

OPINION

Genie returns to the lamp

SOUTH AFRICA has had too many "moments of history" in its recent past for the nation to stand still and contemplate, let alone celebrate, the events of the week.

Yet they were seminal. ANC leader Nelson Mandela ended sanctions in a few words at the United Nations, thus dispatching the ghoul his own organisation had summoned to pressure the government.

The debate about the justification for sanctions, this deep wounding to the economy, will no doubt continue for decades. Let us leave it there. The fact remains that external legislative constraints to investment are lifted and now we stand or fall by our own efforts.

Virtually at the same time as Mr Mandela was ushering sanctions out in New York, the UN was ushering President FW de Klerk in — at least long enough to meet Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. It is the first time in 20 years that a white South African head of state has been in the UN building and he will no doubt be the last.

Back at home the Transitional Executive Council Bill — the framework needed to take the country through its first non-racial elections — was passed by Parliament. The schoolboy antics of the Conservative Party to halt the passage of the bill were balanced by the fact that the real power-brokers of the Right, the Afrikaner Volksfront and its

retired generals, had a convivial meeting with the ANC during which prospects for an Afrikaner "area of interest" were, if not resolved, at least raised.

All this amounts to a glimpse of light amid general gloom. Yet it is altogether too early for hubris.

The mere lifting of sanctions is a useful but not essential precondition for economic growth. That must come from within ourselves: a resolve to work, achieve and deliver.

In their respective speeches at the UN and the World Economic Development Forum in Washington, Mr Mandela and Mr Trevor Manuel of the ANC's economics department, provided enough free market rhetoric to make sympathisers happy, but not enough, one suspects, to lure the investors.

One of the biggest misconceptions which lay as a sub-theme to the addresses is that South Africa is doing a favour to investors by allowing them to invest. It is the other way around: it is the investors' resources that are desperately needed to help recharge the economy. Reference to social responsibility programmes for the disadvantaged may gladden the heart of the ANC, but for investors it is a switch-off. Quite simply, they do not owe South Africans anything and we should not demand anything of them other than that they invest, keep within the law and pay their taxes.



MIKE ROBERTSON
says President FW de Klerk might yet rue the sacrifices he has made on the altar of power-sharing

FW's bungles could cost him dearly

"a bankrupt estate". Yet he remains on at Mineral and Energy Affairs.

Magnus Malan remained in cabinet long past his sell-by date, and if there are grounds besides race or gender for the presence in the cabinet of Dr Rina Venter, Jac Rabie or Abe Williams, I, and many others, have failed to recognise them.

But there is another, more disturbing reason for this sorry performance. It revolves around Mr de Klerk's guiding philosophy — or lack of one.

From the outset, power-sharing — a mechanism for governing rather than a philosophy of government — has had paramountcy in all his and the NP's contributions to our constitutional debate.

On this altar, many sacrifices have been made.

Zach de Beer once foolishly accused Mr de Klerk of stealing DP policy, which seeks to empower the individual and restrict the power of the state. Nonsense, said Mr de Klerk, the NP was not in the least interested in their policy. Too true.

This explains why, despite Mr de Klerk's talk of maximum devolution of power, the constitution under discussion at the World Trade Centre offers only the weakest form of federalism; and why the bill of rights empowers the state, as much as it does the individual.

It explains, too, the creation of a post for a deputy president, who, as leader of the second most popular party in the country (read Mr de Klerk), will have veto rights over all cabinet decisions.

Ironical then, is it not, that having achieved what he set out to in negotiations, Mr de Klerk should now find himself with a severely depleted support base.

The bungling and expedient actions of his ministers, and the ditching of policies which threatened a power-sharing deal, might yet result in another politician — be it Mangosuthu Buthelezi or perhaps even Ferdie Hartzenberg — coming to occupy the position Roelf Meyer negotiated for his leader in a government of national unity.

mer Economic Co-ordination Minister, spent months working on plans to reduce the size of the civil service. When he died, so did the plans:

- Mr de Klerk promised deregulation. Instead, we have Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett taking a leading businessman to court for daring to sell cheap petrol.

- Privatisation, a key feature of government economic policy back in 1989, has been all but abandoned.

- Former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis promised a five percent cut in personal taxes. That, too, has been abandoned. Instead, fiscal drag ensures we pay more taxes.

The list goes on and includes the Mossgas, third-party insurance, toilets in the veld and rail commuter corporation bungles — some of which predated Mr de Klerk's tenure in office, but all of which serve to undermine public confidence in his government.

Most important, though, is violence. For this, the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, the right wing and unemployment de-

serve as much blame as the government. But where Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel must be held accountable is for the lack of effective policing outside unrest areas.

He can argue that the reason is that police are being deployed in unrest areas, but it simply does not wash with the public and is probably the singularly most important reason for the disenchantment with Mr de Klerk and his government.

This bungling, about-turning and sheer display of bad faith on the part of his ministers reflect badly on Mr de Klerk. After all, he appoints them.

Very early on in his presidency, a colleague remarked to me that it was difficult to have confidence in Mr de Klerk when he surrounded himself with such clearly inadequate people.

He was commenting on the bumbling performance of Mr de Klerk's personal staff, but the comment applies equally to the cabinet.

Mr Bartlett, for example, messed up at Transport to such an extent that his successor said he had inherited

LIKE Edith Piaf, President FW de Klerk, who this week celebrated his fourth anniversary in office, has no regrets.

Perhaps he should.

Opinion polls, according to Professor Herman Giliomee, show support for his National Party at an all-time low of just 12 percent.

The high degree of doubt, uncertainty and instability that accompanies any process of transformation was always going to have an impact on support for the NP, as indeed it has on its main negotiating partner, the ANC.

But the slide-away in support for the ANC is in no way comparable to that which has affected the NP — it has more than halved since February, when the HSRC estimated it would get 26 percent of votes in an election.

Key to this growing disillusionment with the NP has been Mr de Klerk's failure to look after the interests of key constituencies — farmers, civil servants, security force members, even the white, urban middle class — and carry them with him while Roelf Meyer and company were negotiating the details of a constitutional settlement.

Mr de Klerk promised at the outset that he would not allow the effort to transform society to affect the orderly and good government of the country.

In hindsight, this was somewhat optimistic, as the processes were clearly intertwined. Compromises, such as the release of political prisoners, were always going to be necessary, even though they could serve to undermine the judicial system.

But in addition to necessary compromises, we have also had unnecessarily bad or confused government.

- The release of tens of thousands of common criminals has clearly contributed to spiralling crime rates.

- Mr de Klerk's failure to cauterise rogue elements in the security forces has increased public distrust in the police and military, if not, as claimed by many, contributed to violence.

- Dr Wim de Villiers, for-

At the court of the new South Africa



CARMEL RICKARD

surveys the likely candidates to serve on a powerful new constitutional court

AT LAW faculty tea-urns, in chambers and legal firms around the country, speculation has started in earnest about likely candidates for the new constitutional court. Cognoscenti mull over qualifications and some potential candidates and their backers have started jockeying for positions.

But key questions about the new court have yet to be finalised. Negotiators at the World Trade Centre have deferred a final vote to allow the judiciary and other branches of the legal profession to comment on suggestions from the technical committee drafting constitutional proposals.

The committee's draft for a constitutional court and a new appointment mechanism for the other courts speaks of the need to make a fresh start and improve the credibility of the legal system. However the proposals are not without controversy.

They make the constitutional court quite separate from the Appellate Division, rather than a chamber of the AD which many influential members of the profession would prefer. It removes key issues from the jurisdiction of the AD: ordinary courts will apply the constitution and the bill of rights, but all appeals on these issues will go to the constitutional court rather than the AD.

The appointment procedure for the 11 members of the new court is another controversial issue. The draft proposes that every political party in the assembly and in the senate will have one member on the selection committee. They will meet in camera to interview candidates and make their choice.

They must come to a unanimous decision. If this proves impossible, 75 percent of the committee may nominate the president and eight judges, and the remaining 25 percent choose the other two judges.

All these nominations must then be approved by 75 percent of a joint sitting of the assembly and the senate, with no debate allowed.

This system is intended to ensure that the new court is not a clone of the courts gone by: that fresh ideas, credibility and skills will infuse the constitutional court through a selection process more democratic than in the past.

But it is vulnerable to the same problems of political

manipulation as the present system, and could well result in judges being chosen after political horse-trading rather than on merit. There is also no provision for any input at all by the legal profession.

Perhaps a two-stage process of interaction between the profession and parliament should be considered, with politicians drawing up a list of candidates they find acceptable and members of the profession selecting from that list, or vice versa.

SO who will the selectors consider? A constitutional court judge must be a South African and a "fit and proper person" for appointment. He or she may be a Supreme Court judge. Or they may have an LLB (or another qualification which allows admission as an advocate) with at least 10 years' experience as an advocate, an attorney or a legal academic.

However, another clause allows other people to be considered if, through their training and experience, they have "expertise in the field of constitutional law relevant to the application of this constitution and South African law".

Discussion about possible candidates reveals the obvious — that the pool of women candidates and black candi-

dates, male or female, is at the moment neither deep nor wide, although this will change in the next five or six years. Many in the categories unrepresented on the present bench come from the academic world and have little courtroom experience.

Influential senior practitioners feel that relatively few contenders qualify in terms of temperament, proven ability and the wide-ranging experience ideally needed in a judge. Beyond these few, a creative approach becomes necessary, with constituency credibility and potential becoming important factors.

Any list of possible appointees must be incomplete and controversial. Candidates seriously regarded in some circles, are dismissed as unsuitable in others, and the abilities and experience of potential appointees now being discussed, vary widely.

Interestingly, several sitting judges feature in serious discussions about suitable candidates. They include Judges Goldstone, Mahomed, Kriegler, Ackermann and Didcott. Judge Milne is also mentioned, although some feel his influence is more needed on the AD. Judge Olivier of the South African Law Commission, responsible for scholarly research on a wide range of constitutional issues, is another favoured name.

Chief Justice Corbett also features, with the suggestion

that the draft proposals allocate the Chief Justice an automatic seat on the constitutional court. This would ensure that, whether the constitutional court is separate from the AD or not, there is a "binding" of the two bodies, emphasising that "justice is indivisible".

FORMER Legal Resources Centre director Arthur Chaskalson heads the list of practitioners and he seems assured of a place. Jeremy Gauntlett of the Cape bar is regarded as another suitable candidate. The present black SCs (all are male) must be in the running, among them Hassan Mall, Lewis Skweyiya, Dikgang Moseneke, Zac Yacoob and academic Charles Dlamini. Female silks include Natalie Fleischack who works with the special court dealing with rape and child molestation.

No deal, but ANC and AVF keep on talking

ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) officials say they have made significant progress in secret talks towards accommodating Afrikaner self-determination.

But both parties have poured cold water on media speculation that a deal has been struck on an Afrikaner homeland and AVF participation in the elections next April.

AVF official Tienie Groenewald confirmed "common ground" had been found on the entrenchment of Afrikaner rights, possibly in the bill of rights and in the new Constitution.

But he added: "There is no deal. The

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

Volksfront has always been open with the media. If there is a breakthrough, people will know about it."

In New York ANC leader Nelson Mandela confirmed the ANC has been holding discussions with the white right wing and the possibility of creating a political subdivision to give them a considerable degree of autonomy.

While ruling out "an ethnic solution", he said this did not mean rejecting the basic demand of a people who want a particular region in which to run their own affairs.

A statement released by ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen said: "The desire by the Afrikaner Volksfront to have an area demarcated as a Volkstaat for Afrikaner people, where Afrikaners will be able to survive as a nation, was also tabled for frank and forthright discussions."

The Christian Science Monitor reported on Friday that the ANC had agreed to an Afrikaner homeland in exchange for the AVF's participation in the election and an undertaking not to use violence.

Apla to be asked to join peace force

By RAY HARTLEY and NORMAN WEST

THE PAC's military wing, Apla, will be asked to join a national peacekeeping force at a meeting with Umkhonto we Sizwe and the defence forces of Transkei and Venda within the next two weeks.

MK chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda said talks between MK and Apla in Harare last weekend broke down after the PAC announced on the same day it would not participate in the transitional executive council.

This led to Apla rejecting participation in the peacekeeping force, said Mr Nyanda.

He added that Apla had agreed to join a new defence force under a democratically elected government.

PAC president Clarence Makweru is believed to have met with Apla shortly before the meeting with MK to discuss participation in the TEC. Apla is said to have persuaded him to boycott the multi-party structure.

MK man hired by Arm Scor

Sunday Times Reporter

FORMER MK fighter Yacoob Abba Omar, who this week was appointed Arm Scor's public-relations manager, believes he can play a major role in making the arms manufacturer more open and accountable.

"My first reaction was 'no', but I talked to a wide range of people and they encouraged me to take the job," he said.

As PR manager Mr Omar will serve on Arm Scor's management board, giving him access to the very heart of decision-making in the giant corporation.

Arm Scor needed to fit into the international post-Cold War trend to convert the arms industry for civilian use, he said.

'Shambolic' homelands

REPORTS tabled in Parliament by Auditor-General Henri Kluever disclose that most of the self-governing homelands are in a shambolic state.

The reports, which were tabled after a bill allowing the South African government to take control of collapsing homeland administrations was passed, point to serious maladministration, lack of control, theft and corruption in five homelands.

And in another report, the Consultative Business Movement said the homelands and TBVC states had accumulated a collective debt of R14,2-billion by the end of August.

By EDYTH BULBRING
and RAY HARTLEY

"There is a public perception that an ethos is developing, not only in certain homeland civil services, but also at central level, under which civil servants are taking opportunities to enrich themselves," the movement said.

The auditor-general was unable to express an audit opinion on the accounts of Lebowa, Kangwane and KwaZulu because of irregularities or failure to submit their returns.

There was evidence of theft and administrative incompetence in the homelands of Qwaqwa and Kwa-

zulu, the audit found.

The report on the KwaZulu government for 1991-1992 showed there were serious shortcomings in internal control systems in government.

These shortcomings resulted in, among other things, unauthorised expenditure of R4,3-million, fruitless expenditure, overpayments, non-collection of taxes and debts, poor control over salaries, and poor control, if any, over government stores.

Some of these irregularities included:

- The abuse of fuel allowances for government vehicles. In 267 cases, fuel was issued to vehicles that did not exist and some officials claimed for 1 000km travel a day. "Extraordinary considering the area of the territory," the auditor-general remarked.

- The Department of Law and Order spent R14 000 on 087 numbers in six months.

The Kangwane government recorded R13,7-million in unauthorised expenditure in 1989-1990.

However, the auditor-general was unable to give an audit opinion for the past year as, despite numerous warnings and entreaties, the returns were not forthcoming.

No opinion could be given on Lebowa for 1990 to 1991 as many returns had not been submitted and that year's budget had not been finalised by May 1991.

The report on KwaZulu for the 1991-1992 financial year showed "serious shortcomings in the systems of internal checking and control as well as a disturbing failure to adhere to financial regulations and instructions".

A number of firearms in KwaZulu's police reaction unit and the quartermaster's store could not be accounted for.

The report also disclosed 101 cases of theft and irregularities involving R78 000 worth of firearms and ammunition.

SA cash props up chief — Mandela

ANC leader Nelson Mandela claimed this week that the power of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be "greatly reduced" if the government cut off funding to the Kwazulu homeland.

In a television interview screened in Britain this week, Mr Mandela claimed the problem with the Inkatha leader was that President FW de Klerk's government continued to fund him.

Asked by ITN interviewer Trevor MacDonald if violence would increase if Mr Buthelezi stayed out of the negotiation process, Mr Mandela said he was "not worried".

"Buthelezi is a problem only insofar as De Klerk wants him to be a problem," said Mr Mandela.

"If De Klerk said today to Buthelezi, 'From tomorrow you pay your own bills', the power of Buthelezi would be greatly reduced."

In a separate interview with ITN, Mr Buthelezi rejected the claim that his influence would be reduced if funding from the govern-

By PETER MALHERBE
London

ment was cut off.

"The R5-billion budget of Kwazulu is not Mangosuthu Buthelezi's money. It is money for the old pensioners, it is money for benches for schools, it is money for cleaning — and now they personalise it," he said.

He described Mr Mandela's claims as "very interesting".

"It really strengthens my resolve to resist until the bitter end," he said.

Mr Buthelezi said that, on a personal level, he and the ANC leader "got on like a house on fire".

"The friendship, the affection we have had for each other for decades, normally surfaces when we are together, but as soon as we part, it disappears as well."

Zulu king calls for peace

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday appealed to his subjects to halt the violence plaguing South Africa and called for racial harmony in the country.

Speaking at a Shaka Day ceremony in Stanger, King Zwelithini said "enemies of the Zulu nation" had ridiculed him by suggesting he was siding with one political party over another.

He also made a strong appeal for peace and racial harmony.

"If we do not stop the killings, black people will stand to inherit a wasteland of poverty and death.

"If we are to build a new SA free from hate and hostility of the past, we must strive for peace and understanding between the races," he said.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked his supporters to contribute R5 each towards the establishment of "legal" armed units to protect Zulus in strife-torn areas.

"It is not my intention to be aggressive or to start a war," he said. "But they are all against Zulus."

The proposed units would operate within the law and were required to counteract widespread killing of Zulus, he said. He suggested the units might be deployed on the Reef.

Mr Buthelezi again rejected the imposition of the recently billed Transitional Executive Council. — Sapa

SA loans boost as sanctions go

By SIMON BARBER and
CHERILYN IRETON: Washington

A 150-STRONG joint delegation of government, ANC and business officials meets leaders of the World Bank in Washington today for discussions on the reconstruction of the South African economy.

The high-powered meeting is a follow-up to ANC president Nelson Mandela's speech at the United Nations this week, in which he called for the lifting of all non-military sanctions against South Africa.

His long-awaited announcement has sparked a wave of renewed interest in SA by foreign investors and powerful international lending agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

And on Friday, Mr Mandela will make a pitch for a share of the billions of dollars held by United States pension funds and other institutional investors at a conference sponsored by several of Wall Street's biggest investment firms.

The ANC's hope is that, having shunned SA-related investments for the past decade, these funds will become "proactive" in channelling investment to SA.

Immediately in sight is a \$850-million (R2.8-billion) loan from the IMF for drought relief. Down the road is the possibility of millions more.

Although investors and donors warn that political stability is essential before serious money will start flowing into the country, this week will see major steps towards securing fresh flows of foreign capital.

On its way to today's meeting, the SA delegation — led by Finance Minister Derek Keys — stopped off in Zurich, where it is believed to have wrapped up a deal with its 14 creditor banks to reschedule \$5-billion (R17-billion) in debts frozen by the Reserve Bank in 1985 in a bid to stem capital flight from South Africa.

Today's meeting, which is crucial for the re-establishment of foreign financing links, will focus on ways in which the World Bank can help SA reconstruct its economy. Central to the success of the meeting will be the question of "conditionality" — what financial and administrative strings the bank attaches to its loans.

The head of the World Bank Southern Africa Department, Mr Isaac Sam, said yesterday that no funds had yet been made available to South Africa because "no one has asked us to".

But the bank is expected to move quickly to open up financial channels to SA's private sector companies through its International Finance Corporation. However, leading economists have warned that it takes at least six months for IMF loans to be arranged — so SA is unlikely to receive any boost before the April 27 elections.

Late on Friday, IMF managing director Michel Camdessus promised the fund would do its best to help SA through its political transition. He held out the prospect of early financial support to offset the impact of the recent drought and poor export prices.

Again, conditionality is critical. Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals is understood to favour conditions on the loans. The

FOUR YEARS OF FW: P20

ANC opposes the idea.

ANC economics head Trevor Manuel said yesterday the ANC had fought too long for its sovereignty to sacrifice control over economic affairs.

The ANC gathered in force for this week's IMF/World Bank meeting, but fell short of declaring itself a zealous convert to private sector-led growth to reduce the 50 percent unemployment rate.

In the ANC's first concerted drive to attract investors, Mr Mandela and Mr Manuel unveiled in detail the ANC's blueprint to set South Africa "on the

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Loans boost as sanctions go

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path of growth and development".

Mr Mandela acknowledged that the high level of violence and "ordinary" crime could deter investors, and said curbing the unrest was the ANC's "first priority".

This would be followed by creating "economic and political stability", he told the World Economic Development Congress.

However, Mr Mandela and Mr Manuel sent mixed signals about the degree to which an ANC government would intervene in the marketplace.

On the one hand, Mr Manuel espoused market "efficiency". On the other, he made it clear that this was code for government efforts to break up "oligopolies".

Mr Mandela's statements to the UN and the WEDC also contained a number of potentially troubling inconsistencies.

He said he had been convinced by foreign investors at the 1991 Davos conference that the ANC had to drop its nationalisation policies, but he made it clear that this shift was less than wholehearted.

The ANC's current position was "not different" to that of the Federal Republic of Germany, whose constitution retained the nationalisation option, but which "has not used it", he said.

And while the ANC would strive to be investor-friendly by offering guarantees against expropriation and allowing foreign companies to repatriate profits, Mr Mandela indicated the government would hold investors to high social responsibility, environmental and affirmative action standards.

Later, Mr de Klerk told leading international businessmen and finance officials in Washington that the NP's economic policies had "failed" South Africa's people.

But, in an upbeat speech that contrasted with Mr Mandela's warning that SA was edging towards Somali-style chaos, Mr de Klerk told the World Economic Development Congress that SA's parties were now "finding each other" on economic policy.

As a result, Mr Keys

World reacts

THERE was an immediate response to this week's call by ANC president Nelson Mandela to the world community to lift economic sanctions.

Just hours later President Bill Clinton urged the removal of all remaining economic sanctions, and the US Senate approved a bill formally terminating all trade barriers.

New York City mayor David Dinkins said he expected the city's legislators to repeal sanctions "immediately", unlocking access to R123-billion in potential investment.

Yesterday Massachusetts scrapped its anti-SA legislation. California and 27 other states and 100 cities are expected to follow suit.

The EC, which lifted an economic embargo in 1992, said it would "consider further steps".

Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia all lifted sanctions as well.

would be able to announce tomorrow a final agreement to repay foreign debt blocked since 1985.

Earlier, in another breakthrough after the ANC's decision to end sanctions, Mozambique became the first of SA's major neighbours to extend Pretoria full diplomatic recognition.

◆ Additional reporting by Sapa and AFP

THE SUNDAY TIMES, 26 SEPTEMBER 1993



By MPH0 KOBUE

HER skin is burnt and she can't see very well, but she is very lucky to be alive.

Ndlandla Duda Dlamini's wretched little body is racked by pain as she is carried on the back of IFP member Gertrude Mzi. The seven-year-old was discovered alive in the rubble of her burnt-out home in Hlongwane section, Kaffeleng.

The house was attacked and torched apparently because the family belonged to the IFP.

Pain and suffering of tiny refugee

Ndlandla's parents — like many others — took her to the Kweeloe hostel on the East Rand where they live in terrible conditions.

Pregnant women, wounded teenagers and seriously sick children live here with little to eat and no access to doctors.

The hostel, an IFP stronghold, has been

targeted by township youths who are manning a 24-hour guard to make sure no one leaves the area.

The sick are housed in a hall, with flies all over the little food that is available.

Besides Ndlandla there is mentally retarded Maria Tababala. When her home in Mavimbela section was attacked

she had petrol poured on to her feet then set alight. Now she is in a wheelchair.

Mr Johannes Sibole, chairman of the hostel committee, said: "We are being pushed to a situation where we cannot take it any more. We cannot pretend that we cannot see our children and wives dying because of lack of medical help, food and clean water."

Picture: ABDUL SHARIFF

THE FIRST MULTILATERAL assistance for SA's ailing economy comes just in time

Mandela's plea pays off

■ **Light on the horizon:** The IMF has promised more than R2 billion in response to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's call for the lifting of economic sanctions.

BY SUNSTAR REPORTERS
AND REUTERS

A MASSIVE cash injection of \$850 million (R2,8 billion) in economic aid within days into South Africa's sick economy was pledged by International Monetary Fund (IMF) chief Michel Camdessus yesterday, after a plea by ANC president Nelson Mandela to tear down sanctions.

After a breakfast meeting with Mandela, the IMF head said he was eager to disburse the first multilateral assistance to SA since sanctions were erected in the early 80s.

"I look forward in the following days to the preparation of the first disbursement from the IMF to compensate for the dramatic drop in exports," Camdessus said.

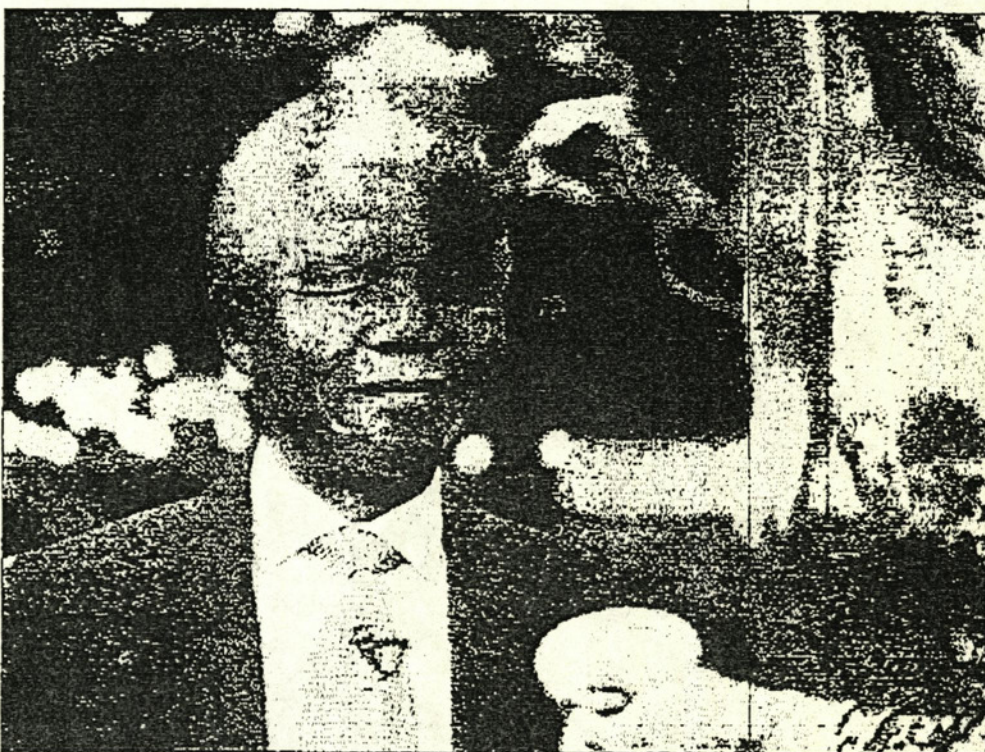
Mandela said the meeting was "very positive" and it came a day after he asked the UN to lift its embargo on imports from South Africa.

"They have made it very clear they are prepared to fund us," said a smiling Mandela, immediately after the meeting between ANC and IMF delegations.

Even as the ANC leader was asking the United Nations to lift sanctions on Friday, and a wave of optimism swept over the South African business community, a group of entrepreneurs was in Europe wrapping up a R1 billion investment deal.

Executives from National Sorghum Breweries (NSB) put together a range of deals which will see four new breweries, worth R1,5 billion, built in Durban, the Reef and Cape Town. The deals had been agreed verbally months before, but Mandela's speech gave them the green light, according to NSB.

And as the remaining sanctions came tumbling down like a pack of cards over the weekend in the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the European Community, India and China, 60 top business leaders, in-



LIGHTS, CAMERA, ACTION . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela gets made up prior to the taping of Jesse Jackson's CNN Both Sides programme at the Washington studios yesterday. The show was aired last night.

PICTURE: AP

cluding Finance Minister Derek Keys and Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals, descended on Washington to beat the SA investment drum.

The group, which is accompanied by the ANC's economics chief Trevor Manuel, is in the American capital to attend the World Bank and IMF annual meetings, which begin on Tuesday.

They have also addressed a major investment conference, where the topic of South Africa virtually swamped all other discussion.

Manuel said the IMF and World Bank meetings were crucial. He said Mandela's appeal should clear the way for a formal application for new IMF assistance following a 10-year freeze. US President Bill Clinton said his administration would urge the IMF to permit lending to South Africa.

In addition to such funding, renewed access to the IMF would

make other creditors feel more relaxed about dealing with the country, knowing it had that agency as a backstop.

After Canada jumped in on Friday as the first Commonwealth country to lift sanctions, the Ottawa government promised it would soon open new trade offices in Johannesburg and would send a "high level" trade mission to this country later this year.

Clinton announced also that he would be sending a similarly high powered trade mission.

Clinton said he would also offer investment incentives.

The US Senate unanimously passed a Bill urging local and state governments to repeal sanctions.

South African Chamber of Business chief Raymond Parsons warned against too much euphoria, saying that foreign investment

would not return to South Africa overnight. "South Africa's ability to attract such essential funds will depend upon a reduction in violence, an eventual political settlement, and certainty about the economic policies that will be pursued by a new government," he said.

Camdessus said the \$850 million would go towards balance of payments assistance, giving South Africa desperately needed funds to finance imports of goods that it can now buy on world markets.

Camdessus said the new South Africa will face "formidable challenges" in restructuring its economy, but he said the ANC and he "agree totally on the principles of recovery".

Camdessus said no other IMF assistance beyond the \$850 million from its Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility was discussed with Mandela.

COMMENT

Right must stop talk of a civil war

ANC President
NELSON MANDELA
warns that no
force can stop
the process to
democracy.



SOUTH Africa is set on a course of transition to democratic rule. By now it should be clear to all that the first non-racial elections will take place on April 27 1994.

Assembled under the banner of the Right Wing there are forces which – recognising they cannot stop change – are intent on inciting whites into waging civil war.

It is time they stopped and examined more carefully the consequences of such incitement.

The African National Congress is aware of the concerns and fears of all minorities, including the whites. We have always shown an openness to understanding these fears and finding appropriate means to address them.

Afrikaners do a great injustice to themselves when they allow the right wing to appropriate the banner of Afrikanerdom in the pursuit of their objectives.

It is this type of right-wing thinking which took over the struggle of the Afrikaner against British colonial rule and made it fatally flawed because they refused to embrace within their cause the need to respect the human rights of all other peoples.

This is how they misled the Afrikaner into embracing apartheid ... that is why they have, until now, deliberately spurned the hand of friendship which the ANC holds out.

Things are changing. The utter failure of apartheid ought to make them ask themselves how it is that they took the Afrikaner into a path which amounted to the conscious denial of the rights of black people. The narrow pursuit of their own interests at the deliberate expense of others was the surest recipe of engendering conflict and hostility.

The ANC has been forthright in its commitment to the liberation of black people. Our objective has always been to ensure that blacks win political power so that they themselves can exercise that power to solve the problems that beset them in the country.

The economy of this country has no prospect whatsoever of moving into a growth path unless and until the problems of unemployment, homelessness and hunger are addressed. It is unthinkable that the crises around education, health and landlessness can be resolved unless blacks win political power for themselves and all South Africans evolve solutions.

It is time for those in the right wing to understand that the era of white supremacy is over. We have fought and defeated white minority rule. There is no way that the white Right can hope to muster the power that apartheid rule commanded. There is no force which therefore can even think that it has the potential to make us give up the struggle to bring about democratic rule based on the recognition of the human rights of each and every individual in our country.

This is the context in which we appeal to the right wing not to do anything that will lead to conflict, not to fuel and incite whites into civil war. This is a path along which no one will win. Even if our country and economy were reduced to ashes and untold lives lost, we would still have to come back to the table to negotiate a future for peace and democracy.

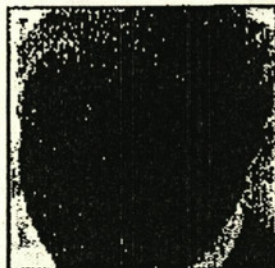
The ANC is ready to talk to all in our country, we are ready to listen to their concerns, to seek to understand their fears and to find ways to address these.

The transition cannot be stopped. It is time that the right wing examined itself very carefully and avoided the path to self-destruction. It is time they came to the negotiating table.

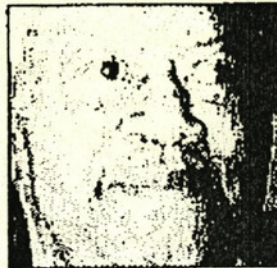
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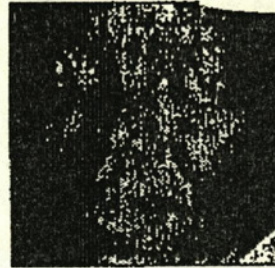
BREAKING THE ICE ... FW de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



UPPER HAND ... Joe Matthews



PATCHED SPLIT ... Ben Ngubane.



HARDLINER ... Walter Felgate.

A COMPROMISE OFFER may bring Buthelezi back to the negotiating table

Inkatha joins the club

■ **Log-jam breaking:** Inkatha is showing new flexibility which could lead to a constitutional deal being sealed next month.

BY DAVID BREER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE most important missing piece of the new South Africa is expected to fall into place within weeks, negotiators revealed this week.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is close to accepting an offer of compromise from the Government and ANC, IFP sources say.

Crucial IFP horse-trading with the Government begins today after IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk broke the ice earlier this month.

IFP pragmatists, including its chief executive officer Joe Matthews and KwaZulu Minister of Health Ben Ngubane, have taken the upper hand in IFP circles and have patched up the split with hardliners such as Walter Felgate, insiders say.

The IFP is now prepared to be more flexible in its talks with the Government and the ANC, which accepts behind the scenes that the IFP is essential for any lasting settlement.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government have been intransigent over the past year and have been the most important missing element in the multiparty talks.

The deal being thrashed out involves increasing the areas of competence of regional governments in the interim constitution, and entrenching these federal powers in the final constitution through various guarantees. These include the proposed constitutional court and increased majorities required to change federal powers.

In return, the IFP is prepared to drop its demand for a single-phase process. Until now the IFP has insisted a final constitution must be negotiated before elections to guarantee federal powers.

IFP sources say that if federal powers are strengthened and entrenched in the interim constitution with a view to the final constitution, then the demand to have them written into a final constitution in advance falls away.

The IFP is then prepared to fall in line with the two-phased process agreed to at Kempton Park.

In this process an interim constitution is drawn up at Kempton Park, followed by elections, after which the elected constitutional assembly will draw up the final constitution

within two years.

IFP sources also revealed that if this deal was struck, the IFP would also participate in the Transitional Executive Council, which will assume major powers in the run-up to elections due on April 27 1994.

The IFP opposed the TEC Bill in Parliament this week on the grounds that it was "putting the cart before the horse" as Inkatha wants the constitutional issue to be sorted out first.

The TEC Bill is now being put on ice until negotiators at Kempton Park finalise the interim constitution, which is then due to be approved by a ceremonial plenary session, probably in November, before receiving the final rubber stamp in Parliament.

This means the TEC is only likely to be established in November.

The main loser in the IFP's new pragmatic approach is the Far-Right Afrikaner-Volksfront, which had achieved a marriage of convenience with the IFP as they both boycotted the Kempton Park talks.

But IFP sources say this Cosag arrangement would be easy to break as Inkatha has no commitment to the AVF but had made common cause for the sake of expediency.

Emergency rule not another moment later

WITH the chilling slaughter - yet again - of many innocent people this week, is there anybody who still doubts that urgent, tough measures are necessary to counter the menace?

I must confess I am thoroughly disappointed by the silence of the lambs, and more by the stillness of the lions.

Yet I believe without tough measures the April 27 elections will not be free and fair, maybe not

emergency I am calling for is totally different from that to which we became brutally subjected during the last six years of dictator PW Botha's rule.

The emergency which I advocate must never be used to crush political activity. Rather, it must be an instrument to assist free political activity in all areas of the land. In other words, there is only one aim: to weed out the agents of violence and their backers wherever they are found, and that means black and white. Left and

possible at all.

The elections certainly cannot be free and fair by any stretch of the imagination in the present climate, considering that in certain parts of the country - KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei being prime examples - there is no free political activity, never mind constant denials to the contrary by the political overlords of those enclaves.

Parts of the Reef are so-called "no-go" areas for groupings which, in the view of their opponents, are

Right.

To ensure the emergency is implemented rigidly but fairly, in order to give it legitimacy, there must be transparency all the way. To that end the Goldstone Commission must be directly involved; all committees and subcommittees of the commission must be involved and the chairman himself, Judge Richard Goldstone, must be part of the emergency's highest decision-making organ.

Every committee and subcommittee, every local dispute resolution

committee, and every structure of the National Peace Accord must be involved every step of the way in the implementation of the emergency. The multiparty forum at Kempton Park must also be involved, every step of the way.

Peace monitors from the international community, who are based in South Africa and work here, must be involved every step of the way.

With those checks and balances in place, I firmly believe the emergency can achieve its aims while ensuring there is no undue interference with legitimate political activity.

Is anyone against that?

**JON
 Qwelane**

JUST JON



untouchables; that view manifests perhaps most succinctly the wholly undemocratic political climate in which we are living.

I have always maintained that the

OUR VIEW

Kid the Boer

The issue:

The ANC is talking to the modern-day Boer generals about their demand for a boerestaat.

We suggest:

By all means throw them a few crumbs, but we cannot allow a racist boerestan in the new SA.

THE far-Right is a haven for cranks, buffoons and sundry eccentrics although there are among them sensible people with some grasp of reality. But they have their work cut out to restrain the oddballs bent on conducting a suicidal civil war in the name of a vaguely-defined volkstaat.

The far-Right is now a headache for the Nat Government. But as the ANC prepares to take over the reins of power next year, the Boerassic Park brigade is about to become an ANC problem. Mandela is therefore quite right to confer with Constand Viljoen's AVF to explore ways of preventing what could become a chronic bleeding ulcer in the new South Africa.

The trick for the ANC government-in-waiting is to give the AVF enough apparent concessions to enable the Afrikaner separatists to save face through some form of nominal self-rule with no real autonomy.

But under no circumstances can the ANC contemplate allowing rightwing Afrikaners to set up an ethnically-based state in which the vote is restricted to whites. Such a concession might draw the sting of the far-right for a while, but it would create a festering sore of apartheid that would poison the new South Africa and would only lead to more territorial demands.

Realistic rightwingers such as Andries Beyers now accept that the volkstaat idea is simply not realpolitik. Perhaps in their hearts, the less rabid AVF leaders are beginning to realise it too. But it would help them greatly if they could go back to their crazier followers with something that looks like a volkstaat, even if it is all done with mirrors.

Of course the volkstaat notion is a lot of nonsense. But a few face-saving symbolic but meaningless gestures could save lives in the new South Africa by morally disarming potential terrorists of a bloody but hopeless separatist cause.

Two signals from the trenches

■ **War and peace talk:** While rightwing generals talk peace, rightwing politicians say they are preparing to wage an IRA-style war.

By DAVID BREIER

HARDLINE rightwingers say they have prepared plans for a modern guerilla war, based partly on Irish Republic Army tactics, if Afrikaner separatist demands are not met.

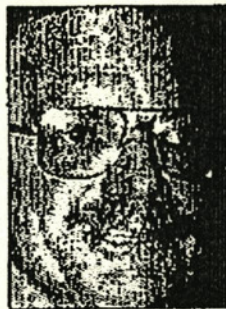
This contrasts with the thaw in relations this week between the Afrikaner-Volksfront umbrella body of rightwing movements and the African National Congress, after a series of meetings.

In a joint statement AVF co-leader Constand Viljoen and Thabo Mbeki of the ANC said the talks were encouraging and were aimed at preventing a possible war.

But while there was now a better understanding and greater trust, serious differences on crucial issues remained, they cautioned.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said in New York this week: "We cannot accept their demand (for a volkstaat) in the way that they have put it, but there is room for compromise. What we are not going to have is any ethnic solutions. But a people can have a region in which to run their own affairs."

Hardliners said this week they had already



WAR TALK ... Ferdi Hartzenberg.



AVF GENERAL ... Constand Viljoen.

planned for armed conflict if their demands for Afrikaner self-determination were not met.

Rightwing sources told the Sunday Star they had made contingency plans to conduct their struggle even if there was a large-scale detention of rightwingers, as the Smuts Government had done in World War 2 when Ossewa Brandwag members were interned at Koffiefontein.

They anticipate that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) or the elected interim government will launch a major security clampdown on them within the next few months.

They stress that if their armed struggle begins in earnest, they would conduct it on

effective modern guerilla lines, like the IRA, rather than old Boer-style tactics.

This week CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg repeated his threats of civil war and of setting up alternative government structures.

This was after he led the CP out of the short parliamentary sitting, saying the passing of the TEC Bill meant the Government had "finally and irreversibly put its feet on the road to abdication".

But Hartzenberg's war talk has not been shared by the AVF generals, notably Viljoen, who has consistently taken a more moderate line on war talk than the hardline rightwing politicians.

The Government believes it can accommodate demands for Afrikaner self-determination through federalism. It is also holding a series of meetings with the AVF to draw it into the multiparty talks taking place at the World Trade Centre.

A compromise being discussed is for a semi-autonomous sub-region to be established within the main regions, where Afrikaners could exercise partial self-rule - but not full independence. One such region could be in the eastern Transvaal, Government sources have disclosed. But the AVF wants Pretoria and much of the Free State as well.

The AVF demand is for a fully-independent Afrikaner volkstaat to be part of a South African confederation of states.

SEP 27 '93 10:56 SOZHEHE V05

Nat bureaucrats look to ANC

STATE officials are scrabbling for jobs under an ANC-dominated government next year, African National Congress negotiators are saying privately.

As the election due on April 27 approaches, Government officials, especially those involved in negotiations, are preparing to jump from the sinking Nat ship on to the one soon to be launched by the ANC.

ANC sources say Government officials are asking them confidentially for choice jobs in the new government. Government aides in the negotiation process have little faith in the National Party's ability to win enough votes to be a major factor in the government of national unity, due to last up to five years after the elections.

This means outgoing president F W de Klerk and his Nat Ministers will be in no position to distribute political patronage to their aides after the election, even if they win a few seats in the coalition Cabinet. Current Government bureaucrats face an uncertain future of retrenchment or transfer while their jobs are handed to loyal ANC apparatchiks.

However, top Government officials at the World Trade Centre talks have cultivated an excellent working relationship with the ANC which could pay dividends when the time comes to dish out jobs after elections.

The ANC has assured civil servants that they won't lose their benefits.

Johnson captures the transitional years

■ **Looking back:** Shaun Johnson, The Star's Political Editor, has just launched a new book, *Strange Days Indeed*, which is a collection of his writings between 1986 and 1993. By way of review, here we reproduce one of the articles, "It's Parly Time".

THE session to end all sessions was under way. Once again, the corridors and chambers of the tricameral parliament reverberate to the sound of the low-flying mixed metaphor. It's parly time.

Let the history books show that there has never been an opening of parliament quite like that of Friday, February 1 1991. The president's address, traditionally heard in respectful if not sepulchral silence, was met briefly and ingloriously by a

Conservative Party caucus doing a convincing impression of Rag Day at the University of Potchefstroom. It happened thus.

"Legislation is to be tabled shortly for the repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 ..." began President de Klerk. "You don't say," boomed S P Barnard (CP, Hercules), on his feet. "Order," growled the Acting Speaker, Dr Helgard van Rensburg. "... and the Group Areas Act of 1966," persisted the president. "You are a traitor, man," came the voice of J Chiole (CP, Pretoria West) from the distant backbenches. "Hangman of the Afrikaner," added P J Groenewald (CP, Stilfontein), helpfully. Things were beginning to warm up.

"The honourable member for Stilfontein must immediately withdraw that remark and apologise," said the acting speaker in tones of shapened gravel. Having made it quite clear that apologising was the very last course of action he would consider, unless severely tortured,



POLITICAL EDITOR ... Shaun Johnson.

said honourable member found himself on his way out of the chamber, while the president waited to get on with his speech.

"The state president is a traitor",

yelled the honourable member for Pretoria West again, either because he thought nobody had heard him the first time round, or as a gesture of solidarity with his departing colleague. "Who said that?" snarled the acting speaker.

Pretoria West soon followed the way of Stilfontein. There was by now a marked lack of gravitas in the chamber, as CP honourable members fell over each other in the rush to leave. Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North), thought this an excellent idea. "Loop! Loop!" (Walk! Walk!) he shouted at the remaining Conservatives.

Koos van der Merwe (CP, Overvaal), leaning his considerable frame sideways out of his bench, yelled "You have no mandate to do what you are doing." This to the president, now an almost lonely, mute figure on the podium.

"Loop!" giggled Mr Soal, delirious at the prospect of Parliament being turned into a CP-free zone.

Honourable members for Losberg, Kuruman and Hercules obliged, as did most of the northern Transvaal and a sizeable chunk of the Free State.

The president battled on gamely. Eventually Dr Andries Treurnicht decided it was no good staying in the front benches when you have no backbenches left, and scarpered himself.

By the time Mr De Klerk got to the bit about the "disappearance of the last remnants of apartheid", the last remnants of the CP had disappeared too.

"The good news is that the CP has walked out," said a senior NP official. "The bad news is they'll be back on Monday."

The hoor hoor's sounded like an intensive bout of hiccups.

(The Star, February 7, 1991)

■ *Strange Days Indeed*, by Shaun Johnson, can be bought at CNA and Exclusive Books for R59,99.

THE Times - ON Sunday - London
26/9/95 2/2

stopped buying tins of South African pilchards and persuaded friends to do the same.

Businessmen and politicians yesterday spoke of their belief that a surge of foreign investment would soon begin to arrive to kick-start the country's moribund economy and help tackle its litany of woes: half the workforce is unemployed; capital has flooded out of the country; and vast social welfare programmes are needed to offset the effects of apartheid.

Most, though, were optimistic about the dawn of a new era. Wim Booysse, a risk analyst in Pretoria, said: "It's been one of the best weeks since February 1990 [when de Klerk began dismantling apartheid]."

Indeed, anticipating Mandela's call, foreign businessmen have already begun flocking to South Africa, checking out potential investments. An American trade show was held in Johannesburg recently, and several large companies have announced plans to enter the South African market.

From Wall Street to Tokyo, financial analysts are clamouring for information on a country that is regarded as the gateway to the continent. Nelson's Directory, the American investment bible, for example, does not list a single American analyst covering South African stocks.

Others, though, have warned against "utopian" optimism. South Africans, they said, were deluding themselves if they believed huge

amounts of money were going to be invested by foreigners: the country, with its continuing political and criminal violence, its high production costs and uncertain economic direction, was too much of a risk.

Pik Botha, the foreign minister, warned that the most "severe sanction" against South Africa was one of its own making. "The sanctions will only really be lifted if the fighting stops," he said.

Anglo-American, the country's biggest company, also expressed caution: violence, coupled with uncertainty

buy Cape grapes, and the UN, the European Community and the Commonwealth banning trade and financial links. More than 250 American firms pulled out of South Africa.

The effects, though, were debatable. While campaigners claimed sanctions had so devastated the economy that they had forced Pretoria into ditching apartheid, many experts disagreed. South Africa managed to find new trading partners to replace those that pulled out, and local businessmen made fortunes buying up the assets of the departing

ended white rule, was a "trigger point for optimism, something almost as rare as a tiger in Africa".

Some prefer to be much more circumspect. Dr Azar Jammine, an independent economist in Johannesburg, said there was a misconception about what sanctions had achieved — and therefore about what their disappearance would mean. He disputed claims that they had left South Africa up to £20 billion poorer; growth had recently fallen because of the government's mismanagement of the economy in the 1970s and 1980s, mainly through trying to prop up apartheid with high levels of taxation and state expenditure, protectionism, exchange controls, and the granting of excessive trade union wage demands.

"If you lift sanctions you are not necessarily going to see a resumption of rapid economic growth," said Jammine. "Unless you get structural reform of the economy you will not get long-term economic progress."

Booyse, whose risk analysis models show South Africa to be in a worse position than such competitors for foreign investment as Malaysia, Indonesia and even neighbouring Zimbabwe, echoed such sentiments.

"South Africans must realise that we are now part of the international market," he said. "It's going to take a lot of hard work to get this investment we need — it's not going to fall out of the sky. Either we compete or we become a typical African wasteland."



“Businessmen can look afresh at us. We expect wonderful economic growth once we’ve overcome our political difficulties”

about the economic policies that might be pursued by a ANC-led government after multi-racial elections next April, could deter would-be investors. "Investment does not come at the exhortation of politicians," said Michael Spicer, a senior Anglo executive.

The call for a South African boycott pioneered by Huddleston expanded into a worldwide campaign, with students tearing up their accounts with Barclays Bank, politically correct housewives refusing to

multinationals. Other factors, such as mismanagement of the economy, drought, rising interest rates and political instability, had a greater impact.

There is no doubt, however, that sanctions — by making the country a pariah — hurt South Africans psychologically. Nobody mourned their passing on Friday. Shaun Johnson, a columnist with the Star, wrote that the development, coupled with talks between the right wing and the ANC and parliament's passing last week of bills that

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

AS SOUTH AFRICA rejoiced at the lifting of worldwide economic sanctions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) told Nelson Mandela yesterday it was poised to offer a \$850m (£559m) loan to boost the country's reconstruction.

Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), and IMF officials met in Washington yesterday to discuss an important package of support to offset a shortfall of foreign exchange earnings caused by a drought and slumping export prices. Part of the loan, which bankers say could be agreed "within weeks", would be spent on education and housing projects.

From multi-millionaire white businessmen to impoverished township residents, weary South Africans managed a rare collective smile yesterday. The country's international isolation had finally ended and economic renewal was beckoning. After months of unending gloom, life on the southern tip of Africa was looking up.

Even General Constand Viljoen, the right-wing former army chief who for months has threatened civil war unless demands for a white homeland are accepted, was in a good mood. Grabbing a few hours relaxation on his cattle farm in eastern Transvaal, he said secret talks with the ANC about a *volkstaat* (Afrikaner people's state) had gone well: "I am hopeful a negotiated settlement can be found."

Such optimism seemed to be shared across most of the political spectrum, as South Africans digested the outcome of a historic week that saw the official end of apartheid and the demise of the 30-year sanctions campaign. In America, Mandela and F W de Klerk, the president, acted like born-again business partners anxious to sell their new, improved product: a post-apartheid, internationally acceptable South Africa.

Mandela, whose earlier call at the United Nations for sanctions to be lifted had won a positive worldwide response, addressed businessmen and economists in Washington yesterday, asking them to "look afresh" at South Africa. His partner went on television, promising investors good profits. "We expect wonderful economic growth once we've overcome our political difficulties," de Klerk told Good Morning America.

Back home, there was elation. "Goodbye Sanctions" read the front-page headline in yesterday's Johannesburg Star, heralding the end of a campaign that began in 1959 when Trevor Huddleston, the British Anglican minister and anti-apartheid protester,

Ecstatic South Africans await flood of investors

The

Times

on

Sunday
26/9/93

London

Page 12

CRIES OF FOUL by the Conservative Party fail to scupper epoch-making Bills

The day the watchdogs went to Parliament

I HAD no intention to sit in the public gallery of Parliament. I was part of a Task Group of five appointed by the Negotiating Council to monitor the passage of the Transitional Executive Council, Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority Bills through Parliament.

The task itself was no big deal. All the parties in Parliament had participated in the negotiations - all except the CP and IFP. Even so, both knew the score well.

The IFP was at Codesa where much of what was in these four Bills had been shaped. Even after they walked out with the CP, they had been receiving all the documentation from Kempton Park.

In fact, they have followed proceedings at Kempton Park more keenly since they walked out. There have been times when they would call the administration to hurry delivery of the documents to them.

The Bills would go through. We had to ensure Parliament enacted what Kempton Park decided.

We did our work sitting in offices, spotting changes, evaluating them, and sending faxes and messages to the parties bound by the decisions of Kempton Park.

There was no call for me to enter Parliament. But I did. I was provoked by the devil in me.

I was getting reports of parliamentarians ranting about our presence around Parliament. The polite voices called us the "monitoring group". The ravers called us "waghonde" (watchdogs) - a grim spectre hell-bent on the destruction of the sovereignty of Parliament.

Security pass

I was working from an office in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building - quietly, unobtrusively and with an SAP security pass - my photo on it, nogal - somewhat unaware that Verwoerd was heaving in his grave.

Poor Verwoerd. He lost out to the Kapees that day. Heads turned and eyes rolled up towards me in the gallery. Soon Ferdi Hartzenberg had his turn on the floor. "Waghonde", a "disgrace to the sovereignty of Parliament", "declaration of war", "civil war" - the words spewed from his mouth.

Had I been expecting serious, stimulating debate? Not really.

The spoilers and the stay-outers were frothing about the TEC, denial of parliamentary sovereignty, Parliament and FW reduced to rubber stamps of Kempton Park, takeover by the terrorists - the ANC, the IFP, the CP.

MAC MAHARAJ of the ANC was a member of the World Trade Centre's team holding a watching brief over Parliament this week, and he was not impressed.



mate Parliament.

I listened to the rebuttals.

A handful attempted serious replies pointing to the transition ushered in by the TEC. The serious ones often missed the emotional and intellectual depth that comes from the first steps in healing a divided nation. That needs a strong vision of non-racialism, non-sexism, peace and democracy.

Most surged into the fray with denials. And they found courage for their case by repeated bouts of ANC-SACP-bashing. That line, at least, gave them a sense of being tough guys.

What worried me was that those who took this line betrayed their deep fear of the electorate. Viva Democracy.

Even the DP was not immune. Carlisle went all biblical with his "hear me's" and roundly turned on the ANC. Match that, Tony Leon. How lily-white the DP make themselves out.

Something different must come from Zac de Beer, I said to myself. It was not on - security forces are innocent until proved guilty; charges of Third Force involvement in violence must cease; Mandela must stop attacks on the SAP -

that was his line.

You did not need a knife to feel the hostility between the Labour Party and the Nats. Whenever the LP took the floor, the Nats bayed. Talk about charges about "veraaaiers" levelled by the CP against the Nats in general and Roelf Meyer in particular. There was also a side show on and no love lost between the Nats and the LP.

Let me be fair. The NP Government kept to the agreements struck at the World Trade Centre. The Bills went through. There were no changes of substance, only some glitches. History was made at Kempton Park - Parliament acknowledged this.

Defy the machine

In the runup, the CP had been darkly hinting about the many Nats who would defy the machine. AVF generals lobbied Nat MPs in the name of God and Afrikanerdom.

The Nat machine held together. None broke ranks. But the CP had already sensed this.

Perhaps this is why they looked a bedraggled lot - no sense of vision of the future and no strategy of constructive engagement. Only constructive filibustering, which in their books amounted to insults of "despicable traitor" directed at Roelf Meyer and refusal to abide by the rules of Parliament which they had helped shape.

There were some discordant voices in the Nat ranks. Kobie Coetsee talked of poor wording in the TEC Bill. Was he implying that he would have done better?

In the event, he opened Government to a smart right jab from the CP - how dare they bring a Bill open to ambiguity before this sacred, sovereign Parliament?

But there was more than one show on. I had a privileged seat and no charge for the ticket.

First impressions, they say, are lasting. From my seat in the gallery I could not see all the actors in the show. But I had a wide view. I could see only four women. I heard only two women speak. Both were Nats.

Both saluted the arrival of gender equality at Kempton Park. One cited experiences of Holland, Canada and Australia. The other traced the position of women from Roman times to the present.

Had anyone heard of triple - no quadruple - oppression of women in South Africa? Those experiences have yet to be felt in Parliament. There is a long struggle ahead.

For that we need an entirely new Parliament and fresh faces reflecting the rich tapestry of our society. Woza the elections on April 27 1994.

The CP had been darkly hinting about the many Nats who would defy the machine. AVF generals lobbied Nat MPs in the name of God and Afrikanerdom. The Nat machine held together. None broke ranks.