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A VOICE FOR RAMAPHOSA

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The ANC sccretary-gencral is no believer in grand coalitions

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di'spute over the transfer of tribal land in  
KwaZulu to King Goodwill Zwelithini

overshadowed the first formal meeting of  
President â\200\234Mandelaâ\200\231s Cabinet yesterday.  
Elegantly finessed for the time being by Mr  
Mandela, it served to underline the extreme  
delicacy of relations between the African  
National Congress and the Zulu Inkatha  
movement., The ANC's selection of Cyril  
Ramaphosa, its secrctary-general, as chair-  
man of the constituent assembly could make  
for further tension. :

Of Mr Ramaphosaâ\200\231s abilities there is not  
the slightest doubt. Only 41, he is as  
ambitious as he is effective. His absence  
from the Cabinet appears to have been his  
own choice, possibly based in part on pique.  
To have been pipped to the coveted post of  
Deputy President by the more emollient  
Thabo Mbeki was a substantial blow to his  
pride. Since then there has been intense  
speculation about his intended political  
trajectory. To have chosen to limit himself to

a role only within his party secmed:

uncharacteristically retiring. A possible  
conclusion was, obviously, that he had  
decided that there was gain in some degree  
of distance, should the ANC-led government  
fail to live up to popular expectations.

His new role will not be unfamiliar  
territory. During the negotiations with the  
National Party (NP) of former President de  
Klerk, Mr Ramaphosa was a pivotal figure.  
The interim constitution, which will be  
replaced by the constituent assembly, was  
largely his creation. The chief NP negotiator,

Roelf Meyer, played second fiddle to th  
ANC's presumed crown prince, :

Yet the interim constitution is flawed in |  
important respects. - Although some of its  
more egregiously centralist features were

-discarded inâ\200\230the course of negotiations, the

document still remains insufficiently federal. With Mr Ramaphosa once more at the constitutional drawing board, some pre-election battles are likely to be refought. Impatient with the manoeuvrings of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he was in favour of unseating â\200\224 d la Bophuthatswana â\200\224 the administration in the erstwhile â\200\234homelandâ\200\235 of KwaZulu. But this attitude was not Mr Ramaphosaâ\200\231s alone: Mr Mandela, too, then favoured a hard line against the Chief.

What is equally disturbing is that Mr Ramaphosa remains a reluctant adherent to the principle of power-sharing which is such a refreshing feature of post-apartheid South Africa. His view of parliamentary democracy is more straightforward, consisting of government and opposition in the Westminster manner. He is unlikely to wish to persevere with a â\200\234government of national unityâ\200\235 in anything but the short term. In this, he differs from Mr Mbeki, whose belief in grand coalitions is more substantial.

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s task will now be to make |, the most of Mr Ramaphosaâ\200\231s positive qualities. Having shaken off the insularity of his trade union origins, he could be a voice for economic realism. It is a frank voice, sometimes too blunt for comfort; one that could, skilfully harnessed, serve South Africa well.

To: The o

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Sunday Telegraph

24 APRIL 1394

â\200\230THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH 24 APRIL 1994

SUNDAY CONMMMENT

All aboard the gravy train to South Africa

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CHRISTOPHER  
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â\200\230Mandela talks  
v~ease dispute:  
over Zulu land !

7 FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN CAPE TOWN

A MEETING yvsterday be-  
tween President Mandela and  
Chief Mangosuthu Butheleai,  
his Home Affairs Minister,  
appeared: to take some of the  
heat out of a dispute over Zulu  
communal land. It was clear,  
however, â\200\230that further political  
trouble would come from the  
KwaZulu/Nata) provincee.  
Just before the first full  
meceting of the Cabinet of  
national unity here, the Presi-  
dent met the chief at his new  
residence, Westbrooke. â\200\234J am  
happy with the candid and  
harmonious manner in which  
we addressed this issue. I am  
sure that with the good rela-  
tionship' between ' ourselves,  
we can address the matter to

the satisfaction of all,â\200\235 â\200\230Mr -  
Mandela said. - )

Chief Buthelezi was tetchy  
with the press when asked  
about the issue, saying that  
the whole affair was got up by  
the media which were interest.  
ed only in promoting friction  
between his Inkatha Ireedom  
Party and the African Nat-  
ional Congress.

He dismissed suggestions  
that there had been a secretive  
land deal ceding 50,000  
square miles of state land to  
the Zulu king in exchange for  
Inkatha's participation in the  
election as â\200\234rubbishâ\200\235 and  
â\200\234nonsenseÂ®.

Zulu tribal land has histori-  
cally been in the gift of the  
king through his feuda) rela-  
tions with the chiefs, or  
amakosi, and through them to  
the individual members of  
their clans. After the establish-  
ment of -the KwaZulu self-

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â\200\230 . â\200\231."."



Overhanging territory the tribal

and came under the territo- |

ry's government control. As  
Inkatha officials pointed out  
this week, under the terms of  
the new constitution the land  
would have passed to the  
central government.  
Attempts at the beginning of  
this year to hold land as a

provincial rather than a cen-

tral government function  
failed. but during negotiations  
in March Inkatha managed to  
have "indigenous and custom-  
ary law" put back in as a  
provincial matter. Since tribal  
and is the principal subject  
covered by such law, the

"Inkatha negotiators, especial-

ly those in the king's circle, fault

that they had made a signifi- . !

cant advance.

~Accordingly, all the tribal-

land that was held by the  
KwaZulu government was  
transferred to the Ingonyama  
Trust, to be held in perpetuity

~ by the Zulu monarchy in trust

for the Zulu people. The Act  
giving effect to the transfer  
was virtually the last action of  
the KwaZulu assembly, and  
was signed into law by Presi-  
dent de Klerk on the day  
before the general election.  
The first meeting today of  
the constituent assembly "will  
see the election of Cyril  
Ramaphosa to preside over its  
debates. His new job will give  
him a strong powerbase in the  
party and a platform from  
which to ensure that the new  
constitution proceeds along  
ANC-directed lines.

Leading article, page 17

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South Africa poised for Iadark vote

By John Daniszewski  
Associated Press

GIYANI, South Africa â\200\224 Anyone who  
is not black and South African, who has  
not suffered a lifetime of degradation and  
humiliation, will never fully appreciate the  
significance of this weekâ\200\231s elections.

In Giyani, an impoverished hamlet in  
the rough far-north, a group of boys and  
young men wearing pressed white shirts  
tried to explain.

â\200\234Just imagine, the

children here are  
learning under a tree,  
sitting on top of  
stones and bricks,â\200\235  
said an 18-year-old  
who gave only the  
name Aubrey. â\200\234We  
donâ\200\231t understand  
what is the reason for  
that.â\200\235

Speaking to  
reporters who had  
descended on his  
remote town to cover the election cam-  
paign, Aubrey said his father and mother  
had toiled a lifetime as farm laborers for a  
monthly wage of \$18 each.

â\200\234My parents have nothing,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234I

| donâ\200\231t want to suffer like my parents.â\200\235

Hope for a better life, a hunger for dig-  
nity long suppressed and the desire fo  
become full citizens in their own land will  
propel millions of black South Africans to  
the polls for the first time on Tuesday,  
Wednesday and Thursday.

South Africaâ\200\231s first nonracial election  
will be the crowning achievement in the

| struggle of the African National Congress

and other anti-apartheid groups to disman-

8 tle the laws that allowed 5 million whites

to dominate 35 million blacks, browns and

| Asians.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, the 75-

| year-old patriarch of the struggle, who

spent 27 years in prison, will become the  
new president unless there is an unimagi-

A able upset. President EW. de Klerk, scion

B {

of an Afrikaner family who began surren-

' dering white supremacy the day he freed

Mandela in 1990, will step down to the

vice presidency.  
The election has been applauded world-  
- wide, but reaching it has been a scary ride  
for the participants: four years of negotia-  
' tions punctuated by killings, walkouts,  
| boycotts, threats of civil war and uprisings  
in black homelands; then the surprise of  
Zulu nationalist leader Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi ending his election embargo in  
the final week.

Still on the sideline is the far right-wing,  
whose pro-apartheid Afrikaner Resistance  
Movement fighters have threatened some-  
thing spectacular to thwart the election.

The ultra-right, a fringe involving no  
more than 1 percent of the 40 million  
South Africans, clings to the apartheid  
notion that God intended to keep races  
separate.

At the other extreme, militant blacks see  
the election as a sellout and embrace the

Please turn to VOTE, Page A17

AP photo

An African National Congress supporter waves an ANC flag while holding a campaign poster for presidential candidate Nelson Mandela during Mandela's last election rally at a stadium in the black township of Soweto yesterday.

By John Daniszewski  
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa - Two ANC activists were killed yesterday as they tried to put up election posters, the first attack on election workers since Zulu nationalists agreed to participate in this week's election.

Violence has plagued the campaign for South Africa's first all-race election, but there was hope that Tuesday's decision by the Inkatha Freedom Party to end its boycott would improve chances for a peaceful ballot.

The African National Congress and the KwaZulu government blamed each other for starting the violence in Ulundi, capital of the KwaZulu homeland.

The two ANC campaigners were shot and their bodies burned, said Senzo Mchunu, ANC secretary in Natal province, which includes KwaZulu. He said five campaign workers were missing.

Police confirmed the two deaths but did not release details.

Two ANC election workers shot to death

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short campaigning southwest of Johannesburg to return to Ulundi. He intervened to disperse hundreds of Inkatha supporters who besieged an Ulundi police station where ANC canvassers sought safety, said T.C. Mamela, spokesman for the KwaZulu government.

Four monitors from the Independent Electoral Commission, which is organizing the election, were also holed up in the police station to flee the violence, the independent South African Press Association reported.

Buthelezi was making arrangements for the ANC members and election workers to be escorted out of the area, Mamela said.

Mchunu said the ANC members were attacked as they put up election posters and distributed ANC leaflets in Ulundi.

But Mamela accused the ANC campaigners of starting clashes by abusing residents of Ulundi as they canvassed for support. He said the ANC workers

fired the first shots, seriously wounding one Zulu resident.

Ulundi had been a no-go area for the ANC until Buthelezi agreed last week to take part in the election. Buthelezi had pledged his movement would cooperate in holding free and fair elections in the territory, one of the worst centers of political violence.

The ANC is expected to win the election comfortably, ushering in the first government in South Africa to represent the black majority. All campaigning must end today. Voting begins Tuesday and ends Thursday.

Elsewhere yesterday, some people believed to be supporters of ANC leader Nelson Mandela fired off a fusillade of celebratory gunshots in a stadium filled with 70,000 people.

The shooting in the air lasted several minutes, disturbing an otherwise joyful meeting of anti-apartheid faithful in Soweto that marked the end of the ANC crusade in Johannesburg.



Suobaw [IM&S EXTQA

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April 24, 1994

Lalitha hopes to  
stand for the

GLAMOUROUS Lalitha  
Singh is among the people  
being considered by  
Inkatha Freedom Party  
leader, Dr Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi, for inclusion in  
his 'list of candidates to

election. i  
Mrs Sin%, of Stanger on  
the Natal North Coast, is a  
s W, eicuers s . fu.l  
' businesswoman in the en-  
gineering and building  
. industries.

But it was the plight of a  
chronically ill man who  
had been refused a dis-

. -ability grant that brought

â\200\230 Mrs Singh into contact  
with Dr Buthelezi three  
years ago.

â\200\234I approached the local  
IFP MP, Mr Farouk  
Cassim, and he readily as-

. sisted to get the man his  
pension. I then attended a  
few IFP meetings and

IFP HOPEFUL . . . Lalitha Singh  
contest the national

Picture: MS ROY

| sy GeorGE MaHABEER |

went to an IFP rally at  
Ulundi. â\200\230

â\200\234If I go to parliament I  
hope to attend to issues  
which concern the family  
and especially women  
and children,â\200\235 said Mrs



Singh.

A mother of two young children, Mrs Singh became a widow 10 years ago when her husband died in a motor accident.

Mrs Singh said: "Instead of going into a shell which widows usually go into I decided to go forward.

"I work in a man's world and don't find it a problem. I have 20 men working for me and sometimes hire as many as 100 casual workers."

(Report by George Mahabeer, 18 Osborn Lane Streeyt, Durbgn)