 51 of 2000.

One of the objectives of the ARF is to promote democracy and good governance. The ARF would continue to support the SADC election observer missions. Minister, the holding of democratic elections is considered critical to the socioeconomic development of the continent and the region.

There are 10 countries that are due to hold elections in the 2019-20 year. Of these, five are from the SADC region – that is, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa. Of course, South Africa has just had its own elections recently.

The ANC-led government believes that building strong institutions will enable South Africa to entrench the culture of good governance as well as efficiency and responsiveness, which are integral parts of Africa's renewal programme.

The ARF will continue to pursue its strategic objectives as outlined in the African Renaissance International Co-operation Fund Act, Act 51 of 2000 with more emphasis on the provision of loans and investment projects to fulfil these strategic objectives.

The good story to tell about this ARF is that the ARF granted its first loan to the government of Cuba, which is in line with the ARF's future strategy of focussing on loans and infrastructure investment. This will aid in re-capitalising the ARF amid reduced allocations. Cuba is reported to have already repaid its loan in full. We therefore thank and commend the Cuban government for honouring its commitment to this noble cause.

I-ANC iyaqhuba, vumani booo!

AmaLungu AHLONIPHEKILEYO: Siyavumaaaa! (*Translation of isiXhosa paragraphs follow.*)

[The ANC is moving forward; agree with me!

Hon MEMBERS: We agree!]

The world continues to experience natural disasters. The fund enables South Africa to be counted amongst those who strive to restore human dignity and bring relief to people in distress as and when humanitarian situations arise.

One of the strides that we have also made as a country on behalf of the African continent is that South Africa has one of the largest footprints in the world when it comes to foreign policy implementation. I think this should be celebrated by all Africans across the continent.

The signing of free trade agreements among African countries creates more space and opportunities for African countries to trade among themselves, thus boosting the African continent's economic growth for the benefit of Africa and the world. This positive development should be commended by all of us. Charity begins at home. Local is lekker.

Furthermore, the signing of these free trade agreements also repositions Africa as one big market that can now compete with other countries and continents from a position of strength rather than weakness, thus making Africa a force to be reckoned with in the world.

Iyahamba le moto kaHulumeni oholwa uKhongolose. Bathi-ke imoto ehambayo izinja ziyayikhonkotha kodwa emile ziyayichamela. Manje sebethi ehlehlela emuva ziyayidunusela njenge-DA. Dunuduna!

(Translation of IsiZulu paragraph follows.)

[The vehicle called government led by the African National Congress is in motion. It is said that dogs bark at a moving car, but pee on the one that is stationary. Now they say that dogs just give their backs to a reversing car, as is the case with the DA.]

The MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION:

Chairperson, let me begin by thanking all members who have participated in this debate, and in particular thank those members who have agreed that they will support our budget. To those who say they won't, I am not sure why they will continue to insist that we should have diplomatic relations if we have no funding, because that is the consequence of their position.

I believe that we must utilise our international relations to advance our national objectives and the policy goals of our country. Of course, with due regard to the values and principles of solidarity, democracy and peace, we will always endeavour to seek out friendships based on shared values and common goals. I

confirm again that Africa will be a priority and the expansion of the excellent platform established by our predecessors will be the foundation that I utilise to advance this particular objective.

I believe that we must always show that we will reject misogyny, racism and chauvinistic ethnicity in all its forms in our diplomatic collaboration. Solidarity networks that seek to advance a progressive agenda for the world are the networks we will attach to.

On the Middle East, we take side with the oppressed. We do not reject Israel when it wishes to discuss a genuine settlement. The two-state solution remains the objective of all members of the United Nations, but we must act to indicate that we are concerned at the lack of movement. We are concerned at the lack of freedom. When there are genuine steps for peace, we are ready to consider again, but it cannot be that we act as though matters are normal when there exists a condition in which a people enjoy no rights whatsoever. We cannot attach purely to the theoretical. We must signal that we are concerned.

That does not mean that we give up. It means we are ready to engage in discourse leading to a solution. Mr Mandela didn't say

a two-state solution even where no movement exists. He said that the people of Palestine stood shoulder-to-shoulder with us; we must stand shoulder-to-shoulder with them. We will be there with the people of Israel and its government once it is ready to recognise that the two-state solution must be brought into reality. So, it should be understood what our intentions are.

We would be most happy, when we discuss the Middle East, to talk about Syria, to talk about the humanitarian disaster in Yemen, to talk about all those who suffer, and not neglect to mention the other actors in that region who are exacerbating the negative condition of humanity. It is absolutely imperative that we do that.

We agree with hon members that the budget decline is a real concern for us and I take the advice and wise counsel from members that we must look at the issue of the missions. We will, but I do urge the hon Chetty to understand that the allocations that are provided as a first touch by Treasury do not always remain as so. At times the figures we state may be understated by the need to revise how we prioritise, given the changes introduced by Treasury post the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework. We would ask – given that an explanation was provided

to the portfolio committee – that the bona fides of the department be accepted given that set of explanations.

There is no intention by the department not to be accountable or transparent. We absolutely understand the concern of members, and we assure you, there is no intention to hide anything. We will respond to the directives of the Auditor-General and ensure we improve our financial administration. Please be assured of that.

I thank the hon Bergman of the DA for the indications that he will support us when the right things are done. We assure you that we are going to strive to try and do the right things, particularly for South Africa and our continent.

It cannot be said that we are bullied by China. China is an important player in the world and we are fortunate to have excellent relations with them. What we should be asking is: Are we drawing the best advantage from that relationship? Have we done as much as we could to extract the economic and other opportunities that derive from such a strong relationship?

I think much more could be done, but I don't think we can just neglect such a powerful and potential trade and economic opportunity.

But in no way has China ever ... in fact, I found them intriguing in that they say, you relate to us on your terms or you don't relate to us on your terms. They would never come begging for the relationship; we have sought it and they have sought us. I think it's one of rapprochement but I do think there is much more South Africa could secure from that relationship, especially in trade terms.

There are so many provinces in China with a total lack of awareness of South Africa as a tourist destination or indeed a business opportunity. We need to exploit those opportunities much more. We need to go into the deeper recesses of China and begin to build a whole set of new unimagined relationships up to this point. So, there is a lot that can be done and I think we need to explore that. But the notion that we are bullied, cajoled, etc, is a mistaken one.

On the matter of human rights, I have said our voting record in the United Nations Security Council has certainly for me been a very good one in the time we served as a nonpermanent member

this year and into 2020. We will ensure, having listened and taken on an aspect introduced by the former Minister of International Relations, hon Sisulu, that our focus will be the traditionally observed human rights perspective of South Africa. That will drive our voting pattern. That is what has been happening and I am very pleased with that.

On the conduct of ambassadors, clearly we must address this. I must do so in discussion with the President. It is not just the decision of the Minister. We must have a proper discussion and address that. Also, when there is a set of dialogues I do call on us as South Africans to always have regard to all sides of the dialogue and to be critical of all elements that exude racism, sexism or any form of prejudice or discrimination.

[Applause.] Don't choose one part! All of us are focused on Ambassador Mandela and not on what has been said to her or about President Mandela or Mrs Winnie Mandela. By saying that, I do not in any way absolve or say one supports, but I am saying let us be even-handed in all commentary that we make about comments. Of course, with respect to Ambassador Koloane, again I think a serious discussion is merited.

On the matter of our chairing the African Union, I hope we are going to show the continent that we really take the continent

seriously, and that we are going to develop a set of programmes and interventions that will enhance Africa's place in the world and progress with all the agenda programmes of Agenda 2063.

We as Africa must begin to make real advances. This is why I have inserted the notion that we should use South Africa's capacity for research and innovation to begin to place Africa at the heart of developing new ideas and new products. We haven't done a quarter of what is possible by our continent. We are not yet using the opportunities for creating a knowledge-based society. So, let's begin to think differently.

Africa's change doesn't only happen through resolutions at the African Union, in the economic communities or at the United Nations. The change begins by how we use our talent and our institutions. So, let's begin to add these elements that I believe are missing at this moment so that we really make the kind of advances that place us at the centre of the world. If we do that, I believe our continent and our people will finally come into their own. I thank you all for participating in the debate. Thank you! [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON (Ms L S Makhubela-Mashele): Thank you, hon Minister. Members are reminded about the debate on Police -

including Independent Police Investigative Directorate - Budget Vote will take place at 16:30 in the National Assembly Chamber. The debate on the Social Development Budget Vote will take place at 16:30 in the Old Assembly Chamber. The debate on the Public Enterprises Budget Vote will take place at 16:30 in Committee Room E249.

Debate concluded.

The mini-plenary session rose at 16:10.