

# Fomenting strife is no ace in the hole

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is convinced that part of its leadership is in the African National Congress-led (ANC) Cabinet because of its potential to unleash political violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

Its accommodation in the Cabinet has coincided with the fact that political violence has subsided in the province, but it is not the cause for the reduction of political violence.

There is no direct relationship between the two. The cause lies somewhere else.

Because of the drastic reduction of political violence, the IFP leadership is convinced that it might not be accommodated in future ANC-led Cabinets.

Accordingly, the IFP will resort to political blackmail, brinkmanship and the beating of drums of violence with the hope that the ANC will be forced to accommodate it in the Cabinet beyond 2004.

The IFP's appetite for being part of the ANC Cabinet partly explains why it continues to vilify the ruling party's leadership in KwaZulu-Natal, while pretending to please the ANC national leadership which, they believe, holds the key to them being accommodated in the Cabinet.

The IFP's main gripe against the floor-crossing legislation, we are told, is that it goes against the will of the electorate, yet the electorate voted in 1999 in such a way that the IFP did not end up in the Cabinet.

The IFP did not protest that it was invited to be part of the Cabinet, even though the voters had spoken. Of course its main consideration is its pockets.

Whether the parties that get defeated in the polls – but agree to be part of the political executives – help to strengthen multi-party democracy is a matter of debate.

Surely they will lack the zeal to come up with viable alternative programmes.

Of course this is an incorrect analysis of the IFP. The ANC understands that the politics of appeasement has no place in South Africa.

The ANC, like all victors, is generous. Besides, the problems South Africa faced in the last eight years were so huge that they needed all South Africans with goodwill to participate in their solution.

However, it was not because of the IFP's potential to unleash violence that they were accommodated.

The constitution of a Cabinet is an absolute prerogative of the elected president, but it does not mean the IFP must join the Cabinet even as it kicks and screams.

It means that South Africans must

Beating the drums of violence won't win over an electorate tired of political violence, writes **Dumisani Makhaye**



**Dumisani Makhaye**

assess whether the IFP's political conduct and policies in the past eight years are part of a solution to our problems or are an obstacle.

They need to assess whether the IFP is a vehicle for progress or a vehicle of counter-revolution and act accordingly.

The argument that the ANC is obliged to have special relations with the IFP because the majority of their respective constituencies are black does not hold water. The argument would be racist.

The ANC does not have political relations with the Democratic Party (DP), not because its leader is white and its constituency is predominantly white.

It is because the DP's policies and political conduct are totally opposed to what the ANC stands for. Similarly, the IFP must be assessed using the same yardstick.

This does not mean that the ANC and IFP must be enemies. All it says is that the ANC is different from the IFP as it is different from the DP. This is not a call to arms.

The concern that the ANC must maintain special political relations with the IFP to avoid the re-emergence of political violence is misplaced.

The reduction of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal is not as a result of a sudden change of heart on the part of the perpetrators of political violence, nor is it a result of a special magic the ANC has infused the IFP with because of their special relations.

These relations may have contributed, but they are not the main reason for the reduction of political violence.

ANC and IFP constituencies are tired of political violence. As such, political violence has become a political liability.

In all the massacres of our people at the height of political violence – be it in Lamontville, Sebokeng, on passenger trains in Gauteng, in KwaMashu, Umlazi, Port Shepstone, Empangeni, University of Zululand, Imbali, Trust Feed – the hand of the former apartheid state security organs has been

visible.

The South African Police Service at command and operational levels today is committed to combating political violence.

Many perpetrators of political violence are rotting in prison. The culture of impunity is being destroyed.

The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal has always maintained that the IFP had no capacity to unleash political violence on its own.

Whether it had no will to engage in political violence is debatable. So, as we dismantle the apartheid state and replace it with the democratic state, the capacity of the perpetrators of political violence to unleash violence diminishes.

South Africans must think dynamically. What was correct yesterday might not necessarily be correct today. We must not fear the unknown.

The task is to defeat the politics of brinkmanship and blackmail.

*(The writer is a member of the ANC national executive committee. These are his personal views.)*



# The year Mbeki will 'deal' with left

PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki in his ANC 91st anniversary speech in Rustenburg set the tone for his policy direction in 2003. It is likely to be centred around the economy.

Ahead of the 2004 elections, Mbeki will now be hard-pressed to show that the government will focus seriously on job creation, poverty reduction and social service delivery, given the space provided – according to Mbeki – by pursuing economic policies centred around fiscal discipline and macro-stability. Mbeki emphasised in his speech that the past eight years have been used to strengthen the economy.

Now redistribution can happen. Everybody waits with bated breath.

He confirmed that the Growth and Development Summit, or “growth summit” scheduled for May is arguably going to be the most important event on the political and economy diary of the country this year.

The growth summit is envisaged to come up with a new growth strategy for the country and, importantly, to cobble together an social accord between government, business, organised labour and civil society similar to those put together in Ireland and the Netherlands, which bound all groups to certain policy agreements, with the aim of coming up with a shared growth strategy for the country.

The growth summit is to be SA's answer to the the US's “New Deal”. Mbeki in his speech set out what he expected from all three partners. He wants the Congress of SA Trade Unions, Federation of Unions of SA (Fedusa) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) to come with a “common perspective” to the summit.

This is consistent with Mbeki's new charm offensive to draw in Nactu and Fedusa into the ANC's ambit.

This is also consistent with Mbeki's policy style: playing each constituencies off against each other. In this case, telling Cosatu, that he would prefer other trade union federations, if Cosatu does not follow the line. It is clear that Mbeki has it in for Cosatu and is likely to step up the pressure on the trade union federation this year.

This is not good news to Cosatu. Cosatu and the SA Communist Party have put all their money on the growth summit. Having failed to change ANC policies at the party's 51st national conference in Stellenbosch in December last year, both ANC allies are hoping that the growth summit would be the event where they would be able to steer the government in a more interventionist direction.

Skeptics however, argue that if the ANC's left could not change policies at the its national conference – the party's



William Mervin Gumede's

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highest policy-making body – how can they ever hope to this at the growth summit? It seems Cosatu and the SACP remain hopeful. Dream on.

The reality is that if Cosatu and the SACP cannot change the ANC's policy direction at the growth summit, they will be face with the hard choice of deciding whether to go it alone, and launched a Workers Party along the lines of the Brazilian Workers' Party, or ‘shut-up’ and toe the line, as the likes of ANC NEC member Dumisani Makhaye would like to have it.

It is clear that Mbeki is determined, this year, to pull the teeth of the party's left. He is clearly confident that he can. In his Rustenburg speech, he blamed Cosatu unions for service delivery inefficiencies in the public service.

Mbeki also expects the National Federated Council of Commerce, the Black Business Council, Sacob, the Afrikaans Handels Instituut and the South African Foundation to come up with a common business perspective for the summit. How realistic is it to expect black, white and Afrikaner business organisations to come up with one strategy acceptable to all?

For a civil society perspective, Mbeki looks at the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) to come up with the goods. Mbeki is skeptical of other former ANC aligned civil groups, arguing wrongly that organisations such as the National Land Committee and SA National Non-governmental Organisation (Sangoco) have turned themselves into “oppositionist” organisations. That is, these organisations have consistently been asking whether government has been focusing enough on reducing inequality.

At the ANC's 91st anniversary celebrations, Sanco president Mlungisi Hlongwane was a prominent figure next to Mbeki, who has now been able to bring Sanco firmly to heel. This after

Sanco has been on the ANC's left, protesting government's market-friendly Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy and even supporting Cosatu's August 2001 anti-privatisation strike.

Public Enterprises, Minister Jeff Radebe, one of Mbeki's closest allies has been co-opted onto the national leadership of Sanco, sealing Mbeki's control of the organisation.

Despite Hlongwane's statements to the contrary, the civic organisation is weak, unable to come up with credible alternative policies and is likely to be dominated by the ANC.

Intriguingly, it seems Mbeki has buried the hatchet with ANC Women's League President Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. It is clear the President does not want Madikizela-Mandela in the ‘oppositionists’ trenches, as he moves to finally ‘deal’ with the party's left.

The big question still is what will the Economic Transformation Charter, setting the Government's empowerment objectives, look like. The ANC's 51st national conference resolved to come up with such a charter this year.

So far, it seems likely to be a compromise document involving the input of business, government and labour. So, Cosatu and the SACP's voices could be diluted in the formation of the charter. In all probability, this will be the trend.



# The land is our heart

Conservation issues can play havoc with communities, but problems can be ironed out by working together, writes Environment Reporter **Russel Molefe**

**L**IVINGSTONE Maluleke, at a symposium in the Kruger National Park in 1998, reduced listeners to tears when he spoke of how important land is to Africans.

Maluleke, a member of the royal council of the Makuleke community in Limpopo that was forcibly removed from their ancestral land in 1969 when the park was extended northwards, was speaking on the topic "Voices, Values and Identities".

"To an African tribesman, land is heart. Land and ancestral spirits are one. When we were forcibly removed from our land, we lost not only our livestock and sacred places, but our human dignity as well, to make way for wildlife."

It was at a time when the community's land claim for the restitution of a significant portion of the park, known as the Pafuri Triangle, had thrown the conservation fraternity into a state of pandemonium.

What emerged was a model that not only made South Africa proud and again proved prophets of doom wrong, but also laid a foundation for communities to renew their relationship with the land for their own social and economic upliftment.

The community now has exclusive commercial rights within environmental parameters while conservation management of the Pafuri Triangle – the 24 000-hectare piece of land restituted to the community – remains integral to the Kruger National Park.

Twenty communities whose ancestral lands now lie within or adjacent to ecotourism destinations across the country, have had land restituted or their claims are being processed.

That land dispossession fostered hatred of conservation areas is known.

But that the communities are willing to make the renewed relationship with their land meaningful in economic and social terms may stand as a guarantee for the bright future of wilderness areas and that environmental degradation may be curtailed.

Land Affairs Director-General Gilingwe Mayende also patted his department on the back for not only turning the restitution programme around in terms of increasing the number of claims settled in the past year, but also for improving the quality of restitution projects.

"For example, conservation, forestry and ecotourism land is being delivered to land-reform clients.

"An increasing number of rural



**Makuleka village representative Livingstone Maluleke talks to journalists about a Bed and Breakfast camp built by the villagers in the Kruger National Park on their ancestral land.** PHOTO: TSHEKO KABASIA

claimants who are poor and marginalised have benefited and have also obtained good-quality agricultural land," Mayende said.

Land Affairs has also moved to promote the wise use of land by drafting the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Bill which recognises that "land is an asset, and that the economic, social and environmental future of our country depends on the wise use of our land resources".

It is a point that the Mabaso community in northern KwaZulu-Natal has long realised.

With help from the Wildlands Trust, WWF-South Africa and Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, the community has established a 35 000-hectare game reserve on their restituted land.

Situated next to the St Lucia Wetland Park, one of South Africa's favourite destinations for international tourists, establishing a game reserve on their land – which also encompasses Lake Sibaya – was hailed as a

positive move.

South Africa is ranked third – behind Brazil and Indonesia – among countries with the highest form of biodiversity.

It remains the envy of many other countries, and modern-day conservationists agree that how it should be managed to the economic benefit of the country will depend on the action of communities.

However, most of the communities with land within or adjacent to conservation and ecotourism areas are poor in terms of knowledge when it comes to initiating projects and their management.

Given that the Government's human resources are strained, it becomes imperative for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to steer communities in the right direction.

People's Dialogue, an NGO striving to get communities to subscribe to sustainable land use management, has become proactive and will



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hold a workshop in Cape Town involving representatives of 20 communities from January 21 to 23.

It is hoped the communities will emerge with skills on how to raise funds for appropriate infrastructural development, market their ecotourism destinations and products, and be able to develop and promote tourism activities that are socially and environmentally acceptable.

Moloki Koloi of People's Dialogue believes that communities should be equipped with entrepreneurial skills and be able to enter into smart partnerships with state organs or private companies and other committed professionals.

"Communities should be proactive and not just be recipient of passive, end-of-the-pipeline benefits from their land. What we are trying to do is to unleash entrepreneurial skills on communities," he said.

Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs Thoko Didiza and Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Valli Moosa have reached the understanding that no title deed will be given to communities that opt for settlement on their restituted land within conservation areas.

In the Makuleke case, the Endangered Wildlife Trust played a noteworthy role by getting the community to emphasise the role they could play in generating momentum behind the now declared Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park involving South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Authorities in the three countries emphasised the creation of a climate in which communities would be able to reap maximum economic benefit from the park.

The conservation and tourism

training project, in which the Makuleke youngsters were registered for national diplomas in nature conservation and business management, showed their dedication to uplifting themselves through ecotourism activities on their land.

Perhaps the much more visible actions by NGOs will help them beat the dry spell they are going through in terms of donor funding. It may also be an indicator to donors that the role of NGOs is still crucial in the new political dispensation.

The importance of NGOs' interaction with communities has been recognised by Land Affairs spokesman Abbey Makoe who said "if we work in unity of purpose, we can all improve the quality of land reform".

However, he spoke with sadness about the low points of land reform, particularly in cases in which agricultural projects have collapsed.

"We have the post-settlement assistance which is a joint programme between Land Affairs and agriculture departments. It includes cash injection, logistics and training.

"However, in some cases, as soon as the Government pulls out to let communities be independent, the schemes collapse.

"The Government cannot assist them permanently," says Makoe. He says it is distressing that some communities do not seem to be able to pull themselves up by their boot straps.

That's why he also speaks highly of the role played by NGOs and their efforts in enhancing the well-being of communities.

But land activist Andile Mqxitana has questioned the wisdom of prescribing to communities how they should use their land, especially when it comes to farming.

He says: "To tell communities that because the farm redistributed to them produced oranges, therefore they should continue to do so, is wrong."

Mqxitana also put under the spotlight the model mooted by Limpopo land commissioner Mashile Mokono.

The model will deny settlement of land claims against prime farming land if communities are not in partnership with current owners or any other professionals to ensure continued production.

"The legality of these is questionable because the right to restitution is not dependent on how the communities will use the land. The right is to correct a historical injustice," Mqxitana says.



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## Let's all fight hunger

**I**t would be simplistic, unrealistic and even naive to expect the ANC-led government, in eight years, to have wiped out grinding poverty and to have combated, arguably, the nation's deadliest enemy – hunger.

In its defence, the government can say that hunger is not a by-product of the freedom that was attained in 1994, but rather part of the apartheid legacy.

Poverty, and therefore hunger, can be traced back to centuries of land dispossession and economic exploitation of the majority.

The quest to eliminate poverty and hunger was always the puissant incentive in the liberation struggle. Freedom has been attained, but hunger refuses to give way to prosperity for millions of poor people in villages and in the townships.

The report that there are more than 150 000 families who desperately need food is therefore not surprising, although depressing. In fact, those who need emergency relief are much more than this figure. The audit that reached the figure of 150 000 was done only in 13 key areas identified by the government as those that were most depressed economically. The problem is certainly much bigger.

But exactly what is government doing to address this matter? Led by Social Development Minister Zola Skweyiya, government officials have sought to extend the net covering those in need. Campaigns have been launched to ensure that those who qualify for old-age pensions, disability grants and children support grants are registered to get what is due to them.

But bureaucratic problems continue. In some areas, pensioners do not get their money owing to factors such as theft and sheer incompetence.

Worse still, there are hundreds of millions of rands that government has raised to fight poverty and hunger which have not been used. This includes R900-million in donor funds which cannot be accessed because the RDP ministry has been closed.

It is not possible to decree for the end of hunger. But with improved efficiency, the hardship that is suffered daily by the poor can be cushioned.

## Ag shame, Moyo

**O**rdinarily, an unwarranted vitriolic attack on the media and the South African public warrants a fitting response. But when the assault is launched by President Robert Mugabe's chief propagandist Jonathan Moyo, it is prudent to resist stooping to his level where lunacy, delusion and hypocrisy reign.

Instead of explaining his sneaking into our country to stockpile food while he continues to insist that there is no food shortage in his country, Moyo denigrates all South Africans, calling them dirty and barbaric.

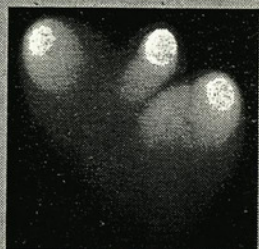
Our concern, fear actually, is that this man may be the main adviser to Mugabe. No wonder the old man has been making such ridiculous blunders.



# ANC entrenches historic divide

## COMMENT

DR DALE MCKINLEY



What kind of morality gives handouts to the rich – but refuses them for the poor?

It is a simple and straightforward question but one avoided for far too long: Whose interests does the ANC serve? A related question arose during the political battles that were waged between the ANC leadership and the so-called “ultra-left” late last year.

Obviously fed-up with increasingly strident critiques and public actions aimed at him and the party/government he heads, President Thabo Mbeki, asked: “Whose interests do they (the ultra-left) serve?”

Indeed, an earlier ANC political education unit paper gave the answer. The “ultras” were waging a “counter-revolutionary struggle against the ANC (by) siding with the bourgeoisie and its supporters to confront the ANC and our democratic government”.

And so, armed with a pre-ordained understanding of who the “real enemy” of the “revolution” is, Mbeki and the ANC leadership marched into the organisation’s 51st congress.

Using language more akin to a proto-fascist than a spokesperson of the “people’s party”, Smuts Nkonyama captured the task at hand: “We will deal with any attempts and tendencies to hurt the ANC and each of its alliance partners. We are in the process of cleansing each of the alliance partners of these tendencies”.

Once the congress got underway, it soon became clear what was meant by “cleansing”. Despite the opportunistic mea culpa politics of various leaders of the ANC’s supposedly critical alliance partners (the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party), and behind-the-scenes efforts to ensure sizeable representivity on the ANC National Executive Committee, they ended out in the political wilderness.

The newly elected NEC is a *Who’s Who* of Mbeki acolytes, most of all of whom are members of an emergent black bourgeoisie – far removed from the working class interests of those they claim to serve. There was no room for any genuine working class leaders – all having been thoroughly “cleansed” over the last several years.

The congress’ “debates” only served to further confirm the ANC’s abandonment of majority interests.

For example, the ANC’s approach to overcoming one of the most fundamental obstacles to socio-economic justice and equality, ie apartheid-capitalist property relations, is “deracialisation of ownership and control of wealth”. This fits in nicely with the building and consolidation of an emergent black bourgeoisie as the engine of

“change” in the “new” South Africa.

Let’s be honest: “deracialisation” within the context of continued capitalist property relations will not serve the interests of South Africa’s poor and working class. Since when has any emergent bourgeoisie made common cause with the poor? This would be committing class suicide.

On the role of the state in effecting meaningful social and economic change, the “transfer of assets to the private sector” will remain a core approach. No mention here of the specific interests of the poor and working class, simply a naive addendum to “strengthen our developmental agenda”. But with a “developmental agenda” driven by a declasse “deracialisation” that predominately empowers a new black bourgeoisie, it should not be difficult to figure out whose class interests will be served.

The congress could not even endorse a basic state income grant to the poor. Mbeki made it clear that the ANC will not give “handouts to the poor”. In contrast, not a voice was raised on the intensified provision of public resource handouts – through macro-economic (Gear-inspired) fiscal and monetary policies – to the emergent black bourgeoisie and corporate capital. Reverse Robin Hoodism seems central to the “developmental agenda” of the ANC.

When it came to addressing other key components of the ANC’s stated commitments to serve the majority (ie affordable and efficient provision of basic needs and services such as water, housing, health and education) all that could be mustered were vague promises and calls to “accelerate and strengthen” existing approaches. Seldom has there been a better example of vacuous political speak.

Given the fact that a record number of South Africans now find themselves in greater poverty, the ANC’s approach only further institutionalises the inherited class divide and continues to privilege the interests of the old – and new – elites.

In his presidential report to the party congress Mbeki made an impassioned plea for the ANC to adopt a “new morality”. But he needs to be asked what kind of morality encourages and celebrates the enrichment of a few at the expense of the majority, effectively imposes a death sentence on the millions of poor with HIV/Aids while calling for a “better life for all”, evicts thousands of families from their homes in the middle of winter in the name of “cost-recovery” and effectively supports the systematic oppression of Zimbabwe’s people as “constructive engagement”.

The ANC can no longer assume the mantle of the champion of the working class and the poor.

The party has made its choices and will have to live with them.

■ Dr Dale T McKinley is the spokesperson of the Social Indaba Movement.