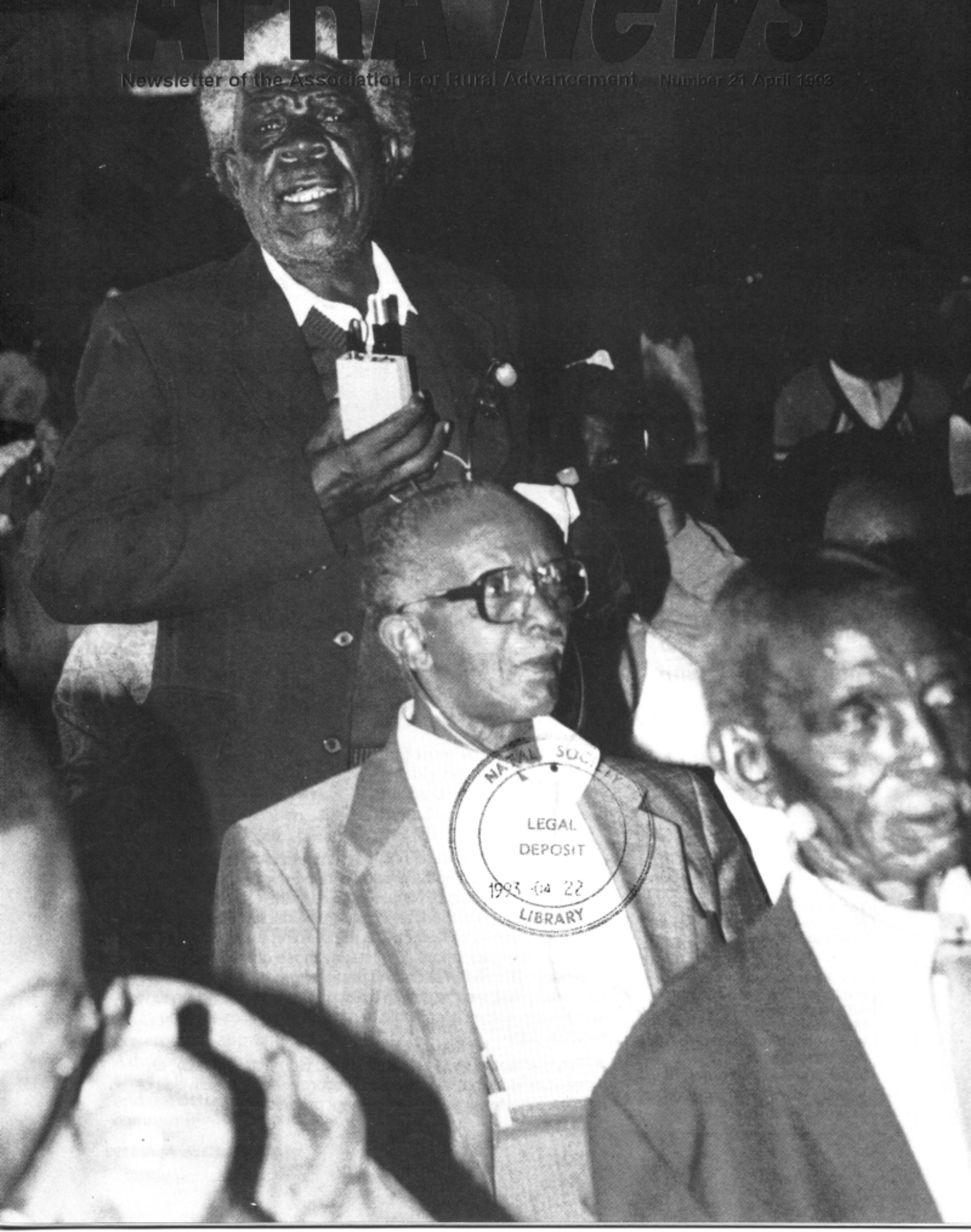
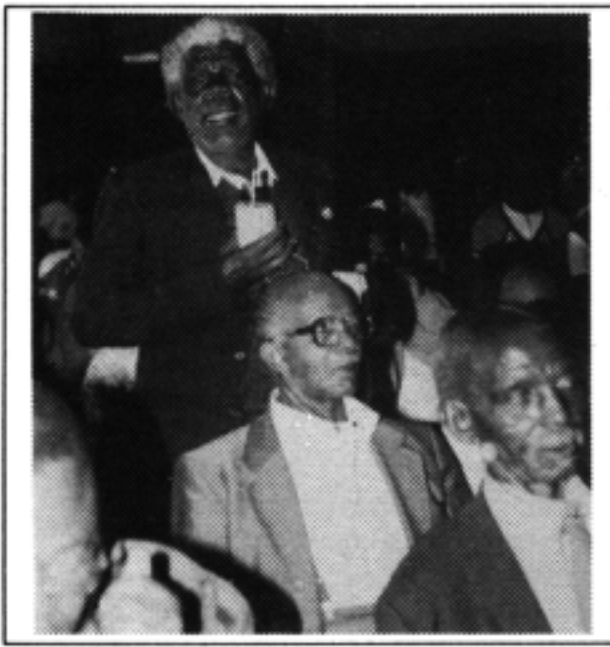


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AFRA News

Newsletter of the Association For Rural Advancement - Number 21 April 1993





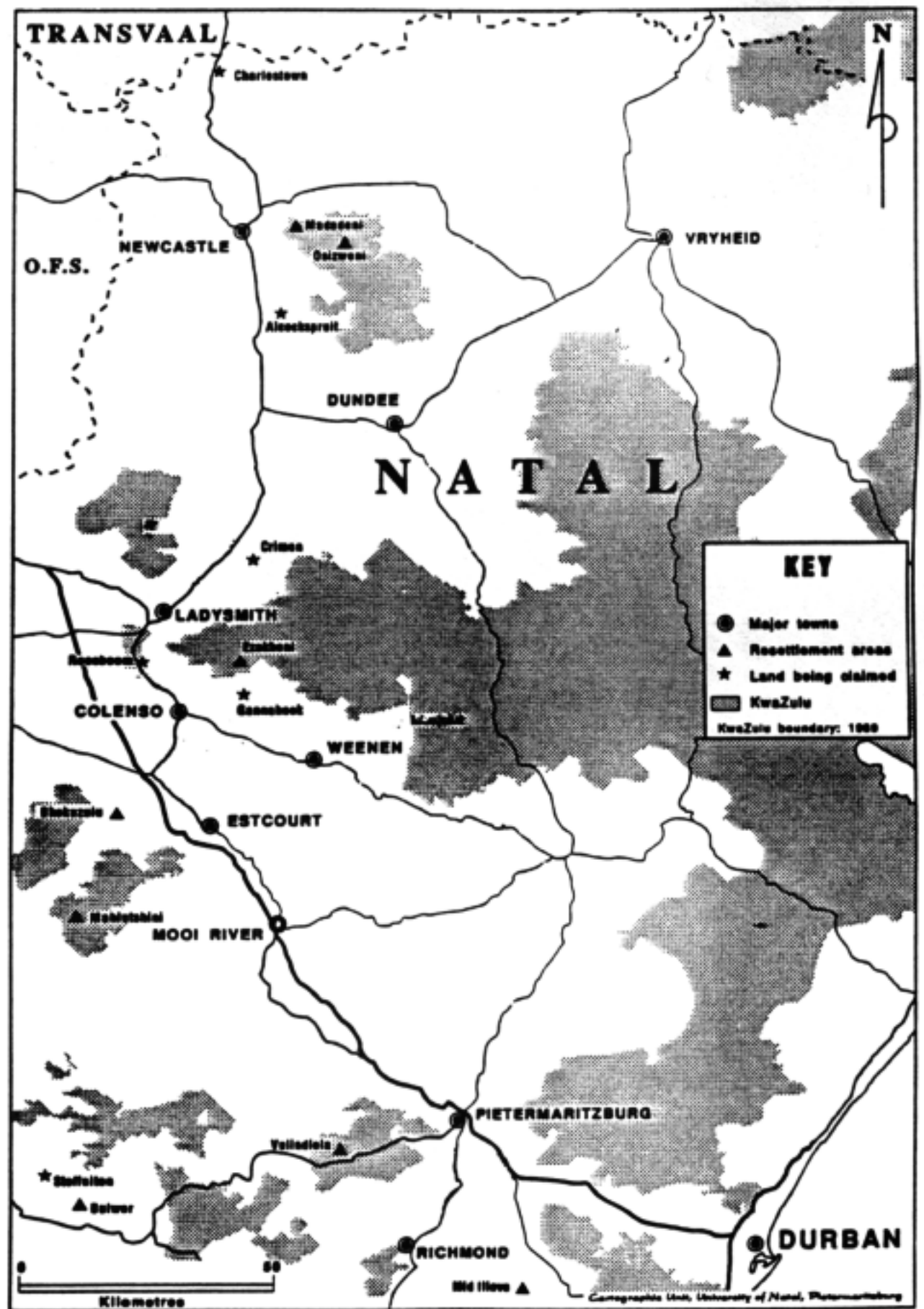
Cover:
A speaker at the national meeting of land claiming communities, Orange Free State, March 1993.

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AFRA is an independent, non-government organisation committed to assisting rural people in the midlands and north-western region of Natal/KwaZulu in their struggle for land rights, a just land dispensation and sustainable development. In general, AFRA aims to promote the building and strengthening of community organisations, particularly those committed to broadening representation and participation of women, youth and other marginalised groups. We also make information on land and related issues accessible to rural communities and the broader public

AFRA is affiliated to the National Land Committee (NLC), an independent umbrella body which coordinates the activities of nine regional land and development organisations.



Natal community delegates at the fifth national meeting of land claiming communities.

Land campaign to intensify

ABOUT 60 communities from all over South Africa have agreed to broaden their land claims campaign and to embark on a national, regional and local programme of organisation, mass action and lobbying around the issue of land claims.

The meeting on March 27 and 28 reiterated its dissatisfaction with the government-appointed Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) and the determination of communities to get back the

land from which they were forcibly removed - whether this land was now state owned or in private hands. It was left up to each community to decide whether they would continue to make submissions to ACLA, while taking other action, or not.

De Klerk's reply "inadequate"

Communities rejected as inadequate and unacceptable, a letter from the state president asking them to be patient and to

give ACLA a chance. De Klerk's letter was in reply to a letter from communities after their last national meeting in November 1992.

Representatives resolved that the "restoration campaign be broadened to include all communities who make claim to a piece of land to which they have a historical connection".

Campaign broadened

By broadening the campaign, the meeting has effectively invited labour



Delegates at the fifth national meeting of land claiming communities agreed to broaden their campaign and to embark on a local, regional and national programme of organisation and action to get back their land.

tenant communities and communities with Group Areas Act claims, among others, to become part of one national campaign for land restoration. The meeting was attended for the first time by farm labour tenants from Natal.

Becoming part of the national campaign will greatly strengthen the struggles of labour tenant communities. It will enable them to draw on the strength and experience of communities who have been part of local, regional and national initiatives for land rights for some time. These include the Natal communities of Roosboom and Charlestown, who recently had their land restored, but who are still part of the campaign.

Focus public attention

Representatives undertook to intensify the campaign so that greater public attention is focused on the struggle for land. Among the activities proposed were:

- pickets, demonstrations and marches
- a signature campaign
- occupation of government buildings and offices
- reoccupation of land being claimed
- lobbying international observers and peace monitors, political organisations, civics, unions, foreign embassies and ACLA
- popularising and lobbying support for a land claims court as an alternative to ACLA

- exposing the concerns of land claimants in the media.

Organising structures to form

Community delegates also agreed to form representative regional community committees in their regions which will coordinate regional activity and from which representatives will be elected to coordinate activity at a national level.

Natal community representatives at the meeting came from Impendle, Baynesfield, Cramond, Estcourt, Colenso, Ladysmith, Weenen, Newcastle and Louwsberg.

Land claims court to replace ACLA?

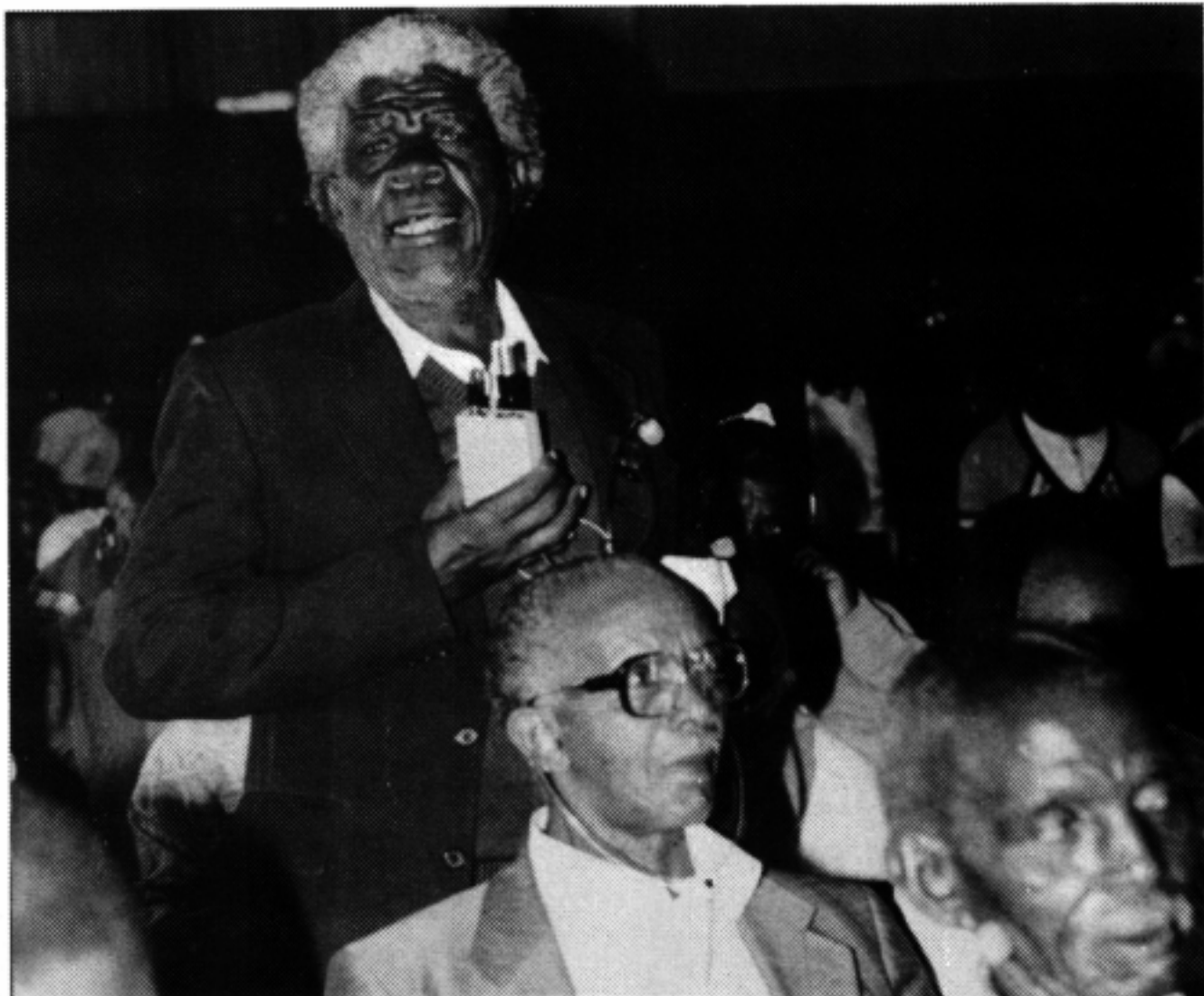
"**W**E are packed up and ready to go back. We have been ready to reoccupy our land since March 1. We have already handed a memorandum to our lawyer, ACLA and others.

"No land will replace our farm Brakfontein, no matter how fertile. Our ancestors form part of us and their graves are at Brakfontein. The government sold our land to white farmers. Now de klerk has told ACLA to investigate giving us other state land. My response is that no other land will replace Brakfontien, matter how fertile that land is."

These were the frustrated words of Mr Matlala of the Ga-Mampuru community to the national meeting of land claiming communities held in March 1993.

This frustration with ACLA was echoed by several other community representatives. At the end of 1992, only two dispossessed communities had been given back the land they lost through forced removals. These were Roosboom and Charlestown.

The Ga-Mampuru community's land claim has not yet been settled. In an announcement about its work at the end of 1992, ACLA said the state president had decided that Brakfontein, the Mampuru's land, could not be restored to the community. Instead, ACLA should investigate making other state land available to the community.



Delegates spoke of their frustration with ACLA. Although communities will still use ACLA, they will also take up other actions and will explore an alternative mechanism to the ACLA process.

Representatives at the meeting argued that ACLA was not delivering, but was taking up their time and energies.

After discussion, communities agreed to popularise the proposal for a land claims court. Such a court, representatives felt, promised more effective results than the ACLA process. In the meantime, while the land claims court concept was being finalised, communities would continue to use ACLA while simultaneously embarking on other strategies to regain their land.

The idea of a land claims court has been mooted by the ANC and also has support from the Natal Agricultural Union, who have expressed the need for

a judicial process to address land claims.

In a draft proposal for a land claims court, formulated by the ANC, such a court would be able to address land claims from labour tenants, a group currently excluded by ACLA's terms of reference. The proposed land claims court would also be based on the principle of land restoration and would have powers to expropriate land, should this be necessary.

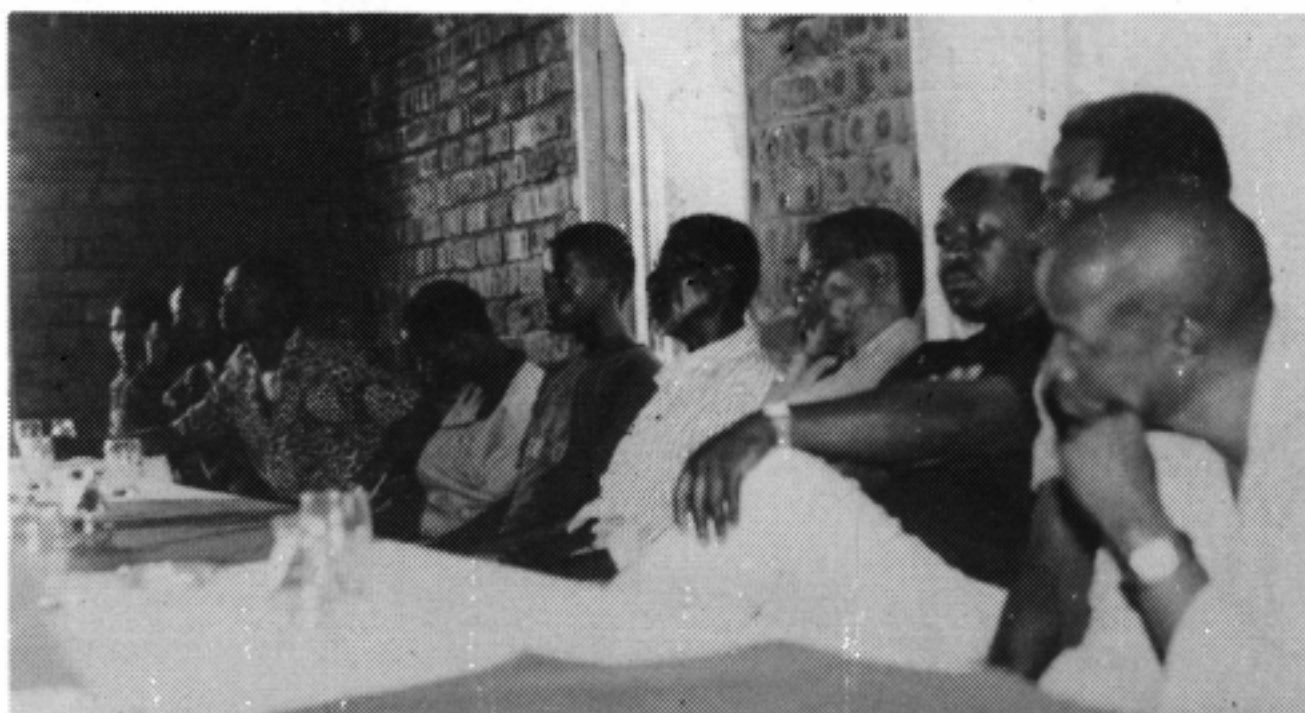
Natal farm labour tenants take steps to organise

CONTRARY to popular belief, farm labour tenants still exist and they intend making their presence felt more forcefully. Thirty-three farm labour tenants, from seven districts in the Natal midlands and north-western Natal agreed at a weekend meeting on March 13 and 14 that they would work towards forming a regional structure to coordinate activities around labour tenancy rights.

The meeting also undertook to send 12 representatives from labour tenant communities to a national meeting of land claiming communities on March 27 and 28. This is the first time that labour tenants and other land claimants will be meeting together at a national level.

A call for a moratorium around farm labour tenant and farmworker evictions made in March 1992 to the government appears to have fallen on deaf ears. The activities being planned now are aimed at reviving a campaign for this moratorium and also to gain more secure rights for farm labour tenants.

Representatives who attended the weekend meeting will be holding discussions on their farms about what kind of mass action is necessary to bring changes to the uncertain position which labour tenants currently find themselves in. Among the proposals which these local meetings will consider are solidarity activities between



Top: Natal farm labour tenants discuss how to strengthen their organisation at a meeting in March 1993.

Bottom: Farm labour tenants from Colenso march to the Colenso police station in August 1992. The tenants demanded an end to evictions.

different labour tenant communities who face eviction threats and a regional march in Pietermaritzburg.

In August 1992, labour tenants from the Colenso District staged a march to the local police station to demand an end to evictions in the area. Labour tenants from nine farms in the area have formed a district

committee to coordinate their activities.

Representatives from other districts who attended the weekend meeting are hoping to form similar structures in their areas.

- The 33 representatives came from Muden, Weenen, Colenso, Impendle, Greytown, Ladysmith and Ngotshe/Vryheid.

Weenen labour tenants plan march

FARM labour tenants in the Weenen District are planning a protest march to the local police station in April. The march is aimed at highlighting the plight of tenants in the area and to demand an end to evictions and indiscriminate cattle impounding.

Although labour tenancy was abolished in the Weenen District in 1969, large numbers of labour tenants still live on farms in the area. Their position is extremely vulnerable. They face threats of eviction, physical violence from farmers and have little chance to protect their position through the law. It is alleged that cases of assault against tenants are often not followed up.

People in the area report that farmers prefer to pay a fixed amount of money to people they assault rather than face charges.

In terms of eviction, farm labour tenants can, at best, challenge whether or not the notice given to them was reasonable. Their land rights are not recognised in the law, although many tenant families have lived on the same piece of land for several generations, long before the arrival of whites.

Since farm labour tenants almost all keep cattle, farmers in Weenen are able to impound these cattle and exact trespass fees from the cattle owners when such cattle stray onto white farmland.

In general, the position of farm labour tenants is one



Farm labour tenants from Weenen.

which requires attention from the government and lobby groups. Although labour tenancy itself was abolished in South Africa some years ago, pockets of farm labour tenants have survived in parts of Natal, the Orange Free State and the western Transvaal.

The people of the farm Ncunjane in the Weenen District are an example of tenants who have tenaciously refused to give up their occupation and use of the land. Although the tenants have experienced tremendous hardship, they have never given up their desire to remain on the land they have always called home. In 1992, they managed to reach agreement with the current landowner

of Ncunjane that they be allowed to pay rent to remain on the land. However, the agreement which followed months of bitter struggle, including physical assault, hangs in the balance as the tenants of Ncunjane again face eviction threats for alleged breaches of the agreement.

Farm labour tenants remain an ignored but significant reality whose land rights must be addressed in a land reform programme. The farm labour tenants of Weenen in planning to march are saying they are not going to allow their problems to be ignored. They are going to make their presence felt.

Land Rights Update

known as home. It is, however, unclear how the purchase price for the farm will be determined, given the history of the farm and the community's existing occupation and use rights.

AFRA has commissioned a consultant to try to establish a reasonable purchase price. AFRA also intends approaching the government for assistance in this difficult matter.

AFRA believes that the government should acknowledge their own role and responsibility regarding the plight of farm labour tenants in South Africa. This could happen at legislative, administrative policy and financial aid levels. How this will happen, in a broader

the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) on April 21 1993. The claim, which amounts to about 100 000 soccer fields placed side by side, is the single largest land claim from a dispossessed community in Natal.

Gannahoek labour tenants get option to buy farm

AFTER agreeing to postpone court proceedings and to reopen negotiations, labour tenants on Gannahoek farm in the Colenso District have been given the option to buy the farm by the current owners, Shonalanga Safari



Langalibalele, Hlubi chief who died in 1889.



Gannahoek labour tenants discuss their future.

Lodge (Pty) Ltd.

The offer to buy the whole farm is a departure from the company's previous position which was to consider selling off to the tenants only a portion of the farm. The company had intended to develop the farm as a game reserve.

The tenants have welcomed the resumption of negotiations and are presently investigating the feasibility of purchasing the land they have always

sense, will depend on government consultation with various stakeholders. A useful start in the right direction can be made in the specific case of Gannahoek.

ACLA to hear single largest claim in Natal

THE AmaHlubi community's land claim of some 90 000 hectares in Estcourt will be submitted at a public hearing called by

The AmaHlubi claim dates back to 1873 when the Hlubi chief, Langalibalele clashed with the British government, then ruling Natal. The clash was allegedly over Langalibalele's refusal to register a firearm, brought back from the diamond mine where a member of the Hlubi worked. It was common then for diamond mineworkers in the Transvaal to get firearms as part payment for their wages.

Langalibalele was eventually arrested in 1873 and later imprisoned on Robben Island. After his arrest, the Hlubi land was confiscated and the community then moved to Draycott in the Estcourt District.

In 1991 the government tried to sell off some of the land being claimed by the AmaHlubi. However, public protest over the planned sale managed to halt it. Despite this, the government again tried to auction some of the land in March 1992. Again, public protest stopped the sale. The then Minister of Land Affairs, Jacob de



Roosboom, near Ladysmith, has been returned to the community, but now they are struggling to get back their title deeds.

Villiers, instructed the planned auction to be stopped, after this was recommended by ACLA.

Roosboom told to pay back compensation for removal

THE Roosboom community in Ladysmith and the Charlestown community near Newcastle were the only two dispossessed communities who had their land restored by the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) in 1992. Now landowners in the community have been told to repay the compensation which the government gave them when they were forcibly removed before they get back their title deeds. Mr Mazibuko, the chairperson of the Roosboom Board of Overseers (the body which coordinated the community's struggle to get back their land), said he felt the government should simply return people's title deeds.

He said very small amounts of money had been paid as compensation when landowners were forcibly removed.

It was unfair for the government to demand this money back when people had suffered years of hardship in resettlement areas to which they were forcibly removed. In addition, the government had leased out the confiscated land to white farmers for many years before the communities had their land restored at the end of 1992.

Nazareth community plans reoccupation

A COMMUNITY of about 35 families who formerly lived at the Nazareth mission station in the Dundee District are planning to reoccupy their land on April 6 1993.

The families were removed from Nazareth in 1968 and since then have made several attempts to regain their land. None of these

attempts resulted in the community regaining their land.

At one stage, five of the removed families returned to the land, but they left again when they were harassed.

The land in question is made up of three farms, which the families used for grazing and cultivating crops. These farms were apparently sold to white farmers after the families were removed.

The Lutheran Church owns pockets of land in between the three farms and have a church in the area. After their removal, the families were relocated in Vaalkop, near Ladysmith.

Nazareth is in the Dundee District, close to the Nqutu and Msinga District borders. The nearest relatively large town is Pomeroy.

Agri-villages: one step forward or two steps back?

A NEW term was introduced to farmers in Natal recently, and it is one which has aroused great emotions. The new term, "agri-villages", was presented to the Natal Agricultural Union (NAU) Congress in 1992. The section on agri-villages was the only resolution not passed by the congress. After its congress, the NAU commissioned a study to investigate implications of agri-villages in Natal. The high emotions aroused by agri-villages are easy to understand because the idea touches on one of the most sensitive issues facing farmworkers and farmers - housing for farmworkers.

IN the past, farmers have struggled for control of the workers on their farms. Their control was enforced through the various laws which made up apartheid South Africa. Through these laws, workers were either forced to remain on the farms where they lived or risk arrest if they moved to other areas in search of work. Workers on the farms were then "given" houses to live in.

This "free" part of farmworkers' wage has meant that the farmer could pay lower wages to the worker while also keeping

strict control on the workers. It has also meant that the workers never had the opportunity to invest in and buy their own houses. In effect, the opposite is happening. The "free" wage is buying the insecurity and possible eviction of workers from their houses by the farmer.

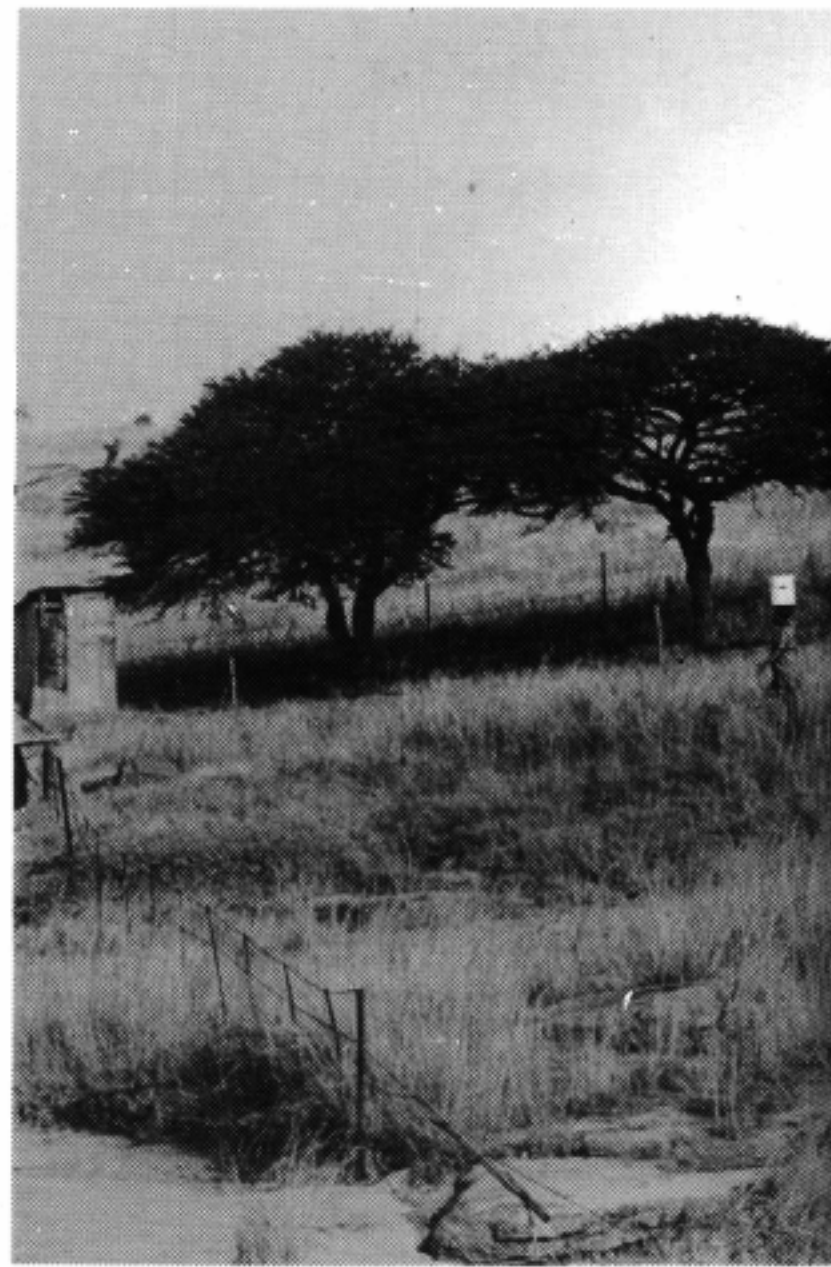
Until recent years, these houses were often mud huts with no running water or electricity and still today there are workers who live in these conditions.

Although housing standards may be improving in some areas, you would still struggle to find farms where services such as running water and electricity are a way of life for workers.

Tied housing

Besides poor housing standards and the lack of basic services, farmworkers face a more important issue around housing. Historically, the houses which farmworkers occupy have been tied to their employment on the farms. This has meant that workers are only assured of accommodation if they continue working on the farm. Because farmworkers have few other alternatives, farmers have often abused the link between housing and employment. For farmworkers, losing their jobs means losing their homes.

The situation for wives of farmworkers is even worse.



It often happens that, when the male breadwinner in the family dies, his widow and family are turned out of the house and forced to seek shelter elsewhere. Farmworkers who are too old to continue working face a similar fate.

Responsibility

Farmers often complain that industry does not provide its workers with housing and that therefore farmers should not be obliged to do so. While it may be true that employers in industry do not directly provide housing for workers, the cost of housing is implicit in industrial workers' wages. Industrial wages ensure that workers can afford accommodation and subsistence.

Farmers must accept that either they have the responsibility to provide housing or they have the responsibility to pay wages



that will enable farmworkers to afford their own housing.

The government must take similar responsibility. For many years, the government has been subsidising farmers for farmworker housing but this has failed to increase farmworkers' security. These subsidies have only increased the value of the land and assets owned by the farmer.

Agri-villages

The NAU have presented agri-villages as: "Plots of land laid out in the form of a rural village on a separate sub-division of land. The sub-division may accommodate the farmworkers of one or more farmers."

The NAU's motivation for the establishment of these villages is that they will provide workers with increased security of tenure and the ability to own their own homes, on the one hand. On the other hand,

such villages will also reduce the cost of providing services such as water and electricity.

Four options have been outlined for the establishment of agri-villages. The first of these involves buying or expropriating farmers' land to give or sell the land to farmworkers. The second option involves the government buying land and leasing houses on this land to farmworkers. The third and fourth options involve attaching areas earmarked for farmworker occupation to either an existing local authority or an existing tribal authority (in the case of Natal, this would be KwaZulu). Only one of these options involves farmworkers being able to buy their own homes when the agri-villages are established.

Agri-villages may be seen as an option to address the problems farmworkers face. However, there are many questions that need answering.

There is the danger that farmers may see such villages as compounds to house their workers. This would simply be a renewed attempt to entrench apartheid in rural areas. There is also the danger that agri-villages could affect land claims from particular farm communities, such as farm labour tenants.

Additional problems may arise around employment. Unless farmers accept that the employment contract is distinct from housing, access to housing in agri-villages will remain tied to employment on particular farms.

The issue of land is also important. While farmers resist the idea of people

living in agri-villages having access to land for agricultural use, workers want such access to graze cattle and cultivate crops.

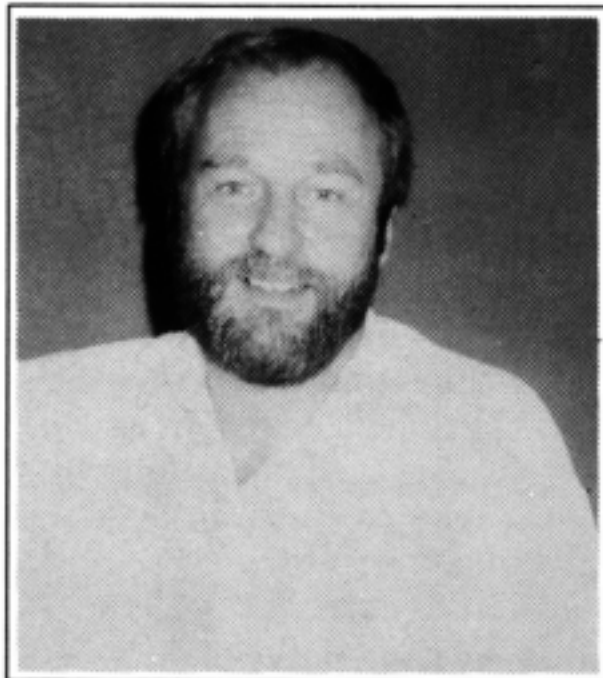
Agri-villages can be a positive step in resolving the problems related to housing which farmworkers face if these villages directly address security of tenure. This means that workers must be able to invest in and own houses and land. Only in this way can agri-villages provide an acceptable solution to current problems.

Article by Dave Huesy of the Farmworkers Research and Resource Project (FRRP), an affiliate of the National Land Committee.

Debate takes off in Natal

DELEGATES from the NAU, NPA, Development Bank of South Africa, Institute of Natural Resources, Department of Regional and Land Affairs, KwaZulu Development Finance & Investment Corporation, KwaZulu government and others involved in rural work attended a workshop in March 1993 where the four models of agri-villages which were researched were discussed. From these discussions it seems that the agri-village concept needs more in-depth research and, most importantly, participation from farmworkers in the debate. The study on agri-villages is a step forward in stimulating debate. But agri-villages should be assessed in the context of new labour laws for farmworkers which are likely to significantly change their situation. The relevance of the agri-village concept might diminish once these take effect.

Article by Marc Schneider, AFRA.



The state must

Various political parties talk about the "land question" in South Africa and the need to address it. What does the ANC mean when it talks about the land question?

We are talking about the history of forced removal and dispossession and alienation of land. We are talking about the resultant unequal distribution of land where 87% of land is owned by whites. Dispossession has been part of the strategy of oppression and has resulted in and aggravated poverty - the plight of the majority of people in South Africa. We have ended up with a black rural population which is largely landless and where land is held by black people it is inadequate for farming. This, and the lack of support for black farmers must be seen in the context of the general neglect of rural people and the bantustans.

There is also the picture of white access to and control of land and the virtual enslavement of black people in white rural areas. This has resulted in the serious abuses of human rights to which farmworkers are subjected.

In May 1992, the ANC adopted several policies at its National Policy Conference. Among these was a policy on land. What are the main elements of the ANC's policy on land?

There are two main components to our land policy, as adopted in May 1992. The first is the need to

address the history of forced removal. This means there must be restitution and we see a land claims court addressing those people with historical claims.

The second main component is to address the needs of all those who do not have claims but who have been denied access to land. We see these people getting opportunities in the agricultural sector. In terms of non-agricultural land needs, we see the state taking responsibility for people having, at the minimum, secure access to residential land. Essentially we see a land reform process being used to address the needs of the landless.

What is the current status of the policies adopted at the ANC's May 1992 National Policy Conference? Will these policies be implemented as legislation, should an ANC government come to power?

The policy, as adopted, is official ANC policy at the moment. Most of the policies adopted at the May conference are statements of intent and cannot readily be transformed into legislation. However, legislation should embrace the content, or spirit of what is said in the very consolidated policy document which came out of the conference. And the ANC, if it is the future government, would introduce legislation to give effect to these policies. Whether the composition of the future government will allow this, remains to be

Derek Hanekom heads the ANC's Land Desk which forms part of the ANC's Department of Economic Planning. AFRA interviewed Derek Hanekom on February 12 1993.

intervene

seen. However, the ANC will certainly be pushing for legislation which captures the spirit of the policy.

The policy document has to be backed up by other documents which elaborate on the policy. The ANC has begun policy work to elaborate on this. Already we have a 20 page document on farmworker rights. This document is a lot closer to something which could result in legislation.

"Dispossession and denial of rights have resulted in the present unequal division of land and landlessness which will require legislative intervention far beyond the mere repeal of apartheid land laws. Our policies must provide access to land both as a productive resource and to ensure that all our citizens have a secure place to live," says the ANC's policy on land. How will this be practically implemented?

The ANC believes the state should make a positive intervention to implement this. Such positive intervention includes expropriation, if necessary. It also includes using existing state land, introducing a land tax and a ceiling on land holdings.

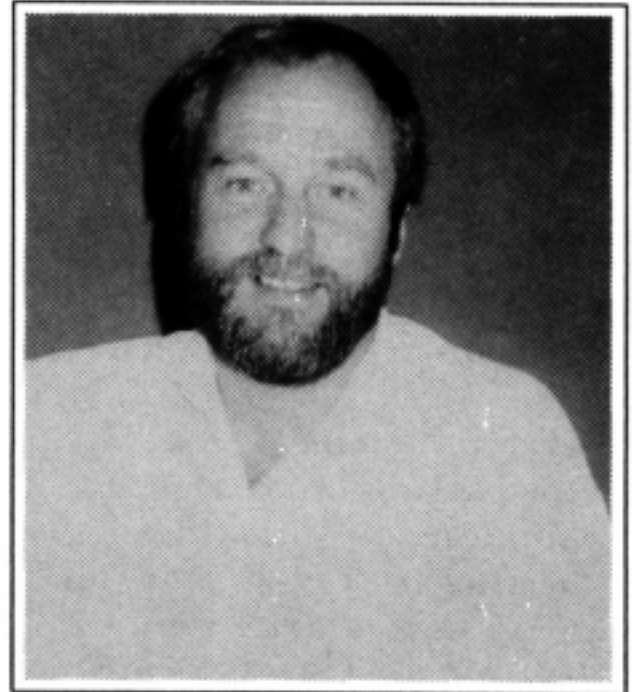
While everyone will not be entitled to farm, everyone will be entitled to land to live on.

A future state will have to have the right to expropriate land for residential purposes and to use existing land for urbanisation so that urban

landlessness can be dealt with. Regarding agricultural land, everyone will be given opportunities to gain access to this. More equitable distribution of agricultural land will have to be implemented through a combination of policy instruments, state intervention and market/fiscal measures. Some people will get their land back. Others will have the opportunity to buy land through easy credit arrangements.

We are currently working at fleshing out our policy on land reform, and hope to come up with a comprehensive policy before the end of 1993. The Land and Agriculture Policy Centre was set up in February this year and will be taking work around formulating a detailed policy further. By March, we hope to have a developed position on the land claims court. By April we intend having a comprehensive policy on farmworkers. July is the target for a policy on marketing systems. Work around agricultural research, technical assistance and extension services should be complete by November 1993. We are currently working on the fishing and forestry sectors. We will also be examining the feasibility of a land tax and its implementation.

By policy work we really mean very concrete and detailed policy recommendations which will involve an examination



▼ **Derek Hanekom**

of legislation and what legislative changes are required. It's no longer good enough to say the ANC believes this, or the ANC believes that. We are moving from broad statements of intent to in-depth work.

Also in its land policy, the ANC says that the right of labour tenants and their families to secure tenure on pieces of land with which they have a long association will be protected. How will this be done?

Depending on the final form of the land claims court, labour tenants will be a group who could use the land claims court. The land claims court will be able to deal with these issues of rights retrospectively. This will be built into the terms of reference of the land claims court. The court will also have constitutional rights. The ANC has said it will recognise various forms of land rights. This will include strengthening tenure rights of current labour tenants.

What is the ANC's current involvement with labour tenants and farmworkers, particularly around the issue of evictions?

The ANC's involvement has been through its policy positions. In our policy we have treated labour tenants as farmworkers and as farmers. That is what they are after all, a blend of farmworker and farmer. We believe they should be considered as the beneficiaries of land reform and that they have a strong case for rights to land and support to farm productively, even if this is on a part-time basis. We also believe they should benefit

from farmworker legislation and the protection this will give farmworkers.

As the ANC, we have not been practically involved with labour tenants, except for our policy positions. However, the ANC has members in many different organisations and it is through these members that we have been able to have some practical involvement with labour tenants.

"It's no longer good enough to say the ANC believes this, or the ANC believes that. We are moving from broad statements of intent to in-depth work."

The National Land Committee in 1992 called for a moratorium on the eviction of labour tenants and farmworkers. So far, there has been no positive response from the government and little support for the call from political organisations. What will the ANC's response be to this call/campaign in 1993?

We would give support that is needed by adding our voice to such a call. We have no more power in 1993 than we had in 1992 and besides adding our voice to the call for a moratorium and our members' involvement in grassroots land issues through their work in such organisations, there is little else we can do right now.

Regarding agriculture, the ANC proposes wide-ranging changes in its policy document. Can you tell us more about what the main changes are that the ANC

proposes and how these will be implemented?

There are still many unanswered questions for us, but we would probably go for a shift in the scale of farming operations and more state support to smaller farmers. This does not mean we think small is better. It simply means that we recognise that white farmers, who are mainly large scale farmers, have been well-catered for and that this has to shift to the other side.

What is the ANC's position on communal tenure and private tenure?

The ANC will recognise various tenure forms, including private tenure and communal tenure.

In 1992 various organisations and communities launched a campaign to halt the continued sale of state land and the administrative transfer of state land to homeland administration. Despite this, administrative transfer of state land was effected with all the homeland governments, except KwaZulu. At the end of 1992, the Goldstone Commission, in an interim report, called on the government to halt such transfers to KwaZulu. Is the ANC having discussions with the government around the issue of transferring state land to joint homeland administration? If so, what has been the result so far of these discussions?

My opinion is that if we are to have bilateral talks with the government on land, then the first thing we would have to settle is a moratorium on sale and

▼ **Derek Hanekom**

transfer of state land. If there can be no agreement on this, then there can be no agreement on anything else around land.

The ANC has had one discussion with the Deputy Minister of Regional and Land Affairs on land matters. This was at his request. At that meeting we warned Deputy Minister Scheepers that land transfers to the bantustans would be ill-advised and confrontational. Despite our advice and despite the findings of the De Meyer report of massive corruption and maladministration in Lebowa, he went ahead and transferred land to Lebowa and Qwa Qwa.

The government seems keen to have meetings with us on land issues. We wish to repeat our position that for such talks to happen, we need to agree on a moratorium on state land sales and transfers.

Will the ANC raise the issue of land transfers with the KwaZulu government in talks with them?

The sale and transfer of state land is one which concerns the central government. They are the ones disposing of this land. Consequently, the ANC believes that discussions around the sale and transfer of state land should be conducted with central government.

In a 1992 AFRA interview with the Deputy Minister of Regional and Land Affairs said that the ANC had its own political agenda in opposing government land deals with homeland

governments. What is your response?

We have our own political agenda and our own land policy. This is to address the problems of the landless and dispossessed. We feel this is a legitimate policy and agenda, for which we make no apology.

The government's political agenda in its land deals was a crude way to try to gain votes and support from bantustan governments. Our other agenda was to expose this crude attempt to win votes.

"We will not be bound by the land deals entered into by the government and bantustan governments. We won't necessarily expropriate the land which has been transferred, but we will retain the right to do so."

If the government refuses to reverse the administrative hand overs and proceeds with a land deal with KwaZulu, what does the ANC intend doing?

Given the Goldstone Commission's recommendation that the government halt land transfers to the bantustans and the ANC's warning, I think the government is likely to be cautious in how it proceeds. If the government does go ahead, we will have to assess the situation then. Should the government proceed with its land deals, the ANC would consider this a very provocative step and one

which would jeopardise negotiations.

In 1992, the ANC said that if it became the government, it would not honour the land deals the government has made with homeland governments. Does the ANC still hold this position? If so, what steps will the ANC take to implement it, if it becomes the government?

It's obviously a lot more difficult to deal with issues once they've taken place. We are saying that we will not be bound by the land deals entered into by the government and bantustan governments. We won't necessarily expropriate the land which has been transferred, but we will retain the right to do so.

The ANC has more of an urban bias than a rural bias. Given the likelihood that there will be pressing demands for improvements in urban areas, how do you propose to deal with the expectations of rural people that substantial resources be allocated to these areas?

While it is true that the ANC has more of an urban bias than a rural bias, we are quite strong in rural areas in the Eastern Cape and Transkei. We are relatively weak in the Western Cape and Natal rural areas. As a group in the ANC dealing with rural issues, we must lobby the ANC national leadership and emerge with a well-considered policy proposal which a future government will be able to accept. We must also ensure that such a policy fits in well with the overall programme of reconstruction and development. We must convince the ANC as a

▼ **Derek Hanekom**

whole that the investment in rural development is an important one which will bear dividends - 50% of the population is rural. This doesn't mean we don't see urbanisation continuing. It means we must make the rural areas more viable, to contain the problems of urbanisation and improve the lives of the majority of our people.

The Deputy Minister of Regional and Land Affairs said towards the end of 1992 that his department was in the process of formulating a rural development strategy. What is the ANC's position around the issue of rural development?

The ANC has refused to participate in the advisory policy commission which the Deputy Minister has set up and we note that several other organisations, including the National Land Committee, have also refused to participate. We don't feel that the Department of Regional and Land Affairs should initiate a rural development programme. We are not saying the Department doesn't have the right to set up such an initiative, but we believe that it's not for this government to develop a rural development strategy. It's clear that this government has been seriously discredited.

The ANC is also developing a rural development programme, which is part of policy work for 1993. We will commission a host organisation to undertake the work and to do this in close cooperation with other organisations. The first step is to bring together the organisations working in the

rural sector, identifying areas of work that need investigation and then farming out these pieces of work. We hope to have put something together in the first half of the year. We will be looking at various aspects of rural development - agricultural support services, primary health care, education, housing, infrastructure, credit institutions and others.

In an interview with the Farmer's Weekly, dated December 11 1992, you said you work closely with the World Bank. What is the nature of this work? What is the ANC's attitude to the World Bank and its influence in developments in South Africa?

This is not strictly what I said. When the World Bank did a country study, the ANC provided a team of counterparts. These counterparts worked closely with the World Bank on their agriculture study. We had some influence in who the consultants were. The ANC gained a lot from this interaction and from the material that was produced.

The ANC's position is that we recognise that the World Bank will have a role to play in financing projects. However, there can be no work until there is an interim government in place. The World Bank is here now in consultation with the ANC.

My own opinion on our attitude to the World Bank is that this will depend on how clear we, as South Africa, are about what we want. It depends on the confidence we have in our development programme. It will be up to us to establish the terms on

which the World Bank interacts with us. They have good technical people, who could play a useful role. But we will have to provide a clear framework and they will have to work within this.

In an interview with AFRA in 1992, the Deputy Minister of Regional and Land Affairs said his department had a role to play in the present and future South Africa. He also said that he was a politician and intended to stay one and would serve a new democratically elected government if asked to do so. What is the your response to this?

The department that Deputy Minister Scheepers represents is discredited. He, as a politician, says he is prepared to serve under a democratically elected government. I have no idea whether he will be asked to do so or not. The path he's on at present doesn't make me feel confident about his sensitivity to the national question and social issues.

Given the importance of the land question and the large amount of work needed on it, is the ANC intending to increase its staff on the Land Desk in 1993?

Yes, we have employed Lesley Dikene to organise around land and support struggles on land issues. We also established the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre in February. Although I have been the only person on the Land Desk, up to now, I have worked with a large network of people who have helped me a great deal.

Alcockspruit land claim hearing

“We are not coming cap in hand”



Mr Horatius Mabaso and Mr Amos Bhengu from Alcockspruit in front of the Alcockspruit church. The church took the community 30 years to build. It was vandalised when the community were forcibly removed in 1969. Besides return of their land, the community wants the government to restore buildings and facilities on the land.

We are not coming cap in hand, we are saying we require the return of our land in the manner which we will determine. We hold the government responsible for the destruction of the structures which were on our land," Mr Horatius Mabaso, of the Alcockspruit community told the Advisory Commission on Land Claims (ACLA).

On February 24 1993, the Alcockspruit community presented their land claim to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) at a public hearing in Newcastle.

It seems most likely that the community's land will be returned to them. The state still owns the land being claimed and there was no opposition to the community's claim from the Natal Provincial Administration's Community Services branch and the local farmers' association. We trust that ACLA will soon be making its recommendation to the state president and that a favourable decision about the land will be made public soon.

In addition to its claim that the three farms which comprise Alcockspruit be returned to them, the community also asked

ACLA to get the government to buy up two farms adjacent to Alcockspruit so that evicted labour tenants from neighbouring farms could have access to grazing and agricultural land. This is the first time that a former freehold community has called for land to be made available to tenants as part of the community's land claim. The two farms in question are Koppie Alleen and Jubilee. The community also called on the farmer who had evicted the tenants to contribute to the purchase of these farms.

Mr Horatius Mabaso, chairperson of the Alcockspruit committee and a descendent of one of the



Mr Horatius Mabaso.

original purchasers of Alcockspruit, told ACLA that the community regarded this call as reasonable. He said that some of the evicted tenants had lived on the land for as long as 32 years. "But this farmer evicted them and is trying to settle them on land we are claiming," Mr Mabaso said.

"We know the suffering of the landless and we won't chase them away when we return to our land. We know how black people have suffered but we don't exonerate the farmers and the government from their responsibility. We can provide a residential area, but these people need grazing land and land for cultivation," he said.

ACLA has invited the Alcockspruit to submit a written report about their request that the government buy Jubilee and Koppie Alleen for the evicted tenants.

The community said they also wanted to see their land restored to the state it had been in before their removal. "We are not coming cap in hand, we are saying we require the return of our land in the manner which we will determine.

"We hold the government responsible for the destruction of the structures which were on our land (halls, dipping tanks, the church and others). We also

want our title deeds to be returned. We will be submitting a development plan to ACLA but we hope this will not hold up the return of people to our land. People want to return as soon as the residential area is



Mrs Suthu Campbell.

restored. Other development structures can be built when the people are in place. We trust our land will be returned, injustice will be undone and God's will be done," said Mr Mabaso.

Mrs Suthu Campbell told ACLA that she had also been



Miss Sheila Kunene.

born at Alcockspruit. "Our forced removal from Alcockspruit was very painful, the kind of pain which is difficult to explain," she said. Since the removal, she had not had a house of her own. She only got a house of her own two weeks ago, she said. She said that Alcockspruit before the community's removal had been a place of peace and educated people.

Miss Sheila Kunene was in Std 4 when the removal occurred. She told ACLA

that her schooling and that of her brothers and sisters was disrupted because of the forced removal. "Our father had just died and our mother could not afford the school fees in the new area. My mother had to struggle for our survival. Soon after we were moved to Madadeni, my brother was stabbed to death. The forced removal affected our family very deeply," she said.

Mr Amos Bhengu, grandson of one of the original owners of Alcockspruit and son of one of the men who helped to build the Alcockspruit church, said the repeal of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts had created hope in the community. "Since the apartheid land laws have been removed, their effects must also be removed," he said.

Mr Phillips of the Newcastle Farmers' Association said the Association had no problem with the Alcockspruit community returning to their land.

Mr Neil Fox of the NPA's Community Services branch said the NPA would be happy to provide support to the community if they had their land returned. "Natal has experienced tremendous violence over the years and if people can get the opportunity to return to their farms this will give them the chance to escape from this violence. People have been clear in expressing their aspirations and desires to go back to the land and if granted permission to return these aspirations could be realised," he said.

About 200 members of the Alcockspruit community attended the hearing.



KwaZulu leans on IDT

THE IDT is encountering serious problems in KwaZulu, which insiders blame on the homeland administration's belief that it should be the only channel for development. Severe tensions have arisen between KwaZulu officials and community structures, such as civics, resulting in projects being held back in many areas. Ironically, the IDT's Finance Corporation continues to lend millions of rands to the parastatal KwaZulu Finance Corporation despite the problems. The major stumbling block appears to be KwaZulu's insistence that local councillors and tribal authorities alone should control the development process. This goes against the IDT's requirement for community participation in projects. In some cases, local representatives of KwaZulu have reached agreement with community structures about the development process only to go back on their word after being pulled into line by Ulundi.

KwaZulu's Interior Minister, Stephen Sithebe, has made it clear that his administration will not recognise civic organisations, let alone work with them.

(Work In Progress, Reconstruct Supplement: February 1993)

Local government forum gets going

ALL parties to the local government negotiating forum have accepted its proposed structure. The government and civic organisations agreed in January this year to set up the forum. The forum will discuss local government issues and take proposals on these to the national negotiating forum. It is made up of statutory and non-statutory bodies. Speaking for the statutory bodies, Local Government Minister, Tertius Delport said the government was taking steps to rationalise administration. From April 1, local government would be administered by a single central government department with devolution of functions to provincial administrations. South African National Civics Organisation president, Moses Mayekiso, speaking for the non-statutory bodies, said civics were concerned about the extent to which unilateral restructuring had already occurred. He said the forum had to address, among others, service delivery and payment. The forum should also provide measures to bring "conservative white local authorities and certain homeland authorities" into the negotiation process.

(Business Day: March 23 1993)

ACLA's scope may be widened

THE Advisory Commission on Land Affairs (ACLA) may have its terms of reference extended to urban areas and may also deal with claims from people whose land was confiscated in terms of apartheid laws. The Land and Regional Affairs said this in parliament, when

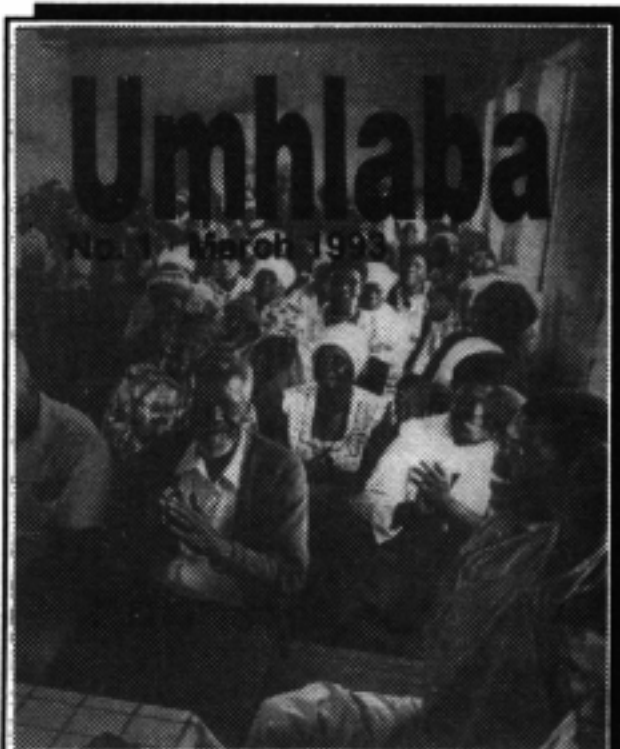
he responded to a question from the House of Delegates about the future of Durban's Block AK. He said that "there may be amendments" to the Act governing the commission's activities.

(Natal Mercury: March 4 1993)

Homelands got more than 2 million ha from SADT

THE homelands got more than 2 million hectares of land owned by the South African Development Trust (SADT) when the SADT was scrapped. At the time of its abolition, the SADT held 1,2 million hectares of land in South Africa and 2 033 956 hectares in the homelands. Of this, 1,2 million was transferred to the Department of Regional and Land Affairs and the remaining 2 033 956 was divided between the six homelands. KwaZulu got 1 013 487 hectares, Lebowa 506 325 hectares, Gazankulu 304 086 hectares, KaNgwane 146 821 hectares, KwaNdebele 16 738 hectares and Qwa Qwa 46 499 hectares.

(Citizen: March 19 1993)



UMHLABA aims to give a voice to rural communities to talk about their land and related struggles. If you or your organisation would like copies of *Umhlaba*, please contact AFRA at (0331) 457607.



World Bank criticises SA farming policy

A CONFIDENTIAL World Bank draft discussion paper has criticised SA's agricultural policy which favours capital-intensive white farming. The paper called for a shift to small scale agricultural production. It said that the agricultural policy had encouraged large-scale farms which were more inefficient than small-scale farms. The creation of a small-scale commercial farm sector would generate substantial new rural income, employment and exports, the paper said. Studies had found that the most profitable and productive farms had the least amount of real investment in machinery and equipment per hectare. The Bank said a substitution of labour for capital would improve output and efficiency.

(Business Day: March 3 1993)

New organisation for chiefs

THE Federated Council for Traditional Leaders was launched at the end of February. KwaZulu Works Minister, Simon Gumede was elected chairperson of the Federation. Gumede said the organisation had been formed because chiefs felt the Congress of Traditional

leaders (CONTRALESA) did not represent their interests. CONTRALESA stood for a unitary state, while the new Federation favoured federalism.

(Natal Witness: March 5 1993)

New laws to pave way to federalism

PLANNED new laws enabling self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach agreement will be an interim step towards federalism, believes IFP chairperson and KwaZulu cabinet minister, Frank Mdlalose. At a meeting in Cape Town in February homeland governments and provincial administrations agreed on integrating administrations to help advance regional cooperation. Dr Mdlalose is also chairperson of the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority (JEA), which already administers the affairs of Natal and KwaZulu. The impending new laws would enable the JEA to have greater and more effective decision-making power over issues affecting Natal/KwaZulu.

(Citizen: February 12 1993)

PAC position on land

EXISTING property laws will be repealed and private ownership of land will be abolished, if the PAC came to power, the organisation said in a policy document released at the end of February 1993. Land reform would have to start with the socialisation of land and a limit on the size of land an individual could hold. The PAC said that individuals would be able to hold up to a general limit of 300 hectares. Abolishing private land ownership would make it easier for the masses to gain access to land.

Redistribution of land would involve the scrapping of the bantustans and the reversion of this land to local authority administration. Where land was expropriated, no compensation would be paid for the land itself. A PAC government would only pay compensation for developments on the land. The prime beneficiaries of land redistribution would be families currently living in the homelands and in new squatter areas, most of whom are recently-arrived migrants from the homelands. Land lost through forced removal would be returned to original communities who lived on the land.

(New Nation: February 19 - 25 1993, Business Day: March 3 1993)

White farming gets big handouts

JUST less than 40% of the Agricultural Development Department's 1991/1992 expenditure went to subsidies for white agriculture. Agricultural financing was the largest expenditure of the Department's R771,7 million allocation. Of the 40,3% which went to agricultural financing, almost all went to subsidies and loans. Aid for debt consolidation came to R98,7 million, crop production loans were R157,1 million and costs for land bought came to R10 million. Subsidies paid amounted to R305,3 million, of which R112,6 million was carryover debt and new production credit. Drought aid to stock farmers was R50,3 million and farm labourer housing got R16,5 million.

(Business Day: March 17 1993)