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ZIMBABWE

SPEECH BY PRESIDENT ROBERT MUGABE AT OPENING OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

27 June 1989

The following is the full text of the speech made by the President at the opening of Parliament:

Last year we met in the wake of the signing of the Unity Agreement between Zanu (PF) and PF-Zapu. I am pleased to report that the past year has seen a consolidation of this unity through the process of all-round integration of the membership and structures of the new Zanu (PF).

This process will soon be followed by the convening of the youth and women's conferences which will pave the way for the National Congress due to be held towards the end of the year. The congress will conclude the whole integration process and Zanu (PF) will emerge from it with a single representative central committee and related organs.

Peace and unity have opened up a new era in our national life. With peace and normalcy, my Government is better placed than in the recent past to concentrate on our developmental challenges. Already, significant progress has been made in bringing back developmental activities where these had previously been disrupted.

Cognisant of the need for rapid transformation of our society and economy, my Government has established a number of commissions of inquiry whose reports have either already been examined, or are currently being considered, by the Government. In the former category are the various reports of the Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Parastatals, while in the latter category fall the reports of the Commission of Inquiry into a Second University or a Second Campus and the Review Commission on the Public Service of Zimbabwe.

I wish to place on record my Government's deep appreciation of the positive contributions and recommendations of these commissions which my Government has take or will take into account in shaping its own policies and actions in the relevant fields.

Equal praise also goes to the members of the Commission of Inquiry into the Distribution of Motor Vehicles which is due to present to the Government its second and final report shortly

My Government will continue to keep the defence forces in an appropriate state of military preparedness to counter any threats to our national sovereignty and tranquility. The defence forces will in the coming year concentrate their operations on our eastern and southern border areas which are constantly being infiltrated by the South African-backed MNR bandits.

The objective of our defence forces will be to effectively counter the murderous activities of these bandits who are daily killing and maiming innocent Zimbabwean citizens and destroying their property.

The defence forces will also continue to guard our trade routes to and from Mozambican sea ports as well as assist the Mozambican defence forces in the effective neutralisation of the Renamo bandits, whose activities are hindering the economic development of the two countries.

My Government is committed to improving the living and working conditions of our military personnel so that they can perform their national security duties in the full knowledge that the Government, and indeed the whole nation, is concerned about their wellbeing.

In the field of foreign affairs, my Government is committed to the promotion of our country's relations and co-operation with other countries, in order to enhance international understanding, justice, peace and security.

In promoting and conducting Zimbabwe's international relations, my Government continues to be influenced and guided by a strong belief in the validity and efficacy of the principles of multilateralism, thus fully subscribing to the purposes, principles and policies of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

In particular, my government holds dearly the principles of settling international disputes by peaceful means and of refraining from the threat of use of force in international relations.

Zimbabwe also subscribes fully to the principles of regional co-operation in all fields. Thus we continue to play our role in the promotion of the aims and objectives of the SADC and the PTA.

To this end, my Government is involved in all regional and international efforts at frustrating the schemes and machinations of the apartheid system of South Africa. Zimbabwe will continue to co-operate fully with its neighbours within the political framework of the Frontline States in order to provide collective support for and solidarity with the just liberation struggle in South Africa.

While welcoming the signing of the New York Accords in December 1988 on Angola and Namibia, by South Africa, Angola and Cuba under American mediation, my Government, however, remains anxious and concerned that South Africa is yet to convince the world of its commitment to peace in Angola and genuine independence for Namibia.

There will be introduced into Parliament a Constitutional amendment which will abolish the Senate and provide for a single chamber National Assembly of 140 members.

Parliament will also be asked to consider the Customary Law and Locals Courts Bill which will replace the Customary Law and Primary Courts Act, 1981. It is in terms of this Bill that practical reality will be given to my Government's policy of bringing our chiefs and headmen into the judicial system as presiding officers of the local courts. The Bill will also achieve the integration of the local courts into one court structure for the country.

Other Bills include amendments to the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act, the Legal Practitioners Act and the Missing Persons Act, the general effect of which will be to improve the quality of the administration of justice.

A concerted effort will be made to enable the police to be more mobile so as to facilitate prompt and swift reaction to and eradication of crime. The deployment of the police in our eastern border areas is also being intensified in order to curb the menace posed by Renamo bandits.

Preparations for the 1990 General Election are well advanced and will be finalised before the close of this session. A preliminary constituency roll will soon be published and this will give the electorate an indication of the constituencies in which they are registered.

In line with the Government's policy of decentralisation and in order to enable National Archives to fulfil its records management responsibilities, not only to central Government, but to local authorities and parastatals, a new Records Centre will be built in Bulawayo.

Preparations for the Second Five-Year National Development Plan (1991-1996 that began early this year will be intensified during the coming year. I am pleased to note that the National Consultative Council, which was launched last month, will increase the participation of the Zimbabwean community in the planning process. The Government is also continuing to strengthen planning structures at provincial level in order to increase the involvement of the masses.

Honourable members are aware that the Government has been preparing a macro-economic programme for adjustment and growth. Some of the important elements of the programme have already been completed with the publication of the investment policy document, and the Investment Register.

As part of the implementation of the recently published investment policy, the Government is in the process of establishing an Investment Centre, which will provide investors with the necessary information on investment in Zimbabwe, and will be the focal point for processing investment applications.

The Government will set up a National Computer Committee which will be entrusted with the formulation of a policy and strategy for computerisation. It will also undertake major system conversions and developments and improve on the availability of up-to-date financial statements for trading departments such as printing and stationery, CMED and the Central Purchasing Authority. These exercises will be undertaken with greater intensity and coverage in the following year as the experience of the staff increases.

As much as possible, the programme of work will follow from identified weaknesses as reported in the Comptroller and Auditor-General's reports, to the extent these are viewed as weaknesses in the underlying system of internal check and control.

My Government will continue to give maximum support to Zisco in the speedy rehabilitation of the iron and steel works. The overall Technical and Management Consultancy and the Zisco management are currently working out an action plan for the rehabilitation programme. The completion of the rehabilitation programme should result in Zisco fulfilling its role as an efficient integrated iron and steel works in the region.

In pursuance of the goal to develop the engineering subsector which has extensive linkages with the rest of the economy, my Government is now moving towards the consolidation of local production of machine tools to supply small- and medium-sized enterprises and vocational schools. This strategy also includes the development of the local manufacture of a wide range of motor vehicle and tractor components and spares.

A programme to produce locally motor vehicles is now at an advanced stage, through technology transfer agreements with renowned international motor vehicle manufactures.

During the session, amendments will be introduced to the Standards Development Fund, aimed at streamlining the administration of the fund. It is pleasing to note that to date \$7,5 million has been raised since the first levy collections were implemented in January 1988.

A number of downstream industries, as well as the strengthening of industrial interlinkages will be enhanced through the commencement of a number of major industrial projects during the year. Such projects include the chemical pulp and paper factory, sheet glass plant, PVC-chlor-alkali, ammonia and ethanol polythene plastics projects. The full implementation of the above projects will apart from generating and saving on foreign exchange, create direct employment for several thousand, in addition to downstream employment.

My Government is also soon to establish the long-awaited Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre which will initially deal with some of the needs of our manufacturing, energy and construction sectors. In due course the centre will cater for the research and development requirements of other sectors as well.

The exploration and exploitation of mineral deposits, particularly for gold and other precious metals such as platinum, will increase as a result of the recently granted Exclusive Prospecting Orders. An economic chromite mining test study of narrow seams on the Great Dyke is to be undertaken using a roadheader machine due to be purchased for the purpose later this year. If successful this test study will also result in an increase in the production of chromite ore.

The National Remote Sensing Facility, which was established by funds made available through a technical co-operation programme from the Federal Republic of Germany is now operational at the Geological Survey Department. Pilot projects covering geological, vegetational and agricultural topics will be implemented.

The Department of Mining Engineering's Environmental Centre in Gweru will start to monitor silica and asbestos dust levels in mines in accordance with the requirements of the International Labour Organisation and the World Health Organisation standards. This will assist in reducing occurrences of silicosis and asbestosis in mine workers.

Construction of the Physical Metallurgy Laboratory will be completed later this year and it is anticipated that this facility will be operational early next year to enable various tests on alloys and other materials to be conducted for the metallurgical industry.

Commissioning of a third furnace and its associated anti-pollution units will be done at the Roasting Plant towards the end of 1989. It is anticipated that this will encourage the increased exploitation of low grade refractory gold deposits in the country.

Exploration for petroleum in the Zambezi Valley will soon start if current negotiations are successful.

To facilitate the issuance of import/export licences, my Government has, in line with the policy of decentralisation, established a mobile licence service which visits Gweru, Masvingo, Mutare and Chinhoyi once every month. This service may be extended to other areas should sufficient need for this arise.

The determination of prices has continued to be addressed by my Government. A revised mechanism which will enable business enterprises to work out their price adjustments for a range of commodities without always having to seek Government approval has been finalised. Statutory Instrument 263 of 1982 has had to be revised substantially.

In order to ensure adequate and reliable energy supplies, my Government will intensify the implementation of those projects which have already been started and will embark on a number of major new ones.

In the electrical energy subsector, new works aim at the rehabilitation of the transmission system and the old thermal stations at Harare, Muryati and Bulawayo for the dual purpose of enhancing supplies and strengthening system security.

In the petroleum fuels subsector, the construction of the Feruka-Harare pipeline and additional fuel storage facilities is expected to start this year and should enhance the security and supply system of this important commodity.

As the efficient use of new and renewable energy resources has been inhibited by lack of adequate equipment, my Government will continue to encourage industry to invest in the manufacture of the relevant equipment and will also intensify its efforts to construct adequate research facilities.

In the field of water resources, my Government will continue to develop the water resources of the country by the construction of dams, water supply systems and boreholes. Some of the large dams programmed for construction during the 1989/1990 financial year are the Osborne Dam in Manicaland Province, the Ngezi-Mamima Dam in Mashonaland West Province and Jumbo Dam in Mashonaland Central Province.

During this session, my Government will be placing particular emphasis on programmes designed to accelerate the resettlement programme, communal area reorganisation, livestock development, animal disease control and further development of the nation's irrigation potential.

In its continuing efforts to alleviate land pressure in the communal areas and to re-distribute land to the landless, the Government will set aside more funds for the resettlement programme. Emphasis will be put on the acceleration of planning and settlement of land that has already been purchased,

Livestock development programmes specifically designed to increase beef off-take from the communal areas will be encouraged.

Disease control measures for safeguarding the national beef herd continue with the extension of fence construction in the northern parts of the country where more land is now being utilised for other agricultural purposes as a result of the eradication of the tsetse fly. In addition, veterinary facilities will now be available at certain growth points with the completion of 250 animal health centres by July 1989 and the construction of a further 70 centres thereafter.

The ongoing development of irrigation facilities with special emphasis on drier regions, will be intensified. The persistent droughts make it imperative that we develop our irrigation potential to the maximum possible level.

More emphasis is now being put on winter cropping under irrigation. Double cropping and intensification of winter irrigation will provide gainful employment and generate additional income to communal farmers who are normally underemployed in the winter months.

My Government is carrying out a study and formulating a long-term development and marketing strategy for horticultural production. This is expected to earn the country considerable foreign currency and provide employment to many Zimbabweans. The agricultural parastatals will embark on downstream industrial projects, the implementation of which will add value to their products and generate additional employment.

Cognisant of the plight of the many disabled persons in Zimbabwe and in line with my Government's policy to enhance the quality of life for the disadvantaged, my Government will facilitate the provision and acquisition of orthopaedic and orthotic equipment including wheelchairs to disabled persons.

A Bill will be introduced which, among other things, will seek to cover all items articulated in the United Nations "Florence Agreement and Protocol". It is my Government's intention to continue to promote income-generating community rehabilitation programmes so that disabled people become self-sufficient whenever possible.

A review of the Labour Relations Act No. 16 of 1985 has been completed by a tripartite committee of employers, unions and Government representatives and its recommendations are now being studied by the Government.

Necessary amendments which seek to bring the Act into line with our current and future socio-economic requirements will be introduced in Parliament during this session.

In an effort to improve the calibre of civil servants and hence the quality of services rendered by them, the entry qualifications into the clerical and executive posts in the Public Service have been raised from 3 O-level passes to 5 O-level passes.

To meet the urgent and growing demands for further education and training for both O and A-level school-leavers, tertiary institutions will continue to expand their capacities and facilities. In addition, new institutions are being planned to cater for increased numbers of students from both rural and urban areas. To this end, over 40 million dollars has been allocated for the expansion of facilities. In the not-too-distant future the new Technical Teacher's Training College in Chinhoyi and the School of Hotel Catering at the Technical College in Bulawayo which will serve the SADC Region, will open their doors to students.

At university level, decisions regarding the need for an additional university will be made by the Government and, once the findings of the commission of inquiry have been thoroughly scrutinised, a planning committee will be set up to examine the logistics involved in this national undertaking.

As part of the rationalisation of courses and examinations for tertiary education and training programmes, my Government will embark on a substantial curriculum revision programme in order to update course content, course levels and the standardisation of examinations procedures. A major curriculum component will be the introduction of core content which will give all students, irrespective of the course being followed, exposure and practical experience in self and group employment so that they acquire entrepreneurial skills.

This additional content, coupled with student guidance and counselling programmes, will be aimed at exposing all students to a much wider range of potential employment opportunities than are presently perceived by students. My Government will also pay more attention to the area of adult education with emphasis on functional literacy.

In recent times, we have started to place greater emphasis on the plight of children and to project their importance in our society. Accordingly, pre-school education will receive greater attention. It is intended to train more and better qualified teachers in this area, to improve the supervisory infrastructure of the unit, to increase the facilities at the centres and to generally increase the number of personnel to cope with the task.

Over a number of years since independence my Government has been concerned about the number of untrained and underqualified teachers in our schools generally. Although their performance has, on the whole, been satisfactory, they could do better with formal training. To alleviate this situation my Government is embarking on a scheme to put every untrained primary school teachers with potential through a programme of basic in-service training to provide them with essential basic teaching skills.

During the coming year my Government will continue to implement and consolidate strategies targeted to improving the health of the nation through primary health care. We are on target with respect to reaching the global goal of universal child immunisation by 1990. Furthermore surveys show that nearly three-quarters of pregnant women now deliver in health facilities, and in the coming year access to such facilities will be extended through the construction of 18 rural health centres.

The water and sanitation programme continues to expand and will be consolidated in the coming year so as to ensure that every family has access to safe drinking water and proper sanitation.

The situation with respect to availability of essential drugs has greatly improved and vigorous efforts will be made to further improve the situation.

In the area of manpower training, the two new multi-disciplinary training schools in Bindura and Gwanda have recently been evaluated as a great success. As a result the Government has started to build another multi-disciplinary training school in Masvingo. The Health Teachers' Training Programme, where teachers of health disciplines are trained on the job, continues to gather momentum. The process of recruitment and deployment of medical staff is being strengthened to ensure adequacy of health manpower in the public sector, and equity in their distribution.

The process of upgrading of health facilities to enable them to offer a better service continues. Phase I of the Family Health Project, which will see the successful upgrading of eight district hospitals, should be completed by February 1990.

Part of Phase I of the same project will run concurrently with Phase II of the same project due to commence later this year.

Phase II is targeted to upgrading 16 district hospitals. This will ensure that a modern district hospital is available in over half of the districts in this country in the immediate and intermediate term.

The Zimbabwe Drugs Quality Control Laboratory which has just been completed will shortly be opening its doors, ensuring that Zimbabwe as well interested countries in our region have access to quality control testing facilities for all drugs they import or purchase. This will ensure that we do not become a dumping ground for sub-standard drugs.

In the field of natural resources and environment, my Government will promote the establishment of green belts in all districts along with expansion of existing woodlots. An environmental law will be promulgated so that ecological considerations are taken into account in all major development projects in the country.

My Government will decentralise the management of wildlife resources to local levels through district councils and intensify artisanal fisheries development through the promotion of co-operatives.

In forestry, the exploitation and utilisation of indigenous timber will continue to be monitored closely. Plans are under way to incorporate pilot wildlife management and forest grazing schemes into the rural afforestation programme which enters its second phase in January 1990. For the first time a comprehensive research programme into the biology and ecology of the indigenous forests will be carried out.

In the tourist industry, efforts will be made to maintain an average growth rate of 8 percent yearly in tourist arrivals through more aggressive and effective marketing and, funds permitting, through more tourist offices in other major markets.

My Government has embarked on a programme for the consolidation of our existing infrastructure and the expansion of communication networks in roads, rail and air links.

Certain major road construction projects such as the Gokwe-Siabuwa road, the Gwanda-Guyo road, the Glendale-Chiweshe road, the Nyanga-Nyamoropa road, the Gweru-Mvuma road, and the Lothian-Triangle road are near completion. Work will start on the Karoi-Binga road and on the Great Zimbabwe road.

Greater emphasis will be placed in the coming year on the maintenance of existing road networks. This work is particularly important now given the fact that some of our major roads are old.

Foreign currency has been provided to NRZ in order to rehabilitate the existing fleet of locomotives. At the same time plans to buy 30 new locomotives are well under way.

In respect of air services our national carrier, Air Zimbabwe, will by the end of this year receive its first of two B767-200ER aircraft for international routes currently being serviced with the B707s. By the middle of 1990 the airline is scheduled to receive the second aircraft.

To meet the manpower needs of the expanding civil aviation industry a pilot training school is being established in Bulawayo during the course of 1989. The school will open with initial training for pilots and we hope in time will develop to the highest pilot training standards.

The provision of adequate and affordable housing to all our citizens remains a major priority of my Government. Given that, on its own, the public sector cannot achieve this objective, the Government continues to place emphasis on the need for improved private sector and public sector co-operation in tackling the shelter issue.

My Government will enter into joint ventures with private contractors and local authorities in the provision of serviced stands so as to ease the current shortage of serviced stands for housing development. This, it is hoped, will help motivate those employers who have been willing to assist their employees in the construction of houses but have not been able to do so due to shortage of serviced stands.

Greater attention will be directed at maintaining the Government's capital investment in buildings and machinery. The decentralisation programme will be further promoted through the provision of more houses for civil servants and additional office accommodation at provincial, district and rural service centres.

Within the construction industry, shortages of building materials, skilled manpower, transport bottlenecks, breakdown of machinery and inadequate spare parts continue to constrain the operation of my Government. To alleviate these problems, the Government shall continue to assist affected enterprises to procure new plant and machinery for new factories or for boosting existing production capacity of building materials.

Ongoing efforts to train Zimbabweans in professional disciplines such as architecture, civil engineering, land surveying and quantity surveying will be strengthened in order to attain self-sufficiency in the not-too-distant future.

In the field of information and communications a number of measures to further enhance the availability and free flow of information will be carried out. The restructuring of the ministry and mass media organisations already under way will allow for a marked strengthening of provincial and district information structures and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the media generally.

Reception of both radio and television signals will be improved considerably through transmitter development throughout the country. Poor short-wave transmission will be replaced by FM for better radio reception countrywide. A Television One transmitter will also be established for Mutare, Rutenga and Beitbridge.

Under the Postal Services Development Programme, the PTC will construct a total of 11 post offices in 1989/90. Work will start on the building of major urban post offices in Gweru, Masvingo and the Harare Causeway Post Office and Banking Hall.

A postal bus service will be introduced to improve the postal transport system by providing three mail/passenger buses between Harare and Bulawayo. Additional subscriber connections for 5 800 telephones and 450 for telex services will be installed.

The planned digitalisation of the Masvingo, Mashonaland and Manicaland exchanges will commence as soon as the relevant loan and equipment agreements have been concluded.

This project will link up with the already digitalised Gweru and Bulawayo exchanges. Digitalisation will rehabilitate the network as well as provide additional capacity to meet the backlog in demand and generally improve the quality of telecommunications services.

At the Central Mechanical Equipment Department, it is planned to build and expand workshops so as to increase capacity to enable to repair of all vehicles in the fleet. To this end it will be necessary to introduce an advanced training programme for our workshop mechanics.

The Central Mechanical Equipment Department's provincial administration will be restructured to make it conform with the political boundaries. It is hoped that this will bring about greater efficiency and effectiveness in the servicing, repairing and maintenance of Government vehicles and equipment.

Both the Central Purchasing Authority and the Department of Printing and Stationery will continue to decentralise their operations to cover all provincial capital. Efforts will be made to expand the existing facilities at the Department of Printing and Stationery in Harare.

A new Examination Printing Centre will be constructed in Harare and at the same time a training programme will be instituted and the necessary machinery obtained.

A management consultancy service to co-operatives will be created for the purpose of assisting co-operatives to revamp their businesses. New accounting systems will also be devised for the co-operatives.

For the purpose of formulating sound development programmes, an information base for community and co-operative development will be established.

My Government will continue to provide extensive skills training and production of technical manuals to pre-co-operatives and co-operative members in order to facilitate the success of their economic activities.

The Zimbabwe Youth, Sport and Recreation Councils Act of 1983 will be amended to provide for separate Acts of Parliament to regulate the affairs of the Zimbabwe Sports and Recreation Council and those relating to youth.

In the process the power to clear artists, musicians and musical groups by the Zimbabwe Sports and Recreation Council will be transferred to the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe.

The budget and estimates of expenditure for the fiscal year 1989/90 and related legislation will be presented to you for your approval.

I commend these matters to your consideration and now declare this, the Fifth Session of the Second Parliament of Zimbabwe, to be duly open.

TEXT OF THE SECOND STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND
THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY BY PRESIDENT ROBERT MUGABE
7 December 1989

This year was a watershed in our history. It witnessed an optimistic economic upturn which was matched by an equally remarkable and buoyant political climate. It was a year which marked the continued refinement of our Constitution and the onset of our first decade as a sovereign nation.

In a way, 1989 closed one chapter and opened another in respect of our political and constitutional development and the transformation of our socio-economic environment. The state of the nation can be positively regarded as having grown from strength to strength.

This is not to underplay the difficulties and setbacks we experienced. Yet, despite these, we have grown stronger and more determined to achieve our set goals and objectives.

Our political fortunes which, as I reported last year, reached a landmark with the signing of the Unity Accord between Zanu (PF) and PF-Zapu on December 22 1987, were further enhanced as we reached the final stages of integrating our political structures from grassroots level upwards. The penultimate step in the integration saw the convening of the youth and women's conferences, respectively, from which the united party emerged with an enhanced sense of unity and cohesion.

The National People's Congress, now virtually upon us, will put the final seal on the whole integration process and, from it, we shall emerge with a structure and leadership that will guide and direct the new party for the next five years.

The peace and unity we now enjoy came because of the determination, patience, hard work and commitment on the part of most of us to improve the wellbeing of every Zimbabwean. Negotiations for unity between Zanu (PF) and PF-Zapu started when we were liberation movements. We were conscious of the need for unity because we knew that our enemy fostered disunity and thrived on its existence. Although unity did not come soon after the attainment of independence, we never tired of seeking genuine unity among our people.

We have always aspired for unity not as an end in itself, but an instrument for achieving progress. Today we are all proud to see the people of Zimbabwe united and working together as one.

The process of amending the Lancaster House Constitution, with a view to its eventually according with our national aspirations and outlook in 1989. As Honourable Members are aware, recently the Constitution of Zimbabwe (No. 9) Bill which among other things, will abolish the Senate and provide for a single chamber Parliament of Zimbabwe of 150 members, was the subject of debate in both Houses of the present Parliament.

This amendment, like all the previous ones, is in line with the position we, of the Patriotic Front, took during the Lancaster House negotiations in London 10 years ago.

Our discipline and endurance which saw us through the Lancaster House Constitution era, has afforded us the opportunity to correct the legal aberrations that had been bestowed on us by our colonisers. Our request for justice, peace and equality gives credence to our claim for honesty and fair play in amending the Constitution.

Our actions are now to redress some of the major wrongs of the colonial era, for example in regard to the land question as well as other broader economic issues of concern, should therefore be read and understood in this context. The Lancaster House Agreement constrained the Government's intentions to undertake a vigorous land reform programme at Independence. The entrenched provisions of the Constitution dictated a marginal and peripheral approach based on the willing-buyer, willing-seller policy.

The overall effect and, indeed, intention of these provisions was to frustrate any meaningful change to the land distribution pattern we inherited, thereby maintaining the injustices and inequities we fought against.

A more dynamic approach to the resettlement question has to be adopted to redress the imbalances in the inherited pattern of land distribution. The first step is, of course, the amendment of the Constitution in 1990, to give the Government more room to tackle the land problem more flexibly.

The thrust of our land reform programme is to encourage and inspire greater productivity by our farming community.

Land acquisition shall not, however, be vindictive, nor shall it be a wanton land-grabbing exercise, but a progressive measure to enhance our development. The Government is cognisant of the fact that the under-utilisation of land does not exist only on commercial properties, but manifests itself in various other forms. Our land reform initiative shall, therefore, subject to scrutiny all categories of land and shall be guided by the need to enhance national productivity by our farming community.

Our communal farmers should move out of mere subsistence production into the cash economy and participate competitively in the lucrative export-orientated sector. The advances made by our small-scale and peasant farmers in the production of maize and cotton from 10 percent before independence to 50 percent of national output now, is a remarkable development. We should intensify efforts to improve productivity still further.

This, of necessity, calls for a redefinition of our traditional claim to land as a heritage. Land must be regarded as a productive asset for enhancing our collective national wealth. A change in our thinking in this regard is called for.

I now turn to the recent performance of our economy. In the past year, the economy grew by 5,3 percent which was a remarkable improvement from the -0,7 percent growth rate experienced in the previous year. Indeed, the improved growth rate was close to our target in the First Five-Year National Development Plan of 5 percent. This was prompted by the good performance of the agricultural sector which grew by 23 percent, followed by electricity and water at 16,3 percent and services at 7 percent.

The manufacturing sector did not perform very well as it notched a growth rate of 4,6 percent while mining and construction did not perform as expected. The increase in our exports over our imports was reflected in the positive trade surplus over the period. The inflation rate was kept within bounds at 7,0 percent in 1988, down from 12 percent in the previous year, largely due to the price freeze effected in June 1987. The partial lifting of the price freeze in May 1988 has resulted in the gradual upward movement of inflationary pressures in the economy.

The positive economic indicators for 1988 were marred by the low investment levels and the unemployment spiral. Various policy measures were taken to stem these negative traits and move the economy forward.

The pattern of Government spending over the period was in accordance with the policy guidelines we set ourselves in the past to resuscitate the economy.

Public expenditure fell well within the budgeted limits. In fact, there was a reduction of expenditure in real terms, reflecting a small saving of some \$5 million on recurrent expenditure, while capital expenditure experienced a significant increase, which points towards the Government's emphasis for growth in the productive sector.

The Budget deficit which grew from 10,2 percent in 1987 to a peak of 11,3 percent in 1988/89 is envisaged to come down to 9 percent in the current year 1989/90. Our debt service rate which had peaked at 33,3 percent in 1987 came down to 24 percent early 1989 and is expected to fall to about 21 percent by 1990. These trends, which are in line with the targets in the First Five-Year National Development Plan and our revised annual targets, will assist in the recovery of the economy under favourable external conditions.

The expansion of industrialised economies in 1988 by 4 percent from 3,3 percent stimulated the demand for our commodities while the buoyant metal prices resulted in improved earnings for our mineral exports. The external commodity markets have a direct impact on our fortunes on a year-to-year basis.

The downturn in economic activity, occasioned by the vagaries of weather, however, continues to be a major impediment to sustained long-term growth and development.

The poor performance of the agriculture sector in 1983, 1985 and 1987 has demonstrated the vulnerability of our economy to weather conditions. To correct the "start-stop" growth syndrome calls for the creation of a diversified economic base with the manufacturing sector playing a leading role.

Indeed, the movement from primary to tertiary production is a positive index of development, leading to the expansion of the material and technical base and broadening the scope of specialisation as well as co-operation which yield relative self-reliance in the long term.

The main constraint faced by our manufacturing sector has been the persistent shortage of foreign currency. Admittedly, some of our policies have been restrictive and hence failed to encourage or inspire significant new capital inflows. The decline in net investment has resulted in the poor performance of the economy in GDP terms and the spiral in unemployment levels.

Our economic growth, which has averaged 3,8 percent since independence, barely matches our estimated population growth rate of 2,9 percent nor the target of 8 percent and 5 percent stipulated in the Transitional National Development Plan and the First Five-Year National Development Plan, respectively.

The employment creating capacity of the economy has remained far below the unemployment growth rate. This sad state of affairs is depicted by a growth in employment which averaged 0,7 percent between 1982 and 1987 as opposed to the planned target of 2,9 percent. The non-productive sectors have grown at 3,8 percent instead of the planned 4,0 percent, while the productive sectors, which were planned to grow at 3,4 percent declined by 0,3 percent annually. This perverse growth pattern is not congenial for the development of a sound economic base and cannot be allowed to continue.

Other problems facing the economy are related to transport bottlenecks. The low turn-around of the NRZ wagons in delivering goods, particularly the supply of coal to its users, slowed down economic activity quite significantly. This problem has been occasioned by a number of factors, including limitations of motive power and poor management. Work is now in progress to retool the NRZ in all respects and, indeed, the situation has already improved appreciably.

The transport problem also affected our urban commuters severely. As part of its effort to improve the situation the Government bought 51 percent of the shares in Zupco, thereby conferring a vested interest in the proper management of the company and the enhancement of its capital base. Other measures taken to improve the public transport system include the procurement of more buses, including the articulated ones that now ply some of the busiest routes in Harare. These, and related measures, should see an alleviation in the urban bus shortages by 1990.

Regrettably, 1989 was one of our worst disaster years in living memory, when consideration is taken of the casualty rate, loss of life and wrecked buses, involved in road accidents. Responsibility for this road carnage must ultimately be laid at the door of the bus owners and their reckless drivers.

Admittedly, the situation has been worsened by the shortages of spares and tyres. My Government has taken measures to address the problem of spares and tyres which, with stiffer penalties on bus owners and their drivers, should reduce the high toll on our roads.

The Government has undertaken a number of policy measures for encouraging growth. The launching of the revised investment policy guidelines, including the setting up of the one-stop Investment Centre and the subsequent signing by us of the Multilateral Guarantee Agency (MIGA) were steps taken to encourage investment in the economy. These and related decisions have been undertaken within a policy framework that aims at removing any impediments to sustained growth and development.

The reform programme, adopted by Government, also addresses the liberalisation of our trading regime in order to ease import restrictions by moving away from the quantitative control system to tariff based protection. This policy measure aims to increase the availability of imported inputs for production, and to induce greater competition within the economy in targeted sectors.

Our intention, however, is not to move to a completely open trading regime overnight, given some of its negative and unacceptable effects, such as the reduction in employment levels, importation of luxury goods or even junk, as well as the possibility of forcing strategic industries to close down.

Our liberalisation programme shall be phased and targeted at specific sectors and it will provide a time-scale for the adequate capitalisation of sectors and companies to enable those in a disadvantaged position to compete on an equal footing with their rivals.

We will allow those weak sectors to have a fair chance of improving their operational bases to face up to the forces of competition.

The economic reform programme inevitably entails, by nature, the adoption of other new policy measures such as free collective bargaining and reduced price controls. Some of these measures are already on course and proceeding smoothly.

The reduction of our Budget deficit in real terms in 1989 to 9 percent of GDP to some \$989 million, which is the lowest level achieved since 1983, further demonstrates our efforts to streamline our expenditure along the reform programme. The Government has been aware of the negative and deleterious effect of our high tax system on the economy. Should we stick to our planned targets, reducing public debt would result in a cutback in the demand for revenue in the form of higher taxes.

In this current year, for instance, the removal of taxation on bonuses, within the given limits, is not only a recognition of the need to increase the purchasing power of workers but also might, all being equal, constitute a small start to a possible movement away from a high tax regime.

On the world scene and in the field of international relations, Zimbabwe continues to play a progressively important role. We are active members of many regional and international forums concerned with socio-economic and political questions, such as the Frontline States, in SADC, the PTA, the OAU, the NAM, the Commonwealth and the United Nations, to mention only some of them.

This membership and active participation in international forums has not been without heavy demands on the country's scarce financial and other resources, as was clearly demonstrated by our just ended three-year chairmanship of the 101-member Non-Aligned Movement. As is also known, at the recent Kuala Lumpur meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government and States, Zimbabwe was unanimously elected to host the 1991 summit meeting.

Partly because we fully subscribe to the ideals, purposes and principles of the Commonwealth, as we also do to those of the Non-Aligned Movement and partly because we regard it as a great honour and recognition of our contribution that Commonwealth leaders should request us to assume such a responsibility, the Government of Zimbabwe humbly agreed to host the Commonwealth summit in Harare in 1991.

I have not the slightest doubt that as always the Government and the entirety of our nation will happily and confidently rise to the occasion.

During our NAM chairmanship, the movement made significant gains in reputation and stature and was thus recognised by both the two super-powers, as well as the economic North, as representing and articulating the concerns and aspirations of the nations and peoples of the Third World. As chairman, Zimbabwe spoke with a representative voice on such major issues as world peace and security, regional conflicts, the injustice and unfairness of the present world economic order, the serious threats to the world environment, and other matters of world concern.

In the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, the OAU and at other fora, Zimbabwe and other Frontline States have continually focused attention upon the increasingly dangerous situation in South Africa and in our sub-region, the root cause of which is apartheid.

We have urged the international community to exert more pressure, including comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, upon the apartheid Pretoria regime, as well as lending moral, political and material support to the struggling masses of that land.

Our role within the Frontline States, the OAU and especially as chairman of NAM, in ensuring that the United Nations fulfilled its moral and political responsibilities over Namibia is acclaimed world-wide and today Zimbabwe joins the people of Namibia and the progressive international community in celebrating Swapo's victory in the recent pre-independence elections.

It is our hope that Namibia will now proceed to independence without any contrived hindrances.

As is also well-known, Zimbabwe continues to be very closely involved in our region's ongoing quest for genuine and permanent peace. In this regard, we are one of the members of the peace group promoting peace prospects in Angola. Zimbabwe is also working with Kenya to promote the peace process in Mozambique. Our efforts in this regard are aimed towards the creation of peace, which will benefit the Angolan and the Mozambican people, as well as all of us in this region.

The establishment of peace in Mozambique, for instance, will immediately lead to the ending of Zimbabwe's joint military operations with Mozambique in defence of our vital routes to the seas against sabotage perpetrated by the Renamo bandits. The military disengagement from Mozambique will enable us to redeploy personnel and material resources to other needy areas of our national endeavours.

On the security situation, I wish to note with satisfaction the continuing state of calm in most parts of the country. We are, however, perturbed by the recurrent acts of murder, arson and harassment of our people along the border areas with Mozambique. Steps continue to be taken by our forces to improve the situation. The performance of our forces in the past year has been highly commendable and exemplary. This high performance has been achieved regardless of problems facing the forces, such as shortage of barracks and disparities in salaries and grading which the Government is now addressing alongside other complaints that have been brought to the Government's attention.

Before I conclude, it is befitting to highlight some events in the past year that have had a direct bearing on our future course. Headlines were made in the past year by the Sandura Commission which I set up to look into the distribution of motor vehicles.

The misdemeanours and acts of corruption that were revealed arose out of the vehicle shortage situation in the country. Efforts by my Government are now directed to increasing the supply of vehicles on the domestic market. This is the only way to eliminate totally the sorts of abuses we have experienced recently.

The theme of unity, solidarity and peace, which reached great heights in 1988/89, should be emphasised even more in the coming year in the interest of our country's stability and development. We must energetically work to consolidate the gains we achieved in the first decade of our independence and deepen the process of democracy in the political and economic spheres of our endeavours.

Our programme for what will be our third general election is on course. All the requisite machinery to facilitate the organisation and administration of the elections, including the Delimitation Commission, has been established and is fully operational. So also is our United Party, Zanu (PF), which is fully prepared to meet whatever challenges the future holds.

I can thus, Honourable Members, declare to you without fear of contradiction that the State of the Nation is sound and healthy. We face 1990, not with fear and foreboding, but with hope and with full confidence in the capacities and resourcefulness of our people to attain even higher levels of achievement than hitherto.

Let us, therefore, march forward together on the road which we have chosen and which, despite any obstacles, leads to the prosperity, wellbeing and happiness of our people.

ANGOLA

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH BY CUBAN PRESIDENT FIDEL CASTRO ON 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF
CUBAN REVOLUTION RELATING TO 1987 CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA
26 July 1988

Critical Situation

Toward the end of last year, a difficult, critical situation was created in Angola. I am not going to explain what determined it, it is better for history to speak for itself, and I believe that one day history will reveal it all: where the mistakes lay, why those mistakes were made. I shall only limit myself to saying that Cuba was not responsible for those mistakes. However, a difficult, complex and critical situation arose as a consequence of an enormous military escalation by South Africa, which intervened because of an offensive the Angolan forces were carrying out in a faraway region of south-eastern Angola against the forces that are fighting the government of Angola, against the UNITA forces.

Powerful Angolan forces gathered there, in an area that is far from the extreme of the strategic line that our troops were defending. And the South Africans intervened because of this Angolan military operation, not far from the north eastern border of Namibia. They intervened with their tanks, infantry, planes and Namibian mercenary forces, and they created a difficult situation, dealt the Angolans military blows, for they had remained without food, fuel or ammunition, south of Longa River.

That was when the Angolan retreat began. The same thing had already happened once before, in 1985, when the South Africans openly intervened.

The Angolans Requested Our Help - Help Was Given

But this time they pursued the Angola forces and besieged them at Cuito Cuanavale. There were thousands and thousands of men from Angola's best units and they were in danger of being wiped out. That would have been disastrous for Angola; it would have meant the possibility of destroying independence and the revolution in Angola.

The Angolans requested our help, and our help was essential - essential - for either efforts made throughout the years were lost, or the help was given. But moreover, help was essential not only to collaborate with Angola to get out of a difficult situation, but also for the security of our own troops. We drew the conclusion that if South Africa was allowed to carry out that operation, to wipe out the Angolan troops the situation could become dangerous for our own troops as well. Therefore, without hesitation, the leadership of the Party decided to help the Angolans solve the situation.

But it was impossible to do so without reinforcements. The troops that had been in Angola for years were not enough to guard a long strategic line and also solve the situation that had been carried in Cuito Cuanavale. That's why we had to reinforce the troops. But this kind of operation cannot be done only partially. How many troops had to be sent to Angola? All that were needed to solve the situation. They couldn't be small groups of reinforcements but all those necessary.

Southern Africa Record
No. 57, 1990

The South African enemy had been superior in men, the balance of forces had been favourable for years. The balance of forces had to be changed, and once again our people had to carry out a fear [sic], and they did. I said our people, for our people are really the heart and soul of our Revolutionary Armed Forces.

It was really impressive to see how our soldiers, the reserves, the units responded, impressive - despite the fact that we've been fulfilling this mission for years, a really admirable fact. An action of this kind does not depend on techniques, on money, on resources, or anything else; it depends on the human factor, and the human factor was decisive.

You have just seen a documentary that explains a lot about it, that's why I needn't talk that much. Of course, certain principles were followed; it was necessary to be strong enough to avoid defeat; it was necessary to choose the scene of action, not to act where it was most convenient for the enemy, but where it was most convenient for our forces.

The South Africans had chosen Quito Cuanavale as the scene of action, a far-away place where logistics become extremely difficult. They had chosen that field; we had to draw up another strategy. We had to accept the challenge of Quito to keep them there, to stop them. We had to get into Quito to support the Angolan forces and at their side, wage the historical actions of Quito Cuanavale, where the enemy was stopped, where it really crumbled against the historical battle of great importance. Some day it will be put down in writing and much more will be said about it.

But the essence of the Cuban-Angolan strategy was the advance in the western region of the southern front. That way the Cuban and Angolan forces advanced over 250 kilometres toward the frontier with Namibia without stopping, creating a new situation.

Quito Cuanavale A Battle Field

All that was done in Quito Cuanavale as well as in the western part of the southern front could never have been achieved on a solid basis without the reinforcements sent from Cuba; they were essential. A powerful force was created. Therefore the balance of forces changed in Southern Angola, it changed in our favour.

I must say that in Quito Cuanavale as well as in the western part of the southern front the Angolan soldiers, who are so accustomed to our company, so closely bound to us, maintained an exemplary conduct, a heroic conduct, an extraordinary conduct. The military situation changed completely.

On advancing over 200 kilometres, our armoured units, which were strongly supported by anti-aircraft weapons, were getting far from our air bases. We had to build an air base as fast as we could, and I can tell you with satisfaction that if there was ever a place where a greater effort than the one we have seen here in our country during the last few days, was made it was there in Cahama. In a matter of weeks, our troops and construction workers built an airfield 3500: meters a second one was built, enough, in a matter of weeks a second one was built, with concrete and all - the parts that had to be made of concrete - apart from those made with asphalt; with all the shelters for the planes and all the necessary installations for base. Yesterday, the southern front military command sent us a telegram saying that in tribute to

the 26th of July, the second strip had been finished: so they had not only achieved a military feat, but also a construction feat and our powerful forces, reinforced in anti-aircraft weapons, with air support, began taking all the necessary fortification measures against any type of surprise, against any enemy attack by air or land. Thus the Cuban-Angolan troops advanced until they were near the frontier of Namibia. There the really experienced, powerful units have gathered, with a tremendously high morale.

Tactical Objective

But our objective was not to achieve a humiliating and destructive military victory over our enemy. If we had to wage the battle, we had to be ready to do so with all the conditions for success and for victory, which are the conditions that were created there; but we were not looking for military glory, or military victory, we were looking for a political, just solution to the conflict. That was the main objective, and that's why the possibilities of negotiation were not discarded, the alternatives for a negotiated political solution were not discarded and we worked seriously and responsibly to take advantage of the slightest possibility of solution of the kind.

We had to act calmly and serenely, for when such powerful forces met, the leaders and those responsible have to be more serene than ever, they must act cold-bloodedly. That's why we also worked in the diplomatic field. Reaching the objective with no bloody battles was already an extraordinary success. To do so from so far and with a minimum of casualties was a real feat in the political and military field. The precision and efficiency with which our troops advanced on the southern front was really impressive as was the way they thwarted the enemy's action in Cuito Cuanavale. It was necessary to run risks, and we did, but we are really on the threshold of a political solution. We have come a long way. The people have been quite well informed concerning the military situation through the documentary and through what has been published on the agreements in New York. The bases for a political solution already exist and progress is being made. Therefore there is a real possibility of finding a just, dignified and honourable solution for all those concerned, which include the security of Angola and the independence of Namibia. On the basis of this global solution, Cuba and Angola will be ready and in fact, if the agreement is signed, in common agreement, Cuba and Angola will proceed to gradually and totally withdraw the contingent of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola.

The withdrawal cannot be abrupt. There is a minimum of time which is necessary for the Angolans to take over the areas, the installations, the positions we defend. But based on the principles and the points included in the agreement, our military presence will no longer be needed in Angola.

We are working seriously and we will strictly abide by what we should. The fulfilment of this historical and honourable mission as a test of firmness and tenaciousness will soon have lasted 13 years.

It was possible not only because of the merits of our Party, but mainly because of the merits of our people. Such loyalty, such will is only possible when one can rely on a people like ours. So when the time comes when our mission is considered complete, we will gladly welcome our brave army when it returns to our homeland; we will gladly welcome the tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of men who will then take part in this other colossal battle, the battle to develop our country, the battle to strengthen our Revolution.

Loyal to International Obligations

Perhaps the most outstanding thing about all these years is that they were difficult years, years when very big efforts proved necessary to strengthen the country's defence, when it became necessary to conceive and organize a strategy calling for the war of all the people. Perhaps no one ever thought that a country directly threatened by imperialism like Cuba would remain loyal to the fulfilment of those international obligations; perhaps no one ever thought that a country as threatened as Cuba would be able to ship out the combat gear it shipped to Angola, because that's where many of our anti-aircraft weapons are. Now, why were we able to do so?: Why were we able to ship tens of thousands of fighters, hundreds of tanks, guns, etc. Why? Because we had the people with us, because our concept of the war of all the people makes us very strong, because the defense of the country is in the hands of the entire people! And only a people with that spirit, with such a concept could be able to accomplish the feat of remaining faithful to those commitments and shipping out the reinforcements sent over without fear or hesitation, because had imperialism wanted opportunistically to take advantage of the situation to attack our country, it would have clashed with our people here and would have experienced - we're certain of it - another Giron (Bay of Pigs), two Girones, three Girones, 100 Girones.

That is what I can tell you.

Our duty, from this podium, on this 35th anniversary, is not to fan animosity nor passion, to be careful rather than boastful, to refrain from using triumphant language. We're confident we're headed along the right road to peace, yet we'll remain strong and we will go on strengthening ourselves right up to the minute the negotiated peace solution is signed. It'll be then that it can be said that the problem has truly been solved.

UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTH AFRICA

RESOLUTION AND DECISIONS OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK,
12-14 December 1989

[This text is published to enable readers to compare this Resolution with that of the OAU at Harare, 21 August 1989 from which the Declaration reports subtly but significantly.]

RESOLUTION S-16/1

Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa

Date: 14 December 1989
Adopted without a vote

Meeting: 6
Report: A/S-16/4

The General Assembly

Adopts the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, annexed to the present resolution.

Annex

PREAMBLE

We, the States Members of the United Nations, assembled at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, guided by the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹, in the context of our efforts to establish peace throughout the world by ending all conflicts through negotiations, and desirous of making serious efforts to bring an end to the unacceptable situation prevailing in southern Africa, which is a result of the policies and practices of apartheid, through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all:

Reaffirming our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial and racial domination or apartheid exist, there can be neither peace nor justice;

Reiterating accordingly that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of Africa as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of the continent;

Recognizing that, with regard to southern Africa, the entire world is vitally interested that the processes in which that region is involved, leading to the genuine national independence of Namibia and peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time, and equally recognizing that the world is deeply concerned that destabilization by South Africa of the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion or other means, is unacceptable in all its forms and must not occur;

1. Resolution 217 A (III).

Also recognizing the reality that permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been eradicated and South Africa has been transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, and therefore reiterating that all the necessary measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, the continent and the world at large;

Believing that, as a result of the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid, and of international pressure against that system, as well as global efforts to resolve regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa;

Reaffirming the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to determine their own destiny and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society, and remaining committed to doing everything possible and necessary to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as they may, through their genuine representatives, determine to achieve this objective;

Making these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed, that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society, and that no individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their democratic consent, and reiterating that the apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles;

Reaffirming that apartheid, characterized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to dehumanize entire peoples, and has imposed a brutal war on the region of southern Africa, which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children and which is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality;

Therefore we support and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity;

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our objectives of a solution arrived at by peaceful means; we note that the people of South Africa, and their liberation movements who felt compelled to take up arms, have also upheld their preference for this position for many decades and continue to do so;

Welcoming the Declaration of the Ad-Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa, adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989⁴, and subsequently endorsed by the Movement of

Non-Aligned Countries at its Ninth Summit Conference held at Belgrade in September 1989, as a reaffirmation of readiness to resolve the problems of South Africa through negotiations³. The Declaration is consistent with the positions contained in the Lusaka Manifesto of two decades ago, in particular regarding the preference of the African people for peaceful change, and takes into account the changes that have taken place in southern Africa since then. This Declaration constitutes a new challenge to the Pretoria régime to join in the noble efforts to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the United Nations has always been committed;

Noting with appreciation that the Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989, noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement inherent in the Harare Declaration and considered what further steps they might take to advance the prospects for negotiations⁴.

Also noting with appreciation that the Francophone Summit in Dakar in May 1989 likewise called for negotiations between Pretoria and representatives of the majority of the people with a view to the establishment of a democratic and egalitarian system in South Africa;

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens;

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder, convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and heralding the dawn of a new era of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in a continent finally free from racism, white minority rule and colonial domination.

DECLARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. A conjuncture of circumstances exists, which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the South African régime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, given the repeated expression of the majority of the people of South Africa of their long-standing preference to arrive at a political settlement, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations.
2. We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their legitimate struggle, to join together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the goals of the negotiations.

3. See A/44/551-S/20870, annex.

4. A/44/672-S/20914, annex.

3. We are at one with the people of South Africa that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order determined by them and based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We hold therefore the following fundamental principles to be of importance.
 - (a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State;
 - (b) All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;
 - (c) All its people shall have the right to participate in the Government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters' roll, and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa;
 - (d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism;
 - (e) All shall enjoy universally recognized human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;
 - (f) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;
 - (g) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;
 - (h) There shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;
 - (i) A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.
4. We believe that acceptance of these fundamental principles could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution that will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the world community of nations.

A. Climate for negotiations

5. We believe that it is essential that the necessary climate be created for negotiations. There is an urgent need to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.
6. Accordingly, the present South African régime should, at the least:
 - (a) Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;
 - (b) Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons;

- (c) Remove all troops from the townships;
 - (d) End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity;
 - (e) Cease all political trials and political executions.
7. These measures would help create the necessary climate in which free political discussion can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country.

B. Guidelines to the process of negotiations

8. We are of the view that the parties concerned should, in the context of the necessary climate, negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African régime, would be free of violence. The process could commence along the following guidelines:
- (a) Agreement on the mechanism for the drawing up of a new constitution, based on, amongst others, the principles enunciated above, and the basis for its adoption;
 - (b) Agreement on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order;
 - (c) Agreed transitional arrangements and modalities on the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, and of the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

C. Programme of Action

9. In pursuance of the objectives stated in this Declaration, we hereby decide:
- (a) To remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;
 - (b) To step up all-round support for the opponents of apartheid and to campaign internationally in pursuance of this objective;
 - (c) To use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid;
 - (d) To ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African régime to eradicate apartheid, until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this Declaration;
 - (e) To render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them: to rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization; to withstand any further such acts; and to continue to support the peoples of Namibia and South Africa;

- (f) To extend such assistance to the Governments of Angola and Mozambique as they may request in order to secure peace for their peoples, and to encourage and support peace initiatives undertaken by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at bringing about peace and normalization of life in their countries;
 - (g) The new South Africa shall, upon adoption of the new constitution, participate fully in relevant organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations;
10. We request the Secretary-General to transmit copies of the present Declaration to the South African Government and the representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa and also request the Secretary-General to prepare a report and submit it to the General Assembly by 1 July 1990 on the progress made in the implementation of the present Declaration.

NAMIBIA

PROCLAMATION BY THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA (AG 43).
REGISTRATION OF POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS,
4 September 1989

Provision for the Registration of Political Organizations With a View to the Election of a Constituent Assembly

WHEREAS a constituent assembly is to be constituted in the territory of South West Africa by way of free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations pursuant to Security Council Resolution 435 (1978);

AND WHEREAS I am called upon to make provision for the registration of political organizations in the territory for such purpose;

AND WHEREAS the methods of supervision and control of the United Nations in regard to the said registration of political organizations are to be set out in an exchange of letters between myself and the Special Representative appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and made known in the Official Gazette;

THEREFORE, under the powers vested in me by Proclamation 181 of 19 August 1977, I hereby make the laws set out in the Schedule.

L A PIENAR
Administrator-General

Windhoek, 1 September 1989

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Proclamation, unless the context indicates otherwise -

- (i) "Assembly" means a constituent assembly about to be constituted in the territory in terms of and subject to laws to be introduced pursuant to Security Council Resolution 435 (1978); (ix)
- (ii) "chief electoral officer" means the chief electoral officer appointed under section 2(1); (iv)
- (iii) "election" means an election to be held with a view to the constitution of the Assembly; (x)
- (iv) "political organization" means a political party or any association of political parties or of any political party and any other association or group of persons; (v)
- (v) "registered party" means any political organization regarded as registered for the election in terms of section 4; (iii)
- (vi) "registered voter" means any person registered as a voter in terms of the Registration of Voters (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation, 1989 (Proclamation AG. 19 of 1989); (ii)

- (vii) "registration card" means a registration card as defined in the Registration of Voters (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation, 1989 (Proclamation AG. 19 of 1989), and, in relation to a registered voter, the registration card issued to him on his registration as a voter in terms of that Proclamation; (vi)
- (viii) "registration number", in relation to a registration card, means the distinctive serial number appearing in accordance with the provisions of section 1(3) of the Registration of Voters (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation, 1989 (Proclamation AG. 19 of 1989), on the registration form used for that registration card; (vii)
- (ix) "Special Representative" means the Special Representative appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations referred to in paragraph 2(a) of Annexure 1 of the Schedule to the Status of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in South West Africa Proclamation, 1989 (Proclamation 49 of 1989), of the State President of the Republic of South Africa; (viii)
- (x) "territory" means the territory of South West Africa. (i)

Chief Electoral Officer

- 2. (1) The Administrator-General shall appoint a chief electoral officer, who shall, subject to the control of the Administrator-General, in an impartial manner perform the duties and functions assigned to him by this Proclamation or by or under any other law in relation to the election.
- (2) Any person appointed under subsection (1) shall be entitled to remuneration or allowances or both remuneration and allowances, under such circumstances or on such basis or in respect of such services rendered by him in terms of this Proclamation or any other law, and at such tariffs, as may be determined by the Administrator-General.
- (3) The remuneration or allowances paid to any person in terms of subsection (2), shall not be regarded as income for the purposes of any law imposing a tax on income.
- (4) The appointment of any person under subsection (1) may be withdrawn by the Administrator-General, without prior notice to him and without him being entitled to a hearing.
- (5) No person who -
 - (a) is employed by a political organization, whether or not such person receives or is entitled to receive any remuneration for such services, or has openly identified himself with party politics; or
 - (b) is a serving member of any military force or police force in the territory; or

- (c) was a serving member of any military force or police force in the territory or any unit thereof demobilized after 1 April 1989.

shall be appointed under subsection (1).

- (6) A notice of any appointment made under subsection (1), shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Submission of registration documents for recommendation for registration of political organizations.

3. (1) A political organization shall register for the election as contemplated in section 4, by submitting to the Judge President of the Supreme Court of South West Africa or any other judge of that Court designated by him for that purpose (hereinafter referred to as the judge) in writing, at any time but subject to the provisions of section 4(8) -

- (a) the name of the political organization, which is to appear on the ballot paper, only in one language;
- (b) subject to the provision of subsection (2), an abbreviation, which is to appear on the ballot paper, of that name if the political organization desires an abbreviation of its name to appear on the ballot paper;
- (c) subject to the provisions of subsection (2), the distinctive symbol of the political organization which is to appear on the ballot paper if the political organization desires a distinctive symbol to appear on the ballot paper in its case;
- (d) the address in the territory to which any notices in terms of this Proclamation shall be sent to the political organizations;
- (e) the constitution of the political organization or the agreement or other document in terms of which it came into existence;
- (f) a list containing the names, signatures, registration numbers and addresses of at least 2 000 registered voters;
- (g) subject to the provision of subsection (3), a receipt that the amount of R10 000 has been deposited with the Central Revenue Fund referred to in the State Finance Act, 1982 (Act 1 of 1982), by or on behalf of the political organization concerned.

- (2) (a) The proposed abbreviation or symbol of a political organization shall -

- (i) not contain a portrayal of any arm, ammunition, uniform or other object which is normally used in military operations, actions or exercises whether in times of peace or war;
- (ii) not resemble the abbreviation or symbol, as the case may be, of any other political organization to such an extent that it may possibly deceive or confuse a registered voter; or

- (iii) not be contra bonos mores.
- (b) When the judge has decided that an abbreviation or a symbol of a political organization resembles an abbreviation or a symbol of any other political organization in paragraph (a)(ii), the judge
 - (i) may, for the purposes of subparagraph (i) -
 - (aa) afford the political organization concerned an opportunity to adduce such proof, including the oral evidence of any person, or to make such statement, as in the opinion of the judge may assist in a prompt decision of the matter;
 - (bb) administer an oath or affirmation to any person appearing before him.
 - (c) The provisions of paragraph (b)(ii) shall not derogate from any provision in this Proclamation conferring any power or imposing any duty to give any political organization a reasonable opportunity to rectify any irregularity.
- (3) (a) The sum deposited by or on behalf of a registered party shall be forfeited if no candidate of the registered party in the election is declared to be a duly elected member of the Assembly.
- (b) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (a), the amount deposited by or on behalf of a registered party shall, as soon as practicable after the poll in the election has been taken, be returned to the depositor.
- (c) The sum deposited by or on behalf of a political organization which fails to be registered shall, as soon as practicable after the provisions of section 5(1) has been complied with, be returned to the depositor.
- (4) The judge shall examine any registration documents submitted to him, to ascertain whether they comply with the provisions of this section and, if he finds that they do not so comply, return them to the political organization concerned, indicating the reasons for his finding.
- (5) Registration documents returned to a political organization in terms of subsection (4), shall be deemed not to have been submitted to the judge.
- (6) If the judge is of the opinion that the registration documents of a political organization submitted to him, comply with the provisions of this section, he shall make a recommendation to that effect to the Administrator-General for the registration of the political organization concerned

Registration court for submission of registration documents and registration of political organizations

4. (1) Upon a day and at a place determined by the Administrator-General by proclamation in the Official Gazette, the judge shall hold a public court commencing at 09h00, for the submission of registration documents for the registration of political organizations as contemplated in this section.
- (2) The judge shall in open court -
 - (a) announce whether any political organizations have submitted registration documents before the sitting of the court and, if so, the name of every political organization that has so submitted them and has been recommended by him for registration.
 - (b) call for further submission of registration documents; and
 - (c) receive any registration documents submitted to him
- (3) No registration documents shall be received as aforesaid after 11h00: Provided that, if at that hour a representative of a political organization is present in the court and ready to submit registration documents in respect of that political organization, the judge shall give him an opportunity to do so.
- (4) The judge shall examine the registration documents submitted by a political organization, to ascertain whether they comply with the provisions of section 3, and shall give the political organization concerned a reasonable opportunity to rectify any irregularity not previously rectified, and may adjourn the sitting of the court for that purpose from time to time, even if the sitting of the court, by virtue of any such adjournment, takes place on any day other than the day referred to in subsection (7).
- (5) When the judge is of the opinion that the registration documents submitted to him by a particular political organization do not comply with the provisions of section 3 and had not been rectified within a time determined by him, he shall declare in open court that the documents do not so comply, and he shall make a recommendation for the rejection of such documents to the Administrator-General and record his reasons for his recommendation on the documents.
- (6) The judge shall in open court announce the name of every political organization which he, at any time whether before or during the sitting of the registration court, has recommended to the Administrator-General for registration for the election.
- (7) The sitting of the registration court for the submission of registration documents shall end immediately after the announcement contemplated in subsection (6).

- (8) After the close of the sitting of the registration court no political organization shall, subject to the provisions of subsections (10) and (11), be entitled and be permitted to submit any registration documents or to withdraw any registration documents already submitted by it, as the case may be.
- (9) The Administrator-General shall, with due regard to the provisions of subsections (1) and (2) of section 3, as soon as possible after the close of the sitting of the registration court contemplated in subsection (7), approve or refuse any recommendation referred to in subsection (5) or (6), and may so approve or refuse such recommendation on any other ground than the grounds indicated by the judge.
- (10) When the Administrator-General -
 - (a) approves a recommendation referred to in subsection (5), he shall give the political organization concerned a reasonable opportunity to rectify any irregularity, and the political organization concerned shall be so notified in writing;
 - (b) refuses a recommendation referred to in subsection (5), the political organization concerned shall be regarded as registered for the purposes of this Proclamation or any other law in relation to the election, and the political organization concerned shall be so notified in writing.
- (11) When the Administrator-General -
 - (a) approves a recommendation referred to in subsection (6), the provisions of paragraph (b) of subsection (10) shall mutatis mutandis apply as if he had refused a recommendation referred to in subsection (5);
 - (b) refuses a recommendation referred to in subsection (6), the provisions of paragraph (a) of subsection (10) shall mutatis mutandis apply as if he had approved a recommendation referred to in subsection (5);
- (12) (a) The Administrator-General shall, subject to the provisions of subsection (14), reject the registration documents which in his opinion do not comply with the provisions of section 3 and have not been rectified within a time determined by him, and the political organization concerned shall be so notified in writing.
 - (b) The political organization which submitted the registration documents so rejected shall not be regarded as registered for the purposes of this Proclamation or any other law in relation to the election.
- (13) When the Administrator-General accepts the registration documents rectified within the time determined by him, the political organization concerned shall be regarded as registered for the purposes of this Proclamation or any other law in relation to the election, and the political organization concerned shall be so notified in writing.

- (14) When the Administrator-General gives an opportunity to any political organization to rectify any irregularity as contemplated in this section, on the ground thereof that the proposed abbreviation or symbol of the political organization concerned does not comply with the provisions of subsection (2) of section 3, and it has not been rectified within the time determined by the Administrator-General, the political organization concerned shall be deemed not to have desired that an abbreviation or a symbol, as the case may be, should appear on the ballot paper in its case, and the Administrator-General shall accept the registration documents concerned as if they had been rectified within the time determined by him as contemplated in subsection (13).

Publication of names and particulars of registered parties

5. (1) The Chief electoral officer shall as soon as possible after the provisions of section 4 have been complied with, publish a notice in the Official Gazette -
- (a) declaring that the registered parties whose names are set out therein, are the political organizations duly registered for the election;
 - (b) setting out the names of the political organizations which in accordance with the provisions of section 4 have duly registered for the election, in alphabetical order and after each name the particulars submitted in terms of paragraph (d) and, if an abbreviation or a distinctive symbol has been accepted, paragraph (b) or (c) or section (3)(1) in respect of the registered party concerned.
- (2) A notice published under subsection (1) shall, on the mere production of a copy of the Official Gazette in which it is published, and in the absence of proof of fraud, be conclusive evidence that the requirements of this Proclamation relating to the registration of political organizations and to matters precedent or incidental thereto have been complied with in respect of any political organization whose name and particulars are set out therein, and that any such political organization is a registered party in respect of the election.

Submission in writing by political organizations or registered parties

6. Where a political organization or a registered party is in terms of any provision of this Proclamation required to submit anything in writing, such writing submitted for the purposes of such provisions shall be presumed, unless the contrary is proved, to be submitted by the political organization or registered party concerned if it is submitted under the signature of the secretary of such political organization or registered party or under a signature of a person purporting to act on behalf of that political organization or registered party.

Offences and penalties

7. Any person who -

- (a) wilfully obstructs or disturbs any proceedings under this Proclamation or obstructs or interferes with any person in the exercise of his powers or the performance of his duties and functions under this Proclamation or attending such proceedings; or
- (b) on any day that the registration court sits, uses any form of loud-speaker, excluding for official purposes, or organizes any procession of or demonstration by persons or participates therein nearer than 500 metres from that court,

shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

Jurisdiction in respect of penalties

8. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any other law, a magistrate's court shall have jurisdiction to impose any penalty prescribed by this Proclamation.

Saving

9. No decision taken by the Administrator-General under any power conferred or duty imposed upon him by any provision of this Proclamation shall be justifiable in any court of law on the ground thereof that such power or duty was exercised or performed by the Administrator-General in concurrence with the Special Representative of the United Nations.

Short title

10. This Proclamation shall be called the Registration of Political Organizations (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation, 1989.

**GENERAL NOTICE NO. 111. AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURES FOR REGISTRATION OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS,
4 September 1989**

It is hereby made known for general notification that the Administrator-General and the Special Representative appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations have agreed on procedures in connection with the registration of political organizations in terms of the Registration of Political Organizations (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation, 1989 (Proclamation AG. 43 of 1989), as set out in the letters exchanged between the said Special Representative and the Administrator-General and contained in Schedules A and B, respectively.

Schedule A

UNTAG
Namibia
1 September 1989

Dear Mr Administrator-General,

In connection with the impending promulgation of the Registration of Political Organizations (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation 1989, I would like to state the following:

1. In accordance with relevant decisions of the Security Council, in particular, resolutions 431 (1978) of 27 July 1978, 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, 629 (1989) of 16 January 1989, free elections will be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity to enable the people of Namibia to freely and fairly determine their own future. The elections will be under the supervision and control of the United Nations. Supervision and control in the context of the above-cited Proclamation means that the Special Representative must at each stage, level and place satisfy himself that the conduct and the procedure of the registration of political organizations are fair and appropriate. Moreover, the Special Representative will bring to the attention of the Administrator-General his comments and proposals in regard to any aspect of the process of registration of political organizations whenever he thinks that is necessary. The Special Representative shall give due consideration to the way in which the Administrator-General responds to his proposals when the Special Representative makes his final determination on the existence of free and fair conditions for the election.
2. In respect of the registration of political organizations, UNTAG personnel will be present:
 - (a) At the offices of the Chief Electoral Officer appointed by the Administrator-General; and
 - (b) At each meeting of the registration court provided for by Section 4 of the Proclamation.
3. The Administrator-General will obtain the concurrence of the Special Representative before making any appointment to the position of Chief Electoral Officer.
4. The Administrator-General will obtain the concurrence of the Special Representative before accepting or rejecting any recommendation of the registration court that a political organization be registered, or be refused registration.
5. The Administrator-General will obtain the concurrence of the Special Representative before accepting or rejecting the proposed abbreviation of the name or the symbol of a political organization.

6. I would appreciate receiving your express confirmation of your acceptance of the proposals in this letter. Upon receipt of that confirmation, I will not raise objections to the promulgation of the Registration of Political Organizations (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation 1989.

Yours sincerely,

MARTTI AHTISAARI
Special Representative of the
Secretary-General for Namibia

The Administrator General
Windhoek

SCHEDULE B

Office of the Administrator General
Windhoek
1 September 1989

Mr M Ahtisaari
Special Representative of the
Secretary General for Namibia
WINDHOEK

Dear Mr Ahtisaari

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of 1 September 1989 in connection with the impending promulgation of the Registration of Political Organizations (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation 1989, and confirm that it is in accordance with our discussions, and that I am in agreement with the contents thereof and accept the proposals contained therein.

Yours sincerely

L A Pienaar
ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL

**SECOND REPORT BY STANDING COMMITTEE ON STANDING RULES AND ORDERS AND INTERNAL
ARRANGEMENTS ON CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS**
20 December 1989

**The Standing Committee on Standing Rules and Orders and Internal Arrangements
(The Standing Committee):**

1. Having been mandated by the Constituent Assembly on 12th December 1989 to:

- 1.1 Continue with its deliberations and negotiations with the view to reaching agreement or to identify constitutional issues in respect of which a material dispute exists;

1.2 Report back to the Constitutional Assembly on its work pursuant to the extended mandate during its sitting on Wednesday, 20th December 1989; and

1.3 Refer the issue of National Symbols (Anthem, Flag and Coat of Arms) to a subcommittee of the Standing Committee;

hereby submits, pursuant to the aforementioned mandate, its second report on its meetings held at the Tintenpalast on the 12th December, 13th December, 14th December, 15th December, 18th December and 19th December 1989.

2. The Standing Committee, comprising of representatives of all the parties elected to the Constituent Assembly, discussed and succeeded to resolve all remaining substantive issues in principle, subject only to technical and minor further amendments and discussions, including, inter alia, details in relation to the system of proportional representation and a second house of parliament.
3. The Standing Committee discussed and agreed that the draft constitution and the principles agreed on in relation thereto should be referred to a panel of three eminent lawyers, who would be instructed to settle the draft, incorporating the said principles for submission to and further discussion thereon by the Standing Committee. The Standing Committee resolved that the three lawyers should have had no previous involvement in the drafting of proposals for any of the parties elected to the Constituent Assembly, and, furthermore, that they should receive their instructions from the Constituent Assembly.
4. The Standing Committee also discussed and resolved that two of its members should be delegated the function to brief the three independent lawyers in accordance with the understandings reached in relation to Namibia's future constitution.
5. The Standing Committee can also report that, pursuant to its aforementioned mandate, a sub-committee on national symbols has been established and that its first report will be presented shortly.

Consistent with its deliberations and decisions taken, the Standing Committee accordingly recommends that the Assembly:

- a) Mandates Mr H Ruppel (Rapporteur of the Standing Committee) and Adv V Rukoro to travel to Johannesburg in order to instruct Adv Arthur Chaskalson, SC, Professor Marinus Wiechers, and Professor Gerhard Erasmus to consider the draft proposals, agreed principles and incidental instructions in relation thereto, and to provide the Standing Committee with a draft Constitution for Namibia;
- b) Authorises all expenses relative to the aforementioned mandate to be defrayed from state funds;
- c) Mandates the Standing Committee to receive and discuss the draft to be provided by the group of three lawyers by not later than 8th January 1990.

- d) Instructs the Standing Committee to report back to the Constituent Assembly on its work pursuant to the aforementioned mandate during the assembly's sitting on Friday, 12th January 1990 at 10h00.

Committee Room
Tintenpalast
20.12.89

Chairman

TEXT OF SPEECH ON "SOCIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM: AFRICA'S EXPERIENCE AND THE WAY FORWARD IN NAMIBIA", DELIVERED BY MR HIDIPO HAMUTENYA, AT A NANSO CONGRESS, January 1990

At the risk of boring some of you to death, I would like to start off my brief presentation on a short outline of my understanding of the terms Socialism and Neo-colonialism. This is necessary in order to ensure that we are all on the same wavelength.

When we talk about socialism, we are speaking about a socio-economic system based on public ownership of the means of production, and whose central moral or ethnic principle is the concept of economic and political equality.

By means of production we mean, on one hand, implements of labour, such as production machines, production premises, railways, highways and, most importantly, the land, all of which human beings use as tools of their actions on the objects of nature to produce consumer goods, such as, food clothing, housing, etc.

By virtue of public ownership of the means of production, the economy of a socialist state should develop on the basis of comprehensive planning, a planning whose aim is to achieve adequate production of both material and cultural goods without which equality in distribution and consumption of material wealth and cultural values are impossible to achieve (hence each according to his contribution).

No serious discussion of socialism can take place without reference to Marx, whose works on the historical process of social development singled out the economic sphere of social life as being the most important, which determines all other spheres of social life. His elaboration of the evolution of human society has established the one immutable fact that the root cause of the social evil of exploitation of man by man is the private ownership of the means of production. Marx established the truth that whatever the economic system of private ownership of the means of production existed there was exploitation of those who labour to produce the material means of existence by those who owned the means of production. Marx is thus regarded as the father of socialism, in its scientific sense, because he not only pointed out the root cause of oppression; he also advanced an alternative socio-economic system, that is socialism. He postulated its humanistic aspirations, that is the ideals of equality and socio-economic justice.

It is against this background that socialists are convinced about the moral superiority of sociality.

It is also because of socialism's revolutionary promise to deliver mankind from the shackles of capitalist exploitation and from imperialist and class oppression that many of the newly liberated countries of Africa espoused one or another form of commitment to socialism.

However, the goal of socialist transformation and applications of socialist concepts to the African situations have also suffered both from theoretical inadequacies as it does from practical drawbacks.

On a theoretical level, we find that most of those who pretend to be socialists and to build socialist societies end up doing something different altogether. In other words, there is not much theoretical depth and genuine philosophical or intellectual commitment to socialism among African politicians who claim to be socialists.

As a result we hear notions like African socialism which are used to cover up the contradiction between the politician's public espousal of socialism and the lack of it with regard to the economic politics of most African countries which call themselves socialist.

As we have mentioned earlier, socialism means an economy based on social property or means of production. Social ownership of the means of production is realised on the basis of expropriation of capitalist property. This the only objective and universal criterion of defining socialism. Anything else is deception.

However, if there was an adequacy of theoretical clarity among those who call themselves socialists in Africa, then due attention would have to be paid to the concept of stages with regard to the long and tortuous process of transition from colonial capitalism to socialism.

A transition to socialism cannot be achieved overnight, rather it will have to unfold through a series of stages. The nature of these stages will, of course, differ from one country to another depending on the particular conditions encountered in any given country. Africa is at present in a stage of an insufficient degree of economic and cultural development. For example, our people's level of social consciousness, i.e. their ability to genuinely understand the benefits of socialism as opposed to the disadvantages of capitalism, is very low. It is not an adequate subjective condition for bringing about socialist transformation.

Furthermore, the ideological underpinning of capitalism runs through our school textbooks, media programmes and cultural activities. With such a low level of social consciousness and strong capitalist ideological underpinning, the road to socialism has been rather difficult in Africa. The absence of an effective socialist cadre in the African media, educational system and political process has made the struggle for socialism in Africa a cry in the wilderness.

And for most, if not all African countries, the first stage in the transition from colonial capitalism to socialism is one of national democracy whose essence is the democratization of the society; that is, the mobilization of the masses for active and conscious participation in the affairs of their society. National democracy means also fostering a national identity among the people of any given country. By national identity we mean a sense of shared experience and common destiny among the regional and ethnic groups making up the popula-

tion of a given country. This phase must also be characterised by an emphasis on a rapid development of the productive forces, namely the training of scientists, engineers, technicians and intellectuals who have an indispensable transitional role to play in furthering the country's socio-economic development.

In other words, the stage of socialist development will only come when two essential prerequisites have been met; the expropriation of the major means of production from private hands, on one hand, and the development of a new generation of skilled industrial workers and managers who will help to bring about a revolution in the society's productive capacity so that adequate economic surplus can be produced thus making equality a real possibility on the basis of available consumer goods.

In other words, attractive as it is to revolutionaries, swift and wholesale nationalisation of industries and other means of production, without a concomitant training of professional managers and skilled technicians, will immediately result in the collapse of a country's economy. But a steadfast policy of step-by-step acquisition of the means of production by the state, which goes hand-in-hand with a programme of massive training of professional and skilled workers, holds forth brighter prospects and promises for success in the construction of socialism in Africa; and, I believe, this is the way forward for socialism in Africa, Namibia included.

Furthermore, serious efforts must be made to raise the people's level of socio-political and ideological consciousness particularly among the workers and the youth. This means that curriculum planning and development must provide a reasonable introduction to some ideas about education to socialist transformation. The same must be true with regard to media work and party political mobilization. The youth will have an important role in determining whether socialism will have a future in Africa.

With reference to the concept of neo-colonialism, I can simply say that as long as the economies of most, if not all African countries, are dominated by the forces of trans-national capitalism, with its technology and powerful management control, Africa cannot escape the reality of neo-colonialism. Whoever controls your economy will always be in a position to exercise neo-colonialism influence over your policy decisions.

Africa's ability to put an end to neo-colonialism will only be achieved when our continent is able to establish both light and heavy industries. Light industry will consist of our ability to produce consumer goods based essentially on the needs of our people and their purchasing power, and heavy industry which should include plants which can produce agricultural equipment including spare parts for the existing machinery, production of bricks, cement and pig-iron. When that day comes we will have been liberated from neo-colonialism. And this is the immediate challenge to the youth of Africa, because the present generation of leadership may fail.

UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

TESTIMONY OF US ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, HERMAN COHEN
Washington, 4 October 1989

In his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on Africa on October 3, 1989, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen discussed US policy toward South Africa.

The full text of his testimony follows:

I am particularly glad to be here now, as part of our continuing effort to build a bipartisan approach for US policy on South Africa. Along with Central America, South Africa was highlighted at the outset by Secretary Baker as an area where the breakdown of bipartisan support undercut the ability of the United States to encourage a peaceful transition to democracy. We want to be able to send a clear signal of broad, bipartisan support for a policy premised on unequivocal abhorrence of apartheid, reflected in a sustained US commitment to promoting negotiations between the government in Pretoria and legitimate black representatives leading to a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Our intention now is to proceed in close consultation with Congress.

We have heard your views and those of many others. Throughout we have kept a careful eye on the events unfolding during the last several months in southern Africa, some of which have given us reason to believe that the possibility for a peaceful end to apartheid is increasing. But we have also kept before us a clear sense of the moral outrage of the American people in this 41st year of South Africa's government-imposed, repressive apartheid. This outrage at apartheid is shared by this administration and is the impetus for our accorded priority attention to change in South Africa. Outrage alone, of course, is not enough. It must be put into guiding principles and translated into a program of sustained and comprehensive effort. An accurate understanding of events on the ground is also necessary. I would like to take this opportunity briefly to lay out for you these elements as we see them.

The basic principles which will guide US policy toward South Africa in this administration are clear:

- Our commitment to an end to apartheid and to fundamental political change, leading to a non-racial, democratic South Africa;
- Full enforcement of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act;
- Expanding assistance to black South Africans;
- Active US diplomacy to resolve conflicts and support economic development throughout southern Africa;
- Intensive consultations with other nations, especially South Africa's major trading partners and the Front Line States; and
- Closer cooperation with the Congress on a bipartisan approach.

The process of translating these principles into policy will be taken against the backdrop of perceptible political evolution in South Africa, amidst signs of nascent movement on both sides towards dialogue. On the one side, we saw several interesting developments, beginning with the July meeting between PW Botha and Nelson Mandela. To many, this historic meeting was a clear indication that the South African government had come to recognize that the future of South Africa could not be settled without dialogue with credible leaders like Mandela. More recently we saw the new president of South Africa,

FW de Klerk, declare that the white electorate had given him a mandate for change. He then moved quickly to allow, contrary to the previous government, several peaceful political demonstrations to take place despite emergency restrictions. On the other side, we saw that black South Africans, inside and outside South Africa, were taking the possibility of dialogue seriously enough to begin formulating their positions on possible negotiations. There was much that was encouraging and worth further discussion in the ANC proposals released in Harare last August.

Of course, nothing about the move towards dialogue is assured. During this same period, for example, detention of political activists again increased and some demonstrations were blocked, though without bloodshed. It is still too early to say whether the first step of the new de Klerk government will lead to a process of dialogue and an end to the state of emergency, but they offer reason to hope.

For our part, we view the commencement of dialogue between the government and credible representatives of the black majority as the most important first step in the process of change. We therefore welcomed President de Klerk's affirmation that the "door is open" to such a process. We also made clear our view of the conditions which would facilitate dialogue:

- the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, and the return of political exiles;
- lifting the state of emergency and associated restrictions on political activity and freedom of association for the black opposition;
- the unbanning of all political organizations, including the ANC; and
- an end to violence from all sources.

We know that it is unreasonable to expect that everything can be done at once, but we believe that the new South African government should move quickly on this agenda to begin creating the conditions for dialogue to begin, and we call on all parties to re-examine their previous ways of reacting to each other and thereby prepare themselves to take advantage of all opportunities which arise to pursue negotiations on a peaceful process of constitutional change. This is primarily a process for South Africans. But we are prepared to assist where we can be useful.

Our policy will balance pressure and incentives. We have broadened and deepened our dialogue with black South Africans, both inside and outside their country. In this respect, I want to pay tribute to Ambassador Ed Perkins, who opened many doors for us in South Africa. We will continue to denounce apartheid and identify with the aspirations of black South Africans. We are committed to active expansion of our program of "positive measures" designed to strengthen multiracial resistance to apartheid, build black bargaining power, and help blacks not to endure apartheid but to prepare themselves for leadership in a post-apartheid, non-racial democracy. To accomplish this we intend to increase assistance for university scholarships, human rights, and community leadership. We will seek to upgrade VOA transmissions to South Africa, provide targeted assistance to universities in South Africa that are open to all students regardless of race, and stimulate private sector aid for bursaries and training - perhaps via mechanisms such as Congressman Dymally's proposal to establish a US commission on southern Africa.

At the same time, we are committed to maintaining access to South Africa's white leadership and actively supporting the US business presence, which has helped lead the way toward better race relations. Secretary Baker met earlier this year with the Chief Executive Officers of major US companies in South Africa and told them they are an integral part of our effort to be a force for positive change in South Africa. Our aim in all of this is to position the United States so as to maximize our ability to promote dialogue leading to full-fledged negotiations on a non-racial democratic future for South Africa.

Regionally, though there are ups and downs, efforts to resolve conflicts through negotiations are underway in Angola and Mozambique and the independence process is well under way in Namibia. We helped create these opportunities and we will remain active in seeing them through to success. We will base our approach on US interests in the region, keeping our opposition to apartheid at the center of our policy, and coordinating as closely as possible with South Africa's important trading partners, the Front Line States, and other interested parties. In this regard, I call upon the Congress to remove sanctions on Namibia immediately after UN certification of the November elections and thus show a US commitment to the successful emergence to this new nation.

In terms of our relations with South Africa, we have long used diplomatic and other pressure to promote forward motion in South Africa's internal policies. The administration is committed to effective enforcement of existing sanctions - the most comprehensive of South Africa's major trading partners. At the same time, it is important to maintain a level of official representation that enables us to sustain contact with all communities in South Africa. We intend to maintain this policy, and will not move toward full normalization of our diplomatic relations in the absence of significant progress toward ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy.

We will also continue to work with the other states in southern Africa to strengthen their independence and reduce their vulnerability to external pressure. At the same time, we will promote regional cooperation in order to reduce inefficiencies, allow greater play to market forces, give all parties an increased material stake in regional stability, and establish the groundwork for post-apartheid regional economic integration.

For the first time in years, it is possible to be somewhat hopeful that a negotiation scenario may be just beyond the horizon. The great pressures, internal and external, on South African whites to accept change are growing and are helping convince the South African government that it must move beyond its current position and accept fundamental change, sanctions have played a role in stimulating new thinking within the white power structure. It is now increasingly clear to that government that the well-being of the white minority cannot be sustained without a negotiated political settlement that results in political equality for all South Africans. In fact, the new de Klerk government has indicated it is prepared to take concrete steps to address this need. For this reason, the administration recommends that no new sanctions be considered at the present time, while existing measures be maintained in the hope and expectation that positive signs of a commitment to change will emerge in the near future. You can be assured that we will be working actively toward this goal, and we trust that we can continue to find common ground with you in our mutual effort.

I believe the newly elected political leaders of the white minority understand fully the necessity for a political settlement, and are developing a strategy for negotiations. It would be appropriate therefore to allow that leadership reasonable time to demonstrate - mindful of outside expectations but without increased outside pressure at the present time - the will, the capability, and the courage to launch the dismantling of apartheid on an inevitable course.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

TEXT OF 1989 CONGRESSIONAL REPORT ON THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1986

Washington, 4 October 1989

Following is the Bush Administration's report to Congress on the implementation of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, preceded by an executive summary of the report:

Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the Act), herewith is transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid. Included are recommendations on which additional measures, if any, should be imposed on South Africa.

The report concludes that the additional US economic sanctions mandated by the Act have not to date been successful in moving the South African government toward the goals outlined in Title I of the Act, goals that are shared by the Administration and Congress. However, recent events, including the September 6 elections mandate for change claimed by President de Klerk and subsequent government/opposition cooperation in the holding of peaceful demonstrations, give some reason for hope that the opportunity for a peaceful end to apartheid has not yet been lost. The report reaches the conclusion that further sanctions are not needed at this time and would be counterproductive in view of steps being taken within South Africa and the region to bring about change through peaceful means.

While only the beginnings of possible progress have been observed, the report concludes that the current pattern of political evolution in South Africa merits attention and that the effect of sanctions had been mixed and is difficult to assess. The slowing of the South African economy as the result of sanctions has clearly demonstrated that the economic well-being of the white minority will depend increasingly on reaching a political accommodation with the black majority. However, the economic slowdown is not without negative effects, political and social. The conclusion of the report is that imposing additional measures now could be counterproductive in view of developments within South Africa and in the region. Accordingly, no additional sanctions are recommended at this time.

The Administration believes that US policy must be built around sustained commitment to use US influence with all elements of South African society on behalf of change, while making clear our unswerving dedication to the achievement of a nonracial and democratic South Africa. US willingness to stay involved in South Africa and to facilitate dialogue among South Africans is the best approach to helping South Africans peacefully resolve their country's profound political problems at the present time.

CAAA REPORT

Herewith is transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate the report required by section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the Act) for the period from October 3, 1988, to October 2, 1989.

Background

Executive Order 12571 directed all affected Executive departments and agencies to take all steps necessary, consistent with the Constitution, to implement the requirements of the Act. They have implemented the Act fully and faithfully.

Section 101 of the Act states that it and other actions of the United States are intended to encourage the Government of South Africa to take the following steps:

- Bring about reforms leading to the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa.
- Repeal the present state of emergency and respect the principles of equal justice under law for citizens of all races.
- Release Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu, black trade union leaders, and all political prisoners.
- Permit the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions and otherwise participate in the political process.
- Establish a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws.
- Negotiate with representatives of all racial groups in South Africa the future political system in South Africa.
- End military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring states.

This report assesses the extent to which the South African Government has taken steps toward ending the system of apartheid, moving toward a nonracial democracy, and reaching negotiated settlement of the South African conflict. At the end of the report is a recommendation on which additional measures, if any, should be imposed on South Africa.

The Status of Apartheid: October 1988 to October 1989

Despite recent positive signs, we are unable to report tangible progress towards the end of apartheid and the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa during the period under review. There have as yet been no major changes in the present constellation of apartheid laws despite official suggestions that such may occur. Nor have negotiations with legitimate representatives of the black majority yet begun. Politically, economically and socially, apartheid remains intact. However, the last few months have seen encouraging developments which give some reason to hope that a process of change might be beginning. Chief among these was the July meeting between then-President FW Botha and Nelson Mandela and the statements made by President

FW de Klerk since his election to the effect that he has been given a mandate for change. President de Klerk also asserted that the "door is open" to dialogue and, contrary to the practice of previous governments, he allowed peaceful political demonstrations to take place in Cape Town and Johannesburg the week following the election. However, during this same period, detention of political activists again increased and no actual process of dialogue has yet begun. It is still too early to say whether the first incomplete steps of the new government will lead to a process of dialogue and an end to the State of Emergency.

Section 101 (b) Progress or Lack thereof

Bring about reforms leading to the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. There have been no developments in this area in the past twelve months. Much of the petty apartheid legislation having already been rescinded, with the exception of the Separate Amenities Act, the remaining areas of legislated apartheid - the Group Areas and the Population Registration Act - are central to the entire system of apartheid. Their abolition would essentially end social and economic apartheid. There is no indication thus far that the South African government is considering such fundamental change. However, the new government may act to remove remaining petty apartheid strictures.

Repeal the present state of emergency and respect the principle of equal justice under law for citizens of all races. The State of Emergency has not been repealed and was renewed again this year. The South African legal system, as well as the judiciary, continues to allow some recourse from the arbitrary power of the State under its emergency regulations. The acquittal of trade union leader Moses Mayekiso in April on the charge of treason for engaging in nonviolent, community organization was particularly noteworthy in this regard. However, and especially under the State of Emergency, the combination of the white-controlled police and judiciary basically prejudices the system against non-whites. Unfortunately, it is therefore impossible to say that South Africa respects the principle of equal justice for all.

Release Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu, black trade union leaders, and all political prisoners. Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu have not yet been released. Many other political prisoners and detainees also remain in custody. However on November 26, 1988, Zeph Mothopeng was released from imprisonment. Govan Mbeki, released in 1987, was allowed to meet with Assistant Secretary Herman Cohen in July of this year despite being under restriction. Also, during the course of the year, Mandela was given somewhat improved quarters and met with then-President FW Botha in July. A significant development has been the emergence of Mandela's release as the central issue in the nascent dialogue over possible negotiations between the government and the opposition. Botha's decision to meet with Mandela implicitly recognized that real negotiations must include credible leaders like Mandela and, eventually, the African National Congress (ANC) of which Mandela is, after years of imprisonment, still the national and international symbol. Noteworthy in this regard is the reported understanding on the part of the South African government that Mandela's release cannot be an isolated act and that dialogue with other legitimate black leaders must be on the immediate agenda. Unfortunately, the government's release early this year of detainees, largely in response to their determined hunger strike, was mostly undone by restrictions placed on the persons freed and by new detentions of many of the same people in the election period.

Permit the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions and otherwise participate in the political process. There has been limited progress in meeting this goal. The September 6 election called attention to the fact that the South African government is chosen on the basis of an unequal and non-representative poll of the South African people. The UDF was virtually banned early this year, joining the unfortunately long list of peaceful, political organizations denied free and open existence. However, as one of the first acts of his new government, President de Klerk departed from past procedure and allowed peaceful demonstrations in Cape Town and Johannesburg during the week of September 11. Earlier in the year, the South African government allowed Albertina Sisulu and other banned UDF leaders to travel to the US to meet with President Bush. It is too early to know if this represents a permanent change of government policy in favor of allowing peaceful political expression. If so, it would be an important first step, but only a first step.

Establish a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws. President de Klerk has said repeatedly since his election that he wants a South Africa free of domination and oppression. In his inauguration speech he also indicated that his government would work "urgently" on the removal of discriminatory laws. But so far the new government has not begun to turn these words into action. We are unaware of any South African government discussions of a "timetable" for the elimination of apartheid laws, although there have been some.

Negotiate with representatives of all racial groups in South Africa the future political system in South Africa. Many more South Africans, inside and outside of South Africa, are now talking about the need for negotiations. Also, as shown by the meeting President Botha and Mr Mandela and the many meetings between white and black South Africans that have been occurring in various places inside and outside South Africa, dialogue has begun. However, negotiations per se have not yet begun. There remain many potential obstacles that may prevent the nascent dialogue from blossoming into substantive discussions between the government and legitimate opposition leaders on how to proceed towards genuine negotiations over the future of South Africa. These obstacles include negative attitudes towards change in segments of both the white and black communities as well as lack of experience on the part of both sides in talking with each other.

End military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring states. The past year has been a largely peaceful one along South Africa's borders. De Klerk met with Mozambican President Chissano and with Zambian President Kaunda. De Klerk reconfirmed to Chissano the South African government's commitment to ending aid to RENAMO and to helping obtain peace in Mozambique. Perhaps most noteworthy, the South African government agreed last December to the implementation of UNSCR 435 on independence for Namibia and, since implementation began, has carried out its obligations in an acceptable manner. However, South Africa does not have normal and stable relations with its neighbors and there have been some cross-border incidents during the year.

Economic Measures Against South Africa

South Africa's real gross domestic product is expected to grow between 1 and 2 percent in 1989. This is a significant drop for the 3.2 percent rate recorded in 1988, and remains far below the country's economic potential and needs. The South African economy has been subjected to numerous international economic sanctions for over 25 years. Leading South African economists and government officials have highlighted the role international pressures have played as a major factor in limiting South Africa's economic growth during the past year. Current economic sanctions against South Africa are broadly classified as either trade or financial.

South Africa has reacted aggressively, and with considerable success, to international trade sanctions by developing new domestic industries to provide key products, by locating new external suppliers and markets, and by stockpiling key imports and raw materials such as petroleum. (One of the sad legacies of trade sanctions imposed against South Africa is the success of South Africa's sophisticated armaments industry. Once a major arms importer, South Africa is now, following 25 years of arms embargoes, one of the world's major arms exporters - a tribute of sorts, to "embargoes".)

South Africa's ability to circumvent sanctions is explained in part by the character of its exports. Over sixty percent of the nation's export earnings come from low bulk, high value commodities such as gold and other precious metals. When gold prices were declining, South Africa's export earnings fell, but the effects of this decline were moderated by increasing revenues from other major exports including primary minerals like ferrochrome, coal, iron ore, and copper, and from "unclassified" exports including arms. Agricultural export earnings have also remained strong.

An area in which economic pressures have impacted more heavily on South Africa has been its ability to attract sufficient foreign capital to both fuel economic growth and permit repayment of outstanding international debt. Sanctions-related restrictions coupled with shaky business confidence have virtually eliminated all new foreign investment, and forced South Africa to rely more heavily on maintaining large trade surpluses. Current debt repayment and the prospect of ballooning foreign debt payments in 1990 and 1991, combined with other capital outflows, have forced the South African government to restrict domestic growth and impose controls on imports.

Reduced economic growth rates and a lack of new investments have affected all segments of South Africa's population. For many white South Africans, deteriorating economic conditions have helped focus attention on the relationship between long-term white economic well-being and positive political change. Nevertheless, sanctions-related hardships have mostly hurt white poor and middle classes through ever-increasing taxes, rising inflation and high interest rates. Many white voters reacted angrily to these pressures during the 1989 parliamentary elections by almost doubling the number of seats controlled by the staunchly pro-apartheid Conservative Party.

One result of sanctions has therefore been a stronger, more vocal conservative opposition to the government's stated agenda for positive change away from apartheid. (It should be noted however, that a considerable proportion of voters picked the progressive Democratic Party, increasing the mandate for political, social and economic change away from apartheid.)

An economic growth rate of 1-2 percent is far short of the 5 percent needed to create jobs for an estimated 350,000 new job seekers each year, most of whom are black. This has led to drastically reduced expenditures on education and housing, thus exacerbating the gross structural inequalities that deny South Africa's majority the education, skills and opportunities it will need to successfully participate in a post-apartheid society.

Political and Diplomatic Measures

The US has sought to further the goals of Section 101(b) through the application of appropriate political and diplomatic measures. The Administration has, in the context of a now completed review of policy, begun to enunciate publicly the principles and objectives of our approach to South Africa. US policy is based on unequivocal abhorrence of apartheid and a commitment to promote negotiations between the South African government and legitimate black leaders aimed at achieving a nonracial and democratic South African society. We have made our principles clear:

- A commitment to end apartheid;
- Assistance to black South Africans;
- Active US diplomacy to resolve conflicts and support economic development in southern Africa;
- Consultations with our allies;
- Working with Congress to develop a bipartisan approach towards South Africa.

Active opposition to apartheid is the unambiguous policy of the United States. We totally reject South Africa's system of race-based minority rules. As long as that system endures, relations with the United States will not be normal. We have clearly stated this to both the government and the people of South Africa, underscoring our belief that the most important first step in the process of change is dialogue among South Africans. We have also begun to make clear our view of the conditions under which dialogue can begin. They include:

- The release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, and the return of political exiles;
- Lifting the state of emergency and associated restrictions on political activity and freedom of association for the black opposition;
- The unbanning of all political organizations, including the ANC; and
- an end to violence from all sources.

We have therefore called on the new South African government to move quickly to begin creating the conditions for dialogue and for all parties to take advantage of the opportunity to pursue negotiations on a peaceful process of constitutional change. This has sent a powerful message, widely noted, of where the US stands and what sort of peace process we are ready to support. We have also increased the tempo and deepened the level of our contacts with the

black opposition inside and outside South Africa. The meetings between such black opposition leaders as Albertina Sisulu, the Reverend Allan Boesak, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu with the President, highlighted the Administration's new policy in this regard. This sends a signal that the world is not simply standing by waiting for Pretoria to act.

On the diplomatic side, we are consulting with our allies and other states in southern Africa. More importantly, we have maintained an active diplomacy focussed on achieving peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. We are continuing our efforts to ensure that Namibia achieves its independence in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435/78. We have worked actively with all the parties, including the South African government, to keep this process on track. A successful transition to independence in Namibia, coupled with the removal of Cuban troops from Angola, removes a continuing source of regional tension and instability. Negotiated settlements in Angola and Mozambique, in the wake of a successful transition in Namibia, would enhance the prospects for negotiations in South Africa itself.

Presidential Recommendations

Section 501(c) of the Act states that if the South African Government has made significant progress in ending apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy, the President shall include in this annual report recommendations on the imposition of additional measures from among the five listed in that subsection. Section 101(c) states that the United States will adjust its actions towards South Africa to reflect the progress or lack of progress made toward the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

At present, there is no negotiated settlement for the end of apartheid nor any negotiations. By only this yardstick, there has been no apparent progress over the last 12 months nor since 1986. Yet for the first time since enactment of the Act, it is possible to be somewhat hopeful that a negotiation process may be just on the horizon. Certainly, the great pressures, internal and external, on South African whites to accept a change in their unjustly privileged status are growing. But talk of "forcing" South Africa into negotiations misses the point. "Negotiations" are between willing parties.

Existing pressures, including market forces and other sanctions, have played a role in helping convince the South African government that it must move beyond its current position and accept change. The election of the de Klerk government in the face of determined Conservative efforts to pull South Africa backwards, and the growth in popularity of the Democratic Party, suggest de Klerk is right in noting that 70 percent of South African whites voted their acknowledgement that must come. Of course there is no way of knowing how much agreement exists on the nature and pace of change. De Klerk has indicated that he will move at a moderate pace consistent with maintaining the confidence of the white community. However, he appears fully committed to pursuing a negotiated solution.

Despite the current defiance campaign and deep black distrust of the government, there is movement by blacks towards dialogue. The ANC has been developing a negotiating position while conducting consultations with supporters inside and outside South Africa. Supporters of the Mass Democratic Movement Front leaders are reportedly ready to meet with the South African government and vice-versa. Groups of whites have travelled to Lusaka and

elsewhere to talk with the ANC. Whites and blacks within South Africa have never been totally estranged. The historic meeting between President Botha and Nelson Mandela put the government in the middle of all this "talk about talk".

There is therefore reason to believe that the opportunity for a peaceful end to apartheid has not yet been lost. Over the next several months, the focus of attention should be on events "on the ground" in South Africa. All the parties need time to sort out their positions and reach out to each other in dialogue. In this context and at this time, further sanctions would be inappropriate and confusing. For our part, we intend to help facilitate wherever possible the development of dialogue between South Africans by keeping up contact with all parties.

The comprehensive sanctions enacted in the Act are being fully implemented. Existing US sanctions on South Africa are the toughest of any of South Africa's active trading partners. The slowing of the South African economy as the result of market forces and sanctions, our and others, has clearly demonstrated that the economic well-being of the white minority will depend increasingly on reaching a political accommodation with the black majority. Pressure for change has come from inside South Africa as well. The fact that many in South Africa are now talking about reform negotiation and an end to white rule shows that these pressures have not been without some effect. But it is difficult to be certain how much of this change is due to sanctions or how further sanctions now would alter the mix of incentives, disincentives, fears, hopes and concerns that are in play among South Africans. It seems better for the moment therefore to allow South Africans an opportunity to negotiate their own solutions.

A review has been conducted of the suggested additional measures listed in Section 501(c) in the light of what the US hope to achieve in South Africa as well as the impact of measures already taken. For the reasons cited above, despite the lack of significant progress towards the abolition of apartheid thus far, no additional sanctions are recommended at this time.

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