

AP1994-4-4-24

THE TIMES - London

24/5/94

## A VOICE FOR RAMAPHOSA

The ANC secretary-general is no believer in grand coalitions

A dispute over the transfer of tribal land in KwaZulu to King Goodwill Zwelithini overshadowed the first formal meeting of President Mandela's 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 secretary-general, as chairman of the constituent assembly could make for further tension.

Of Mr Ramaphosa's 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 seemed 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 the ANC's presumed crown prince.

Yet the interim constitution is flawed in important respects. Although some of its more egregiously centralist features were discarded in the 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 — *à la* Bophuthatswana — the administration in the erstwhile "homeland" of KwaZulu. But this attitude was not Mr Ramaphosa's 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 "government of national unity" in anything but the short term. In this, he differs from Mr Mbeki, whose belief in grand coalitions is more substantial.

Mr Mandela's task will now be to make the most of Mr Ramaphosa's 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 Chief Minister  
From: Marc Gordon

1 page

# The Sunday Telegraph

24 APRIL 1994

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH 24 APRIL 1994

26

## SUNDAY COMMENT

### All aboard the gravy train to South Africa

**T**HIS week we shall no doubt hear on the BBC, a good number of "independent observers" from overseas telling us that the South African elections are perfectly fair and a triumph for democracy. How some of them come to be there, however, throws interesting light on the way in which the outside world is given such an upside-down version of what is really happening in South Africa.

The largest group of overseas observers has been organised by a body funded by the EC called Awepa, "European Parliamentary for Southern Africa", which has close and friendly links with the ANC. Documents obtained by the *South African News Information Service* show that not a few of these 240 observers travelling out to South Africa at a cost to EC funds of about £700,000 turn out to be wives and relations of EC officials and other observers. Conspicuous is the wife of Italian Euro-Commissioner Di Giovanni Lavi, tactfully travelling under her maiden name Vlasta Stanova. Her occupation is given as "co-ordinator of NGOs" (non-governmental organisations).

Top of the list of the British contingent is Glenys Kinnock,

described by Awepa as an "MEP", whose husband Neil is heading the quite separate British parliamentary delegation. Other British members of the Awepa group include eight Labour MPs, such as Paul Boateng and Peter Hain, that dedicated Tory Euro-plodder Hugh Dykes, and representatives of "politically concerned" organisations, such as Frank Judd, ex-director of Oxfam, now a Labour peer.

Before getting down to work, they will have spent a couple of days relaxing in the Kruger wildlife park. They will then presumably be ready for the role played in 1990 by Mrs Edwina Currie, when she went out to tell the world how fair the Romanian elections were (even though the number of votes cast exceeded those on the electoral roll).

At least it will not be possible to make this criticism in South Africa, since there is no roll of registered voters. One just hopes that when the votes are counted, the ANC has not managed to move so many outsiders, including Mozambicans, into the provinces they might lose, such as Natal and the Western Cape, that Mr Mandela receives more votes than there are adults in the country.

At least we can be certain of one thing. No one will benefit more from this "democratic" process than the South African Communist Party, with 27 of the top 50 names on the ANC's list. Just how much attention will be focused on this by the BBC, and those impartial Euro-observers remains to be seen.

**L**AST October I reported on the extraordinary case in which Judge Peter Fannin upheld the prosecution of a Ringwood toy company, Acorn Hobby-Craft, by Barking and Dagenham trading standards officers, for selling model kits containing pipedreamers. Judge Fannin agreed with the TSOs that it was a criminal offence under the EC's Toy Safety Directive to sell these lethal objects, even though 260 million have been sold for play and educational use in the past 15 years, and they are still used by many playgroups.

Facts have now come to light which make the episode even more curious. Firstly, entirely because of this case, Acorn Hobby-Craft has been forced into receivership, putting 16 employees on to the street and threatening the directors and their families



CHRISTOPHER BOOKER

with the loss of their houses.

It also emerges that, before selling the kits, the company was given certificates by two DTI-approved test houses to say that its pipedreamers were perfectly legal. It was given the same assurance by its own trading standards department in Hampshire. Yet the court preferred the evidence of experiments carried out by an engineering firm, not authorised by the DTI, which showed that if you poke the eye of a dead pig long enough with pipedreamers, it may suffer damage.

It also turns out that the "EC standard" on which the British Toy Safety regulations depend is now being redefined in such a way that, as from next year, such a prosecution would not be brought.

Yet when the company tried to raise this with Lord Strathclyde, Minister of State for Small Firms at the Department of Trade and Industry, all that came back was the usual self-justifying gobbledegook from the ministerial word processor. And when last week I was speaking to the annual get-together of Lacots, the Local Authority Co-ordinating body on Trading Standards, I was solemnly assured that the officials had been "vindicated by the courts". Yet again I reflected on how easy our officials find it to justify anything they or their colleagues do, even when 16 people lose their livelihood.

I also learn that just after sending Acorn Hobby-Craft to the wall for selling its "dangerous" pipedreamers, Judge Fannin heard a case in which a man was found guilty of dangerous driving for mounting a pavement at high speed and killing a 14-year-old girl. Judge Fannin set him free with an order for 240 hours community service.

**J**AMES CHILD keeps a herd of cows at East Knoyle, Wiltshire. In 1987 Salisbury district council refused his neighbour planning permission for six "holiday chalets", because they were only a few feet from Mr Child's dairy unit. Eight months later, however, Salisbury approved a much larger holiday development on the site, and the first Mr Child knew about it was when his neighbour leaned over the fence and asked him to move his sherry lagoon.

Mr Child asked Salisbury environmental health officers what would happen if holidaymakers complained about smells or noises from his cows. He was told he could be liable either to civil or criminal action, which might force his unit to close.

He therefore decided to spend £600,000 on moving the dairy to another part of his farm. He has now been refused planning permission because his new site is "too close" to an industrial site.

**R**EPORTS of work coming to a stop all over the Caribbean last Monday as Bryan Lara completed his historic 375 recalled a story I once heard from a doorman

in the Barbados parliament. In February 1946 he was in a party which went over to Port of Spain to support the island team against Trinidad. There had been much curiosity about two new young Barbadian batsmen, Clyde Walcott and Frank Worrell, and when word reached the Trinidad parliament that the two were together at the wicket, the Speaker suggested that debate should be suspended so that members could hasten down to the Queens Club Oval to see them perform.

The two batsmen remained together all day and well into the next, until Walcott was 314 not out and Worrell 255 not out. Only when the stand had reached 574, then a world record, could the MPs finally resume their debate.

**T**HE Defence Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, claimed on television that "no war has ever been brought to an end by air strikes". He might be reminded that in fact the greatest war in history was ended by air strikes, carried out by just two aircraft — on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

# Mandela talks ease dispute over Zulu land

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN CAPE TOWN

A MEETING yesterday between President Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, his Home Affairs Minister, appeared to take some of the heat out of a dispute over Zulu communal land. It was clear, however, that further political trouble would come from the KwaZulu/Natal province.

Just before the first full meeting of the Cabinet of national unity here, the President met the chief at his new residence, Westbrooke. "I am happy with the candid and harmonious manner in which we addressed this issue. I am sure that with the good relationship between ourselves, we can address the matter to the satisfaction of all," Mr 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 interested only in promoting friction between his Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National 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 "rubbish" and "nonsense".

Zulu tribal land has historically been in the gift of the king through his feudal relations with the chiefs, or *amakosi*, and through them to the individual members of their clans. After the establishment of the KwaZulu self-

governing territory the tribal land came under the territory'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 central government function failed, but during negotiations in March Inkatha managed to have "indigenous and customary law" put back in as a provincial matter. Since tribal land is the principal subject covered by such law, the Inkatha negotiators, especially those in the king's circle, felt that they had made a significant 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 President 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

# South Africa poised for landmark vote

By John Daniszewski  
Associated Press

GIYANI, South Africa — 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 week's 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.

"Just imagine, the children here are learning under a tree, sitting on top of stones and bricks," said an 18-year-old who gave only the name Aubrey. "We don't understand what is the reason for that."

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

"My parents have nothing," he said. "I don't want to suffer like my parents."

Hope for a better life, a hunger for dignity long suppressed and the desire to 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 Africa's first nonracial election will be the crowning achievement in the struggle of the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups to dismantle the laws that allowed 5 million whites to dominate 35 million blacks, browns and Asians.

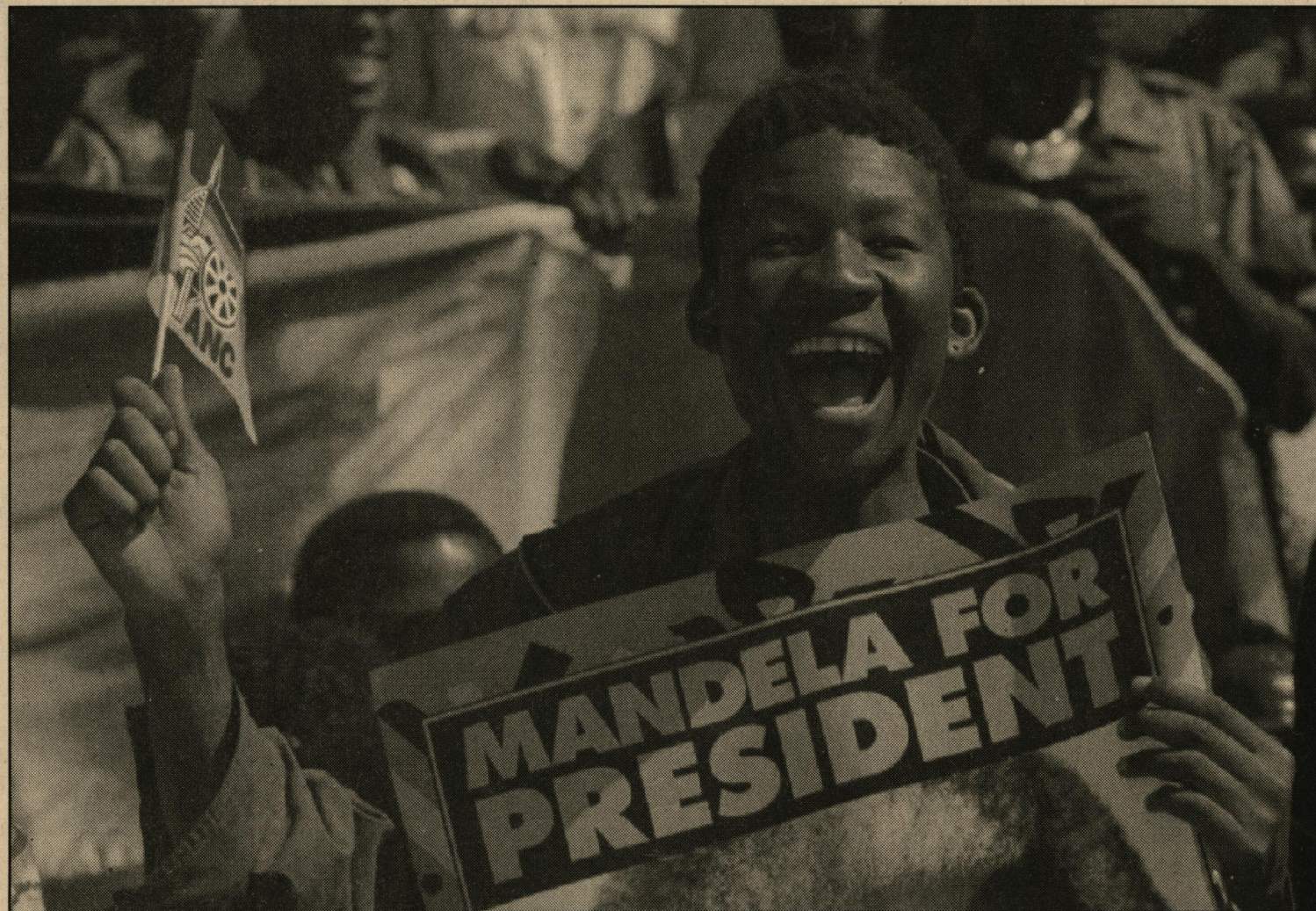
Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, the 75-year-old patriarch of the struggle, who spent 27 years in prison, will become the new president unless there is an unimaginable upset. President F.W. de Klerk, scion of an Afrikaner family who began surrendering white supremacy the day he freed Mandela in 1990, will step down to the vice presidency.

The election has been applauded worldwide, but reaching it has been a scary ride for the participants: four years of negotiations 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 something 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



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.

## Two ANC election workers shot to death

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.

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.

APRIL 24, 1994

Noted.

11

## Lalitha hopes to stand for the IFP



IFP HOPEFUL ... Lalitha Singh

Picture: MS ROY

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 contest the national election.

Mrs Singh, of Stanger on the Natal North Coast, is a successful businesswoman in the engineering and building industries.

But it was the plight of a chronically ill man who had been refused a disability grant that brought Mrs Singh into contact with Dr Buthelezi three years ago.

"I approached the local IFP MP, Mr Farouk Cassim, and he readily assisted to get the man his pension. I then attended a few IFP meetings and

By GEORGE MAHABEER

went to an IFP rally at Ulundi.

"If I go to parliament I hope to attend to issues which concern the family and especially women and children," 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 Osborne Street, Durban)