

**TITLE**

**The Potential Conflict between a Just Land Reform Policy and Nation  
Building: A Case study of the Cornfields Community**

By

Ntandazo Hlopoyiya

(Bachelor of Social Science Honours)

FOR COURSEWORK MASTERS:

In partial fulfilment for the degree in Master of Social Science (Political Science) in the  
School of Human and Social Studies, Faculty of Human and Management Sciences at the  
University Of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

## **Abstract**

This study explores the government's current land reform programme in the light of nation building. It is hypothesised that though the government means well by its introduction of the programme, the current land reform policy will negatively affect race relations. This is due to the fact that the introduction of this policy has exacerbated white fears of dispossession and raised black expectations of redress. Therefore, the success of this policy will exacerbate white dissatisfaction, and the failure of the policy will frustrate black expectations. Nevertheless, it is argued that this is only prevalent in the short run where as in the long run nation building could be achieved through this programme.

## **Declaration**

This thesis was undertaken under the Department of Political Studies, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, with the supervision of Dr. Laurence Piper and Ms. Christine Macdonald as the co-supervisor. This is an original work by the author. It has never been submitted for any degree or any diploma to any other institution. Work of others that has been used has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Ntandazo Hlopoyiya

## Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	i
<b>Declaration</b>	ii
<b>Contents</b>	iii
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	iv
<b>Glossary</b>	v
<b>Introduction</b>	1
<b>Chapter One.</b>	5
1.1 The Concept of Race	7
1.2 The Concept of Ethnic Group	11
1.3 The Concept of a nation and the Possibility of Building a South African Nation	14
<b>Chapter Two: Land Reform in South Africa</b>	22
2.1 A Brief Overview of Land Dispossession in South Africa	24
2.2 The Need for Land Reform in South Africa	28
2.3 The Land Reform Programme	32
2.4 Problems with the Current Land Reform Programme	37
<b>Chapter Three: The Case Study</b>	41
3.1 A Case Study of Cornfields	41
3.2 A Brief Background of the Cornfields Area	41
3.2.1 Map of Cornfields and Thembalihle	42
3.3 Problems Affecting Cornfields Community	44
3.4 Threats of Forced Removals	46
3.5 Cornfields in the 90s	49
<b>Chapter Four: Discussion of Findings</b>	52
4.1 Perceptions of White Farmers of the Land Reform Programme	55
4.2 Perceptions of Blacks about Land Reform Programme	64
4.3 Conclusion	73
<b>Conclusion</b>	75
<b>Appendixes</b>	79
<b>References</b>	84

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank both Ms Christine Macdonald and Dr. Laurence Piper for their patience and their extra ordinary assistance with this thesis from the beginning to the end.

I would like to thank Sihle Mkhize from AFRA for his contribution in the study. Mr. Green (Chairman of Estcourt Farmers Association), and Mr Mbele, Chairman of the Trust in Cornfields made the job of interviewing the community of Cornfields (surrounding white farmers and the black community) an easy task, I thank them for that.

I would also like to thank all those who took their time to speak to me. My friends have played a major role through their support and encouragement. They together with my family made this thesis possible.

## Glossary

ACLA	Advisory Commission on Land Allocation
AFRA	Association For Rural Advancement
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
FSG	Farmers Support Group
GNU	Government of National Unity
KwaNALU	KwaZulu Natal Agricultural Union
NGO	Non-Govermental Organisation
NLC	National Land Committee
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
NPB	Natal Parks Board
SPP	Surplus People Project

## **Introduction**

The history of South Africa reflects deep racial animosity between blacks and whites as well as serious ethnic clashes among the indigenous peoples of the country. Such animosity was aggravated by apartheid social engineering, a system of governance designed by the white minority ruling class to foster the concept of separate development along racial and ethnic lines. The introduction of apartheid did not only exacerbate racial animosity, it also ensured a skewed distribution of resources and further land dispossession. The implementation of apartheid policies socially and economically deprived those who did not belong to the 'supreme white race'. This imbalance was reflected by low literacy levels, joblessness, lack of basic services, poor health care etc. This state of affairs was deeply resented by those (blacks) who were excluded from the polity. They showed their dissatisfaction through various actions, ranging from deputations to massive resistance.

It was only on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1994 that all the citizens of the country were finally afforded a chance to vote for a democratic government. This marked a turning point in South African history that ushered a democratic dispensation. Like all newly democratic states South Africa has many challenges to face. It has a mammoth task of reconciling South Africans, developing South Africa, and redressing the imbalances of the past. This thesis intends to explore two of those challenges, which are nation building and the possibility of redressing past imbalances. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the compatibility of the concept of nation building and a just policy of land reform. The argument is that justice and nation building exist (at least on one vision of nation building) in a degree of tension. This is because a just policy of land reform in

South Africa exacerbates racial animosity at least in the short term and for many, racial reconciliation is a precondition for nation building.

In this study two views of nation building are given, and it is around these two understandings of nation building that the whole argument revolves. One view is 'procedural view of nation building'. Here nation building is based on the notion of equal rights and shared citizenship. Thus people are all equal in the eyes of the law, regardless of the legacy of apartheid, such that there is no preferential treatment for certain groups of the South African population. Some members of the white South African community support this view, as it will be shown by the findings of the research conducted with the Cornfields community. Another view of nation building is that of nation building based on 'substantive equality'. According to this view nation building should be based on the redress of past injustices, as ordinary people need a stake in the new South Africa really feel part of the South African nation. Likewise, in Chapter Three it is shown that the black members of Cornfields community support this view.

These different understandings of nation building relate quite divergently to issues of justice and land reform. It is my view that the conception of nation building based on redressing of past imbalances could lead to the realization of the objective of nation building. Such realization is based on the hopeful acceptance by whites, especially farmers, that blacks have been deliberately and wrongfully disadvantaged, hence the need for redress.

The logic of my argument requires defining nation building. One would see the South African nation as a common identity built on shared political factors: specifically, an equal citizenship

based on shared human rights. What is at stake in the procedural and substantive debate is the meaning of equal citizenship. This conception of nation building is contrasted with the apartheid regime's, the one of racial and ethnic differences that aimed to maintain white supremacy. Thus in Chapter One, three concepts are defined, namely race, ethnic group and nation. It is shown how these concepts were socially constructed under the apartheid government and challenges this poses for an inclusive post apartheid South African nationalism.

The argument of land reform as an attempt to implement justice in South Africa is explored in detail in the second chapter. This chapter deals with land reform in South Africa as introduced by the democratic government in 1997. It starts by looking at how land was taken from the black people and at the need and the importance of redressing past imbalances in land distribution. It also looks at the problems with the current land reforms, which depict examples as to why the land reform programme seems to be in tension with the procedural vision of nation building.

The third chapter is a case study of the Cornfields community. This chapter traces the reasons and the conditions leading to land dispossession of black community members of Cornfields. It also looks at the problems affecting this black community as well as how can those problems be linked to land reform programme. The last chapter is the conclusion and it summarizes the findings and completes the argument by linking attitudes to land reform to contesting visions of nation building. In these findings one would notice that there is a possibility of conflict fuelled by a just land reform programme. This results when white citizens (especially farmers) do not feel as if they are treated as equal citizens of the country. They see the programme as biased in favour of blacks, thus an affirmation for one group of South African citizens only. For the

procedural view of nation building any form of racial animosity prevents nation building. However, as I will argue, justice is a precondition for most South Africans to feel properly included in the new South African nation. Thus in the short term, racial animosity may be unavoidable, but will not necessarily prevent a single united South African nation emerging later.

## Chapter 1

This study hinges on three concepts: 'race', 'ethnic group', and 'nation'. By defining these concepts, it is hoped that this lays the basis to discuss nation building in the South African context. Typically, the era of post apartheid South Africa is characterized by diversity and the absence of a nation. Most commentators (like Marx, Makgoba, Paton and Giliomee) agree that there is no single united South African nation, instead there are different ethnic groups as well as racial groupings of people. Such divisions based on racial and ethnic animosities appear to be threatening democracy, as people tend to be loyal to their respective groups rather than their state. The South African state, (especially during the apartheid era), has been instrumental in the creation as well as the enforcement of this division. The government of South Africa has taken it as its responsibility to eradicate apartheid legacy and hopefully reconcile South Africans. This is indicated by various policies like Affirmative Action, and Land Reform Programme, and also commissions like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Since South Africa is a diverse country there needs to be ways of making those who regard South Africa as their country to learn to think of themselves as South Africans rather than blacks or whites or Xhosas, Zulus, Afrikaners, Indians, Sothos or perhaps Tsongas. It is not necessarily wrong to have people identifying themselves in terms of their culture, their language, their race, and their ethnic group or perhaps their gender. What could be wrong is when such identity is used to prejudice other certain individuals who are also South Africans. If that is allowed to happen chances are South Africans will always be divided along racial or ethnic lines.

In its attempt to eradicate the legacy of apartheid, the South African government appears to be faced with a dilemma of justice versus nation building. This dilemma is caused by the fact that eradicating apartheid requires policies that aim at equitable redress, and they may not be warmly welcomed by whites<sup>1</sup>. Since whites gained privileges during the apartheid era, the eagerness of government to redress apartheid, may threaten whites due to the fear of losing those privileges (Makgoba, 1998:279). On the other hand it might happen that when the government shows signs of eagerness for equitable redress, it will or already has raised the expectations of blacks. Therefore if the government does not fulfil its promises, black expectations could be frustrated. Hence the dilemma that is facing the government is that justice may frustrate nation building and vice versa.

In exploring this dilemma certain concepts are used. It appears that the concepts of race, ethnic group and nation have been constructed in particular ways in South Africa with negative connotations attached to these concepts. In order to deal with these concepts, this Chapter is divided into sections, and the first section explores the concept of race and its usage. It looks closely to the way race was constructed and used in South Africa during the apartheid period. The second section explores the concept of an ethnic group as well as its usage in South Africa. The third section explores the concept of a nation generally and in South Africa. There is also an exploration of nation building specifically in the South African context. The section finishes by suggesting a possible approach to nation building.

---

<sup>1</sup> White is used here to refer to Afrikaners and British descendants, while black is used as referring to common victims of apartheid like blacks, Indians and coloureds. Further specification will be made, if the need necessitates.

## 1.1 The Concept of 'Race'

This section develops an understanding of race by tracing its evolutionary understanding from the scientific to the social. It is hoped, at the end of this section, to show how race has been used particularly in South Africa to further the objectives and interests of the regime in power. In early twentieth century races were thought to be biologically given. Scientists divided humankind into different races on the basis of differences in physical appearance such as the skin colour, and hair texture which they believed referred to underlying genetic distinctions. On the basis of the physical differences scientists identified three races, which were the Negroes, the whites and yellow races (Appiah, 1992:34).

Nevertheless, the lack of legitimacy of the scientific analysis following the racial atrocities of Nazism in the Second World War meant that the scientific explanation of race lost popularity (Boonzaier, 1988:62). It is further argued that after 1950 some scientists decided to dissociate themselves from the race paradigm. Also the important point that was made was that scientific conception of race referred exclusively to physical characteristics not social or cultural characteristics (Ibid). Appiah (1992) maintains that Du Bois, an advocate of pan Africanism in United States of America, believed that in order to understand the concept of race, both biological conception and the socio-historical conception should be used. To him race meant:

a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, tradition and impulses, who are both involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life (cited in Appiah, 1992:29).

Du Bois makes a valid point in the understanding of race as a social construct rather than a biological construct. As Appiah (1992: 45) points out, there is no sustainable evidence for scientific point of view. The understanding of race has evolved from being biologically based to being socially based. Thus, race is being used to socially categorize people. People attach various assumptions and meanings to the concept thereby justifying their claim that people are different. It appears that through the social meaning race is our own invention and the biological conception of race is also an illusion. He points out that “ the truth is there are no races: there is nothing in the world that can do what we ask race to do for us... The evil that is done is done by the concept, and by easy -yet impossible- assumptions as to its application” (1992:45). People are discriminated and prejudiced through the use of the concept of race. This suggests that race is also used to further certain objectives, suggesting that it is social and political in nature rather than biological (Boonzaier, 1988:58).

Race is therefore used to categorize human beings and justify such categorization. It is used to dominate people and allow certain individuals to oppress others. Dikotter (1997) maintains that when there is talk of race one should expect stereotypes and misperceptions leading to certain groups being regarded as superior and dominant while others are inferior and subordinate.

Chinese scholars for example, believed that there were only four races. Such races included yellow and whites, who were seen as wise, as rulers and united. The other two races were the red and the blacks who were believed to be stupid, slaves and scattered (1997). The concept of race was deployed explicitly for political and economic reasons. This construction of race, as Taylor (1999:3) has mentioned, was through state-making imperatives, as a conceptual system for

representing others in terms of negatively evaluated content and establishing relations of power and forms of inequality.

When one looks closely at the South African case, it becomes clear that during the early years of apartheid, the disenfranchisement of blacks after the union government of 1910 was justified through the use of the concept of race. South Africans were grouped according to their so-called races. Also the Population Registration Act of 1950 defined four major races as native (later called African and again black), coloureds, Indians and whites. (Platzky and Walker, 1985:xiii). Boonzaier (1988:58) maintains that in South Africa political, economic as well as social status was largely conditioned if not predetermined by race. Thus those in power were a superior race and their economic advancement was supported by the use of race. Being black in South Africa constituted a disadvantage as far as economic advancement and political rights were concerned. Those who were regarded as black were subject to unpleasant conditions and they undermined by those who were regarded as white.

In South Africa the state was an agent which championed the enforcement as well as the major use of the concept of race. The state manipulated race in South Africa for certain reasons. Marx (1998) reflects this line of argument very well in his claim that race was socially constructed in South Africa even long before the apartheid era. The concept of race was used to further the objective of state legitimacy as well as to serve economic interests of whites or the ruling elite. Thus, the concept of race was a precondition for white solidarity between British and Afrikaners. White solidarity was seen as a precondition for state unity. The British and the Boers emerged from the Anglo-Boer war, a war that was won by the British, as bitter enemies. It was evident

that the Boers were holding a grudge over the British for their loss of self-determination. As they both inhabited one state, it therefore became crucial to quell such animosities through reconciliation of the differences between whites. Driven by the determination to reconcile those groups, an alliance was achieved between the British and the Boers at the expense of blacks and coloureds, as well as Asians (Marx, 1998:91).

It was not only the Anglo-Boer war that divided whites. According to Marx (1998:10) the dilemma of whether and how to incorporate an African descendant population had long divided whites, undermining whites' potential loyalty to the state. Afrikaners in South Africa had a conviction that citizenship should not be extended to blacks. Thus after union in 1910, intra-white conflict was contained by projecting white racial unity through domination over the other race (Ibid., 12). In this way the conflict between whites was shifted to a more manageable form of white over black (Marx, 1998: 12-16). In the long run though, underestimating black people's potential for resistance was a mistake. These actions of racism backfired, in a sense that blacks responded to their exclusion from the polity by forming resistance movements along racial lines, for example the black consciousness movement of 1970s (Ibid, 201- 204).

It appears that race in South Africa was also used to serve the economic interests of whites. To develop the South African economy the government relied on racial segregation. It forced the darker skinned people of South Africa to work for whites as cheap labourers. (Thompson, 1990:165). The ruling whites forced black people off their land. Even though this removal was done before 1910, it was legally regulated after the union of South Africa with the passing of the Native Land Act of 1913 that blacks were officially moved off their land. This act restricted the

purchase of land by blacks, and forced them off their land, to become labourers for whites in industries and white farms (Marx, 1998:96). In addition the government passed acts reserving jobs for white people, among those acts there was the Mines and Works Act of 1911 and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 (Nuttall et al, 1999:15). These moves were instrumental for the ruling elites to gain faith of their white working class supporters.

This section has developed an understanding of how the concept of race evolved from scientific to a social understanding. It has shown the reason why race can be said to be no longer a scientific factor but a social factor. It has also shown the divisive way race was made to uphold power relations in South African history. White unity, which was threatened by deep anger and resentment on the part of the Boers, was forged at the expense of blacks and it was justified through the use of the concept of race. Also, race was used to further the economic interests of whites.

## **1.2 The Concept of 'Ethnic Group'**

The question that needs to be asked is, what is an ethnic group? It is sometimes defined as "a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the eptiome of the peoplehood" (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:16). In their definition Hutchinson and Smith point to kinship patterns, physical contiguity, religious affiliation, language or dialectic forms, tribal affiliation, nationality and phenotypical features as the symbolic elements of the peoplehood and as elements that help cement a certain group of individuals together (1996:6). Kellas (1991:5) adds that we need to consider that an ethnic group is more exclusive or ascriptive

in character. This therefore means that membership in a group is confined to those who share certain ascribed attributes. Thus, a person cannot choose his or her ethnic identity. Nevertheless another question that needs to be asked is why people use an ethnic group as their identity? We need to check if this notion of cultural identifications is not linked to some form of indoctrination. Thus we have to check if this notion of an ethnic group was not formed just like race so as to further certain objectives, especially in the South African context.

In the scientific definition of race it has been found that race often refers to physical differences like skin colour, hair texture and the shape of bones. Hence 'black' generally refers to dark people with curled hair, and 'white' to people with light skin and straight hair. Now in this discussion of an ethnic group we find that culture and history or perhaps language are usually the defining characteristics. In South Africa, race would be used when one differentiates between black South Africans and white South Africans, whereas an ethnic group would refer to Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Afrikaners, etc. As noted in the discussion about race, while the whites were busy with their unity (through race) at the expense of blacks, they unintentionally contributed to the unity of blacks as well. Black people's realization of their exclusion from the polity inspired their unification in the struggle for inclusion (Marx, 1998:17-19). It has also been noted that as they were excluded in the polity, blacks in South Africa found themselves sharing a common experience, thus resulting in the formation of a new "black" identity. Black unity constituted a threat to the ruling elite, which they looked to counteract. The solution as far as the whites were concerned was to divide blacks into smaller ethnic groups (for example Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos

etc.). They were encouraged to be loyal politically to their respective groups (or tribes)<sup>2</sup> rather than to the 'black' race. This was the logic behind Verwoed's 'Grand Apartheid' theory for example This is not to say that they were not divided before.

Mamdani (1996: 94-101) argues that during the apartheid era the state was bifurcated. Under such a system of rule, urban areas were divided from rural areas. In the urban areas the system of rule was centralized and it was a direct form, whereas in the rural areas, often referred to as reserves, the system of rule was decentralized and indirect in its form. Those in the rural areas were referred to as tribal subjects, whereas whites were the only citizens in urban areas. It was ensured that the chiefs ruled the tribes or the subjects in their rural areas, whereas the white citizens and black non-citizens in the urban areas were ruled directly by the central government.

So then in the South African case race and ethnicity were complementary. They all served to control or to rule the indigenous majority, known as 'black' in urban areas and 'tribal' in rural areas. In Mamdani's words

...to deepen and stabilize the rule of racially defined minority, it was necessary to split the majority into compartmentalized minorities. But that division could not be an arbitrary invention. To be believable and to stick, it had to be anchored in a historical and cultural experience. To consolidate racial rule (it was required that it had to be) anchored in a tribal mode of control: by defining every native as a Bantu belonging to a particular tribe, subject to regulation under its own customary law (Ibid., 96).

---

<sup>2</sup> In this study I chose to use an ethnic group instead of 'tribe' as the word 'tribe' is often associated with negative connotations such as primitive or rather backward.

Thus, ethnicity in South Africa was manipulated by the state as a way of furthering the objectives of controlling the blacks.

This section has developed an understanding of an ethnic group and it has shown the way ethnic group was used in order to divide black people, especially in South Africa just like race. The ruling power used ethnicity as a way of dividing black people and in that way, potential for a united resistance against the oppressive apartheid regime was countered.

### **1.3 The Concept of a 'Nation' and the Possibility of Building a South African Nation**

This section will discuss the concept of nation as well as nation building, with particular attention to South Africa. The concept of nation, like that of an ethnic group, is one of those concepts which, though often used in everyday discourse, is nevertheless very difficult to define. Smith defines 'the nation' as "a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and memories, a mass public culture, a single economy and common rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1996:358). Looking at the above definition, one would notice that there are many factors entailed in this concept (e.g. human population, historic territory, public culture, economy and common rights).

Gellner believes that nations can be defined in terms of will and culture as well as in terms of convergence of will and culture with political units (1983: 55). It appears that a nation can be a homogeneous community of common culture, descent, language, and history who claim the right to their own state (for example German nationalism or Chinese nationalism under Mao Tse Tung). Also, it can be formed through the willingness of the people in a particular state to be

within a community with other members of the state despite ethnic or cultural difference (for example the United States of America and Canada). In this sense, they become a community built on loyalty to the state. The above lines suggest that we can have either ethnic nations as well as multinational or multicultural nations. This means that if people do not share a certain ethnic background and descent, it does not mean that we cannot have a nation. Thus if people voluntarily claim the right to the state that they inhabit and show their loyalty by becoming patriotic, we can have a nation as well. That nation will not be based in any ethnic belief, but in loyalty to the state. Thus we have a nation based on citizens claiming the right to the state, and the right of the state, typically a liberal citizenship on shared human rights.

If one looks at South Africa in the post apartheid era, one would notice that there is no obvious South African nation. South Africans are divided by race, religion, ethnic affiliations, a different view of history and severe educational disabilities and income disparities and the legacy of racial discrimination (Pakendorf, 1991:157). In short South African society is very diverse. The only thing that is shared by South Africans is territory and a political apparatus. It has been noted that the apartheid state had been instrumental in encouraging racial and ethnic animosity in South Africa. It has encouraged blacks to think of themselves as ethnic groups rather than black race. It has misled the whites into thinking that they are a superior nation in South Africa. Thus they were indoctrinated into thinking that they are the only legitimate claimants of the right to the South African state. It is argued that it is easier to build a nation where there is cultural homogeneity (Simpson, 1992:2). This means that where there are few ethnic divides the task of building the nation is easier. The presence of Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Afrikaners, Indians, coloureds etc. constitutes a problem for South Africa. The South African nation cannot be built

based on common decent, common culture, common language and common myths. This is due to the fact that South African inhabitants do not share all the above, even if they all share the territory. For example the history of black South Africans is the history of conquest, land dispossession and racial discrimination, whereas the history of white South Africans is dominated by victory, superiority and domination over blacks. So we cannot say South Africans (black and white) share the same history or at least a history that will unite them. Each ethnic group has its history, language, and customs. Simpson argues that the problem in South Africa is the lack of an ethnic core “around whose values (language, history, mythology) a nation could be constructed” (Ibid.,12).

However, there are other obstacles other than the presence of many ethnic groups to South Africa’s nation building. One of those obstacles is fear by whites of losing privileges gained during apartheid. Paton (1971:44) states that:

...the obstacles are insuperable; among them are white fears (encouraging greed, cruelty, callousness, arrogance etc) fear of all other groups of whites, fear of all other groups of blacks (especially black revenge) fear of change of rulers, uneven racial distribution of population, and others, including of course the general cussedness of human nature.

Since there is no South African nation, it becomes clear then that the government must create an environment where South Africans will identify themselves as a nation instead of identifying themselves as separate groups. It becomes crucial then, that this newly acquired democracy should be consolidated. Such consolidation will ensure that the culture of democracy in this country persists (Diamond, 1999:67-68). Social divisions that are prevalent in South Africa as

well as political difference could make a democratic society unstable. Hence it is crucial to deal with those differences as well as divisions and encourage common national identity. It is argued that social diversity seems to become even more problematic for democracy when the key social cleavages are based on ascriptive characteristics like race, nationality, ethnicity, language or religion (IDASA, 1997:1). One South African nation has to be built so as to consolidate democracy. According to Pakendorf (1991:157) there will be a South African nation when most of the people of South Africa think of themselves as South Africans. This assertion therefore pushes for the discussion of an important concept of this study, which is nation building.

Before one goes any further with this discussion it is important to ask an important question as to what nation building is, as well as what it means for South Africa. The South African case is dominated by two views of nation building. One is that a nation can be built on the basis of shared citizenship (no favours to certain groups no matter their history) with equal rights, obligations and duties, in short procedural equality. Filatova appears to be supporting this idea. According to Filatova (1997:48-50) it is important that when a nation is built the strategies that are used are not biased. She first mentions that nation building should not be like an affirmation of another group in the population. This means that when we are building a nation it should not be like we are appeasing another group of citizens. Thus, in a process of building a nation no one should feel isolated. She argues that the government should stop trying to build a nation on the basis of poor black or African, because those who are neither poor blacks nor Africans will feel isolated. Such situation will then hinder nation building, thereby slowing integration of races (Ibid., 51).

Simpson also seems to have faith in this view of nation building as far as the South African case is concerned. He argues that, South Africa is in an advantageous position because during the apartheid era blacks struggled to be included in the South African state. They wanted to be identified with South Africa and form part of it. The introduction of democracy has opened such opportunity for them (Simpson, 1992:13). He also argues that a non-racial unitary democracy backed up by a strong bill of rights, will elevate the idea of citizenship, in the full liberal sense of the term to the position of prime depoliticizer of racial and ethnic division in the country (Ibid.). So, for Simpson a common South African nation can be built on shared citizenship.

The second view of nation building is that in order to build a nation there should be redress of past inequalities, thus substantive equality. Among people who seem to be championing this idea is Giliomee. He sees nation building as achieving an equitable but manageable redistribution of life's chances (1991:46). Mbeki appears to be sharing the same idea and he defines nation building as the construction of the reality and the sense of common nationhood which would result from the abolition of disparities in the quality of life among South Africans based on racial, gender and geographical inequalities inherited from the past (1998:186). Importantly this requires that inequalities inherited from the past be done away with. Only in this way justice can be achieved.

Taking the first idea which calls for shared citizenship and equal rights of citizens as well as equal duties, responsibilities and obligations, it appears this idea is in tension with justice. Referring to the example of a just land reform policy, this programme could hinder the objective of nation building. Now that every South African is believed to be equal to another (with equal

chances and opportunities) and thus form one nation, this programme does not appear to be treating everyone equally. Whites are asked to sell their land or they are threatened of confiscation if the need necessitates. Through this procedure they may not feel as they are treated as equal citizens of South Africa, and they will reject the programme as biased in favour of blacks. This could make them to be disloyal to the state and thus fail the objective of nation building. This is shown explicitly in the last chapter where findings of a case study conducted in Cornfields are discussed.

Conversely failure to redress past injustices could fuel black frustrations and failure of procedural nation building could frustrate whites. It therefore appears that both visions of nation building have costs as far as South African nation building is concerned. The first view is incompatible with justice, whereas the second view seems to threaten racial relations. The advantage of the latter is that it has justice on its side, which means that nation building must involve education of white farmers about the programme as well as enhancing their acceptance of justice. However, on the other side blacks have high expectations. They expect that at last there will be equitable redress. So the government has to avoid frustrating such expectation as it might fuel anger of black South Africans. One would therefore agree with Grundlingh in his assertion that the vast discrepancies in wealth between black and white are simply not compatible with the idea of nation building (Grundlingh: 1991, 26). It therefore appears that given their expectations blacks would rather opt for the second view of nation building, as it seeks to redress past imbalances.

In my view what is at stake when talking about nation building is common citizenship with rights and obligations and that individuals should be identified with the state and have equal life chances. There appears to be a problem as far as South Africa is concerned. For example it has been noted that a just policy of land reform is in tension with the idea of procedural equality. Again we have also noted that even substantive equality, which is our second view of nation building, operates in tension with racial reconciliation. However, it is shown in the findings that such problem will only persist for a short period, and in the long run one nation could be built. The realization of the objective of nation building in the light of land reform programme lies in the acceptance by white (especially those who prospered under the apartheid regime at the expense of blacks) that there is a need for justice in the country. It is crucial that in order to base nation building on shared citizenship and equal rights, there should be actualization of equality. The only way in which such equality can be maintained is to alleviate inequalities of the past (through the use of programmes like land reform programme). It should be understood by South Africans that though they all have equal access to resources in the light of democratic government, there are people who were afforded access long ago. This makes it difficult for South Africans to be referred to as equals.

Given the history of South Africa and the legacy of apartheid it is a seriously doubt that a nation can be built without the eradication of socio-economic discrepancies. There is no way that nation building through justice in South Africa cannot be like the affirmation of one group even though it is not the aim of government. The apartheid government affirmed one group of South African citizens, whereas the democratic government is now redressing past imbalances. So then nation building in South Africa needs to be tackled on the basis that in the long run. it will enable South

Africans to see themselves as South Africans rather than blacks or whites. Even though the question of equitable redress is a difficult one, the government must try and deal with it as soon as possible. Those white South Africans, who gained privileges out of the apartheid regime at the expense of black South Africans, should cooperate with the democratic government. Whites should be politically educated to appreciate justice. South Africans should all understand that short-term redress is a pre requisite for long-term nation building and they should not let their anger control them, they should be patient.

## Chapter 2.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the land reform programme introduced by the democratic government of South Africa in 1996, as an effort to redress the imbalances of the past. The main aim is to evaluate the compatibility of this land reform programme with the objective of nation building. Land is a very sensitive issue in South Africa because it is centered on the opposing interests of the dispossessed and those who gained land through past discriminatory laws. During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries several discriminatory laws regarding land ownership were passed in South Africa. The end result was a situation where land ownership and access by the majority of South Africans was severely restricted while a minority of South African citizens were allowed extensive land access and ownership. Race was of primary importance in land distribution. Approximately 13% of land (mostly barren) was made available to black South Africans and 87% of land (mostly arable) was made available to white South African citizens (Claassens, 1991:50-51). This therefore exacerbated racial animosity, which had started in the colonial era. Furthermore, landlessness has been one of the major causes of poverty for black South Africans.

African landholders and occupiers suffered heavy losses of land in the hands of the white settlers. Such dispossession took various forms ranging from trickery and bribery to forced removals of the indigenous people (Platzky and Walker, 1985:70-71). The coming into power of the National Party and the introduction of apartheid in 1948 worsened the situation. Apartheid (an Afrikaans word meaning apart-ness) introduced the idea of separate development (Nuttall et al, 1999: 9-10).

As noted in chapter one, under this system of apartheid South African citizenship was determined by colour, in favour of whites. Those who were regarded as black were stripped of their citizenship. They were referred to as subjects of tribes belonging to homelands or bantustans (Mamdani, 1996:94-101). So then, black land occupiers were excluded politically and geographically from South Africa. According to Platzky and Walker (1985:18) through the bantustans legislation “...the government hoped that all bantustans would opt for ‘independence’ and by so doing assume responsibility for millions of rightless blacks, who according to this new law shall cease to be citizen(s) of South Africa.” The idea of granting independence to the bantustans and the resulting citizenship regulations was aimed at removing black people, including those who could not be removed physically, from the citizenship of South Africa. Thus the government strategically limited their legitimate claim to the benefits of South African citizenship (Ibid., 18).

Since blacks were alienated from South Africa during the apartheid era, a major task of the current democratic government is to encourage and facilitate their identification with South Africa and their participation that they too are South African citizens. For this they have first, to be granted benefits of being South Africans, with land being one of those benefits. This line of argument is reflected in the assertion of Platzky and Walker (1985:19) that “ while people are citizens of a country they have the right to demand a fair and just distribution of land, wealth and resources of that country”. Equity should therefore determine the distribution of resources including land in South Africa, as a way of ensuring South Africans of nation building. Land

should be redistributed to all those who do not have it. Such redistribution should neither be on racial nor gender basis. Such a step could contribute significantly to nation building.

As suggested in chapter one, at least one vision of nation building (substantive equality) involves the abolition of disparities inherited from the past. Unequal racial ownership of land is one of the past inheritances (Claassens, 1991:50-51). Land is therefore needed for various things. For example the agricultural industry depends on the availability of land. And rural people who practice subsistence farming depend on land as well. It could be argued that unequal land ownership has resulted in socioeconomic imbalances. It is therefore necessary that the government deal with the issue of landlessness so as to redress these imbalances. The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) (1997:11) asserts that “without a significant change in the racial distribution of land ownership, there can be no long term political stability and therefore no economic prosperity”.

### **2.1 A brief overview of land dispossession in South Africa**

This section looks briefly at land dispossession in South Africa and the various forms that land dispossession took. This will help create an understanding of why land reform in South Africa is crucial. Firstly, it should be noted that land dispossession in South Africa started long before the coming into power of the apartheid government. It started during the arrival of the white settlers in South Africa. South African land dispossession can be traced from the seventeenth century and the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck. According to Platzky and Walker (1985:70) “one of the first things that Jan Van Riebeeck did after he arrived at the Cape in 1652 to establish a base for the Dutch East India Company was to drive out the local Khoi (Hottentots) cattle from their grazing

land below Table Mountain.” Again in 1658 he notified indigenous Khoi communities that they could no longer dwell to the west of the Salt as well as Liesbeck rivers (Ibid., 71). This was a start of land dispossession which was to dominate the history of South Africa.

The form that has been taken by land dispossession ranges from colonial to racial. Colonial dispossessions covered the period of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, as white settlers moved to the interior in search of grazing land, minerals and markets and in that process blacks were pushed into smaller and poorer patches of land (Ibid., 72). The issue of land was one of the causes of conflicts between indigenous people and white settlers. Pillay (1991:4) points out that “after the late 1700s, within the lifetime of the first Dutch settlers, at the Cape, the Boers and the local inhabitants (especially the Khoisan and the Xhosa) became locked in a struggle for control of the rich pastures of the Eastern Cape.”

Land dispossession also took place through racially exclusive colonial legislation. In the colonial period, bourgeois private property relations were introduced frequently at the exclusion of black indigenous people (Levin, 1997:102). Blacks were not allowed to occupy land in areas other than the reserves, which were a fraction of former land retained by African chiefs after dispossession but before the apartheid era (Platzky and Walker, 1985:72). In the nineteenth century South Africa was divided into four provinces (Orange Free State, Transvaal, Cape province and Natal). The Orange Free State and Transvaal belonged to the Boers or the Afrikaners, whereas the British colonial administrators controlled the Natal and Cape provinces. In all these provinces there were reserves where the blacks were expected to stay. In these provinces very little land was under the occupation of blacks and even this meager occupation was resented by white

farmers who considered themselves as having a monopoly on land in South Africa (Platzky and Walker, 1985: 72-75). Such resentment was due to political as well as economic reasons.

One of the economic reasons was labour. Black landowners were restricted access to land so that they would supply cheap labour to the mines as well as to white owned farms. It was believed that extensive occupation of land by blacks would hinder this objective and allow blacks an opportunity to be self-sufficient. As a result of restricted land access, black farmers were forced to become migrant labourers and labour tenants.

The Native Land Act of 1913 solidified land dispossession in South Africa. This act was introduced after the unification of South Africa in 1910. Through this act the union government made the reserves the only areas where blacks could lawfully acquire land unless as an employee of a white person. Platzky and Walker argue that the 1913 Native Land Act turned into law the process of dispossessing blacks of their land that had been going on for more than two hundred years (1985: 83-85). This act laid down the basis for the present day grossly inequitable occupation of land between white and black citizens (Surplus People's Project Reports, 1983: 33). It defined seven percent of the South African land as 'reserves' for African occupation, extended through the Native Land Act of 1936 to a total of thirteen-percent of South African land area (Nuttall et al, 1999:15). The Surplus People Reports state that:

The 1936 act sharpened the division between the two classes of freehold property (those included within the reserve areas and those not) and hastened the advent of the category of black spots which would have to be removed (1983:35).

Black spots referred to African freehold land that was acquired before the 1913 land act and lay outside the areas scheduled or released for African occupation (Platzky and Walker, 1985: xi). The land acts confirmed the loss of black-owned land in favour of white landowners while at the same time ensuring the continuation of the small-scale farming patterns of the Africans in the reserve areas. Another motivation behind the reservation of land for blacks in South Africa was to slow down the pace at which Africans moved to settle in towns (Nuttall et al, 1999:15).

Land in South Africa has also and always been a political issue. The issue of land was used as an electoral platform for the Nationalist Party government to get support from the white farmers. For example Hertzog in 1923, in order to increase and appease his rural supporters, resisted attempts to increase the amount of land set aside as African reserves (Platzky and Walker, 1985: 88).

These pieces of legislation prepared the ground for the policy of forced removals, which aimed to remove African landowners and occupiers from areas reserved for whites, and “resettle” them in areas demarcated for African occupation. Blacks were forcibly removed from white owned farms and from the ‘black spots’ (that is African freehold land in white areas) (Ibid., 90). Nevertheless, the scarcity of land on which to relocate people created an obstacle to forced removals, and hampered the National Party’s objective (SPP Reports, 1983:41). The government further took away the rights of land access from labour tenants. Cash and Crop Tenants were forced by the 1913 Land Act to work as labour tenants for white farmers to retain access to land. They were forced to believe that they belonged to the bantustans or the reserves. In this arrangement they were not South African citizens but the subjects of bantustan tribes.

Through successive processes of legislation introduced in the 1960s, in many cases farm workers and labour tenants were evicted from farms and the rights of labour tenants were reduced and legal recognition of their land access was withdrawn.

The government embarked on a system of relocation and resettlement for those people who were forcibly removed. In this relocation the government allocated “homelands” according to the ethnic group to which those removed belonged (Ibid., 44-47). For example Xhosas were sent to Xhosa homelands such as the Transkei or Ciskei. Such removals continued under the Group Areas Act of 1950. These were the first large-scale removals in South Africa under the apartheid regime. All non-whites were thus encouraged to think of themselves as Coloureds, Indians and Africans rather than blacks or workers or oppressed people who had many problems in common (Platzky and Walker, 1985:101). Removals were more sophisticated and brutal under the apartheid regime.

This section has explored the nature of land dispossession in South Africa. It has shown how such dispossessions were economic as well as political. It has also been pointed out that South African blacks lost their citizenship during the periods of land dispossession. The next section deals with the need for land reform in South Africa.

## **2.2 The Need for Land reform in South Africa**

Given the way South Africans have been torn apart by land policies of the apartheid regime, land reform is essential to deal with the legacy of apartheid. Due to unequal racial ownership of land, there appears a need for equity in land redistribution, and that can only be achieved through land

reform. Deininger (1999: 651) supports this, arguing that “theoretical reasons and empirical evidence suggest that land reform may provide equity and efficiency benefits”. In South Africa land reform can help deal with various land needs among the society and thereby helping to alleviate poverty. The greatest need for land is for residential purposes. Urban residents, farm workers and rural people need land on which to stay. Marcus et al (1996: 2-3) argue that urban residents and rural people due to their unfortunate expulsion off commercial white owned farms, find themselves with no place to stay.

Limited land, of which blacks are allowed access to as well as population growth, makes it difficult to allocate sites to everyone living in areas previously demarcated for African occupation. That therefore compels people to squat on other people’s land. Hence many squatters have been living for generations and generations on state land. Moreover, farm workers who live in farms are insecure. The land they are occupying does not belong to them but to the farm owners, making them vulnerable to evictions (Ibid., 2-3). The South African government has a task as outlined in the constitution, of giving individuals secured land tenure rights (The National Assembly, 1996:11-12).

The apartheid regime strategically discouraged blacks from entering the commercial agricultural system. Only very small land areas were made available for African occupiers, and commercial agriculture is highly centralized and inaccessible to small growers. Cross (1988:2) maintains that “land allocation system for blacks has been operating on a pressure-cooker situation where the historical majority of South Africa’s population occupies thirteen per cent of its land area”. Thus, blacks had land only enough for them to live on and practice subsistence farming. Wages and

particularly links to urban wages were (and are) essential for rural livelihoods. While black labour was an essential component in the development of South Africa, apartheid and the ideology of separate development allowed labour to be treated as a disembodied unit, with no thought to the reproduction of households, or the maintenance of that labour outside the period of work. Cross (1988:5) writes that "...relying on rural labour but failing the task of providing for basic needs, the South African nation owes its black rural population a land system which at least provides for equity and justice, in a form compatible with future development".

Furthermore, Bernstein, (1998:11-12) argues that the land in the bantustans was overused due to overpopulation as a result of mass removals, influx control and increased birth rate. People in the bantustans have been left with no choice but to use tiny land areas multi-purposefully. The end result has been poverty. These above lines bring the question of equity. No people should be denied land because of the colour of their skin. Again no people should be refused access to land due to the fact that their land use is not in line with commercial productive use of land. Whether people need land for production purposes (that is, rural subsistence or commercial) or for residential purposes, they must be given land. Failure to address problem of land scarcity could lead to land invasion. As Bernstein points out "... desperation can generate land invasions" (1998:24-25). Hence the land question should be addressed in a more careful and considerable manner.

While productive land use is often understood as commercial production on land, it could be argued that the issue of commercialised farming in itself leads to landlessness as land is concentrated in the hands of wealthy or more successful farmers. Marcus (1996:36) captures the

point very well when stating that "... commercial agricultural development is already undermining the egalitarian ethic on which communal tenure systems are based". She also points out that there is a problem with the present commercialisation, which significantly enhances productivity while generating extensive landlessness and rural poverty. She argues that there is a need to develop a system which significantly enhances productivity while still meeting welfare needs (Ibid., 37).

Women are also faced with particular land needs. Patriarchal ideology has led to a situation where women have been marginalized, and often seen as incapable of owning land. That in turn has boosted male dominance at the expense of women, as far as land ownership is concerned. Again Marcus argues that in South Africa, just as there are very few white women who are landowners or who are commercial farmers, black women are also very disadvantaged. While black women form the majority of farm workers, they are rarely employed as full-time employees, and they often experience employment conditions that are worse than those of their male equivalents (Marcus, 1991:26). Women are severely restricted in access to land and ownership. Even their very presence in the white owned land as Marcus has noted, is only tolerated with the idea that they are dependents of male full-time workers. She further asserts that:

Black women are the mainstay of peasant and simple commodity production on the land. Yet their link to the land is inextricably dependent on men through whom access to land is rooted both in 'white law' and indigenous law (1991: 27).

In addition women are more likely to be unemployed than men. In communal tenure, land continues to be allocated to men who in turn allocate it to their wives to use. Those who have access to land in their own right, are most often widows who have inherited the land on the death of their husbands and not even they are secured in their access (Marcus et al, 1996: 90-91). Marcus also argues that women in rural areas are subject to dual patriarchies "... which operate domestically and in the workplace, and which intertwine by virtue of the fact that work and home are physically located at the same site" (Ibid., 94). Gender inequality in land distribution has to be addressed. Conditions have to be made conducive for women to earn a living (DLA, 1997:17). As noted earlier on, if one chooses to deal with all past discrepancies (e.g. unequal ownership of property like land, gender inequality as well as racial discrimination) one would have moved a step ahead towards realizing the goal of nation building. A South Africa where rights to resources (political and economic) are not dependent on race, gender or geography should be built.

### **2.3 The Land Reform Programme**

This section looks at South Africa's land reform programme. It also looks at the problem that is likely to be faced by land reform in South Africa, of the incompatibility of the land reform programme and nation building. Beginning the of the 1990s, apartheid government under the leadership of President F. W. De Klerk acknowledged the need for land reform, although the reforms that were introduced were inadequate since they did not address the inequalities caused by the past. For example Levin states that while, the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) granted title deeds to the Natal communities of Roosboom and Charlestown, "... the

state demanded the communities repay the compensation given to them when they were forcibly removed” (1997:241).

In 1994 the first democratic government (the government of national unity) led by ANC was elected and identified land reform as an urgent task. The government initiated a policy of land reform that aimed at achieving justice by redressing past imbalances in land distribution. It is stated in the Department of Land Affairs white paper that the sensitivity of land as well as its importance compels the government to initiate a move towards land reform. Land is seen as a “finite resource, which binds all together in a common destiny”. It is also seen “as a cornerstone for reconstruction and development...” (DLA, 1997:7). In this document it is stated that land policy for South Africa should deal with (i) the injustices of racially based land dispossession of the past; (ii) the need for more equitable distribution of land ownership; (iii) the need to reduce poverty and contribute to the growth of the economy; (iv) security of tenure for all; (v) and lastly establish a system of land management which will support sustainable and diverse land use patterns and rapid land release for the purposes of development (Ibid.).

The White Paper on South African Land Policy also states that the primary reasons for the government’s land reform programme is to redress the injustices of apartheid and to alleviate the impoverishment and sufferings that it caused (Ibid., 11). Land reform aims at redressing the appalling inequality of incomes and provide the largely impoverished black rural population with basic needs and more secure livelihoods, as well as addressing the dispossession of those who were denied access to land and dispossessed of their land rights (DLA, 1997:11). The

government is committed in acknowledging the past and eradicating the legacy of apartheid while maintaining political stability.

The Department of Land Affairs' white paper on land policy states that:

...the historical legacy of South Africa necessitates land reform. Resentment over land dispossession runs deep in our society. It threatens to boil over, causing social and economic dislocation through the illegal occupation of public and private land in both rural and urban areas" (Ibid., 11).

The government's vision is a land reform programme and policy that aims at contributing to reconciliation, stability, growth and development in an equitable and sustainable manner (Ibid.,7).

South Africa's land reform is a three-pronged programme involving Land Redistribution, Land Restitution and Land Tenure Reform. Land Redistribution aims at providing available land for residential and productive purposes to the poor. It aims to do so by providing Settlement/Acquisition land grants to qualified people. This programme aims to improve the livelihoods of the poor, the landless and women in need. Priority is given to the economically marginalized, as well as projects that can be implemented quickly and effectively. Farm workers and labour tenants are also able to access government support to buy land (DLA, 1997:9-11).

The Land Restitution programme has the task of restoring land or providing other remedies to those people who were dispossessed of land by racially discriminatory legislation and practices

after 1913. This programme is supported by section 25 of the South African Constitution which states that “a person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress” (The National Assembly, 1996: 12). The objective here is to redress unfair dispossession and foster development (development in this case means social, but also economic upliftment) (DLA, 1997: xi). Land Restitution can take the form of restoration of land from which claimants were dispossessed; the provision of alternative land; the payment of compensation; alternative relief comprising a combination of the above; or priority access to government housing and land development programmes (DLA, 1997: xi).

Land Tenure reform seeks to improve tenure security of individuals. It aims at providing legal rights over land to people who are vulnerable to evictions (farm workers, women, people leasing land, communal tenure dwellers and informal occupiers of land). It is premised on the view that tenure must move towards rights and away from permits, and that there must be a unitary non-racial system of land rights for all South Africans. People should be allowed to choose the tenure system that is appropriate to their circumstances (Ibid., xi-xii).

There were different ways in which the disadvantaged groups found themselves in that position. For example in the case of land dispossession race was particularly important and economic advancement of whites was also pushed through that land dispossession. This therefore means that the government has to consider the issue of race as well as economic poverty when dealing with the issues of land. Hence it states in the White Paper on Land Policy that “without a

significant change in the racial distribution of land ownership, there can be no long-term political stability and therefore no economic prosperity (Ibid., 11). The introduction of the land reform programme could have fostered fears among white landed citizens on one hand, and raised the expectations of black landless citizens on the other hand. Makgoba (1998:279) argues that the present South Africans who claim to be liberals protect apartheid-gained privileges and push the idea of the acceptance of the consequences of inequality. Thus they have their agendas through the uses of liberal political ideology. He further argues that this is disguised racism. This suggests that the fears of white landowners will be aggravated by the insecurity of losing privileges gained during apartheid. Also such fears may be caused by the belief that those who presently have land through apartheid legislation might have to give up their land for the purpose of having justice achieved in this country. This question of fear is also shown and it will be discussed in detail in last part of the study, where by the results of the interviews conducted with white farmers in Estcourt district are discussed.

South Africa's land reform programme does not promote the forceful confiscation of land that was got through apartheid discriminatory laws. The programme facilitates the purchase of land by the historically disadvantaged with the consistence of grants from the government in a willing-buyer willing-seller framework. In the case of restitution, the government buys land where possible to address claims for land restitution. Despite this, I think it will be difficult for those who regard land as their source of income, especially white farmers, to sell land. It has been observed, for example, that some farmers tend to dispute claims against farm land, and this in turn leads to frustrations and delays in the process. The National Land Committee states that "farmers in particular regions have also initiated the establishment of funds to collectively

dispute all claims against farmland...” (National Land Committee, 2001:4). The above statement suggests that there is a fear among the white landed citizens. This will worsen racial animosity, and delay racial reconciliation.

However, if the programme fails it could frustrate black expectations. For example it has been noted that a certain vigilante group, have been reported to have damaged white sugar cane plantations worth millions of rands. This action and behaviour is, according to Walker, due to unresolved land claims (2000, 11). The above case shows signs of black frustrations, as their expectations are not met.

Given that racial harmony is a prerequisite for nation building, the governments’ land reform programme, however just, might hinder nation building (Giliomee, 1991:46). This could be due to unsatisfied expectations of those who need land as well as aggravated fear of those who got land under the apartheid regime. Land reform, however just, seems incompatible with nation building. As noted before Grundlingh (1991:19) believes that it could be difficult to sustain the reality of building a nation in a country where for decades race has been the main determinant for life’s opportunities. The land question should be addressed so as to correct the wrongs of the past and implement justice.

#### **2.4 Problems with the Present Land Reform Programme**

It could be argued that the land reform programme could lead, though unintentionally, to the deterioration of racial relations as a result of unsatisfied black expectations and white resistance to land redistribution. The possibilities of this are strong given the range of problems

encountered by the government's land reform programme. First, if the government favours agricultural productivity at the expense of land equity, as Hall (1998:53-55) states, it will further alienate those who are landless. She asserts that the government's land reform programme seems to be stuck between equity and production. It fails to identify how the two can work together, and often favours productivity over equity. She argues that while productivity does not necessarily lead to equity, equity can lead to productivity (Ibid., 452-454). The land reform programme has also been criticized for being very slow (James, 2000:158-159). By the end of 1999 only about 3000 claims had been settled out of 62 455 registered claims for land restitution. Similarly between 1995 and 1999 less than 2% of South African farmland had been redistributed (National Land Committee, 2000: 2). This slow pace of land reform programme could lead to frustrations among the previously disadvantaged and landless people, culminating to a situation where the landless will lose faith and, as Cousins has warned, resort to land invasions (Cousins, 2000: 3).

The land reform programme has also been blamed for fostering inequalities. According to Mngxitama (2000: 2), the land reform programme appears to help the rich to become richer. He asserts that

In the North West Province for example, four farmers whose farms will be purchased for restitution to communities will walk away with R15-million. Such a high price paid to white farmers, while the poor are told to buy a serviced site, makes it extremely difficult not to see the new policy as a mechanism to take from the poor and give to the rich, although this may be unintentional.

De Wet (1998) seems to agree with Mngxitama, that land reform will lead to inequalities. He states that, although one of the aims of the land reform programme is to contribute towards reconciliation by redressing the injustices of the past land allocation, it is not clear that its goals of distributive justice and reconciliation will be pursued without, in the process, contributing to the very problem of inequality, competition and conflict. Hlatshwayo agrees, arguing that the recently released land Redistribution programme for agricultural development now requires a R5000 own contribution in order for people to qualify for a redistribution grant. Through this, the rural poor will be excluded from the land Redistribution programme for agricultural development as they are unlikely to afford the contribution of R5000 (Hlatshwayo, 2000:2).

The government's land reform programme also looks unlikely to achieve gender equity (Hall, 1998:455-456). The government has stated that through the land reform programme, it is committed to enable people to get access to land. Its target in this will be the landless poor including women (DLA, 1997:46). As mentioned above, women are more likely to be unemployed, their control over land is not supported by social values and they are disempowered by the assumption of a patriarchal household units, headed by man (Hall, 1998:455). For these reasons women are unlikely to retain access to land, even if they do benefit initially from land reform.

Another problem is that the land reform programme could lead to conflicts. De Wet argues that there is a possibility of conflict between farm workers who enter into an equity arrangement with the farmer, forming an exclusionary landholding group and the landless people from the homelands or towns whose claims to land are excluded. He identifies conflicts between those

who have been built new houses in urban areas, and the future land invaders. Lastly, he sees conflict between men and women due to the conflicting provisions of customary law and the new constitution concerning gender rights and land (1998: 360). Walker has also identified the possibility of conflict. Referring specifically to the land restitution programme she argues that “far from always promoting reconciliation, restitution may fuel new, or reopen old, conflicts” (Walker, 2000:11).

This chapter has explored South Africa’s land reform programme in the light of nation building. It has looked at various issues of land in South Africa. It stated that given the history of land dispossession and the present unequal distribution of land, it is crucial that the land issue is addressed. The introduction of a land reform programme as well as its quick implementation is exactly what South Africa needs. It gives a direction towards the realization of the goal of redressing past imbalances through equality and fairness. However, looking at the land reform programme in the light of nation building, it appears that the two are incompatible. Reasons and examples of this incompatibility are discussed above. A prominent reason and as given in chapter one, is that given the understanding of racial reconciliation as a pre-condition for nation building, this programme appears to be threatening this recondition. This incompatibility might delay nation building in South Africa. This programme could further divide racial groups, due to white fear of dispossession as well as unsatisfied expectations of people who need land. Though the government is determined to redress racial inequality, there appears to be a problem as the government fails to rectify inequitable access to resources.

## **Chapter 3.**

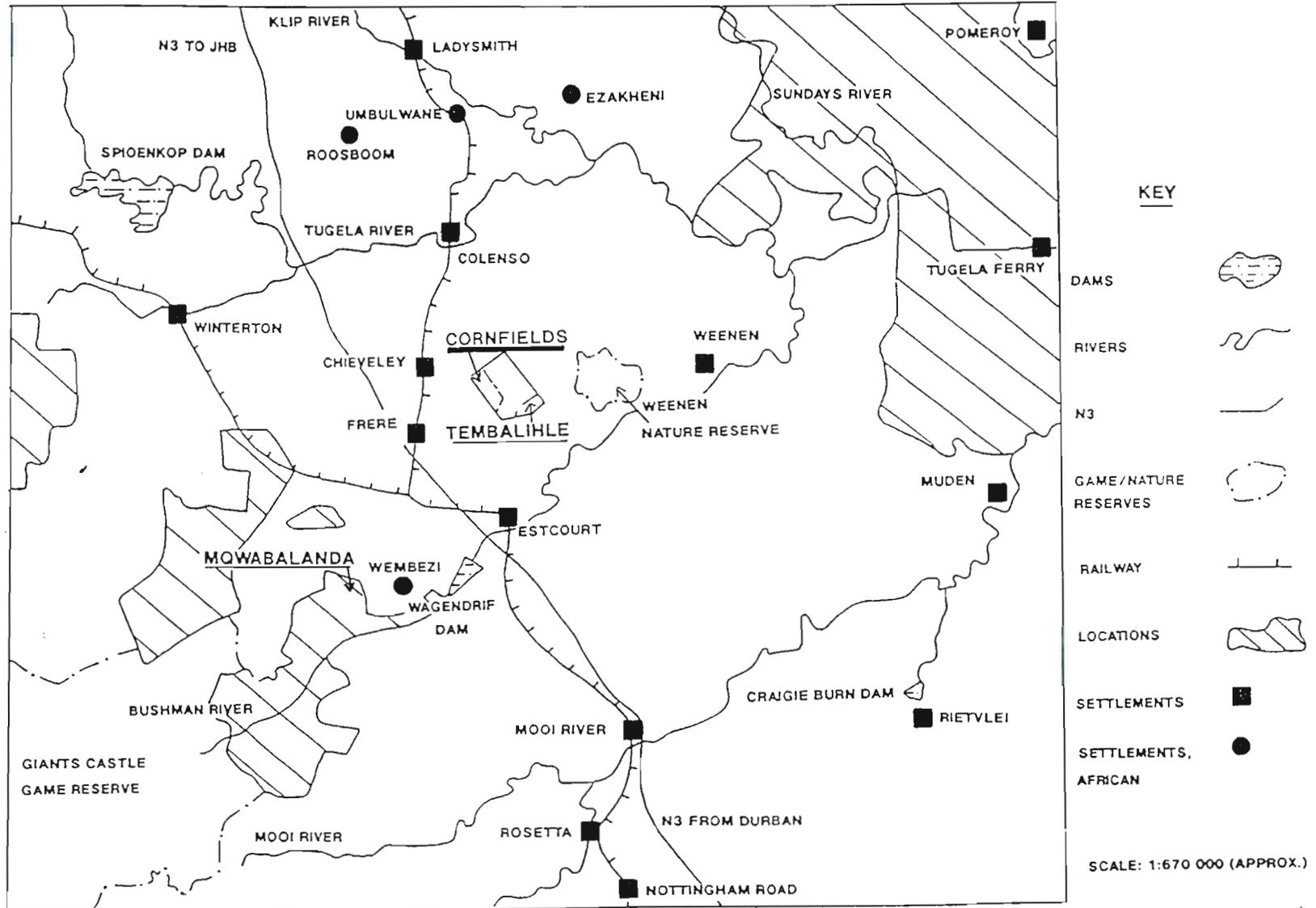
### **3.1 A Case study of Cornfields**

This study was conducted with the intention of exploring the hypothesis that the government's current land reform policy will negatively affect race relations. This is due to the belief that the introduction of this policy has exacerbated white fears of dispossession and raised black expectations of redress. Therefore, the success of the policy will exacerbate white dissatisfaction, and the failure of the policy will frustrate black expectations. For the purpose of testing the validity of this hypothesis a case study was recommended. The Cornfields area was chosen as a case study because it is an area in which conflicts within the Cornfields area (white farmers around and black people living at Cornfields farm) have been reported extensively. Also the people of Cornfields have been refused access to land for a long time. After a long struggle they got land after the new democratic government was put in place. Since the area has been reported as experiencing extensive conflict between the white farmers and black land occupiers, the question was whether such a conflict had been negatively or positively affected by the government's land reform programme.

### **3.2 A Brief Background of the Cornfields Area.**

Cornfields is a former African freehold area in the midlands of Natal. It lies less than 30km from the town of Estcourt alongside the main rail and road transport routes that run south-east to Durban and North to the Transvaal (see 3.2.1) (AFRA, 1991). The area is surrounded by white farms. By the 1980s it is argued that

SKETCH MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF CORNFIELDS/TEMBALIHLE AND MQWABALANDA



3.2.1

Cornfields farm had about 6000 people but by 1988 about 4 300 people left the area for a resettlement township called Mqwabalanda, due to forced relocations that were in operation during the apartheid government era (AFRA, 1991). Cornfields farm is about 1 483 acres/ 600 hectares of land. The income distribution for the area is skewed and the literacy level was very low in the 1980 but has gradually increased as the years progress. People in the area practice subsistence farming (Mr. M 1, 27-11-2001).

This farm was bought by Rev. William Cullen Wilcox for the people of his church. One of the community members and the chairperson Mr. M 1 stated that

“ ...he bought this land for his people ‘Amakholwa’ to have a secured place to stay and plough their crops. Amakholwa were people were serving under Rev. Wilcox’s congregation.” (26-11-2001).

This missionary arrived in Natal in 1886 and he worked for the American Board Mission Reserves of Umvoti, Mapumulo and Ifafa. On his arrival he bought three portions of the adjacent farm called Hatting. One portion was Cornfields farm and the other two were collectively known as Hopewell or Thembalihle near Escourt (AFRA, 1991:51-52).

As early as 1913 this area was proclaimed an African freehold area. Nevertheless, the passage of the 1913 land act restricted blacks from buying any land outside the reserves areas. Wilcox tried to resist the act by begging for the exemption of his areas, Cornfields and Thembalihle, from the operation of the act. He did this because he had already planned to sell some portions of his areas to the Africans especially those who were in his church. He was given permission to lease land to

blacks (Ibid, 59-58). However, Wilcox experienced severe financial constraints. He was unable to sustain development of his farms and both Cornfields and Thembalihle were put under the management of his solicitor named Drummond. Africans who had purchased land in full and had not yet been given full title deeds were allowed permission to settle in the area. They were to get their title deeds after all the land was sold. Wilcox left for Pondoland and his legal affairs were left in the hands of his solicitor (Ibid., 60).

For many years the people in the area have lived under appalling conditions. They were refused legal right to the land they bought from Wilcox. They were always in conflict with the surrounding farmers who resented the ownership of land by black people. One of the community members stated that:

Our forefathers never had peace in this area, they never felt as the legitimate owners of the land due to the treatment they got from the surrounding farmers (Mr. D, 26-11-2001).

### **3.3 Problems Affecting Cornfields Community**

There have been periods of friction within the Cornfields community especially between black community of Cornfields and the surrounding white farmers. The community of Cornfields recalled the conflict between the subjects of chief Mabaso and chief Zulu (chiefs that led two different Zulu clans and fought with each for the control of the Cornfields farm). They claimed that even though there was such conflict, it is nothing compared to the suffering they experienced from the surrounding white farmers as a result of the shortage of land, especially grazing land. (Mrs. Q and Mr. D., 27-11-2001). Another conflict involved the split of the community between 1919 and 1920, resulting from the fact that some of them decided to side with the evangelical

man and a member of ANC named Mhlongo. Mhlongo threatened to evict all Europeans, he was convinced that they were the reason why Africans had difficulty in acquiring land in the area. He also believed they were the ones who fostered inequality (AFRA, 1991:62).

There has also been a conflict between the original Cornfields community members and those people who flooded into the area due to eviction from the surrounding farms especially in the 1940s. That resulted in the overpopulation of the area. Since Cornfields was an area where black landowners had title deeds, it became a refuge for labour tenants evicted from farms, their families as well as their livestock. This led to land being overused (AFRA, 1999:28). The community felt that they were overpopulated, and the land they had was too little to accommodate their farming, thus they started to graze livestock illegally in the surrounding white farmers' land (Ibid., 63-75). That was one of the reasons why the community clashed with the surrounding farmers.

Furthermore, as a result of apartheid legislation, the tenure of Cornfields community was insecure. After the passage of the 1936 land act, the area reserved for blacks was only thirteen percent. Although, the 1936 act listed Cornfields as a 'released' area, the government often viewed the area as 'black spot' due to the fact that it was never implemented as a 'released area'. In the context of forced removals African title deeds in 'black spots' were not guaranteed security of tenure. Perceptions of the community members are that the white farmers claimed a monopoly of the area, and were determined to chase blacks out of the area. As Mr Q (a respondent from Cornfields) puts "white farmers in the area never viewed this area as a released area, they considered themselves as legitimate owners of this area" (26-11-2001).

### 3.4 Threats of Forced Removals

As noted above, sometimes the government (especially in the 1960s) viewed Cornfields as a 'black spot', under this notion the community of this area was threatened with removals by the apartheid government. The Minister of Native Affairs identified the removals of 'black spot' as the major priority (AFRA, 1991: 72).

In 1966 Cornfields and Tembalihle communities came under severe threats of removals, as the government proclaimed them as 'black spots'. The state persisted in trying to force these areas to move to the Wembezi and Mqwabalanda areas (Ibid., 75-76). They were persuaded to go there by devious means as the government promised them beautiful houses and more land for grazing and planting their crops (Mr M 1, 25-11-2001). The community's response to these forced removals was that they would not go to those areas, if the government forced them to go it should first make sure that it develops those areas.

Even though the government promised to move the people to more developed areas, the majority of Cornfields community stated that it would rather be developed in their own area. The government decided to suspend the removals in the late 80s and early 90s (AFRA, 1991: 76-79). During the suspension of removals, conditions remained the same in the Cornfields area. Population growth and unemployment continued, water scarcity was not addressed and there was the continuing overstocking of goats and cattle. It is important for this study to note that when the removals were suspended, the white farmers were still committed to the removal of Cornfields community (Ibid., 80, and Mrs Q., 26-11-2002).

Despite the government's claim of no further removals, about 4300 members of Cornfields community were moved in 1988. AFRA states that the government has claimed that those removals were voluntary. Mr M1. (Cornfields community member) said:

“the government never explained to us that the removals were suspended. It was AFRA who explained that to us” (27-11-2002).

Those people who moved were driven by fear of the brutality of white farmers if they refused to move. As Mr D. puts it

“...community members who left this place for Mqwabalanda and Wembezi, were afraid of the consequences of their refusal. Most of those men who left were persuaded by women and their children” (26-11-2001)

Those Cornfields community members who did not move argue that they were born and bred in the area, their ancestors were born there. Most of them say they liked Cornfields too much to leave it (Mrs Q., 27-11-2002). Another reason that stopped the community from moving was the presence of AFRA in the area. The community noted that with the arrival of AFRA they got to know that forced removals were no longer a government law. Mr M 2 (a respondent from AFRA) stated that

“we as AFRA, are specializing in helping people to get land especially those who lost land or were threatened of removal through apartheid discriminatory laws, Cornfields was one of those areas” (26- 10-2001).

Immediately after the government's announcement of its intentions to scrap racially discriminative land acts, the Cornfields community and another five communities launched a Reprieval and Land Acquisition Campaign during the first half of 1990. It was then that the Cornfields community became aware of the Thukela Biosphere, which was a joint initiative of the Natal Parks Board (NPB) and local white farmers to consolidate a number of game farms. Such a proposal was met with resistance from the community since the biosphere would surround their community and potentially threaten their existence. The community wanted more land, and the Biosphere would make their dream impossible. Cornfields community members claim that the Thukela Biosphere was not going to improve things. The project would combine farms including those which the community members were hoping to purchase so as to increase their land. Mr. M 1 (a responded from Cornfields community) states that

“ when the farmers told us about the biosphere, the first thing we asked was whether the community would benefit from the project and how. The farmers promised us job opportunities, and that is not what we wanted, we wanted land” (27-11-2001).

There was a stumbling block regarding the matter, hence negotiations were entered into by the community and the NPB and farmers (AFRA,1999:145). Mr.M 2 (from AFRA) stated that

“we decided to help the community to fight the issue of Thukela Biosphere. Our argument was that, how could the farmers prioritize game animals over people. People had no land but the farmers preferred to reserve land for game animals instead of people” (26-10-2001).

The objective of creating Thukela Biosphere was achieved, but with less land than the farmers wanted. Only one farm out of four, was used for the Thukela Biosphere. This was largely due to the pressure by the black community in the area for an additional land.

### **3.5 Cornfields in the 90s.**

The Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) helped this area in developing the community as well as in getting additional land. Before the unbanning of the political organizations by the apartheid government, and the introduction of reforms, AFRA had already started working in the area.

When the democratic government took office it was easy for Cornfields to get additional land, since the community had already been involved in negotiations of getting additional land.

Cornfields, Tembalihle, Gannahoek, Weenen labour tenants and the AmaHlubi Community fell within the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) Pilot Project. Both Cornfields and Tembalihle negotiated 8000 hectares of additional land in 1993 (AFRA, 1999:172), with a value of approximately R6,5 million at this time (AFRA, 1996:17). Initially R850 per hectare, was asked, but after negotiations the price was lowered to R628 per hectare (AFRA, 1995:16).

According to the community members they did not get all the farms they wanted. They managed to buy three farms out of four. They claim that the other farm owner refused to sell his farm to them (Mrs. Q., 27-10-2001). The transfer of that 8000 hectares was finalized in November 1994 after the creation of the necessary legal entity, a trust (AFRA, 1994:14). Cornfields was asked to

contribute 20% and the government contributed 80% so that the community could get additional land (AFRA,1999:17).

After the purchase of land AFRA dedicated themselves to helping the community in terms of fostering development in the area. They held a number of workshops on how they should sustain farming. In this they were joined by the Farmers Support Group of the University of Natal (Mr. M 2, 26-10-2001). The community tried to farm goats and cattle but was unsuccessful in that. This was due to the community's inexperience in commercial farming (Miss. N, from FSG 26-10-2001).

However, there is evidence that since the community purchased land they never related well with their neighbouring farmer. The community stated that they deeply resented the lack of support from their neighbour in terms of maintaining farming. However what appears to be bothering the community is the impounding of their cattle without consultation (Mrs. Q., 26-11-2001). Miss N. (a respondent from FSG) commented that

“relations are severely strained between the community members and their neighbouring farmer who refused to sell his farm. The greatest reason for this had been the impounding of Cornfields cattle without the concern of the owners, once they graze in this white farmer's area (28-10-2001).

Once their cattle are impounded for illegally grazing in that area owners are expected to pay R200 per cow. To them it is like the farmer is taking revenge on black people for taking the land of white farmers (Mrs Q., 26-11-2001).

The issue of relations between the community of Cornfields and their neighbouring farmer is explored in greater detail in the following chapter. It will be combined with the discussion of the impact of land reform programme on race relations and so, nation building.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Discussion of Findings**

This Chapter discusses the findings of the research that was conducted with the hope of supporting the claim that, 'a just policy of land reform programme could exacerbate racial tension and therefore hinder the objective of nation building in South Africa'. In its attempt to distribute land equally among South African citizens especially the victims of apartheid, the government finds itself in a dilemma of justice versus nation building on at least one view of nation building. As noted in Chapter One, for some racial reconciliation seems to be a precondition for nation building. In the South African case, the land reform programme seems to threaten such a precondition and thereby delays nation building. Two views of nation building have been given in Chapter One with one view based on procedural equality and the second view based on substantive equality.

It has been argued that the first view of nation building is based on the notion that in the post apartheid South Africa citizens are equal in the eyes of the law with equal rights, duties and obligations. This view is therefore based on shared citizenship. The second view, it has been argued, is based on the idea of substantive citizenship (that is citizenship as more than formal rights). Thus, according to this view past imbalances should be redressed and the legacy of apartheid should be eradicated. This is undoubtedly based on the implementation of justice, so that South African citizens who were victims of apartheid are not alienated and they can proudly claim their rights to the South African state.

As discussed in Chapter One, the first view is incompatible with justice, in a sense that it assures South Africans that they are equal without taking into consideration the history. Thus this view forgets about people who suffered under the ruthless regime of apartheid in South Africa. It will be noticed below that the findings of this research prove that this view is most likely supported by whites (especially farmers). When one considers the second view of nation building one would notice that this view supports justice, but threatens racial relations. Taking for example the land reform programme, it appears that this is a just programme as it aims at undoing the wrongs of the past and thereby eradicating the legacy of apartheid. Though this programme means well, it heightens the insecurity of white farmers. This is due to the fact that (as shown below) farmers do not feel as if the government is treating them as equal citizens of the country. The white farmers feel threatened due to their conviction that under the programme they may be required to give up their land. Since the beneficiaries of this programme are the victims of apartheid who are mostly blacks, it appears that this programme will exacerbate racial relations between blacks and whites. Such a situation will make it very difficult to build a nation using the notion of racial reconciliation.

This research also suggests that racial tension as a result of the determination by the government to redress past imbalances may only last for a short while. The findings from interviews conducted with Cornfields community, white farmers surrounding the area and different officials who have dealt with cases of land reform, suggest that after letting the programme take its course some individuals (especially white farmers) have mourned their loss (of land), but some have come to realize that they contributed something to a non-racial South Africa. So then my conclusion is while the government's current land reform policy will negatively affect race

relations in the short run, in the long run the objective of nation building can only be achieved through redressing past imbalances in land distribution.

The following section discusses the findings of research conducted among residents of the Cornfields farm, and with white farmers in the region. This research suggests that in the short run the land reform programme may exacerbate racial tension between black and white rural dwellers, although in the long run the objective of nation building could be achieved through this programme of redressing past imbalances in land distribution. The above findings suggest that in time white farmers accept the need to sell parts of their land for the long-term objectives of land reform. Similarly research conducted in Cornfields suggests that, through land reform, the anger and sense of injustice among land starved and dispossessed sectors of the population is reduced (Mr. S., 01-2002 and Mr. G. 02- 2002). However, initial resistance by some white farmers to make land available for distribution to those in need of land, and the considerable delays and inadequacies of the land reform programme does suggest that land reform in the short run strains racial relations and thus hinder the objective of nation building.

In conducting this study qualitative methods have been used. These took the form of face-to-face interviews with farmers near Cornfields (those who sold some of their farms to the community of Cornfields) and community members of Cornfields who participated in negotiations for the purchased land. Thirteen Cornfields community role players were interviewed. Also interviewed was one of the three farmers who sold their farms to the community and one farmer who refused to sell his farm to the Cornfields community. In addition five farmers in the Weenen and Estcourt districts who were familiar with the purchase of land by the community were also

interviewed. Interviews were also conducted with two people who work with the Department of Land Affairs, with the hope of getting their understanding of challenges, failures and success with regard to the land reform programme. Moreover one person from AFRA (a Non Governmental Organization that deals with issues pertaining development) who had worked closely with the community of Cornfields from 1991 to 1997 and one from KwaZulu Natal Agricultural Union (KWANALU) were interviewed so as to get the general feelings and perception of white farmers of the land reform programme.

These findings will be discussed under two sections. The first section will deal with the perceptions of white farmers of the land reform programme. The second section will look at the perceptions of black communities, especially the landless, of the land reform programme.

Underpinning negative perceptions about the land reform programme from both white farmers and black communities is lack of knowledge and bureaucratic difficulties. It is hoped that by looking at the above sections one would be able, at the end, to argue whether the land reform programme exacerbates racial tensions.

#### **4.1 Perceptions of White the Farmers of the Land Reform Programme**

The introduction of the land reform programme was met with different perceptions from both black and white citizens of South Africa. It was perceived negatively, mostly by white farmers and positively by some blacks. As Mr P 1. (a respondent from DLA) puts it,

“...people have different perceptions about the whole programme.

Most whites especially farmers perceive it negatively, and most

black landless people see it positively” (02- 2002).

This suggests that the perceptions of land reform could be divided along racial lines. The research showed that farmers interviewed had a distinct perception of the appropriate use of land in rural areas. They hoped that if they have to give up their land, that land would be given to people who will only practice farming. According to Mr. B (a respondent and a farmer from Estcourt)

“I don’t believe that farm land should be given by any chance to people who want to stay in it... Farmland should only be used for agriculture” (10-04-2002).

Mr. P 2 (another respondent and a farmer in Estcourt) reiterated what Mr. B said, asserting that

“...if people need a place to stay, it is the responsibility of government to build more townships, instead of using productive land” (10-04-2002).

Mr. B. stated

“I can’t give up my farm to people who are not taught on how to use my land for agriculture. With this introduction of land reform I think the government has ruined the land. You look at farms that used to be very productive, but were given to people under the new government... it is just a disaster” (10-04-2002).

The government’s land reform programme aims at giving people land whether they need land on which to stay or they need land for production purposes. This is done in order to undo the injustices of past racially-based land dispossession (DLA, 1997:v). This idea appears to be contrary to the white farmers’ perceptions of the programme. As Mr. P 3. ( a Farmer in Estcourt) puts it

“ I don’t see the reason why we should waste time and look at the past. The past is the past we should forget about it...Let us keep the trend and concentrate on the future” (10-02-2002).

It appears that it is this idea of correcting the wrongs of the past (while in the post apartheid era everyone is said to be equal) that appears to have contributed to negative perceptions of the white farmers of the land reform programme. As a result farmers have often refused to give up their land for purchase by the DLA. As Mr. C (a respondent from the DLA), stated,

“ it is rare to find farmers who are willing to sell their farms” (01-2002).

This unwillingness of the white farmers to give up their land could also be attributed to racial opposition, in the sense that farmers are not always willing to sell land to black people or to share an area with black citizens of the country. This often results in organized opposition by farmers against the land reform programme. As Mr. P1. noted,

“...in some cases farmers have been willing to sell their farms based on agreed price. We have experienced cases where even if a farmer agrees to sell his farm, he gets influenced by other farmers against the idea. Such farmers usually persuade the willing farmer to raise the price too high especially if they have heard that the area will be given to a certain black community. We are convinced that they raise the prices because they want to make it very difficult for us to buy their farms and they do not want to stay with blacks” (01-2002).

Mr Z. (a respondent from Kwa Zulu Natal Agricultural Union KwaNALU ) agrees with Mr P 1. and he adds

“...in a certain farm in Colenso one farmer raised the price to an unreasonable R2million, it was clear that this sudden raise was a way of blocking the DLA from buying the farm because when I looked at it, it was not worth that much. As a result that farm was never bought from that farmer” (02-2002).

Mr. P 3. (Estcourt Farmer) stated that

“if you give land to black landless people, you should know that you are creating a lot of squatters in your area, because they have many extended families... the end result will be escalated stock theft” (10-04-2002).

Mr. C (a respondent from DLA) also maintained

“...in some cases, some of the farmers have been reluctant to even speak to us, when we approach them on behalf of DLA. To me it appears as if some of those farmers have a perception that the DLA says farmers should take land and give it to the black people” (02-2002).

However, there is a possibility that negative perceptions of whites are not only caused by their uncertainty of land use, instead there could be racial unacceptability of blacks on the part of white farmers. The fact that some farmers refuse to share an area with blacks shows the possibility of this unacceptability. Another example is that of organized opposition against the DLA's purchase of land for black communities. Linked to racial inacceptance is stubbornness on the part of white farmers. It appears that the farmers are stubborn in a sense that they want the programme to run according to their beliefs that the land should be used only for agriculture. Mr F. (a Farmer in Estcourt who knows about the programme) stated that

“ I have given up my land, not for the purpose of land reform but I felt compelled to do so because of too much stock theft from my black neighbours...In this new South Africa there is no rule of law... I would not just give up my farm especially since I know that this new government spoils productive land.” (10-04-2002).

Looking at the above quotation it is clear that, it is not like this farmer does not know about the programme but he appears to be prejudiced and stubborn, at the same time he undermines the legitimacy of land reform programme. The farmers of Wakkerstrom, Piet Ritief, and Volksrust display an example of racism. Those farmers have been reported as racist in a sense that they repeatedly assault or kill farm workers, despite the DLA calls and the government officials to stop doing that. These incidents are said to be prevalent especially after white farmers heard that there are possibilities of black workers to claim right to land under Land Tenure Reform (Sama Yende, 2000, 6-7).

Another reason that makes farmers to oppose the land reform programme, could be their eagerness to protect their private property. There has been a debate regarding the property clause in the constitution of South Africa. The debate was about the protection of private property rights and constitutional guarantees of the land reform programme. The outcome of this debate is reflected in section 25 of the Constitution, which states that while private property rights are protected, expropriation is possible for the public good. The constitution also affirms the legitimacy of land reform and equitable access to resources, but where expropriation is necessary, obliges the state to pay market related and just and equitable compensation. The property clause provides clear constitutional authority for land reform, but the clause is

ambiguous because, “the government is committed to a land reform programme that will take place on a willing buyer- willing seller basis where possible” (DLA, 1997: 16), and equality guarantee of equality of access to resources is subject to available state resources to make this possible. Farmers’ resistance and unwillingness to give up their farms could be due to their conviction that they are not obliged to sell their farms and their private property is guaranteed protection under the Constitution. As Mr. P. 2. ( a Farmer near Cornfields, whom his farm was the only one not to be purchased by the Cornfields community) states

“ ...It is hard to give up your property a specially if you have sweat for it. I believe I am legally allowed to sell only if I am willing. So I have been keeping my property because I never saw a reason for selling it.... I am only giving up my land now not because I want to contribute to the land reform, but my sons have chosen to explore other business avenues rather than farming. (10-04-2002)<sup>3</sup>.

Another example of farmers’ interest in protecting their private property is that of Mr F. (a farmer near in Escourt, who gave up his farm for purchase to the community of Cornfields). He states,

“ ....as farmers we were interested to use our farms for the creation of the Thukela biosphere project” (01-2002).

According to Mr. G. a respondent farmer in Estcourt, this Thukela biosphere was

---

<sup>3</sup> The Cornfields community claims that this farmer refused to sell his farm to them, but the farmer denies that. He claims that he never sold his farm because he was left out, and the community had bought enough land.

“a project that aimed at shifting from stock farming to game farming and thus attract tourists. We hoped to run game farming due to reasons like stock theft as well as our realization that stock farming was no longer as profitable as it used to be” (01-2002).

Mr. F also asserted that

“ I was not interested in selling my farm, but I felt compelled to do so when the community members started to kill my cattle... Even those farmers who sold their farms along with me were never impressed with the idea” (01-2002).

These above statements suggest that farmers may be resisting giving up their farms, due to their eagerness to protect their property which they (according to the Constitution) are entitled to.

Though the DLA tries to clarify how the property clause links with the land reform programme, as well as what procedures should be followed for land reform to succeed, given the ambiguity of the property clause, the National Land Committee (NLC) has a different view. According to the NLC (<http://www.nlc.co.za/pamphlets,ND>) the private property clause maintains racism. It is argued that the clause only supports or benefits the South African property owning elite as well as foreign investors. NLC also argues that

“ ...the protection of the existing private property through the requirement that the beneficiaries of apartheid are paid just compensation has severely limited the prospects of land reform being delivered in terms of clauses 5, 6 and 7.... The skewed interpretation and the implementation of the rule of law regarding property rights in South Africa is a direct result of racism, but also demonstrates the blurring of strict racial divisions into a class contradiction between the land owning elite and the landless,” (Ibid)<sup>4</sup>.

Thus, according to the NLC the DLA will enable the rich to be richer and the poor to be poorer.

Negative perception of the programme by white farmers could also be caused by conflict of interests between the farmers and the community. For example in Cornfields, surrounding white farmers were reluctant to give up their farms, due to conflict of interest between the community and them. Farmers were interested in establishing a biosphere whereas the community needed land. As noted farmers in the area opted for game farming owing to the prevalent stock theft and their conviction that stock farming was no longer profitable. The community on the other side could not understand the reason why white farmers would give priority to animals knowing that the community needed land (Mr M 1., and Mr M 2., 27-11-2002).

However, it appears that not all the farmers have negative perceptions and attitude towards the land reform programme. As Mr P.1. (a respondent from DLA ) puts it

“farmers react differently when it comes to the land reform programme.”

(01-2002).

For example Mr. S. ( a farmer in Estcourt) stated that

“ I was grateful to know that the new democratic government seeks to undo the injustices of the past racial land distribution. It is a fact that blacks had been disadvantaged in terms of land ownership.” (10-04-2002).

The research has also shown that knowledge about land reform plays a major role in formulating the perceptions of the people of the programme. For example, Mr. C (a respondent from DLA) stated that

---

<sup>4</sup> Section 5,6, and 7 of section 25 confirm the state’s commitment to land reform.

“...in most cases white farmers were even reluctant to speak to us as DLA officials, with the impression that the main objective of the land reform programme was to take land from whites and give to blacks” (02-2002).

Mr. Z (a respondent from KwaNalu) stated that

“ I think such resistance of the farmers was caused by a combination of arrogance and it was also due to the fact that some of them did not know or understand how the programme works. Now that some of them understand, they are more than willing to give up their farms for sale. An example of that is some farmers in an area called Mooi River. Those farmers have voluntarily given up their farms for sale” (02-2002).

Section 25 (2) of the South African Constitution gives the state the right to expropriate land for the benefit and to the interest of the general public (DLA, 1997: 16). Since people who are mostly in need of land (especially to stay) are victims of apartheid (the blacks), expropriation of white farmers' property by the state could exacerbate racial tension and thus delay one vision of nation building. Also the problems that the programme itself has, could lead one into concluding that the programme might not be able to bring about equality let alone harmonious racial relations. For example it appears that the government favours production over equity in a sense that when it comes to land reform programme it gives priority to issues related to production, and tends to make the landless poor needs of land a second choice. This situation might alienate the landless people of South Africa (Hall, 1998:53-55). So the government does not seem to bear in mind that most of the people who are landless now were deliberately put in that condition by the apartheid regime. This also applies to those wealthy landed white farmers as well (Ibid).

## 4.2 Perceptions of the Landless Blacks about Land Reform Programme

The introduction of democracy as well as of the land reform programme raised a lot of expectations of black communities especially of the landless poor. They hoped that at last there would be equitable redress and that those people who need land would be granted access to land. As noted earlier that, just before the elections of 1994, several communities who attended a land conference in Bloemfontein showed the coming government that they were expecting equitable redress as far as land reform was concerned and would give their support to a government that would address their needs. If their expectations were not met they were prepared to forcefully grab land. They stated that

“if our demands are not met, we will launch a campaign to occupy vacant land and state land, and return to our land. .... We call on all rural people to vote for a government that will fulfil our demands...” (NLC, 1994: 19).

The community of Cornfields attended that conference and Mr. M 1 (one of the Cornfields community members) also stated that as the community they had expectations. He argued that

“...we have been involved in many conflicts with our neighbouring white farmers. The major cause of such conflicts was largely due to shortage of grazing land, and our neighbours' impounding of our cattle without consulting us first. With the coming into power of the new democratic government we hoped that the question of land will be addressed and we will stop fighting with our neighbours over shortage of grazing land” (02-2001).

After a series of negotiations between the white farmers surrounding the area, the community and AFRA, the Cornfields community was able to purchase the land they needed. In this sense their expectations of additional land were fulfilled (Ibid).

However, it appears that they also had expectations of equality as well as working together with their neighbours. As Mr.D (a community member of Cornfields) pointed out,

“though we got what we wanted, relations were not improved between us and the white farmers. We hoped that farmers would help us in terms of maintaining farming in this area. Thus, we hoped for transfer of farming skills and knowledge from the white farmers on how to run farming. Unfortunately that never happened” (11-2001).

He states that they met with those farmers and agreed to help each other, but practically that did not work. Moreover, Mr. D also pointed out that

“ ...relations are not improved between us and them. For example when they are looking for their missing livestock we give them permission to look at our area, but when it is our turn to do so, they treat us like young boys or even refuse us access with the argument that we steal their livestock. They keep on impounding our cattle” (02-2002).

This suggests that the Cornfields community members do not feel they have been accepted as equals (or an equal race) of South Africa, as they expected. It could be argued that this could be a serious threat to our nation building (given that racial reconciliation is a precondition for nation building) in South Africa. Thus, if we want to build the nation we have to be sure that individuals are treated equally (Mbeki, 1998). As argued in chapter one, what matters in both views of

nation building is the concept of equality. Blacks and whites seem to attach different meanings to the concept of equality.

Mrs. Q (a respondent from the Cornfields community) comments,

“our only problem is that farmer who refused to sell his farm. He impounds our cattle without any notice or consultation” (11-2002).

When I interviewed the community I got the impression that such impounding was an indication of poor relations between the community and their neighbouring white farmer. According to the farmer (Mr. P 2. the owner of the farm) he impounded cattle only because he was doing what the South African law wants him to do. He states that

“... as a property owner, by law I am not allowed to keep any property that does not belong to me. So if the cattle of the community enter my area I will do what is right... if they have a problem with that there is nothing I can do” (10-04-2002).

My personal observation of the situation in the area was lack of co-operation between the community and their neighbour. Mr A (a farmer near Weenen) believes that he co-operated with his black neighbours in a sense that they all came to the realization that they had a common problem. That problem was livestock that usually cross to graze in the neighbouring grazing areas. Mr. A believes that they managed to solve their common problem. He states

“...I called them and told them that I will build the fence and they should know that should it gets lost or be damaged it will be their turn to build it. ... Since then we never had problems” (02-2002).

However this is does not appear as an example of cooperation, because Mr A. took unilateral action, it was not a joint initiative between the two. Also Mr. A told them what he would do to solve the problem, and what they should do. Thus he never asked as to what they will do if the fence get lost or damaged (Mr. A., 01-2002). This example indicates the superiority that white farmer thought he had over the community.

These findings suggest that expectations of land hungry black people could not only be frustrated by the unwillingness of white farmers to give up their land, but also the unwillingness of farmers to work together with black communities to maintain farming as well (Mr. D., 01-2002). Such situations might worsen racial relations between black communities and white farmers.

As noted earlier on, the discussion of perceptions of the programme is inextricably linked to lack of knowledge as well as bureaucratic difficulties. So in this section as well, we need to look at the impact of lack of knowledge and bureaucratic difficulties on the perceptions that black respondents display of the land reform programme.

It appears that black respondents perceive land reform differently from the government. This might be due to the lack of knowledge about the programme or it might represent a denial of the government's land reform programme. Respondents from the DLA argue that black landless people have perceived the land reform programme as an opportunity to get land. Mr C. (a respondent from DLA) gave an example of Coulborne farm. He stated that

“black people in that farm could not understand the reason why the white farmer still owned the whole farm after the government has introduced land reform programme.... the community was under the impression that since the new government promised that it will ensure that landless people of South Africa get land, they would then own that farm. They wanted to forcefully graze in the area” (02- 2002).

Another example is Venterhoek farm near Mooi River Medress, in this case the farmer bought the farm and he found people who were there as (labour tenants) before him. According to Mr. C those people thought of themselves as having an equal share to the farm with the new farm owner. They believed that since they have been there before the arrival of the new farmer, now that there is a land reform programme they are entitled to an equal share of the farmland. Those black people were prepared to resort to violent means if their expectations were not met. They even attended meetings fully armed with guns (Ibid).

In some cases, Mr. C maintained,

“when the DLA sends delegates to address people who misperceive land reform programme, it becomes very difficult. For example those blacks in Venterhoek accused the DLA of being biased in favour of white farmers, since the DLA did not approve their idea of being entitled to an equal share of the farm with the farm owner” (Ibid.).

Another example of lack of knowledge on the part of black landless communities, is a community near Estcourt. According to Mr. Z (a respondent from KWANALU)

“some people of Estcourt were under the impression that with the introduction of land reform programme they can just point to whichever farm they want and get it” (02-2002).

Looking at the above statements it appears that some communities do not share the same view as the government of how people should get land under the land reform programme. While dissatisfaction with the land reform might represent conflict over the programme itself, addressing the lack of clarity around the programme is likely to improve perceptions.

Mrs Q. shows the possibility of this when she states that

“we did not think that with the new government in power and its policy of land reform we will easily get any land we need. After negotiations with the farmers and with AFRA on our side we got to know what is exactly entailed in the land reform programme. Such understanding was due to the fact that we have been enlightened about procedures and processes involved in the whole programme by people from AFRA (people who know and understand the processes involved in the programme)” (11-2001).

It could be argued then that frustrations as well as negative perceptions could be aggravated by lack of knowledge about the process of the land reform programme. If not checked, this situation might lead to major discontent. According to Mr. P 1. most landless people who have lodged claims under the restitution programme, were frustrated and they could not understand why they had to wait for a long time for their claims to be processed and approved. He states

“...they just don't understand the cycle of the project” (02-2002).

I tend to agree with Mr.Z (From KWANALU) in his assertion that

“due to the lack of knowledge about the whole programme, people might lose patience and grab land forcefully” (02- 2002).

Another factor underpinning negative perceptions of land reform programme, are bureaucratic difficulties which have plagued the implementation of the programme. We have noted that people lose patience due to the slow progress of the programme. For example by the year 2000, KwaZulu Natal alone had 13000 outstanding restitution claims, whereas nationally there were about 67 000 unresolved restitution claims (Dladla, 2000:10). This situation might cause the land claimants to lose patience and forcefully grab land. It has been reported that in Dannhauser near Newcastle people wanted to forcefully grab Waag Alles farm, on the basis that it was taken from them years ago. They complained that they lodged their claim but they had waited for a long time (approximately 5 years) and their claim has not yet been resolved (Ibid).

Dladla sees the slowness of the programme as a combination of the “unwillingness of farmers to make their land available for restitution...., (and) bureaucratic inefficiencies” (Ibid). Mr C (a respondent from DLA) has noted that one of the things that has hindered progress of the programme in the past was shortage of staff. He argued that, now that the problem was realized and dealt with (through the employment of more people), gradual improvement was evident (02-2002). Mr P1 ( a respondent from DLA) commented that, as DLA they acknowledge the frustrations of the people resulting from slow progress, but at times there is really nothing that can be done. For example the programme has many steps and procedures to be followed (02-2002). This argument is also reflected in Walker, who argued that it is crucial to investigate restitution claims since in most cases there are more than one person or family claiming the same land (Walker, 2000: 6-9).

Another problem is the harmonization of departmental responsibilities. The implementation of the land restitution programme involves two departments, the Department of Justice as well as the Department of Land Affairs. This makes it very difficult to speed up the process as one department can be finished with a claim in the preliminary stages but still be obliged to wait for another to do its part before it can continue to other stages. A claim has to be lodged through the DLA, where as investigations are conducted by the Department of Justice. This procedure takes it time, thus delaying the process of land reform (Mr. P1, 02-2002). Similarly, several departments are involved in the accessing of land and services in the redistribution programme.

However, it appears that if people know about the programme and start to realize its importance the objective of nation building based on substantive equality could be achieved. There are farmers who have been informed about the programme and they have contributed a lot into making the programme a success. In the Eastern Cape province this is evident. The Mfengu community in an area called Tsitsikama has been at loggerheads with the owners of the farms that were previously theirs. At first the farmers (about 19 of them) refused to give up their farms. They argued that they bought the land from the state. Eventually those farmers agreed to sell their farms to the community of 400 people. They said they gave up their land for “peaceful solutions to the country’s problems” (NLC, 1995: 15-16). A

Also, the change of attitude by the farmers appears to be helping towards the realization of the objective of nation building based on substantive equality. This confirms the claim that in the short run land reform programme is in tension with nation building. For example Mr F. (a farmer who gave up his land to the community of Cornfields) says

“...yes I never liked the idea of selling my farm to the community, but as the time went on I came into terms with it. I began to understand the need for land in this country. Now I am glad that I have done something for my country.” (01-2002).

There is also evidence that some farmers' attitude has changed over the years. Some of them understand and accept the process of land reform. And they are more than willing to cooperate with the government in its commitment to give land to the people. As Mr. C (a respondent from DLA) has noted that

“attitudes of some farmers regarding the programme has changed as the years progress. Some of them are more cooperative” (02-2002).

Mr. C asserts that improved knowledge and understanding of farmers could make them cooperative and committed to the idea of building the nation. For example, the farmers in the Tsitsikama district were not cooperative at first, but their knowledge of the programme as well as their realization of the need and the importance of giving land to land hungry people made them more co-operative. Unlike those farmers surrounding Cornfields, they welcomed people back to their land, and acted upon their promises that they would help the community to maintain the standard of farming in the area (NLC, 1995: 15-16).

Moreover, as noted earlier, there are farmers who have perceived land reform positively and who believe it is necessary to have land distributed equally among citizens of the country. As Mr S. (a farmer in Estcourt ) puts it

“ ...I believe in equality and justice for all... land should be share among the citizens of the country. I also believe that the government should embark on a strategy of avoiding one dominant race or ethnic group in one area, in their redistribution of land. Such strategy might help in that people will get to know each other and eventually help each other (10-04-2002).

### 4.3 Conclusion

This study has explored the possibility of a conflict between a just land reform policy of South Africa and nation building. In Cornfield and probably nationally blacks and whites have different perceptions about the whole land reform programme, which make both racial groups to be antagonistic with each other. Also the slow progress of the programme seems unlikely to lessen the anger of those people who need land. Lack of knowledge as well as bureaucratic difficulties exacerbate the situation.

Even at Cornfields where people have received land through land reform, people are not happy since they feel as if they are not treated as equal citizens of the country. Thus race relations have not been improved in the area. Many white farmers are still undermining the legitimacy of the whole programme, in a sense that they do not want to give up some of their farms for people who only want to stay and not practice farming.

Furthermore, the government is accused of being be biased in favour of white farmers in that it gives preference to production rather than equity (Hall, 1998, 455-456). This follows the inability of the government to define how production and equity should work together. The

programme has also been criticized for exacerbating inequality among citizens of the country, as farmers who give up their farms for sale are often paid high prices, while the landless poor are provided with limited grants to buy serviced sites (Mngxitama, 2000:2). Moreover, as noted in chapter 2, this programme is said to be unlikely to achieve gender equity, thus leaving women marginalized in terms of land ownership (Hall, 1998: 455-456).

However, through the whole study an argument has also been raised that in the short run the programme will negatively affect racial relations, whereas in the long time the objective of nation building might be realized as those who have been forced to give up their land will have to deal with their loss for a short period and eventually come into terms with that. Also the change of attitude appears to play a major role as landed people realize the importance of giving land to the landless.

So then, land reform is a crucial step for justice, which aims at realizing equality in terms resources and thereby preparing a ground for long-term nation building. Mngxitama catches the point very well when he asserts,

“we have a duty as builders of this nation to make sure that its foundations are not constructed out of justice. We have to look squarely at the eyes of land questions take it by horns and defeat it, in this way we shall be contributing to justice and true reconciliation. To do otherwise is to sow the wind, we must not be taken aback when we reap the whirl wind.” ([Http.www.nlc....01.co.za](http://www.nlc....01.co.za)).

It is therefore crucial that in South Africa land reform should be pursued with the hope that it could lead to long-term nation building.

## Conclusion

The apartheid regime left South Africa bitterly divided along racial lines. It also left the country with some imbalances like literacy and economic levels in favour of the white citizens of the country. All these form the legacy of the past. The apartheid regime was successful in fulfilling its interests as the end result was the absence a single South African nation formed out of black and white citizens of the country.

As noted in chapter one, three concepts were manipulated by the state to fulfil its aims and objectives. Race for example, was socially constructed by the regime in power so as to keep themselves in power as well as avoiding blacks from being too influential and eventually take over. According to Marx, the primary reason for the construction of this concept was to close the rift between Afrikaners and the British descendants (two white groups in South Africa) after both groups came bitterly divided from the Anglo Boer War of 1899- 1902 (Marx, 1998).

Another concept that was manipulated infavour of the regime in power was the concept of ethnic group. This concept was manipulated in a sense that it was used to divide blacks into thinking of them as Xhosas, Zulus, Indians, Coloureds, Tsongas, and Sothos etc rather than a united black nation. This was to avoid oppressed blacks from pursuing a united struggle as black against the regime in power. The last concept that was manipulated, as we have noted in chapter one, was the concept of nation. Here too the regime in power played a crucial role in fulfilling its aims by restricting citizenship from blacks and forcing them into believing they were the subject

of the Bantustans not citizens of South Africa. Whites were convinced that they were the only nation in South Africa.

To ensure that the whites were the only citizens of the country as well as to ensure that they kept on supporting the regime in power, certain privileges were given. For example they were offered high paying jobs while the blacks were restricted from those kinds of jobs. Also blacks were restricted by every means from being self-sufficient. One of the means of making sure that blacks were totally restricted from being self-sufficient was the extraction of land from black people. Large hectares of land were given to white sectors of the population while blacks were often removed from their original places of birth so as to create space for whites. All this was done under a series of land acts which aimed at removing blacks from their land for various reasons, ranging from winning loyalty from whites to simple racism (Platzky and Walker 1985).

The community of Cornfields is one example of a black community that suffered under the apartheid regime's land policies. This community lost their title deeds of the land that was originally bought for them by a missionary called Rev. Wilcox, to the white farmers surrounding the area (AFRA, 1991). It has been a struggle for that community to get their land back, but it was never successful up until the new democratic government of South Africa was put in place in 1994. The coming into place of this new government met high expectations from the people who have been oppressed under the apartheid regime. They were hoping that the government would do whatever it can to redress the past imbalances whether in land distribution, literacy, and employment or even in economic advancement.

The question that we have asked is how could a government be able to build a nation and implement justice at the same time. This study focussed on the question of land reform that undoubtedly seeks to implement justice in land redistribution and linked it to the question of building the nation. All South Africans whether black or whites have, after the democratic government, to be a community of people that display loyalty to their state as well as claiming their right to the same state.

It has however been identified in this study that there is a little bit of tension between one view of nation building and a just policy of land reform at least in the short run. This view that is in tension with nation building is based on the notion of procedural equality, where citizens are equal in front of the law, and they all have equal rights and duties and equal citizenship. Under this view no preferential treatment should be given to any citizens (regardless of history) because all citizens are now equal. It has been shown in this study that this view is most likely supported by whites especially farmers who have perceived the introduction of land reform negatively. This view is however, incompatible with justice in a sense that it calls for citizens to be treated as equals even though their history has made them subordinates through various means including stripping off their resources like land. Therefore this view is incompatible with land reform.

Another view that does not appear to be incompatible with justice is the one that is based on the notion of substantive equality. According to this view a nation can be built through acknowledging and consequently redressing of past imbalances. This view supports a just land reform programme. If this programme for example is used in South Africa that could mean whites who got land from blacks through the apartheid regime would have to surrender that land,

or are facing the risk of expropriation if they refuse. Black communities especially as the Cornfields case study has shown, are most likely to support this view and they had positive perceptions towards the introduction of the land reform programme. It has been argued in this study that this view is not incompatible with justice per-se but with racial relations. It does seem likely that many white people, particularly farmers, will feel resentful of land reform. This argument about racial relations followed the claim that racial reconciliation plays a crucial role when one builds a nation. Established in the study was that both visions of nation building will harm racial relations but the first vision is totally incompatible with justice, whereas the second vision is compatible with justice.

Through the discussion of the findings of the case study that was conducted with the Cornfields community and surrounding farmers, it was established that the latter vision of nation building could exacerbate racial relations at least in the short run, but it could eventually lead to the realization of the objective of nation building in the long run through justice. This is due to the fact that it has been shown that even those farmers who are forced to give up their land have to deal with their losses for a short period, and as the time goes by they start to accept and come into terms with their losses. It has also been noted that attitude of some white farmers have changed over the years, and we have been given an example of farmers at the Tstitsikama district that their attitude had changed from being negative of the programme to being positive. The research has also shown that not all the farmers had negative attitudes about the programme from the start, so there is potential to mitigate white fears through a vision of nation building that affirms justice for all. Eventually the South African foundations of nation building could be laid on justice. Also I have argued that this vision is better than the former in that it has justice in it.

## Appendixes

### Questions that were asked during interviews

#### Questions that were asked of farmers:

1. How long have you been staying in this area?
2. What have been significant events for people in this area or the Estcourt region?
3. Do you know people from Cornfields community? If yes how and if no why?
4. Can you briefly explain about the Thukela Biosphere?
  - \* what were the aims and the goals of the project?
  - \* how was it perceived by the Cornfields community?
  - \* what were the successes and failures of the project?
5. Were you ever involved in negotiations of any kind regarding land with the Cornfields community?
  - \* were such negotiations successful or a failure?
  - \* If they were successful what contributed towards such success?
  - \* If they were a failure what do you think was the reason?
6. Do you recall a conflict of any sort that has occurred between white farmers and the community of Cornfields?
  - \* If yes, could you please elaborate on the nature and extent of such conflict.
7. What is your view of land reform programme as it has been currently introduced by South African democratic government?
  - \* Can you identify what you perceive as strengths and weaknesses of this programme?

8. In the restitution programme they are giving money to urban claimants rather than land. Do you think giving money to people instead of land is a bad or a good idea? If yes why and if no why?

\*Do you think land reform can achieve equal life chances?

9. How would you characterize the relationship of White farmers and the surrounding Cornfields community (are they bad or good)?

10. Do you consider your self an African ( if yes why and if not why)?

11. Do you feel that others consider you as an African?

Questions that were asked of the Community of Cornfields:

1. How long have you been staying in this area?

2. What have been significant events for people in this area or the Estcourt region?

3. Do you recall any conflict of any kind between the Cornfields community and the surrounding farmers? \* Do you know why there was such conflict if there was any?

\* Could you please elaborate on the nature and the extent of such conflict if there was any?

4. During the apartheid era the Cornfields/Tembalihle communities were threatened of removals, did you ever consider moving? If yes why if no why?

5. Do you know anything about the Biosphere project?

\* Can you tell me more about what you know regarding this project?

\* what were the aims and the goals of the project?

\* was there any difference in perception of the project between the farmers and the Cornfields community?

\* what were the successes and failures of the project?

6. Were you ever involved in negotiations of any kind regarding land with the surrounding white farmers?

\* were such negotiations successful or a failure?

\* If they were successful what contributed towards such success?

\* If they were a failure what do you think was the reason?

\* Were you satisfied with the outcome of these negotiations? If yes why and if no why?

7. What is your view of the land reform programme as it has been currently introduced by South African democratic government?

\* Can you identify what you perceive as strengths and weaknesses of this programme?

8. In the restitution programme they are giving money to urban claimants rather than land. Do you think giving money to people instead of land is a bad or a good idea? If yes why and if no why?

\* Do you think land reform can achieve equal life chances?

9. How would you characterize the relationship of Cornfields community and the surrounding White farmers (are they bad or good)?

10. Do you consider your self an African ( if yes why and if not why)?

11. Do you feel that others consider you as an African?

Questions that were asked of white farmers and people who have worked closely with white farmers in areas regarding land reform.

To the white farmers

1. How did you perceive the introduction of land reform by the new South African government?  
(Give reasons for your perception.)  
  
\*If positive why? And if negative why?
2. Do you recall giving up your farm for sale? (if yes why and if no why?)
3. Do you think landless people of South Africa shared your perception of the programme.  
(Give reasons for your answer)?
4. Can you elaborate on what you know about nation building in South Africa?
5. Do you think land reform programme can contribute towards the realization of the objective of nation building? (if yes why and if no why?)
6. Do you still perceive land reform programme the way you did when it was first introduced?  
(If yes why and if no why?).
7. When you identify yourself, would you prefer to be called an African (South African) or would you prefer to be called white or black, Indian or coloured.
8. Can you give any comment about land reform programme in South Africa?

To People who have worked with white farmers

1. Can you define the nature of your relationship with white farmers?

2. What made you to work with white farmers?
3. How did white farmers perceive the introduction of land reform programme in South Africa?
4. Do you think white farmers are cooperative in the carrying out of this programme? (Give reasons for your answers).
5. Do you think landless communities had the same perceptions about the introduction of the land reform programme? (give reasons for your answers).
6. Do you recall any conflict regarding land reform programme, between black landless communities and white farmers?

(If yes).

- what was the nature of that conflict?
- How was it solved?

7. In your opinion do you think land reform can bring together whites and blacks? (give reasons for your answers).

## References

### Books and Chapters in books

- Appiah, K. A. (1992) In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Boonzaier, E. (1988) 'Race and Race Paradigm' in Boonzaier, E. and Sharp, J. (ed) South Key Words: The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts (Cape Town: David Philip).
- Brown, M. E. et al (1997) Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Claassens, A. (1991) 'For Whites Only: Land Ownership in South Africa' in M. De Klerk (ed) A Harvest Of Discontent (Cape Town: IDASA).
- Cross, C.R. (1988) 'Land Reform and the Rural Economy in South Africa' in Cross, C. R. and Haines, J. R. (ed) Towards Freehold? Options for Land and Development in South Africa's Black Rural Areas (Cape Town: IDASA).
- Diamond, L. (1997) Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation of Democracy (London: John Hopkins University Press).
- Dikotter, F. (1997) The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspective (London: Hurst)
- Gellner, E. (1983) Nations and Nationalism (Oxford, Oxon: Blackwell Publishers).
- Giliomee, H. (1991) 'Nation Building in a Post Apartheid Society' in W. S. Vorster (ed) Building a New Nation (Pretoria: University of South Africa).
- Grundlingh, A. M. (1991) 'Nation-Building and History in South Africa: Probing the Pitfalls

- and Prospects' in W. S. Vorster (ed) Building a New Nation (Pretoria: University of South Africa).
- Harley, A. and Fotheringham, R. (1999) 20 Years in the Land Rights Struggle 1979-1999 (Pietermaritzburg: AFRA).
- Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A. D. (1996) Ethnicity (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hutchinson, J. (1994) Modern Nationalism (Fontana : Harper Collins Publishers).
- Kellas, J. G. (1998) The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity (London: Macmillan).
- Levin, R. And Weiner, D. (1997) 'Towards the Development of a Popular Participatory Land Reform Program in a Democratic South Africa' in R. Levin (ed) No More Tears: Struggles for Land in Mpumalanga (Trenton: Africa World).
- Levin, R. (1990) 'Land Reform, Politics, Policies and Prospects' in Maganya, E. and Houghton, R. (ed) Transformation in South Africa? Policy Debates in the 1990s (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternative).
- Makgoba, M. W. (1998) 'Opposition, Difficulties, and Tensions, between Liberalism and African Thought' in R.W. Johnson and D. Welsh (ed) Ironic Victory: Liberalism in Post-Liberation South Africa (Cape Town: Oxford University Press).
- Mamdani, M. (1996) Citizens and Subjects: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Cape Town: David Philip).

- Marcus, T. et al (1996) Down to Earth: Land Demand in New South Africa.  
(Durban: Indicator).
- Marcus, T. (1991) 'National, Class and Gender Issues in Land Reform' in M.  
De Klerk (ed) A Harvest of Discontent (Cape Town: IDASA).
- Marx, A. W. (1998) Making Race and Nation: a Comparison of South Africa,  
the United States and Brazil (New York: Cambridge  
University Press).
- Mbeki, T. (1998) 'South Africa: Two Nations' in Hadland H. and Rantao J.  
(ed) The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki  
(London: Zebra Press)
- Mbeki, T. (1998) Africa the Time has Come (Cape Town: Tafelberg  
Publishers).
- Nuttall, T. et al (1999) From Apartheid to Democracy: South Africa, 1948-1994  
(2<sup>nd</sup> ed) (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter).
- Paton, A. (1971) 'Some Thoughts on the Common Society' in Randall, P.  
(ed) Directions of Change in South Africa Politics  
(Johannesburg: Christian Institute of South Africa).
- Pillay, G. J. (1991) 'In the Quest of a Nation: Some Historical Pitfalls and  
Stumbling Blocks' in W. S. Vorster (ed) Building a New  
Nation (Pretoria: University of South Africa).
- Platzky, I. and Walker, C. (1985) The Surplus People Project: Forced Removals in  
South Africa (Johannesburg: Rivonia Press).
- Smith, A.D. (1991) National Identity (London: Penguin Books).
- Thompson, L. (1990) A History of South Africa  
(London: Yale University Press).

### Journal Articles

- AFRA, 1994 'Land Briefs' in AFRA News, (30/31), Pp. 12-14.
- AFRA, 1995 'Redistribution Through Act 126' in AFRA News, (32), Pp. 15-16.
- AFRA, 1996 'Managing Money after Land Reform' in AFRA News, (37), Pp. 17-19.
- Bernstein, H. (1998) 'Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power' The Journal of Peasant Studies 25 (4), pp. 1-32.
- De Wet, C. (1998) 'Land Reform in South Africa: A Vehicle for Justice and Reconciliation, or a Source of Further inequality and Conflict?' Development Southern Africa 14 (3), pp. 355-362.
- Deininger, K. (1999) 'Making Negotiated Land Reform Work: Initial Experience from Colombia, Brazil and South Africa' World Development 27 (4), pp. 651-672.
- Dladla, S. (2000), September and October 'People's Land reform in KwaZulu Natal' Land and Rural Digest: The Record of Rural People's Policy (14), pp.6-13.
- Filatova, I. (1997) 'The Rainbow Against the African Sky or African Hegemony in a Multi-Cultural Context' Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa (34), pp 48-51.
- Hall, R. (1998) 'Design for Equity: Linking Policy Objectives in South Africa's Land Reform' Review of African Political Economy. (77), pp.451-461.
- James, D. (2000) 'After Years in the Wilderness: The Discourse of Land Claims in the New South Africa' The Journal of Peasant Studies. 27 (3), pp.142-161.

National Land Committee (May/June, 1994) 'Mfengu's Return Home After 17 Years of Struggle' Land Update (31), pp.15-16.

Posel, D. (1993) 'Rethinking the 'Race-Class Debate' in South African Historiography' Journal of Southern African Development 9 (1) pp. 50-66.

Sama Yanda, S. (2000) 'Farm workers and Tales of Terror Near Volksrust: No Where is Safe' Land and Rural Digest (12), pp. 6-9.

Walker, C. (2000) 'Relocating Restitution' Transformation: Critical Perspective on Southern Africa, (44), pp. 1-16.

### **Internet Sources**

Smith, A. D. (N.D) The Nation Real or Imagined? The Warwick debates on Nationalism (<http://members.tripod.com/Gellner>) .

Hlatshwayo, Z. (2000) 'Land Reform is in Trouble'  
(<Http://www.nlc.co.za/pubs/pressbd005july.htm>)

Mngxitama, A. (2000) 'Restitution Flat Rate Compensation: A Second dispossession?' (<http://www.nlc.co.za/pubs/pressfktrate00.htm>)

Mngxitama, A (2001) 'Farm Violence: Land Reform's only Antidote'  
(<http://www.nlc.co.za/pubs/press..01.htm>).

National Land Committee. (2001) 'Land Reform Policy'  
(<http://www.nlc.co.za/mdrefpo.html>)

National Land Committee, (ND) 'The Rule of Law, Land Occupation and the Call for a Social Obligations Clause: Critique of the Constitutional Private Property Clause' (<http://www.nlc.co.za/pubs/press..html>).

### **News Paper Articles**

Waugh, E. and Collinge, J.(1994) 'Mandela Meets Farmers, Rural Committees on Land' The Star, 11/3/94 pp.` 1-2

### **Government Documents**

Department of Land Affairs (1997) White Paper on South African Land Policy  
(Pretoria: Department of Land Affairs)

National Assembly (1996) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa  
(National Assembly)

### **Reports**

Marcus, T.(1996) KwaZulu Natal Provincial Synthesis Report (Land and Agricultural Policy Centre: Land Reform Research Programme )

Surplus People Project, (1983) The SPP Reports 4, Forced Removals in South Africa: Natal (Pietermaritzburg: SPP)

### **Unpublished Documents**

AFRA, (June,1991) 'From Removals to Development: Cornfields-Profile and History of a Rural Community' (7)

Cousins, B. (2000) 'Why Land Invasions Will Happen Here Too...' (Unpublished Report Prepared for Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies: University of Western Cape)

IDASA, (1997) 'Common Citizenship Amidst Diversity? The Emerging South African Nation' Papers Presented to a Joint Conference of the

- International Sociological Association's Research Group on Ethnic, Race and Minority Relations and IDASA, 15-17 December 1997 (IDASA: Cape Town).
- National Land Committee (12-13 February 1994) 'Report from the Community Land Conference' National Land Committee.
- Simpson, M. (1992) The Experience of Nation-building: Some Lessons for South Africa (Seminar papers on Nation Building).
- Taylor, R. and Forster, D. (1999) Non-Racialism in Post-Apartheid South Africa (A Draft paper, Political Studies: Wits).
- Liversage, H. (1993) 'Cornfields: A Case Study' (Unpublished Report Submitted to AFRA)

### **Personal Communications**

- Mr. A. (A farmer near Weenen) 09 January 2002
- Mr. B. (A farmer in Estcourt and Bergville) 10 April 2002
- Mr. C. (A DLA Officials who deals with land redistribution in Pietermaritzburg)  
09 February 2002
- Mr. D. (A Cornfields, community member who participated in the negotiations for the purchase of land) 26 November 2001
- Mr. F. (A farmer in Estcourt) 11 January 2002
- Mr. G. (A farmer in Estcourt) 09 January 2002
- Mr. M.1 (A Cornfields, community member who participated in the negotiations of the purchase of land), 27 November 2001
- Mr. M.2 (Director of Association for Rural Advancement in Pietermaritzburg) 26 October 2001
- Miss. N. (FSG staff, in Pietermaritzburg) 27 October 2001

- Mr.P.1 (A DLA official working at the Resource Centre in Pietermaritzburg) 09  
February 2002
- Mr. P.2 (A farmer in Estcourt in an area called Prospect) 10 April 2002
- Mr. P.3 (A farmer in Estcourt, near Cornfields) 10 April 2002
- Mrs. Q. (A Cornfields, community member who participated in the negotiations  
for the purchase of land) 26 November 2001
- Mr. S. (A farmer in Estcourt) 10 April 2002
- Mr. Z. (KWANALU Official) Pietermaritzburg, 09 February 2002