time before the war had started we warned against its effects, the deep wounds which it would open, and its repercussions which would grow and include human, economic and ecological tragedies. We warned that war is a measure of last resort, launched only after all efforts to avert it have been exhausted. Our calls and warnings were in vain.

Justice will be victorious, God willing, brothers, and our nation will prevail because, through its victory humanity will prevail against its enemies. Life will prevail over death. Love among nations will prevail over hatred. It will become clear to all those who gambled that our nation would be divided, like its leaders, that it is a dead nation, will be proven wrong. Our nation will remain, God willing, a strong, proud and vibrant nation. “These your people are one people and I am your God, so worship me alone” (Surat Al Anbiya’ No. 92). Let us have fear of God and remember that. If this situation continues it will only benefit those who covet our lands and resources, with Israel at their forefront. There are already signs that the spoils are being divided. We hear and read every day of plans to control our resources, limit our freedom of decision, strangle our aspirations and usurp our rights. There is talk of proposed military alliances and foreign troops that will stay on Arab soil; of conditions that will handicap our progress; of a solution for the Palestinian problem which has been prepared or which will be prepared by others according to what they see, and according to the will of the powerful that is imposed on the weak. We cannot imagine that this solution would fulfill the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people on their national soil.

This is a call from a Hashemite Arab to all honest Arab and Muslim leaders. Let us join our efforts to stop this catastrophe and save the people of Iraq from the fate that is planned for them. Let us save our nation from the plans that are designed for it. Let us bring this war to an end.

The starting point in all this is immediate and serious work to make the alliance accept a cease-fire, in preparation for a responsible dialogue between the antagonists: an Iraqi-American dialogue and an Arab-Arab dialogue that resort to reason and balance interests against international legitimacy, the legitimacy of security, peace, justice and equality.

By destroying Iraq this war has exceeded the limits set by the United Nations in its resolutions. This is confirmed by declarations of the alliance leaders. So where is the United Nations now? The alternative to a cease-fire is the destruction of Arabs and Muslims, their humiliation, their exploitation, the trampling on their honour, pride and legitimate hopes, and hatred and strife between nations. We in Jordan will stay the Arabs of all Arabs, the noblest of the noble, the men of all men. We shall always stay united, army and people, alert to defend our country. If the fight is forced upon us we shall be up to it and gain one of God’s two favours (victory or martyrdom). Our hearts are full of faith, and we thank God for everything.

From Amman of the Arabs I send to our people in Palestine our great pride in them, in their steadfastness, in their resilience against their suffering where a whole nation is under house arrest, without work, without a source of earning, without medicine. But it is a nation that believes in God and stands fast by the Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

As for our people in Iraq, what words can describe their great courage and pride, their tenacity, and their ability to face twenty-eight allied countries, twenty-eight armies headed by the largest, most powerful, and best armed army of the world! To them we send our love and our pride as they defend us all and raise the banner that says God is great, the banner of Arabs and Islam. We salute Iraq, its heroic army, its steadfast people, its glorious women, its brave children, and its aged, confronting with faith the bombers, the battleships and tons of explosives.

We send a special salute to his Holiness Pope John Paul II for his prayers and continuous calls for peace in the Middle East, and to all people and international figures everywhere who decry war and call for peace. A salute of pride to all our Arab and Muslim brothers in the five continents who came out from the first moments of war to make a stand for life and peace against death, destruction and aggression.

I pay a special debit of thanks to all those who search for truth and who work to spread it because they respect and care for truth. To all the newsmen, academics, and politicians who live among us and do their duty in honesty and professionalism.

“Most of their conferrings together are devoid of good, except such as enjoin charity, or the promotion of public welfare or of public peace; and on him who strives after these, seeking the gratification of God, shall we soon bestow a great reward.” (Surat Al-Nisa’ No. 114)

May God’s peace and blessings be upon you.

South Africa and Apartheid

WHAT HAS TO BE DONE AND WHAT NEEDS TO BE ABOLISHED

By F. W. DE KLERK, President of South Africa

Delivered at the Opening of the Third Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, South Africa, February 1, 1991

MR. SPEAKER, Members of Parliament. From this Chamber a year ago tomorrow South Africa was placed finally on a new course. Events succeeded one another in rapid succession and I have no doubt that our country is irrevocably on the road to a new dispensation. The goal with the removal of discrimination is to give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life.

In the short span of a single year substantial progress was made. The Government is determined to build on the foundations laid purposefully efficiently and with due speed.

South Africa cannot allow or permit the dynamic process of reform to slow down. Consequently, the process of fundamental reform and all it entails is the first priority not only among politicians but among
all. Organisations, columnists, academics, churches, and especially the man in the street are thinking and talking about reform continuously. It could hardly be otherwise since it is indeed the future of our country and of every one of its people that is at stake.

Two basic questions arise in relation to reform:

What has to be done; and

What needs to be abolished?

Today I wish to emphasise the positive but shall also make announcements on that which has to be abolished.

The initiatives of the past year have prepared the way for a new South Africa. Our task this year will be to give greater content to our vision of what the new South Africa should be like. Simultaneously we have to give impetus to our resolve to build a new South African nation.

There were centrifugal forces that promoted confrontation, hatred, and violence; that thrived on envy, suspicion, and fear, and which alienated South Africans from one another.

Against this the vision of a new South Africa brought most South Africans increasingly closer together. In most hearts there is a yearning for peaceful solutions and co-operation. The majority are tired of the negative and the destructive. They wish to take hands but do not know how to do this.

These facts place the responsible and positive leadership corps in our country before this challenge:

The time has arrived for nation-building.

I wish to accept this challenge today and invite every leader in every field to join me in doing so.

In South Africa the task of nation-building is formidable because of the diversity of our population. We lack the natural cohesion of a single culture and language that frequently forms the cornerstone of nationhood. Consequently, we shall have to rely heavily on the other cornerstone — of common values and ideals.

I have taken the liberty on the basis of an analysis of the views of a wide spectrum of leaders of formulating a set of these common values and ideals. Without laying claim to it being complete or the last word on the subject, I believe that it may serve as a point of departure in the search for a national consensus.

The full text will be released today under the title, “Manifesto for the new South Africa.”

I believe that these values and ideals could provide the cohesiveness of a new South African nation of a nation that will include all peace-loving South Africans on an equal footing. Furthermore, a Manifesto such as this will be able to be associated with a Bill of Human Rights to which the Government is already committed. It should also give direction to the constitutional negotiations that lie ahead.

In a nutshell the basic values and ideals as formulated in the Manifesto and as they have crystallised out of the national debate could be summarised thus:

The basis of the new South Africa should be justice. The great majority of South Africans desire a just state which will guarantee basic liberties, rule out arbitrary actions and domination, and which will require and assure responsible citizenship. Everyone desires a just dispensation in which fairness will be the point of departure.

On this basis, South Africans ask that the new South Africa should epitomise the following objectives:

— They want peace. They wish to be assured that they and their families and their property will be safe.

— They want prosperity. They wish to share in a sound and growing economy that will make employment opportunities and better living conditions possible for everybody and allow everybody to reap the fruits of their labours.

— They want progress. They wish to have effective educational, health, and welfare services as well as adequate housing and recreational facilities.

— They want participation in democratic institutions. They wish to feel that they are part of government on every level, that they are not dominated, and that they may be proud together of our country, South Africa.

On these broad basic values and ideals we can found a new South African nation. They do not belong exclusively to any single political party. They are universal.

They find expression; in the hearts and dreams of all successful, prosperous, and stable nations.

We may differ about how we should realise these values and ideals. It is in the nature of political parties within a democracy to differ with one another. But we have to agree with one another on basic value systems. There is no room in the new South Africa for the alternatives to these values and ideals. There is no room for injustice, tyranny, domination, violence or for social degradation and economic decline.

South Africa dare not make the mistakes that have led to impoverishment and dictatorship in so many countries of the world.

Therefore: No matter the pressure or from whence it comes, I shall not be instrumental in creating a dispensation here that is out of step with the basic values and ideals of the world’s successful democracies and economies.

If we build the new South African nation on the foundation of these values and ideals, a good future awaits us and our children:

— We shall be able to unite the rich diversity of our population behind common goals.

— We shall be able to settle our differences through co-operation and peaceful negotiation.

— We shall be able to lay the foundations for a new, comprehensive South African nation which will include all our people with allegiance and loyalty to our common fatherland.

— We shall become part of the international community — finally, fully and with honour and dignity — and play a full part in the rest of Africa and the world.

— We shall be able to enter the new century as one of the most successful and dynamic nations of the world.

That is our vision. That is our intent. That is our challenge.

To this I commit myself. And I ask every leader to support me in this. If South Africans make the essence of a Manifesto such as this their own, then the foundations of our new nation will have been firmly laid.

With single-minded unity of purpose, we must build our new South African nation around these values and goals. Constructively we have to mobilise all the energy, skill and inventiveness of every individual towards building a new South African nation, a nation that will stand proudly in its rightful place amongst the nations of the world. If South Africans do not truly become a nation, there will be no peace.

Naturally, the adoption of these values is merely a first step. Giving them constitutional content will require long and thorough negotiation. And before that can happen, agreement will have to be reached on the nature of the negotiations, procedures and structures.
Multi-Party Conference

Discussions on the way forward in this regard have taken place regularly and with increasing frequency among political parties and interest groups. There is growing consensus that the time has arrived for a multi-party conference.

The Government is playing a key role in promoting this idea. So have others. At the end of a fully representative meeting of leaders of first and second tier governments, which was attended by the Chairmen of the three Ministers Councils, Chief Ministers of the Self-governing Territories and Provincial Administrators, a joint statement was issued on the 30th of November last year. I quote from it:

“The meeting strongly supported the view that a multi-party conference must be convened urgently in order to set in motion a process through which consensus on a future negotiation forum could be reached. The meeting committed itself to support the steps the State President may take in this regard. Such a multi-party conference should include as many political parties as possible.”

Against this background, the Government was pleased to take note of the Anniversary Message of the ANC on the 8th of January this year, in which the principle of a multi-party conference as a first step that could lead to the adoption of a new constitution, was also accepted.

The result is that most of the major political groupings are now ready to attend multi-party exploratory talks. I trust that these talks will begin soon.

I am also convinced that this approach is the best way to ensure that the process, as well as the outcome, will be legitimate, durable and acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

In this connection, the Government declares its opposition to the idea of an elected constituent assembly. It is of the opinion that the negotiation of new constitution should be the responsibility of the representatives of all political parties which enjoy proven support and are committed to a peaceful and negotiated solution.

In respect of constitutional development I wish, further, to state the Government’s point of view clearly on an interim government. The idea that the present, legally-constituted Government should relinquish its powers and simply hand over its responsibilities to some or other temporary regime, cannot be considered in a sovereign, independent state. Effective government and administration in terms of existing constitutional legislation has to continue until a new constitution has been negotiated and been implemented after the acquisition of a mandate.

However, consideration may be given to certain transitional arrangements on the various legislative and executive levels to give the leaders of the negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions.

Local Government

Other interim measures may be considered as well. Local Government is an example.

The Government has been giving attention to reform at the local authority level for quite some time. The options concerning possible models, as contained in the report of the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government Affairs, have stimulated debate at the local level.

In many cases, discussions opened doors to co-operation which could not be implemented because of legal impediments.

This leads to frustration which has a negative influence on the process of reform.

The Government does not wish to anticipate the national process of negotiation in any way. Therefore, without wishing to establish a final structure at the local level, the decision has been taken to initiate interim steps to accommodate the dynamics of co-operation which have developed in many communities in respect of co-operation, and to give legal sanction to agreed joint actions and joint structures.

Consequently, legislation will be submitted during this session to enable communities to enter into discussions with one another on a voluntary basis and establish joint structures.

In terms of this legislation, room will be created for the following:

— The joint provision of services and the establishment of a single administration for various participating local authorities.

— The possibility for participating local authorities to make decisions at joint meetings that will be binding on all of the participants.

— The admissibility of the various local authorities that wish to enter into such an agreement, proceeding to the establishment of a single body or bodies to which the powers, duties and functions of the various participating authorities may be assigned, either wholly or in part.

Currently, the Government is also giving attention to the financial implications, since progress in the development of structures for co-operation should not be impeded by financial limitations.

In fact, substantial progress has already been made with the planning of a new system of local government that will give recognition to the concept of “one municipality, one tax base.” Therefore, the strategy of radicals to destroy existing structures on the local level, has to end.

This senseless and futile disruption serves no purpose and merely causes pain and suffering, particularly in Black communities. Moreover, it is a serious obstacle in the way of reform and negotiation on every level. It is to the latter in particular that those who are fighting about something which will disappear in any event, should rather direct their efforts.

Apart from local government, the Government is also looking at present, and with a view to interim arrangements, at the problems arising from the fragmentation of administration, especially in respect of education, housing, health and agriculture. In this context, there is a serious need for fundamental rationalization linked to effective protection of standards and the rights of individuals and communities.

Before further progress is possible in this regard, wide consultation will have to take place and I urge all who have an interest in this, to co-operate in this process of deliberation. Overly hasty action is not indicated in this regard.

Removal of Statutory Discrimination

The elimination of racial discrimination goes hand in hand with the constitutional process. The Government has expressed its intention repeatedly to remove discriminatory laws and practices. Many of them have been abolished already. Those remaining could not be repealed out of hand, because their complex nature required in-depth investigation.

These investigations have now been completed to the extent that I am able to make certain announcements today.

Legislation is to be tabled shortly for the repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the
Development of Black Communities Act of 1984, as well as all other stipulations that determine rights concerning land according to membership of population groups.

The Government will also table a White Paper in which it will fully state its approach to the future treatment of land and land questions. Both the White Paper and the relevant legislation will be at the disposal of members shortly.

No one dare under-estimate the emotions and even the conflict potential relating to land rights.

Everybody has a natural need for access to land and its utilisation as living space and source of livelihood. Therefore, much more is necessary than the mere repeal of discriminatory legislation. At the same time, provision will have to be made for the protection of rights and of making landownership accessible.

On the one hand, there is a need for the protection of private property rights and security of title and tenure with due consideration for common and indigenous law. On the other, land ownership and financing for it have to be accessible to all in a non-discriminatory manner.

These point of departure will be contained in the envisaged White Paper.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 has been subjected to scrutiny as well.

On the part of the Government, the view was held that the Population Registration Act would have to be repealed eventually, but that this could not be done immediately because the Act was technically necessary for the maintenance of the present constitutional dispensation. Therefore, it would be possible to repeal the Act only once a new constitution had been implemented.

Following investigation, it would, in fact, appear possible to repeal this Act, provided that this is accompanied by the adoption of temporary transitional measures towards the acceptance of a new constitution. Consequently, I announce that legislation to this effect will be tabled during this session of Parliament.

Should Parliament adopt the Government’s proposals, the South African statute book will be devoid, within months, of the remnants of racially discriminatory legislation which have become known as the cornerstones of apartheid.

Own Community Life

The ending of apartheid and the repeal of these last remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of an era — an era in which it was sought to deal with the reality of a diversity, of peoples and communities within the same national boundaries by means of discriminatory coercion.

However, the removal of discrimination and coercion, which is now being completed, does not alter the reality of the existence of a variety of peoples and communities.

This is not unique to South Africa either.

Throughout the world, there are certain communities within countries and states that have maintained a specific identity.

Individuals, who feel attracted to certain communities and feel happy and secure in them, are also allowed to do so.

In South Africa, too, a deeply-rooted desire exists among some communities for a system in which certain human needs may continue to be met in a community context — without coercion, without discrimination and without apartheid.

The Government is convinced that recognition has to be given to this reality in any new dispensation. Therefore, it remains committed to ensuring community rights for those who desire them and believes that they will have to be accommodated in the new South Africa.

The Government’s points of departure in this respect are that:

- people cannot be coerced into communities;
- the authorities may not discriminate against certain communities in favour of others;
- a community life of one’s own has to be sustained by one’s own inherent will and abilities and not by statutory coercion;
- community recognition has to be based on freedom of association, as it is recognised constitutionally and otherwise by various countries in the world.

Against this background, urgent consideration will have to be given to the question of how community rights may be rightfully accommodated in South Africa. Important political role players, inside and outside of Parliament, are in favour of the principle and work on proposals in this regard is being widely undertaken.

Legal Reform

The concept of an own community life may be associated logically and meaningfully with the concept of a bill of human rights. As is already known the Government favours such a bill of rights and is currently awaiting the final report of the South African Law Commission.

In the widest context, the Government wishes to bring the aims it has concerning community life, into line with the concept of a just state in which the rule of law prevails, a state which does not seek to prescribe communities or community life, nor force them upon anybody, but which maintains the legal principles, measures and courts that will make it possible for people to feel secure in the communities of their choosing.

Our legal system has to be subjected to continuous scrutiny to ensure that it meets the needs of the ever-changing demands of our society. In this regard the recognition of indigenous law, alongside common law, remains important.

The maintenance of the independence of our courts is indispensable to a stable and secure future. In this respect, our legal system, and specifically our judiciary, enjoys international recognition and respect.

Where we find ourselves on the eve of constitutional developments in which our jurisprudence will have a decisive role to play, the Government will ensure continuously that the status of our jurisprudence is enhanced and even strengthened further. This applies to all its facets, but especially to judges and magistrates.

The Chief Justice, judges-president and the Minister of Justice are working on this continuously. Specific attention is also being given to the status of positions such as those of attorneys-general and magistrates.

Against the background of the world-wide trend towards simplifying legal procedures, making the legal process more accessible and involving the community with it to a great extent, several further initiatives are now indicated:

— Envisaged is a broadening and expansion of the basis of appointing assessors. The intention is to extend the system, as it currently prevails in the supreme court, to the lower courts in specific cases, as well as to make use in future, not only of jurists and experts as assessors, but also to involve ordinary members of the public served by the court concerned.

— Greater status and significance for the position of justice of the peace or a similar position, is envisaged to give them a role in the disposal of less serious, decriminalised misdemean-
ors. In this way, local communities will become more intimately involved with the administration of justice, and faster settlements will be assured.

- The intention is also to make civil procedure simpler, faster and cheaper by instituting a mediation procedure and courts for an abridged procedure in certain civil cases. A Bill to this effect was submitted to parliament today.

The Government is also occupied in numerous other fields with reform renewal and progress directed at a new and stable dispensation. I wish to deal with some subjects in this regard.

Education

An exceptionally topical aspect of our society is education. It is well-known that the Government is fully aware of, and deeply concerned about, serious problems in education.

Problems such as inadequate vocational emphasis in our school syllabuses, fragmented state administration, equal financial treatment for all pupils, finding alternative sources of finance for education, the adequate provision of facilities, liaison between formal education and the informal sector, and distance education as an alternative mode of providing education, receive continuous and urgent attention. To equip the individual better for his task, renewal in the education dispensation is essential to make it more career-oriented and more closely-related to the economy.

Therefore, the Government announced an investigation into a comprehensive educational renewal strategy last year already. The results are expected soon. Thereafter, the matter will be taken further seriously.

Education affects the future of everyone of us. If we wish to create a future South Africa without discrimination and with equality of opportunity, this will have to be true of education as well. However, distinctive or autogenous education, conducted with Government assistance within a single system by those who desire it, has to remain an option. For this we need the constructive co-operation of all who have an interest in education.

It is gratifying, therefore, that leaders and organisations with divergent political programmes have begun to raise their voices against the disruption and chaos which characterised the school year in 1990. I also wish to urge all involved — parents, teachers and the children themselves — to place the interests of the pupils above all else.

Political and community organisations should encourage teachers and children to make use of education and not allow schools and pupils to be abused for political purposes.

The present education system shall and must be changed. Work on this is being done on the political and education levels. In the meantime, education has to continue in an orderly manner.

We are determined that our ultimate system of education shall enjoy the acceptance and support of the majority of our population. It will have to be an educational system that will be affordable and in which appropriate education is offered. In addition, it will have to keep abreast of changing needs and trends in our society.

The Economy

One other great imperative facing us in this closing decade of the twentieth century is economic reconstruction. It is the only way through which we will be able to return to a high growth path and meet the reasonable aspirations of all our people. No economy, least of all that of a developing society, can do this overnight; but we can and must promote the creation of employment opportunities and the generation of incomes to meet the basic needs of our rapidly growing population in the shortest possible space of time.

Economic growth and constitutional reform have to be mutually reinforcing. Unless the pressing problems of poverty and unemployment are alleviated, constitutional models will be of little avail to us.

There is room for debate on economic structures, but not on the necessity of effective macro-economic management. Throughout the world, a stable, non-inflationary environment has been rediscovered as a key element of sustained economic growth. Therefore, our own fight against inflation has to enjoy top priority, as well as united on ongoing support. Failure on this front will leave us with scant hope of success on any other. Inflation does not alleviate poverty — it aggravates it.

The Government has neither the capability nor the desire to intervene directly in the price and wage determination process of the private sector. However, unjustifiable wage increases, especially in times of economic downturn, do not serve the overall public interest: they may well result in lost jobs and an inflation. The same applies to excessive and routinely instituted price increases that fuel the wage-price spiral.

Fortunately, the past year has seen several economic gains. Our programme of economic restructuring, in line with the political and socio-economic exigencies, is firmly on course. Progress has also been made in short-term stabilization, especially concerning monetary policy. The current account of the balance of payments has being performed well and the real effective growth rate of the rand has been comparatively stable.

Of special importance has been our new access, in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, to markets long closed to our exports, as well as our readmission to capital markets in Western Europe. These and other opportunities resulting from positive international reaction to the Government’s initiatives, have to be grasped firmly and decisively.

We shall continue to sustain and enhance the competitive ability of our exporters. Surplus capacity in areas such as electricity generation and transport, is being exploited through favourable power and freight charges to our manufacturers. Increased beneficiation of our abundant raw materials will continue to be encouraged. We simply cannot forego the much-needed employment opportunities this will bring about.

All concerned South Africans working for a peaceful transition to a new society wish to see the reduction and ultimate elimination of the disparities that still exist. Restructuring the economy and allocating resources to specific needs are essential to this end. Equally important, however, are the channels for deploying the resources, the involvement of the peoples concerned, and their acceptance of mutual responsibility.

All our citizens have to join both in shaping and in sharing the national product. I believe the vast majority of South Africans prefer opportunities for self-advancement of all, to largesse and patronage for some.

To achieve even the goal of parity in social expenditure will require hard work and stern discipline over the next decade and beyond. Attempts to shorten this inevitably incremental process by militant action in the labour or other fields, will merely serve to lengthen it.

By contrast, some form of ‘social accord’ on economic goals and actions would be a powerful instrument for achieving the shared national goal of a common society, offering wider mate-
rial prospects and a higher quality of life to all its members. However, such an accord has to recognise these realities and provide a time span and a structure for orderly economic and social development.

I have been greatly encouraged by the progress made in the field of economic development by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the South African Housing Trust, the Small Business Development Corporation and other agencies.

Similarly, the Independent Development Trust and the newly-announced Private Sector Initiative, operating under the aegis of the Urban Foundation, are set up to make major contributions towards addressing endemic problems in housing, health and education.

The recently announced allocation by the Independent Development Trust of substantial resources directed at giving poor people access to land ownership, is of great significance. For its part, the Government is currently taking an urgent look at innovative methods of financing the provision of land and housing.

I should also like to mention the committee of Deputy Ministers which, in close liaison with the private sector, is investigating imaginative ways of raising substantial capital funds for further development projects.

The Government places a high premium on job and income-creating growth. In broad terms, this requires:

Firstly, that maximum private sector development be encouraged.

Secondly, that the State's economic involvement be reduced in consequence to a minimum, with its residual activities based increasingly on business principles.

Thirdly, that Government policy and actions be geared to the fullest utilisation of national resources. This includes a shift from import replacement and strategic self-sufficiency to an export-oriented strategy, involving limited protection of domestic industry, and aimed at maximum productivity and cost-effectiveness.

Development agencies have an important role to play in adding impetus to job creation. While celebrating its 50th anniversary, the Industrial Development Corporation is to be restructured so as to promote the optimal industrial development of South Africa.

The agricultural sector is primarily responsible for feeding the nation — a most important strategic consideration. It also provides both a direct and indirect base for employment and for small and informal business, and is an important contributor to the domestic product and to our foreign exchange earnings.

It has had to grapple with severe problems during the past year, but is assured of a helping hand from the Government where appropriate. However, aid on a blanket basis cannot be considered. Assistance has to be targeted as a bridging measure to those whose viability is not in doubt, in order to fulfill the essential mission of this section of our economy.

The pursuit of greater economic growth demands that the remaining inhibiting legislation and administrative regulations or structures be vigorously scrutinised. Good progress has been made here too.

Deregulation, however, does not mean no regulation at all. The consumer's interests have always weighed heavily with Government. The creation of the Business Practices Committee in 1988, the proposed general codes for specific business sectors now being finalised, and the role of the Competition Board, represent some of the evidence of the Government's ongoing commitment to consumer protection and the proper functioning of markets.

Given the expected slowdown in the world economy, quite apart from the Gulf crisis, the economic outlook for South Africa in 1991 is one of consolidation of the gains already made, and a continuation of the restructuring process. I wish to urge all South Africans — particularly those involved in the creation of wealth — to join hands with the Government in this great and urgent effort to provide jobs and incomes.

**Foreign Affairs**

Internationally, far-reaching changes have taken place during the past year. The world scene was dominated by the events in Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the process towards European unity, including German unification, and lately, the conflict in the Gulf region. These turbulent events, which have coincided with rapid and fundamental changes in our own country, will have a significant impact on the future of the world politics.

With Communism a discredited and defunct ideology, and the Cold War virtually something of the past, we have witnessed the removal of major obstacles in the way of achieving values and objectives which will benefit mankind as a whole.

Obviously, much remains to be done.

The Gulf War is particularly regrettable at this time. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, an independent Muslim state which has long been a recognized member of the United Nations and of the Arab community of states, was an act of aggression which cannot be condoned. South Africa's position in regard to this is based on accepted principles of international law and is in line with the position adopted by the vast majority of states, Islamic states included.

Having said that, let me add that it is our earnest hope and prayer that this conflict will soon be brought to an end with a minimum loss of life, injury and destruction.

In addition to the Gulf War, the Palestinian issue, unpredictabilities occasioned by the unfolding situation in the Soviet Union and the spectre of AIDS and poverty looming ominously over Africa, should all serve as warnings that the elimination of world crises and flashpoints has not yet been accomplished.

Nonetheless, the important reality is that a new beginning has been made out of the vortex of world events; that a climate was created, before the Gulf war erupted, in which greater freedom, greater security and greater peace could prevail than at any other time this century.

There is so much at stake for mankind, that the world dare not allow the crises now confronting it to re-create the attitudes of hostility, rivalry and suspicion which characterised international relations in all the years since the Second World War.

It is remarkable how the convergence of South African and international events has brought about greater harmony between us and the rest of the world.

The fundamental change of course we embarked upon a year ago, was motivated primarily by our national interests. Yet, the progress we have made since then has created an entirely new situation for South Africa internationally. I am happy to be able to say that we have succeeded in breaking out of the dead end of isolation.

The exploitation of regional conflict in our part of the world to further ideology and power has come to an end. Political opportunism, diplomatic blackmail and playing off the two
major powers against one another for the achievement of questionable political objectives cannot be used effectively against us any longer. Revolution is no longer a marketable product in the world today. The resources of the destabilisation and propaganda campaigns against South Africa are drying up. The anti-South African industry is facing insolvency. Sanctions are withering away.

Mr. Speaker, I have high hopes that we shall further improve our situation internationally in the year ahead. We shall be opening several new Missions in Central Europe and Africa. Our contact with the rest of Africa is growing. Reciprocal visits by delegations are a frequent occurrence. We see this continuing in the future. We are also looking to the East as an area of greater opportunities. I will be undertaking further visits abroad during the course of the year.

All of this means that we are now able to look forward with greater confidence towards resuming our rightful position in the wider comity of nations and restoring the many ties which were severed over the years.

South Africa is also interested in how current world events will affect our region. At a time when there is talk of a looming marginalization of the African continent, Africa has to take stock. If Africa remains poor, underdeveloped, unstable and undemocratic, then it will isolate itself and move into inevitable obscurity. Therefore, Africa's reaction to the new international spirit which favours multi-party democracy and free-market systems, is of vital importance. We in Africa have to realize that we have to save ourselves. The world will certainly not do it for us.

Regional development is of decisive importance to Southern Africa. The eleven states of Southern Africa have a combined population of more than 100 million. The region is endowed with valuable natural resources and has the potential to become one of the most prosperous regions in the world. However, the nations comprising the region, divided for so long by colonialism, wars, conflicts and racial strife, will have to join forces, work together and plan together.

If we succeed in this, our region should be able to realize the common aim of a better future. If we work together, we will succeed in obtaining active involvement by Europe, the U.S. and other developed countries in the developing economies of Southern Africa.

Security

This positive picture, which I was able to sketch over a wide area is contrasted by the high level of political and criminal lawlessness in the country. It is worrying and unacceptable. It has the potential to abet serious delays and even undermine the progress already made. Therefore, everything is being done to create a more conducive climate.

One of the great evils is the abuse of mass actions which degenerate all too often. In this connection a clear distinction has to be drawn between peaceful mass actions which are part of the normal democratic process and mass actions with revolutionary aims of which lead to crime or infringe against the safety and rights of others. Lately, there has been a tendency to challenge the legal order and exceed the bounds of the normal democratic process.

Political opponents who assault and murder one another, negate every democratic principle and fan flames of hatred which will remain difficult to extinguish long after a new constitutional era has dawned.

Dissidents who disrupt the public, harm individuals and undermine the economy, are not engaged in democratic activities.

Mass action has to take place peacefully, responsibly and within the law. Should the current trend towards the abuse of this method continue in any way, the Government will be obliged to apply stronger measures to prevent abuse.

Of course it is not the task of the Government alone to act in this respect. The pressure and demands exerted on our security forces — on the Police Force as well as the Defence Force — are already enormous. Political and community leaders have to accept co-responsibility for settling disputes, controlling supporters and creating a climate for negotiation.

By and large our security forces are doing an excellent job and do not deserve the vilification to which they are subjected from many quarters. I wish to urge all the inhabitants of South Africa to give their full support to the security forces. If the authority and integrity of our police are undermined, all of us will have to pay a heavy price.

On the part of the Government, everything possible will be done as a matter of high priority to make our police force more effective and efficient.

In respect of crime in general, the Minister of Law and Order has already announced that the Police are launching a special campaign. The cumulative effect of the increase in the numbers of police officers, the optimal utilization of manpower and special actions and campaigns, should have the result, in terms of all reasonable expectations, that crime will be combated more effectively. The Defence Force, in particular, is making an exceptional contribution in a supporting role, to the capabilities of the Police Force. The joint capacity resulting from this co-operation will continue to be deployed effectively against the forces of chaos and anarchy.

Together with the South African Police, the Defence Force and Armscor ensure that South Africa is able to depend on a strong and ready security base that makes peaceful change possible. We will have to build on this further. The security forces of the new South Africa will have to be manned and managed properly. Continued national service and training have to be seen in this light. A professional and well-trained Defence Force and Police Force, which are not subject to political expediency, are the best guarantee for the maintenance of a safe environment in which everybody is able to live and work. The Government will continue to ensure this.

Conclusion

The Parliamentary session beginning today, will exact high demands from us. The year ahead will be as decisive as 1990.

Our ability, here in Parliament and in our relations with extra-parliamentary organisations, to broaden co-operation and rise above petty politics, will be of decisive importance.

There is neither time nor room for turning back.

There is only one road — ahead.

Ahead with courage, boldness, deliberation and planning, understanding and balance.

Ahead with purpose and dedication.

Ahead with faith and certainty in the knowledge that our future is in the Hands of the Almighty God, Lord of the destinies of peoples and nations.

It is my prayer that He will lead and sustain us in all our labours and deliberations.

Mr. Speaker, Members of Parliament, I now declare this Third Session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to be duly opened.