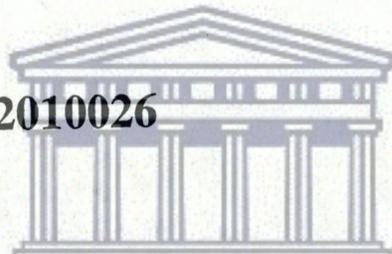


Service delivery: a key to democratic stability.

By Wilson Takalani Matidze

Student number: 2010026



A research report submitted to the School of Government, University of the Western Cape in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Administration degree.

Supervised by Dr. KJ Maphunye



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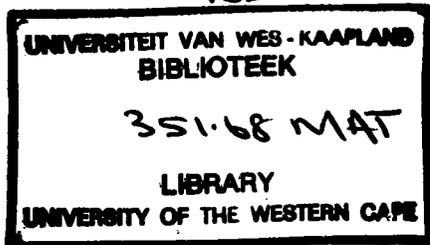


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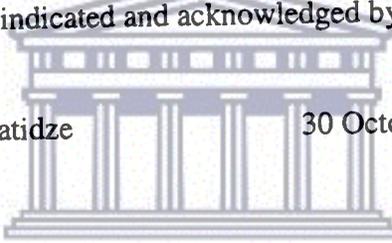
Declaration

I declare that the mini-thesis entitled, *Service delivery: a key to democratic stability*, is my work that has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university or other institution of higher learning, and that all the sources I have used or quoted in the text have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Wilson Willinki Takalani Matidze

30 October 2001.

Signed:



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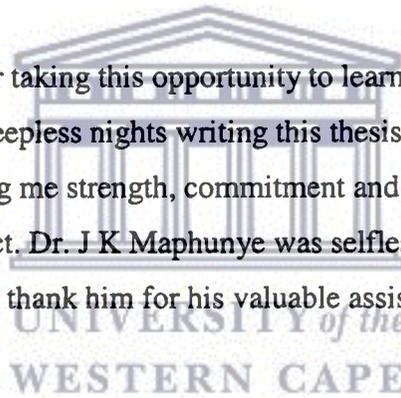
Dedication

I dedicate this research to the people of South Africa for their resilience and commitment in bringing back their country to the international political map after so many years of struggle and suffering. I want to commend them for having made a great contribution toward reconciling with their former oppressors. Our people chose to move forward rather than be controlled by an evil past. I remember those that have died in the struggle for equality, peace and justice while engaged in the struggle against apartheid and its draconian laws. I also will not forget to mention the progressive contingent from the white section of our population who has remained anti-racist and committed to meaningful change toward our democracy.

I also thank the international community, specifically the governments of Sweden, Canada, and the Nordic countries, and recently the European Union, for giving moral and financial support to the disadvantaged people of South Africa to be able to study in preparation for a future democratic South Africa. I must also mention the governments of Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, popularly known as the Frontline States, or the SADCC countries. These countries allowed us to use their territories as a passage to travel overseas to access training facilities in the various countries that were sympathetic to our plight. I also want to thank my extended family for its full support and understanding for all the years that I spent in exile working within the liberation movement for our freedom and democracy. Great praise goes to the leaders of the liberation movement for their selfless commitment to the struggle for total liberation, peace and equality in South Africa.

Acknowledgments

I thank myself for taking this opportunity to learn and improve my skills and expertise for spending sleepless nights writing this thesis. I want to thank God and the ancestral spirits for giving me strength, commitment and courage to achieve and complete the final product. Dr. J K Maphunye was selfless in giving me expert advice and encouragement and I thank him for his valuable assistance.



The abstract

The research investigates the reason why service delivery is slow and not enough or just not available in many areas. It highlights the problems that hamper progress toward achieving service delivery. Some of the problems discussed are:

(a) The non-availability of enabling legislation to enable the state department to carry out their projects and plans, including the difficulty of implementing policy. While the government is quick to announce that it is going to achieve certain goals, it does not follow through to achieve these goals.

(b) Some of the government ministers are unwilling to bring about a speedy recovery because-

(1) they are busy building their own images and wealth; and

(2) most of all are party loyalists whose hands are tied by the socialist ideology.

While the ministers preach about how successful they are in providing basic services to the people, the very same people we are told are served, are complaining that the government is not doing enough to address the problems that affect the poor. In more cases than one, the situation of the people has remained the same as if they were living during the old apartheid days.

Chapter 1

1.1 Objectives of the study

This study aims to bring to the attention of the general public and the policy-makers, the problems that face service delivery and provides them with answers on why these problems exist and how to solve them. It also aims to promote proper communication between government leaders and the people on the ground. The study has established that there is a lack of access to information on the part of government officials to inform the people about how they intend to fulfill the promises they have made at election time. The leaders have a tendency of locking themselves behind closed doors to deal with the problems they think affect the people and come out with answers, which they think are the right decisions for serving the people.

When their decisions do not achieve the desired results and begin to frustrate the people, who start asking questions why the leaders have misled them in the first place, the leaders often withdraw into elitism. The people eventually conclude that the leaders were hypocritical in campaigning for votes and seeking support for the ruling party by giving them false and empty promises. Added to that, there is a lot of secrecy and a lack of transparency on the part of government.

The problem faced by the African National Congress (ANC)-led alliance is how to go about sharing responsibility with its alliance partners. It seems there is a tendency by members of the alliance to indulge in unnecessary competition where the members of the South African Communist Party (SACP) would choose to do things as communists for the communists only and the members of the ANC would want to favour only ANC

members and exclude the members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the SACP, and vice versa.

This type of situation culminates in disagreement and confusion on what is to be done. The situation at present seems to be that there are groups or cliques of leaders who are doing things on their own accord without consultation. Their reason for not consulting may be that they are intending to conceal information about what they intend to do, so that there are no checks and balances governing the actions.



1.2 Statement of the problem

Service delivery means the provision of basic life-saving needs that our democratic government promised to the people at election time. The problem with service delivery is that our democratic government is taking too long to deliver its promises, which are the provision of clean water, housing, medical care jobs, electricity and education to the poor. Democratic change must take place not to some communities, but to all the communities. When these basic needs are delivered and the people are happy, there will be relative calm and less finger-pointing and blame. A situation of relative calm will prevail to encourage the people to concentrate more on education and the acquisition of manufacturing and engineering skills that will help fill the gap of experts that are leaving the country.

The problem regarding service delivery in South Africa lies largely on the fact that the public service is politicized at different levels within the ANC-led alliance. Ideology is more important than dealing with the issues that affect the people directly. Ideology comes before the interests of the people. When a situation arises and needs to be addressed, it must be addressed within an ideological context, for instance: (a) at the level of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), itself, which has a different political thought from (1) the South African Communist Party (SACP) which is communist or socialist in nature and (2) the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which is worker or labour driven. By putting ideology before serving the interests of the people confuses and frustrates the citizens of this country to lose confidence in the present government.

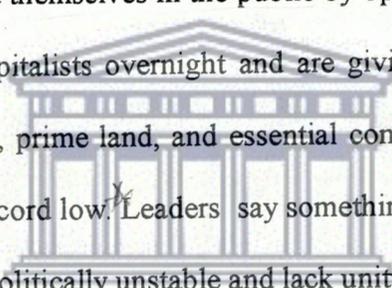
Lack of service delivery angers the people to revolt and a lot of energy is misdirected to actions that do not enrich our country and makes it to lose potential investors and jobs. Political instability brings about turmoil but democratic stability will help develop the citizens of our country. Political stability will invite more investors that will create jobs and an environment of trust to them.

The tripartite alliance is presently making announcements of conflicting statements and therefore not working as a team. It is not following the same political pattern and is divided on how certain governmental issues should be tackled. One political leader of the alliance says one thing, only to withdraw immediately after being opposed by another. There seems to be no consensus on the part of the members of the alliance. The non-consultation attitude and individualism in decision-making will not make certain members of the alliance to shine. It will bring confusion, frustration, devastation and demoralization to the people the alliance was elected to serve. The politicians are not playing the political game like the national soccer squad, Bafana Bafana, which is made out of professional soccerites selected from various soccer clubs in South Africa and abroad; who play not for individual glory but for the interests of the nation. The alliance should have been united on every action that it takes, especially on national issues.

The alliance is not united in its approach to service delivery, a problem that renders the rank and file to suffer because of the lack of a concerted effort or consensus on pressing political issues. The alliance partners are at loggerheads on how things should be done. While the ANC may want to privatize certain parastatals or business institutions that are owned by the state, as recent events have shown, Cosatu and the SACP opposed

privatisation. Cosatu mobilised for the national strike against privatisation in education, health, energy, policing, telephones system, transport, etc. Cosatu has accused the rich for having their own transport, saying that telephone lines, water and electricity get cut for the poor. It said that while the rich can pay high fees to get great schools, the poor lack classrooms and other services.

What is surprising is that those members of the SACP who lead both Cosatu and the ANC sit in the alliance meetings behind closed doors and take decisions without the knowledge of the general population. The very same leaders that have influence in all the three organisations contradict themselves in the public by opposing their own decisions. Communists have turned capitalists overnight and are giving their support to private hands to buy our companies, prime land, and essential commodities cheap, especially when our currency is at its record low. Leaders say something today and differ in public tomorrow showing they are politically unstable and lack unity of purpose.



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1.3 Significance of the study

This study is intended to draw the attention of the present government by highlighting the importance of maintaining the momentum of the struggle until total political, economic and social freedoms are attained. It intends to pinpoint that leaders need to distance themselves from building their own images and their own wealth at the expense of the poor masses of the people. Further, it aims to show that it is important for government to ensure that our country grows from strength to strength economically, politically and otherwise and that the only way to do this is to serve the interests of the people first as required by the Batho Pele Principle. This principle means that, "Citizens should be consulted about the level, quality and choice of public services they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services that are offered" (Public Service Commission:2000:xiii). Ubuntu means the respect and appreciation of our cultural heritage. Masakhane guides the people of South Africa to unite, support each other and build the nation together. It encourages the people to pay for money-for-value services which are reminiscent of our cultural and traditional heritage that is rich and can be tapped and developed to benefit our people to achieve self-sufficiency.

Our leaders do not benefit anything by distancing themselves from the people by giving themselves the status or title of the elite when in fact they are the people that we know who are like us and love their country and people. It is surprising that the same people who saw the importance of uniting the people to fight against apartheid can now act differently. We want to see them agree on how things must be done, especially what needs to be done to benefit the poor. Their infighting within the alliance show disunity.

1.4 Literature review

The information that is contained in the book entitled Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP): A policy framework compiled by the ruling party, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), is very substantive in content. The government only needs to go back to the directives that are stipulated in the book (hereinafter, RDP, 1994) and implement them so that it can achieve success. It seems that the government is not mobilising the people at a required pace, to participate in economic ventures as stated in the book. The book talks about the government's intention on changing legislation to enable it to deliver services that are supported by the people. It also says that it will encourage the organisations that assisted in drawing up the programme to participate in bringing about change, but the government seems to have discarded this ideal of delivering services to the people. The "Draft White Paper On Transforming Public Service Delivery" identified eight principles of Batho Pele as follows:

- (1) "Consultation – Citizens should be consulted about the level and quality of the public service they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services that are offered;
- (2) Service standards – Citizens should be told what level and quality of public services they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect;
- (3) Access – All citizens should have equal access to the services to which they are entitled;
- (4) Courtesy – Citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration

- (5) Information – Citizens should be given full, accurate information about the public services they are entitled to receive
- (6) Openness and transparency – Citizens should be told how national and provincial departments are run, how much they cost, and who is in charge
- (7) Redress – If the promised standard of service is not delivered, citizens should be offered an apology; a full explanation and a speedy and effective remedy; and when complaints are made, citizens should receive a sympathetic, positive response
- (8) Value for money – Public services should be provided economically and efficiently in order to give citizens the best possible value for money” (p7 and 8 White Paper: Public Service Delivery).

The RDP was brought about to address the evils of the past in the fields of education, health, welfare, employment, including income distribution. It visualized achieving success by developing a people-driven process, peace and security for all, nation-building and linking reconstruction and development. The RDP points out that there is a need to develop our human resources by paying special attention to the youth and the women, “. . . allowing the people to participate on the basis of knowledge, skill and creativity” (RDP:1994:9). The programme touches on the real issues that affect the poor daily; issues such as, the creation of jobs, building the houses, water and electricity supply, education, policing, healthcare and pensions.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) “. . . is an integrated coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilize all our people and our country’s resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a

democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future" (RDP: 1994:1). This policy framework is not only coherent but also substantive in that it provides us with the necessary groundwork on what is to be done to address the imbalances of the past. The road to eliminate poverty, landlessness, hunger and illiteracy is too long and thorny and RDP has given our people a ray of hope by identifying the problems that affect the lives of every citizen in the country. It has identified not only the problems but also the practical areas that need immediate and special attention. It adds that "...the RDP has set the agenda . . . in South Africa.

Six basic principles lie at the heart of the RDP. It is an integrated and sustainable programme, a people-driven process that aims to provide peace and security for all, builds the nation, link reconstruction and development and deepens democracy. Five key themes are detailed: meeting basic needs; developing human resources; building the economy; democratising the state and society; and implementation" (FitzGerald et al: 1995:41).

Today we do not see much of what the government agreed to do in the RDP in 1994, what it has achieved and how it has achieved it. People do acknowledge what they see as RDP houses. Some of the houses are two-roomed houses, smaller than what the former apartheid government built for black people in the past. These houses were seemingly built without consultation with the people. The building of the houses is not people-driven as the RDP has stated, "Our people, with their aspirations and collective determination, are our most important resource. The RDP is focussed on our people's most immediate needs, (housing for instance) and it relies, on their energies to drive the process of meeting these needs . . . Delivery is not about delivery of goods to passive

citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment . . . ” (RDP: 1994:5). Not much is being said about the RDP today and less information is provided about it. There is no progress report of the RDP outlining its successes and failures or encouraging the people to participate in its projects, as a matter of principle. This is because the RDP lacks the way by which most of its guidelines are to be achieved and when, following the initial timeframes that were set as follows, “A Green paper was produced initially as an input to the policy discussion on the RDP, with the aim of providing a ten-year, longer term vision. This national strategic framework was intended to be put in place by March 1995. As a more immediate measure, a medium-term, three-year action plan was formulated” (FitzGerald et al: 1995:46).

The programme talks about the necessity by government to develop a legislative programme that we see in operation today. It makes mention of the alliance partners that drew up the programme, including the non-governmental-organizations (NGO's). However, it seems that those who were involved in drawing-up the programme, apart from the people on the ground, seem not to agree on how everyday political issues should be handled. There seems not to be consultation on policy issues and the programme initially suggested by the African National Congress (ANC).

The RDP was created to address the imbalances of racial segregation, colonialism and the legacy of apartheid. These anomalies have affected each and every family that was racially segregated by apartheid draconian laws. Therefore, the RDP is of the opinion that every aspect of our society, be it education, economics, social, moral, cultural, environmental, scientific, etc., must be addressed, especially paying more attention to the victims of apartheid that were killed, maimed and persecuted by former apartheid

security forces.

The present situation is that of a growing democracy that needs to go back to the agreements that were reached at the inception of our new democracy which are now stipulated or recorded in the RDP manual or book that was compiled by the ANC-led alliance and the people. Therefore, the programme aims at eliminating hunger and poverty, addressing the problems of housing, landlessness, and improving the quality of life of the general population by creating jobs, sports recreation, putting social security into place, and restructuring the national budget, by making opportunities available to the poor.



1.5 Research methodology

This research was conducted by using a random sampling strategy, which includes my own experience on political issues. I have worked in the liberation movement, especially the African National Congress and as a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe its former military wing. I served as an administrator and Publicity Secretary in the Youth Section of the African National Congress during the years of the anti-apartheid struggle, and I was able to travel to countries such as Switzerland, where I studied copyright law, and Sweden where I travelled extensively addressing schools and people about the atrocities of apartheid that was unleashed against the oppressed people of South Africa.

I also travelled to Canada where I lived for eight years and completed two degrees. Coming from the liberation movement and knowing what we were fighting for, I know that the ANC can do better if there is consensus. I know, through experience, that the ANC were able to unite the people against apartheid and that it can unite the people again to fight against poverty. A combination of my experience, reading newspapers, books and surfing the Internet, observation of the present situation, and listening to what is being said by the general public in places such as Gauteng, specifically in Pretoria, Hammanskraal, the Northern Province, Johannesburg, including Cape Town, resulted in the compilation of this thesis - Service delivery- a key to democratic stability. Gathering information in this manner helped me understand the plight of the majority of the poor that I compared with the activities of government. I also consulted a number of books that provided me with the necessary information that I used to strengthen and substantiate my arguments.

1.6 Outline of the study

1. Chapter 1 contains the objectives of the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, literature review, research methodology and the outline of the study.
2. Chapter 2 is the introduction followed by a discussion on how governments operate.
3. Chapter 3 talks about empowering the women and strengthening our democracy. The role and position of the youth in development is discussed in another section. It points out that our government needs to establish programs that will inculcate in the youth, a spirit of self-reliance and self-esteem. Another section that follows is on service delivery, which will only come about when the leaders involve the people on the ground in a manner that befits our democracy. There is a section that discusses the African National Congress and its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe
4. Chapter 4 is about legislation. While there is a need to formulate and enact enabling legislation, government needs to implement the laws and policies. Land restitution and the redress of landlessness; and the challenges of housing follow legislation. It also has a section on the need to supply water and sanitation to the poor.
5. Chapter 5 discusses farm workers and their plight in farms, welfare and the provision of related services to the poor and the challenges of deracialisation in sports.
6. Chapter 6 sums up the main argument of the research by highlighting how service delivery can be achieved. There are also recommendations of the study and what is to be done, including the references.

Chapter 2: Introduction and government business

2.1: Introduction

Good governance gives rise to social and economic development capable of strengthening our new democracy in South Africa. It is a key to national growth and forges unity of purpose in a country. As development is measured by international standards, it is imperative for countries like South Africa, to gear themselves to acquire or gather important information that is to lead its nation into the immediate future well equipped to compete in the international economic and social arena. Our main focus is not only to compete on the world stage, but also to ensure that our nation has the best of services in the world. These services must be made available for the enrichment of our population and help it to achieve a healthy and prosperous life. In 1997, "Introducing a presentation on the current state of public service delivery in South Africa, Walter Mbete, Gauteng Provincial Service Commissioner, quoted Cheryl Carolus, Acting General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC SA), as saying: 'The new South Africa is in the making as service delivery is taking place. In every part of the country there are hives of activity; streets are being tarred; waste collection is improving; telecommunication lines are being installed; schools and clinics are being built or renovated'" (<http://www.gov.za./reports/1997/>: 3).

At that time, the government was moving at a relatively steady pace and meeting its deadlines and obligations as far as service delivery is concerned. Then something terribly wrong happened. It seemed the government was working too fast for its pace. It then decided to change course and embarked on a go-slow modus operandi. The achievements that were highlighted by Mr. Mbete as quoted below, dramatically changed. Mbete said then,

"The national Department of Health has dramatically changed the demographics of service delivery by putting emphasis on Primary Care. This is having an impact on the

poor especially women and children. Free Health Care for pregnant women and children up to the age of 6 is a service delivery breakthrough. The Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996 will, by providing women with safe and hygienic abortions, save the taxpayer about R50 million per annum previously spent in dealing with the consequences of back street disasters”(http://www.gov.za/reports/1997:3).

Back street disasters are pregnancies that are terminated by “bush doctors” that have no formal qualifications end up killing the pregnant mother. This legislation has saved a lot of women’s lives because expectant mothers can now choose whether they want the child or not.

The above-mentioned report demonstrates that serious service delivery was on its way, capable of converting our country from a loser to a winning player in the field of health. Such savings totaling R50 million per annum, indicated in the report, could be utilized in acquiring new equipment, the supply of drugs and the improvement of health services in general. This example can be applied in many other departments, which can follow suit to reduce costs through professional and effective service delivery. However, the achievements of the past years, which came at the beginning of our democracy, have gone with the wind. A weakening service delivery is bound to be a great disappointment to the people. Bad governance will breed decadence that leads into crime, backwardness and a lack of no confidence in the present government..

Our country needs to be developed into a working democracy that can be embraced by all. The government needs to put in place relevant policies, especially the necessary legislation that will lead our country to prosperity. We need the right education and research that will enable us to conduct comparative studies on international trends in the public sector. As a report on Public Service Delivery says,

“On the international front, public sector organisations during the 1980's in many countries came under tremendous pressures to reform. These pressures stemmed largely from the economic situation in many parts of the industrialised world, particularly in

North America and Western Europe. Faced with the specter of recession, fiscal crises and rising levels of inflation, many governments, driven by powerful electoral pressures, had put their services under intense scrutiny. In part, the pressures were also motivated by public demand for better services”(http:www.gov.za/reports/1997:3).

The establishment of long-term planning for the cultural, social and the economic advancement of our country need to be prioritized. In order to enhance the practice of promoting good governance, proper budgets and legislation need to be put in place to help shape our country's destiny to everlasting prosperity. However, we must first understand the composition of South Africa's population. We need to look into the various ethnic and racial groups, including the family and its social or socio-economic structure. These groups have different religious, cultural, and customary beliefs. South Africa is made up of a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society that is influenced by different political affiliations. The country will need a special approach that carries practical educational aspects that will change the attitudes of the people and gear them towards a rewarding service delivery.

The nature of multi-culturalism is borne out of the fact that citizenship in South Africa is not determined or measured by language, culture and/or political affiliation, but by a combination of known factors such as, birth, paternal and maternal heritage and the law of the land. These factors have made it possible for the different communities, coming from the various corners of the globe, to choose our beautiful country as their home. Various people brought with them to our country, their beliefs, mannerisms and attitudes, which are diverse in character.

Our political understanding, recognition and acceptance of the different religions, cultures, and mannerisms that are diverse in character, will enrich the understanding of our population to co-exist harmoniously in South Africa. Where there is peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness, there is prosperity and socio-economic development. The more we get along, the better our human relationships develop and prosper.

It is crystal clear that democracy has chosen equality over white racist domination in South Africa. The culture of white domination, tribalism, and racial discrimination is dying, but apartheid refuses to die a natural death. It needs to be encouraged to pass away into total oblivion by putting into its place specific policies that will obliterate it. The new democratic dispensation needs to plan well in advance, with a clear understanding that democracy, as David Held in his book, *Models of Democracy* puts it, "Democracy is a mechanism which allows the registration of the broad desires of ordinary people, while leaving actual public policy to the few who are sufficiently experienced and qualified to make it" (Held, 1987:166).

The democratization of the Republic of South Africa must continue to be an inclusive process, especially where there exists the formerly marginalized groups of people that were divided by race and tribalism. Held writes, "Given the diversity of individual desires and the inevitably broad (fragmented) set of demands upon government, amply analyzed in Weber's work, a mechanism is required to select those able to produce 'a set of decisions most agreeable to, or least disagreeable to, the whole lot of diverse individual demands'" (Held, 1987:78-80).

It is imperative therefore that the policy-making process should not be formulated in such a way as to serve a single group that has the desire to dominate. The aim of democracy is to serve the existing diverse population of the country and promote the notion of a rainbow nation that will allow all races to live together in peace, harmony, diversity and tolerance. Policy formulation should be a two-way process if it is to capture the cultural diversity and political differences that are the makeup of the Parliament of South Africa. There must be difference in opinions and these must serve to enrich the development of our society through positive debate, negotiation, agreement or disagreement.

Our policy-making edifice, Parliament, should ensure that the legislation that it drafts gets a feedback from the ordinary people and once enacted and passed into law, the departments responsible must see to its timely implementation. Good governance can be achieved when the right

policies are formulated and managed so as to suit and address the existing diversity of our country.

As the preamble to the Constitution of our country clearly states, "We the people of South Africa, recognize the injustices of the past; Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity..." (Preamble of the Constitution, 1996:1).

Each and every religious, political, economic and social group therefore, should be attended to by those individuals who are bestowed with the responsibility of making the policies that are aimed at transforming our society, so as to carry it to greater heights. The legacy of apartheid still lingers on, and it is haunting South Africa even after two African National Congress presidents were inaugurated, ushering in the names of Dr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and his successor, President Thabo Mbeki.

In 1996, a new Constitution was introduced to help bring about democratic change in South Africa. It is to be hoped that new legislation is introduced and enacted to effect meaningful change that will improve the people's lives when it is implemented. However, despite that, the people see no change in sight as far as the availability of jobs is concerned, including a lack of clean water, affordable housing, health care, education and the rising rate of crime.

The new democratic government is striking out the apartheid laws to enable it to operate within a legal framework. First, it had to grapple with the problem of changing the country's Constitution, which was promulgated in 1996. Since one of the biggest enemies of mankind is poverty, it is very sad to know that there are many mouths in South Africa, which remain dry and unfed for days on end. There are poor people who live without shelter, proper nutrition, and water, and most of them are unemployed.

The existing situation of poverty is against what is stipulated in section 27 of the 1996 Constitution, which states,

"(1) Everyone has the right to have access to - (a) health care services, including

reproductive health care; (b) sufficient food and water; and (c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance. (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of each of these rights. (3) No one may be refused emergency medical treatment” (Constitution, 1996, section 27:13).

“ It is unethical to see people suffering from poverty when the Constitution repeatedly says no one is to be without these rights.”¹⁾ Apart from the rights stipulated in the Constitution, there is land that can be made available to the people to build their own houses and produce their own food. There is scope for them to improve their lives for the better. We must be concerned about the long periods that the people are forced to wait to be returned to the land that was robbed from them by the former apartheid government.

“Social security can only assist the people to a certain extent. It must not be the ultimate solution or answer to unemployment and poverty. It should be used as a stepping-stone to help the people to get out of poverty completely and be of assistance in rebuilding people’s lives and support them to find and create jobs, and work towards gaining self-sufficiency.”²⁾ These objectives can be achieved when the leaders take the present conditions of the people seriously.

The leaders can no longer claim that they are responsible when they fail to deliver basic necessities such as food, water, shelter and health care to the poorest of the poor. There must be no excuse for the leaders to explain away issues because their power to govern has been vested in them by the voters. There must be representativeness that:

“...indicates that in a democratic form of government, the wishes of the people are reflected in the decisions taken in their name. It is not possible for every member of society to take part in the legislative process, which is why representatives must be chosen to govern on behalf of the masses. This is done normally through the electoral

process. Parliament is thus the supreme representative body. With representativeness comes responsibility, since political office bearers not only represent the public but are also responsible to the public. They could be held accountable for their actions and the country's political affairs. Political office bearers are thus responsible for the administration of policies once they have been decided on, and are equally responsible for the activities of the public servants and other public officials under their control. In this way the administration of a country is held accountable through its politically elected heads. The value of responsibility binds the public administrative system to the supreme legislative body" (Bayat and Meyer, 1994:37).

It is interesting to know that the Cabinet in parliament is the main decision-making body in the country's politics. It has the power to alleviate poverty. People's lives depend on the Cabinet, which is led by the President, and consists of the Deputy President and Ministers. The Ministers are appointed or dismissed by the President. He/she assigns their powers and functions. The President also appoints the Leader of Government Business in the National Assembly. When it comes to accountability and responsibilities, the Deputy President and Ministers are responsible for the powers and functions of the executive assigned to them by the President, although members of the Cabinet are responsible collectively and individually (See section 91 of the Constitution, 1996:56). It must be understood that,

"...the Constitution is just one of the many Acts demarcating specific boundaries. Public administration takes place within these smaller formal internal environments, which are demarcated. It is influenced by everything that exists and happens in this demarcated environment. The environment and all the factors and phenomena, which are then also demarcated, can be the catalyst to facilitate effective public administration"(Du Toit and der Waldt, 1997:135).

It is unpleasant to see how millions of people's lives depend on a handful of people

who are appointed Ministers in the Cabinet and to know that although the Cabinet has the powers to bring about change at a speed that it chooses, it cannot be blamed or prosecuted for non-service delivery. The only way in which the Cabinet can get a backlash for failing to deliver proper services to the people, is when the people stop favouring a non-delivering government and choose to elect another party to form a new government. However, government is making the delivery of the much-needed services to the people, amidst fierce criticism and discontent on the ground. A Leader of Government Business, Deputy-President, Jacob Zuma, a Cabinet member, has been appointed to run the affairs of government. There is a brief discussion in the following section about how government operates.



2.2: Government business

Government business may look like a game that changes hands after every five years when the contracts of elected members come to an end and need renewal. This is the time when we see party members telling us how good they are and how ready they are to serve the ordinary people and make their lives better. The outgoing ministers however, whether they lose or win, will have made enough money for their families even when they did not help bring about the change needed by their supporters. As it is explained in a report on the conference on Public Service Delivery,

“There is no more important an issue in South Africa than improving the delivery of public services. An efficient, equitable and accountable public service is the hallmark of any democratic society. In view of South Africa’s poor democratic history, the Public Service’s transformation process has two distinct aims, firstly to improve the delivery of services to all people and secondly to demonstrate that South Africa has become a truly democratic society... ‘public service’ is perceived by citizens as more than just national departments and provincial administrations as defined in the Public Service Act, 1994. Generally people do not see any distinction between local government, central government and provincial government. Therefore any failing in one area of government is seen as a failing of the public service as a whole”(http://www.gov.za/reports/1997:4).

When we look back at the recent past, we find that the African National Congress was elected for the second term in office after Nelson Mandela had stepped down from the presidency following his five-year term. Most of the leaders in the ANC believe that their party is so popular that they can run away with a bad performance as far as service delivery is concerned. They believe that the ANC will continue retaining its supporters even if the present government does not

deliver because people are still afraid of being returned to apartheid rule since they believe that at present there is no alternative political party for them to turn to.

The majority supporters of the ANC have developed a lack of confidence in the existing opposition parties, namely: the Democratic Alliance, Freedom Front, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and Azapo. The ANC believes no other party can contest against it at any future elections and win, unless it is another party, not among the existing ones. The ANC is of the opinion that service delivery is not the key for maintaining its popularity among the masses of the people. It is convinced that it is doing enough to bring about the necessary change for the benefit of all, and sees its support base far from being shaken by any political party in the near future.

The party is also of the opinion that it will take many years for any party to grow to the level of its (ANC's) present strength and membership. Moreover, the ANC is leading an alliance of Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), two organizations that continue to be its power base, irrespective of the recent misunderstanding between the organizations regarding privatization. Cosatu and the SACP are against privatisation, which the ANC says will create jobs if the private sector is allowed to buy shares in state companies, such as Eskom, Denel, Telkom, etc. The ANC knows that it is the only party that is appealing to the people currently because it says exactly what the people want to hear, even when the government has not necessarily translated its promises into action.

It is still to be seen if anyone can hold the present government and its Cabinet accountable for non-service delivery. There is no case where a minister or a government has been prosecuted for not bringing about change needed by the people. Any government that is no longer wanted by the people can be brought down through civil disobedience, political pressure or demonstrations. There is no community or group of people that has taken the president or a minister to court for failing to speed up the restitution of land rights or build people the needed houses. As section 26 of the Constitution clearly states,

“(1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right (3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions” (Constitution, 1996, section 26:12).

The state, however, is not bound by the Constitution to achieve the realization of the right for everyone to have access to adequate housing. Affected individuals can complain repeatedly but it does not matter because no one will hear their cries. The government can only help the lucky ones because there is no criteria of who must be helped or not be helped. It is not really known how communities are identified in order to receive help. A typical example is that of the people of Jukskei in Alexandra Township, near Johannesburg, who were moved to Dobsonville during the months of April and May in the year 2001, in Soweto because of the cholera epidemic.

Given this example, however, it seems that the government gives relief assistance to the people when they are hit by a natural disaster. It has become obvious that the situation of the poor is at the mercy of the leaders. The state can only assist within its available resources when it takes reasonable legislative and other measures to achieve this goal. This simply means that the state cannot take any action without the application of legislative and other measures. This is where the question of enabling legislation comes in.

It should be understood that the opposition parties who may want to spite or punish the voters for not having voted for them into power might oppose every piece of legislation that is processed through parliament, for the sake of opposing and to force the ruling party into some kind of failure. The opposition parties in South Africa, in many cases, have opposed legislation that, if they were in power, could have been introduced and enacted. The nature of the opposition is unfortunate because it opposes the positive resolutions and decisions that government want them to support in

South Africa in order to address the changes that are needed. This attitude by the opposition is weakening the character and image of what the opposition is expected to do by criticizing legislation that is needed for instance to control illegal possession of guns by the general public or anything that is positive that the ruling majority party may want to do. The opposition, as part of the government, opposes essential legislation unnecessarily when it wants to score cheap political points at the expense of the poor.

The processing of enabling legislation sometimes takes a long time to be passed by Parliament and certain positive aspects of it may be lost, rejected, excluded or watered down not to achieve its initial intention. The opposition parties may not be happy with the piece of legislation or its amendment and may delay the process of Parliament to get it amended, repealed and passed as law. Added to that, under the title, Continuation of existing law,

“2. (1) All law that was in force when the new Constitution took effect, continues in force, subject to- (a) any amendment or repeal; and (b) consistency with the new Constitution. (2) Old order legislation that continues in force in terms of subitem (1)- (a) does not have a wider application, territorially or otherwise, than it had before the previous Constitution took effect unless subsequently amended to have a wider application, and (b) continues to be administered by the authorities that administered it when the new Constitution took effect, subject to the new Constitution” (Constitution, 1996, Cape Town, schedule 6:148).

The time-consuming legislative procedure that is taken to process legislation is working against the mandate that the voters have already given to the ANC at election time. People on the ground have not come to fully understand the process that government must go through in order to get anything done. People feel that the representatives that they have elected can use the power vested in them and make things happen overnight. They do not understand that

their representatives must first get the opposition to agree on certain pressing matters before they can be able to take action. The voters do not understand that before the promises can be transformed into reality, and before the issues that their leaders promised would be attended to can be dealt with, these issues must go through Parliament, where they are debated to determine whether it is right for government to take action on them. The other issue is whether the electorate or representative of the voters put forward their promises for consideration by the Cabinet and Parliament. The voters do not understand that the Constitution and the parliamentary process bind the hands of their leaders.

The people are surprised when their vote is tossed back into the court to be reconsidered by the opposition, which they have not elected as their representative. They do not understand why an opposition that has shown no enthusiasm to their plight, should be asked to make an input into issues that have already been agreed to through their vote. When a homeless person dies from hypothermia during winter, we cannot hold a Minister of Housing accountable for the person's death. In South Africa, notwithstanding Nigeria, Brazil, and India, homelessness and drug abuse are rampant within the people, including children less than 18 years of age, who are left to live on the streets and smoke glue.

In Sweden, the city streets are kept clean and peaceful because the homeless people are not allowed to linger aimlessly on the streets. Most homeless people, including the gypsies are rounded up and transported to halfway houses where they are offered food and bedding for the night. In Sweden, Swedish gypsies are viewed as people who like to move in bands from point to point and are not interested in owning and living in a fixed and permanent accommodation. They are described as having the same lifestyle like the Khoisan as described in our history books.

In Canada, there are the aboriginal people who are referred to as bands such as the Cree, Mohawk, Ojibwe, etc. Most of these people are found in the cities like Toronto and Ottawa and lead a similar lifestyle to what we call the "bergies" or beggars in Cape Town. Most of these

kitchens that are established by non-governmental bodies or churches, for the sole purpose of feeding and accommodating the poor and unemployed people.

In Sweden and Canada people who are homeless choose to be homeless because the governments of Canada and Sweden are welfare states. The needy are given government grants that are calculated for food and rent. Government grants are not only for pensioners, but for the unemployed as young as 18 years of age. In South Africa there were, or still are, such places as the Salvation Army Men's Hostel where men could be accommodated and fed at a fee, which they paid at the end of the month. Past experience has shown that apartheid South Africa used to attract whites from overseas by placing available resources at the disposal of prospective immigrants. These funds have since dwindled at the inception of our new democratic government. It should be pointed out that government business can be a tricky business and unless accountability is contracted, there can be any breach of trust on the part of the minister. Government business is seen by the poorest of the poor as being slowed down when enabling legislation that is needed by the state departments to assist them to take action on pressing political issues, takes a long time to be processed or lapses. The law-making process is procedural and time-consuming if the legislation is found to be out of order or unconstitutional, for instance there is a money bill, which is a section 74 bill. The National Assembly can pass a money bill only, but a section 75 bill needs the consent of both houses. It can be pointed out that a number of laws have been amended and enacted but these lack implementation. What is being done is that the ministers make requests to the Cabinet for any new law they may want to introduce so as to empower them to take action on certain pressing local or national issues. This is why there are a number of pieces of legislation that Parliament enacts each year to enable it to address national and provincial issues, and the women play a very important role in making the law-making process a success as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: The women, youth, service delivery, ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe

3.1: The women - Empowering the women

South African women remain deprived of their inalienable rights to lead a normal life in the country of their birth mostly because apartheid legislation oppressed them twice as much compared to their male counterparts. Today, the struggle for women's rights continues because women such as minister, Ms Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele, (Minister of Housing) are proving to be capable politicians. The women are scoring many victories on the political front. Many women are playing a positive role in Parliament, women like Dr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (Minister of Health) who led a struggle against the pharmaceutical companies recently, making the acquisition of cheaper drugs for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) therapy to be made available. There is Ms Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, the former Minister of Welfare and now Minister of Public Service and Administration and others like Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma who is the current Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ms Naledi Pandor, chairperson of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), the Speaker of the National Assembly, Dr Frene Ginwala, and Ms Thoko Didiza who is the current Minister of Land Affairs. What is most interesting is that the women have achieved great victories since the inception of our new democratic government.

Women can now own their own property including land, "the Extension of Security of Tenure Act gives women and children independent rights as occupiers on farms owned by another person, and ensures that women are protected against arbitrary and unfair discrimination. The Land Bank Act has been changed to give women access to financial assistance from the Bank" (In Session, February 2001:6/7). Parliament has passed a number of enabling laws to secure women's

rights. There are few Acts such as the Domestic Violence Act, which protects women against domestic violence, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1997) that deals specifically with rape-related issues. This Act also lays down the minimum sentencing of serious crimes against women. The Criminal Procedure Act 50 of 1995 and Act of 1997, allow the courts to refuse granting bail to the perpetrators of rape, especially gang rape. There is also the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act that recognizes that the wife who is married under customary law enjoys equal rights, especially when it comes to decision-making regarding property.

In the recent past, women were evicted from their homes after the death of their husbands by the relatives of their late husbands because customary marriage was illegal in apartheid South Africa. Women were not allowed by law to join their husbands in the cities because of influx control and were denied accommodation for themselves and their children. The 1996 Termination of Pregnancy Act gives women the right of choice to abortion. Many women have died because of illegal abortions while trying to get rid of unwanted babies. The Housing Act promotes measures that prohibit unfair discrimination on the ground of gender by role-players in the development of housing. The Water Act ensures that 60% of all salaries and wages should be paid to women (In Session, Parliament, February 2001:6/7). Many of these laws will assist women to play a positive role in our society; however, less information is filtered through to educate the women about their rights. Women are still deprived of having access to information that is vital to their well-being. Most women in the rural areas do not have access to schooling facilities and therefore cannot read and write. We need to embark on a vigorous campaign to educate women about their rights so that they can work within the law to better themselves.

Women are still afraid to report rape or harassment by their menfolk because they do not have an alternative as regards financial assistance. Women remain unprotected from physical abuse from their men because they lack the facilities that can help them deal with male abuse when it occurs. When the women get empowered, so will be the youth. The next section will discuss the role and position of the youth in development.

3.2: Role and position of the youth in development

The youth has a role to play in our society, and its role is not that of self-promotion and elitism. The youth of the past and present has selflessly made itself available when it was most needed by the nation. On June 16, 1976, the youth came out strong in its thousands to protest against the draconian Bantu Education law. The youth did not stop there, it swelled the ranks of the liberation movement to help fight against the system of apartheid oppression. Today, South Africa is a democratic country and the youth continue to play a positive role to help shape and strengthen our young democracy. It will be unwise for anyone, especially the media to view the youth as a group that is irresponsible, uncaring for its own country's future and the issues that affect them directly.

It is our youth who helped Bantu Education to be crushed and ensured its defeat by democratic change. The same youth is grappling with the scourge of AIDS, disease, poverty and unemployment. These are the issues that affect them daily, and besides, life is not made up of problems alone. As the common saying goes, "all work and no play, makes Jack a dull boy". Youthfulness is also a time to have some fun.

As a national weekly reported recently,

"Unlike in past years when delegates came in buses and taxis, this year saw a flotilla of luxury sedans and hired cars for those who had flown in . . . Even the rank and file arrived more comfortably, gone were the rickety Putco buses, in their place were luxury air-conditioned coaches complete with curtains . . . While the nation thought the youth would discuss the pressing issues facing young people, it was the quest for power that took a center stage at the conference . . . for five days, issues such as AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), unemployment and youth development took a back

seat in the tussle to elect leaders in a bruising contest . . . Six years after the ANC's rise to power, the profile of its youth's organization is hardly recognizable. Today's leaders typically boast at least two degrees. They are either elected public representatives, senior public servants or high-flyers in the private sector." (*Sunday Times, Insight*, 22 April 2001:1).

This article describes the leadership in the African National Congress Youth League as the yuppie brigade. The article sums up what is to be understood as the makeup of the black elite present at the youth conference. The writer of this article measured and categorized the youth as an elite just because they drove what he saw as a 'flotilla of luxury sedans', and the employment positions, which the drivers of the sedans held, including their education qualifications. The article does not say whether these are the future professionals that should be earmarked to fill important positions. The elite in South Africa is measured or classified by merely driving posh sedans, the type of jobs held by them and their qualifications.

The writer of the article apparently expects the South African youth to be dressed in tatters, if they were to conduct some serious business at the conference. This is how the writer wants us to view the youth, a power-hungry and position-mongering group that is uninterested in the real issues that affect them daily. The article tries very hard to write the youth off the list of a future leadership that will be contending for high office, a practice that usually begins at such conferences. Gone will be the days of appointees that are expected to be party loyalists rather than professional managers. A youth conference must be seen as a testing ground and a platform for expressing the democratic rights that must translate into real change.

The *Sunday Times* report is biased in that it gives us a wrong picture or image about the youth that have worked hard to earn two degrees. This is a type of youth that is serious with life, prosperity and success. It is not a youth that is opportunistic but that is prepared to work for what it is worth. It is not just a group of youth that is to be swayed from left to right without understanding

the issues they are to grapple with. The newspaper report is misleading because it infers that the youth is irresponsible and only getting out to conferences to look for recognized posts, which will pay them more money with which they are to maintain their newly acquired elite status.

The article further infers that if the youth should drive posh cars, they are irresponsible and if they arrive in taxis and buses, they are responsible. What we are not informed about is whether the youth leaders that drove these posh sedans, actually owned them or were still trying to pay off the installments of the said vehicles. Moreover, we do not know if their parents were well off or not, and why all the black people should remain in the positions of poverty with no development or improvement of their financial resources to usher them into a particular class, even after the 1994 democratic elections.

Another national weekly reported as follows, "... a new generation of young leadership is emerging - young, flexible and highly entrepreneurial... 'We are placing black CEOs [Chief Executive Officers] with solid track records - they have earned their spurs in a relatively short space of time, they're getting into positions because of what they have achieved.' ... Increasingly, they are turning to rising managers recruited from outside to get companies where they need to be" (*Sunday Times' Business Times* 3, May 6, 2001:1).

In most developed countries such as Canada, the United States of America, and Britain, the bulk of the youth are students who drive posh cars into most university campuses. Most of the youth work while studying and have bank accounts and cash. The students work throughout the summer holidays and save extra money to spend. They learn how to manage their own affairs and are given independence to run their own lives. This lifestyle gives them a high self-esteem and a flair for becoming responsible adults. Their lifestyle teaches them how to live and survive in their own modern world which they help to shape and build. Anyone above the age of 18 years is expected to have a drivers' license which can be produced as a piece of identity if

required when making official transactions.

The youth in the developing countries is trained at a young age to understudy their mentors as a way of ushering them into new important roles in government and the corporate world. This practice is in line with the popular saying, “like father like son, like mother like daughter”. Indeed, “A professional public service requires professional leadership. International experience suggests that the senior official or officials responsible for exercising this leadership function should be located within the Office of the President, with the necessary management support. It would then be the responsibility of the designated officer (who could and perhaps should also be designated as Head of the Public Service) to promote the continuing development of the senior professional cadre. Regular meetings of this cadre will encourage and facilitate effective coordination of government policy” (Presidential Review Commission: 1998:20).

It is very important to groom youth leadership at an early stage to succeed their parents by taking up leadership positions at home, in government and in the workplace. The youth actually constitute a workforce of part-timers. Their mentors’ do not shun to be succeeded by the youth. In Africa, most leaders do not want to vacate their positions of power especially when their time is up. One vivid example is that of Frederick Chiluba, the current President of Zambia who benefited from the multi-party democracy. Chiluba wanted to change the constitution so that he could stand for office for the third time but his good advisers encouraged him to see reason.

On the contrary, the youth in the “Third World” is neglected, undermined and discouraged to develop itself. It is viewed, as in the foregoing media articles, as useless, worthless and lacking direction. It is seen as misguided and as destructive elements interested in doing the wrong things. When the youth reach wo/manhood, it lacks self-esteem and confidence in what it is doing. It is usually not entrusted with real responsibilities and therefore, when it does occupy the positions of power; it will lack the necessary confidence and skills with which to polish its performance toward achieving excellence and success. The youth must have a foundation and their

starting point is competing against one another at conferences and seminars in which they can elect their own leaders that can represent them on issues that affect them daily.

It seems that the South African government does not value its youth as it should and, by so doing, it loses a great contribution that the youth could have made toward development or improvement in life. Service delivery cannot come about without the training of the youth at an early stage to inculcate in them the spirit of working towards their career development and a professional work ethic.

The Department of Public Service and Administration states that,

“The Public Service will continue to be staffed mainly by career employees who will be provided with opportunities for professional advancement and personal development. However, open competition and more innovative recruitment practices will open the Public Service up to a far wider pool of talent and ensure the inclusion of all sections of society. Fresh skills will be more easily absorbed, and operational requirements more efficiently and effectively managed through the use of fixed-term contracts, increased use of part-time employment and more flexible working patterns” (Government Gazette No. 18594: 1997:29).

I agree with the foregoing views because I believe that a wider pool of talent can be tapped from the youth who need a lot of career guidance to enable it to learn fresh skills, especially in this fast-changing world of technology. Flexible hours will enable the youth to fit into tight schedules as well as giving them an opportunity to attend to their studies. Government officials often do not transfer their skills to the youth for fear of being succeeded or overtaken by them, a thing which has to happen anyway because as human beings we all get old and must give others a chance to succeed us as Dr Nelson Mandela allowed our present president Thabo Mbeki to succeed him.

The government needs to put the interests of the people first, especially those

women and children. As a report of the National Conference on Service Delivery says, “The key condition for implementing Batho Pele is a management revolution throughout the government, to bring about more delegation of authority, more freedom to manage resources and more accountability for results. This will require rule books to be torn up, unnecessary regulations to be scrapped, hierarchical and bureaucratic approval to be cut back, and communication to be improved so that the Batho Pele message can be spread across South Africa” (National Conference on Public Service Delivery: 1997:15).

All these beautiful words can be hearsay because of what we see today as a male dominated public service with a hierarchical and centralized management structure. There can be no service delivery without the involvement of the youth who can play a leading role in making communication effective. More so, the youth of today in South Africa are more exposed to education than their parents who were brutally denied opportunities by the apartheid draconian laws.

We must be happy rather than sad to see the youth driving posh sedans and acting responsibly with high morale, showing pride, confidence and self-esteem in their character. We need the youth that is capable of competing because, “Competition will also increase the opportunities for those from previously disadvantaged groups both to join and to advance within the Public Service. This will be underpinned by transparent human resource strategies based on sound planning, which includes targets for the achievement of employment equity goals” (Government Gazette No.18594:1997:29).

In more ways than one, “the revolution devours its children with comrade fighting comrade, feeding into paranoia and hysteria, lack of trust and suspicion of each other”, said Cosatu leader Zwelinzima Vavi at the national congress of 240 000-strong National Education Health and Allied Workers Union. Vavi said, ‘...recent developments in the ANC must be taken in a serious light’. He was referring to the South African revolution, which he said was being confronted by

the greatest risk following the story reported in the media of a plot aimed at unseating President Thabo Mbeki. Vavi was voicing his fears about the weakening of the Cosatu/SACP/ANC alliance (*Cape Times*, May 1, 2001:1).

The ANC-led alliance sidelined or marginalized the youth that joined the struggle for freedom during the 1976 Uprising. It kept most of that youth training in guerrilla warfare in the camps and denied it formal training. The youth was misled into believing that apartheid South Africa was going to be destroyed through the barrel of the gun; that westernization would have no place in a new South Africa and as such, a communist welfare state was visualized. It looked as though whites were going to be kicked out, their property nationalized and handed over to the poor blacks. Most of this youth returned home with high expectations but feel betrayed today since they joined the contingent of the poorest of the poor with no skills or jobs to help them earn a decent living.

One vivid example of such a youth is James Vusimuzi Nkambule who worked for the ANC intelligence. Nkambule is said to have defrauded the government of R2.3million and was to appear in court at the time of writing. Nkambule is reported as having said, "... these leaders were running a disinformation campaign against Mbeki, including the allegation that the President 'was behind the death of former SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani'". He also said that, "I made an affidavit to police on Tuesday, just a day before Minister Steve Tshwete went on SABC and named the three comrades as the plotters of President Mbeki's downfall" (*Sunday Times*: April 29: 2001:10).

The ANC's strategy of appointing and of preferring one cadre to another is a strategy that is going to haunt it. There are two types of youth, and Nkambule is one of those youth that are favoured because of his political attachment to the South African Communist Party, members of whom make up the intelligence of the ANC. As Jovial Rantao, a journalist has reported in *The Star* of April 26, 2001, "...there were energetic youngsters willing to do anything for the party. One of

these youths was James Nkambule, a member of the ANC Youth League in Mpumalanga. Nkambule, along with fellow comrades, spent endless hours working to ensure an ANC victory in the 1994 elections” (*The Star*, April, 26: 2001:1). Such youth elements are regarded as selfless, uncompromising, and unflinching in their resolve against corruption for self-enrichment and capitalist values. This type of youth is made out of the character, thinking and behaviour of individuals like James Nkambule. They have been handpicked by virtue of their affiliation and membership to the SACP.

A recent report has stated that:

“Given the situation it was hardly surprising that the new political leadership viewed its inherited public service with a degree of suspicion and skepticism. Nor was it surprising that one of the top priorities for the new Government was the appointment of new senior public servants from within its loyal political ranks. The Commission acknowledges that there was a threat, real or perceived, of political sabotage by intractable incumbents of the previous dispensation. We also acknowledge the need for ‘political appointments’ within the service to cushion against unsupportive public servants” (Presidential Review Commission: 1998:15).

The selected few or hand-picked young officials, who are the favourites of the leaders, do not always live up to expectations because dealing with government business needs a strong public service that knows the rules of the game, including to guard against fraud and corruption. Once the young leaders have outlived their usefulness and are removed from office and lucrative posts, their whole world crumbles under their feet and their livelihood and future end up in smoke. These types of youth do not have any skills or formal education apart from being armed with Marxist and Leninist literature, which they do not believe in or fully understand.

As Rantao further explains, Nkambule was cornered like a wounded lion and:

“Wheels started to come off Nkambule’s political career after information came to light

that he was involved in fraud while at the Mpumalanga Parks Board.... Nkambule was also in a delegation that approached the ANC leadership three years ago with allegations of fraud and corruption against Premier Matthews Phosa. He was among those who gave evidence in support of these claims in a closed inquiry. The delegation, among others, accused Phosa of being a spy for the apartheid government. They also said Phosa was the mastermind behind a plot to discredit national ANC leaders, including President Thabo Mbeki” (*The Star*: April 26: 2001:1).

Two months later Nkambule surprised everyone. He turned around and signed an affidavit in which he stated that certain ANC members who wanted Phosa removed from the position of Premier, made him to say the horrible things about him. This is how a handpicked communist-oriented youth is manipulated by remote control to cause confusion and havoc. Nkambule is being used to mislead the people and discredit the credibility of the youth. “The excesses of state inefficiency, repression and corruption require a rethinking among those who previously assumed that socialism, or at least social development, would be achieved through public sector actions. On the other hand, nor have profit minded actors in the market shown much willingness to eradicate poverty, empower the poor, or even to invest productivity in the wake of neo-liberal economic programmes” (Farrington et al: 1993:2).

Indeed, poverty cannot be eradicated by fraudulent means. One wonders how such a highly disciplined cadre, whose actions are not questioned, takes such a destructive route as to make such accusations that could put peoples lives in danger. Such accusations have brought the country into disrepute overseas, thereby giving the wrong impression that South Africa might be unstable politically and viewed as a country not to invest in. Such allegations have brought down the value of the Rand.

We might be tempted to conclude that the R2.3 million he is alleged to have embezzled was done at the instructions, one might say, of ‘certain members of the ANC’. Such

havoc is not new in the ANC. It was present during the days of exile when an ideological power struggle went on unabated. The alliance has a culture of finger pointing where leaders shun taking responsibility and preferring to shift the blame onto others to cover-up their failure.

Around the beginning of the 1980's, a number of youth leaders were rounded up and moved from the areas in which they were deployed. In 1983/84 there was a mutiny of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto weSizwe. Members of Umkhonto weSizwe had complained about the bad food, uniforms and the long time they had to stay in the camps without getting any chance to engage the enemy but the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) forces in Angola, which they believed had no connection whatsoever with the freedom they wanted to achieve in South Africa. Those who were transferred to the notorious Quatro camp in Angola were interrogated after being accused of "spying" for the apartheid government. Those who were unlucky got badly hurt. This trend of falsely accusing certain individuals within the alliance is an old trick that has continued unabated. It is used to keep certain individuals in the positions of power and control.

While this power struggle is going on, service delivery suffers. Leaders stop concentrating on the real issues and focus on maintaining their positions instead. An organization, which is not coherent politically, cannot be expected to implement the policies that it formulates because there is no trust and coordination among the leaders. The problem emanates from the fact that, "... a number of new ministers and senior public officials assumed office without any previous experience or, in some cases, formal training" (Presidential Review Commission:1998:16).

There is no delegation of powers but a number of existing factions that collaborate to serve their own individual interests, "...some of those new appointees have not been able to offer much beyond political loyalty, due to the lack of skills...in general, senior public service appointments have generally reflected the ethnic or racial composition of the Minister" (Presidential Review Commission:1998:16). The new appointees' political loyalty is communist

or socialist driven and such a political affiliation overshadows professionalism, western and capitalist-oriented norms. The ANC and SACP used to send their cadres to political schools in the former German Democratic Republic and other former communist countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, Cuba, Czechoslovakia and the former Soviet Union, to study military warfare and the politics of Karl Marx and Lenin. Most of these cadres were earmarked for certain positions on their return, positions, which were in line with a communist political dispensation. Within this background, nothing gets done unless and until certain individuals do the job themselves because there is a cloud of secrecy that surrounds daily operations that are necessary to assist government to work according to its requirements.

The ANC and its alliance partners, no doubt, are suffering from an ideology crisis. The alliance is torn between communism and capitalism, which often make the leadership to disagree on policy from time to time. Communism and capitalism have become oil and water, which do not mix as we can see how the ANC-led government is trying to woo investments, while the Marxist-driven partners in the name of Cosatu and the SACP get investors intimidated from investing in South Africa. We can also see how workers get retrenched with no assistance from the labour movement after they have joined the unemployed.

When it was clear that Nkambule's road to riches had come to an end, he decided to take other people down the drain with him by making false political accusations about known personalities like Matthews Phosa who he has named for the second time. On the contrary, there is a youth that is unlike Nkambule, which the leadership of the ANC ignores and forgets about. These types of youth remain in the rank and file. These are the unsung heroes who the liberation movement used and dumped and left stranded with no financial support systems or a future. The forgotten youth have no land, property, and bank account but mere poverty. Their counterparts, the Nkambule type, continue to work for their immediate mentors.

There is a youth that the alliance, not so long in the past, groomed. The said youth

were members of organizations such as Black Conscious Movement (BCM), the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the ANC Youth League itself. It is this very youth that made a difference by participation in the struggle for freedom beginning as student leaders on school and university campuses, joining political and labour movements and finally climbing the ladder to leadership positions. Cyril Ramaphosa who has become a successful businessman is chairperson of Johnnic. Former Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale and former Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa are businessmen. Unfortunately, these are the three men who were reported in *the Sunday Times* of April 29 2001 as being under police investigation for an alleged plot to unseat President Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC has great policies but it has proven to be weak when it comes to practicing or implementing them. This weakness is the reason why there is so much suspicion on some wrongdoing or corruption when any black person does well financially. The apartheid mentality still dictates upon our thinking and actions, especially when we see certain individuals prospering or coming out of poverty and improving their lives economically, socially and politically.

The people however, must guard against those individuals that enrich themselves at their expense. The classification of an elite should not be measured by the ownership of property, jobs or posh cars. It has to be understood that even uneducated criminals and non-criminals drive posh sedans and do not necessarily occupy white collar jobs, some of them could be possessing good leadership qualities.

We are persuaded that the measurement or classification of an elite is by the ownership of a luxury car, an educational degree and a white-collar job. This classification takes us back to the apartheid years when white racist traffic police stopped black motorists and subjected them to a barrage of humiliating questions including whether they were the owners of the vehicles they were driving, and if so, where they got the money to buy them, etc. The writer of the article

tries to ridicule the youth leaders by calling them a yuppie brigade, a term which I think they do not deserve because they are a group of normal youth who are trying their utmost best to tackle youth issues.

As the media sees it, the numbers of the ANC youth are on the decline and that the few youth that were present, hardly discussed the burning issues such as AIDS education, job creation and education. The media is downplaying the role of the youth in our society. However, most of the time what the media reports about daily are youth-related issues. The constant appearance of youth issues in the media demonstrates that they are an important force in our society. The youth also need to be represented in Parliament by the likes of ANC youth leader, Mr. Malusi Gigaba, a practice that the ANC usually applies, as in the case of the Women's League, which has a Member of Parliament in the name of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela as its leader and representative.

The policy of the ANC has always encouraged the women and youth to play a greater part in society and shape their future. In order to do this, they need a strong representation, which can assist them to stand on their feet to challenge anything wrong that needs to be contested. The problem is that the youth and women are not taken seriously. They are not valued or regarded as equal partners as they should be.

The yuppie brigade that is mentioned in the newspaper as having attended a conference only to elect a new executive is in line with what is expected of it. Its responsibility is to lead the youth to greater challenges and successes. The youth cannot be blamed for non-delivery of services because it is not part of a decision-making body. The youth is not part of the Cabinet and indeed the government that has the power to effect change by introducing new legislation, which it is failing to implement.

The youth at the conference was short-sighted indeed to have demanded that Mr. Gigaba be withdrawn from Parliament because they should have requested for more representation

in it to help them convey more pressing issues that affect them. There has been a lack of a strong youth representation in government institutions where the youth can exercise real power rather than be treated as the new comers.

The country needs to invest in its youth to enable it to grow into a stronger position to help it to tackle the burning issues. The ANC Youth League is a training ground for new leaders and the Women's League a training ground for women leaders. "The injection of 'new blood' into the public service since 1994 has generally resulted in an improvement in the extent of service provision. There have been remarkable cases where new and old managers within the public sector have worked effectively together and mobilized their limited resources to produce innovative and creative ways of improving the service. At the same time, however, there are departments and provinces, which have lagged behind in this respect" (Presidential Review Commission:1998:14).

Service delivery should be realized in the foreseeable future as long as this practice of grooming new leaders can be continued to re-produce the Tambos, Mandelas, and present President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, who must be strictly politicians and not administrators. We can learn from Caiden. "Before a depoliticized bureaucracy is possible, a society has to be able to maintain a modern bureaucracy and to distinguish between political and administrative office holders" (Caiden:1971:84). The ANC, however, is not prepared to risk its hardwon struggle by entrusting its operations in government to administrators, which it suspects might sabotage it. This attitude of mistrust has driven it to not only mistrust the administrators from the former apartheid government, but members of organizations within its own alliance.

The SACP no longer can send some of its selected cadres to party schools in the former eastern-block countries to develop its elite. The former socialist countries are pursuing a capitalist mode of business and so should our country, because South Africa is capitalist by the nature of its rich mineral resources. Added to that, it is lucky to have a contingent of leaders who care and maybe do not have the right answers at the present moment. Most of the leaders in the

ANC also came out of the ANC Youth League and experienced pain in struggle and poverty which they have outgrown, therefore, these are the right people to put poverty as their priority agenda. What is needed is for our country to develop a coherent and effective strategy that will develop and empower the youth and enable them to enter the public service as efficient and professional civil servants. Caiden further says about a depoliticized bureaucracy, “First, political functions must be differentiated and institutionalized into a readily identifiable governmental system with (a) agreed methods for determining political leaders (rulers), (b) a legal system through which the rulers’ authority is expressed...” (Caiden:1971:84). The government officials can enter into an agreement with the administrators to sign contracts that will bind them to perform according to the instructions from above. This type of approach is being put in place by the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa which inherited civil servants that have “established a monopoly over their expertise, confine the secrets of their trade to themselves, and insist that they alone select and teach initiates” (Caiden:1971:84). Therefore, by neglecting its youth, the country is losing fresh blood. It is losing valuable manpower by trying to protect what it sees as its own interests, ensuring that its close relations and friends remain within the circles of political power and control in South Africa. The end result is that the youth will go to decay and seek for answers in drugs. However, if the leadership of this country start paying attention and looking after their own and not just paying lip service but ensuring that service delivery is realized to help communities stand on their feet, then we can start discussing service delivery as outlined in the following section.

3.3:Service delivery

The lack of timely service delivery in South Africa is forcing the underprivileged South Africans to suffer more and more from poverty, landlessness and joblessness. Most of the people who suffer from poverty are losing faith and hope in our new democracy because the government has failed to deliver the services that can bring change to the people's lives for the better. The government has given its voters a false sense of hope beginning at the 1994 elections, which put the African National Congress and its former President Nelson Mandela into power. As it is reported, "Current standards of service delivery satisfy neither the public nor the officials who aspire to serve them. This is hardly surprising, given the problems faced by the new government when it took office in 1994" (Presidential Review Commission:1998:22).

There is still no hope for the poor even after two terms of office in government led by the ANC. We need to look at the way in which the national government is running its affairs in order to address the problems of poverty, landlessness, joblessness, health care, housing, education and the justice system, including the restructuring of the defence force and the police to stamp out crime.

No doubt, South Africa is still reeling from a legacy of apartheid oppression but everything that fails in bringing about democratic change and a better life for all cannot be always blamed on the defunct apartheid system. We must look elsewhere for new strategies and find out whether we as a nation have the willingness and commitment to change. We must also understand that change cannot come about unless we change ourselves. What needs to be changed is the way we conduct our business, especially our public service. "A national public service has been and is being re-engineered and re-motivated out of a miscellany of cadres serving the old regime. Its personnel have been integrated into new structures serving national and provincial government that have become remarkably more representative in a relatively short space of time" (Presidential Review

Commission:1998:16).

It is imperative, therefore, that we must know exactly what we want to accomplish, given the new structures that have been created. We must understand that South Africa is a member of the global village and while globalization is taking effect, there are people out there who are looking at us to see if we are capable to perform and achieve excellence in our dealings in government affairs. We must also search ourselves to find out whether what we say is what we really want because we may be saying things just to please our listeners when in fact we mean the opposite.

We must, as a new democratic government, put good and sustainable programmes that will develop our country's economy so that it can compete internationally. We need to take a stand to show the world that our determination to stamp out apartheid was not driven by greed, but by a righteous commitment to ensure that human life is preserved and nurtured in a normal and healthy way without fear, favour nor conflict.

It is not enough to deliver lofty speeches at various podiums and make various promises, which we never accomplish because the more we think we are cheating the people, we are betraying our country from developing economically and failing to combat poverty. We need to establish the premise from which we are to conduct our operations to bring about change. It has become extremely necessary to constantly ask us whether this change needs to be effected for change's sake or whether it is real change that is needed to assist the disadvantaged to lead a better live. It is unthinkable to make people believe that their lives will be turned around into a better and normal life, when the truth is far from real.

Statistics South Africa now have data that was collected by Ros Hirschowitz, Mark Orkin and Piet Alberts, from surveys conducted in five consecutive years, 1995 to 1999 on issues that included employment status among individuals, access to services such as clean water and electricity among households. The data, which is given the title "Key baseline statistics for poverty measurement", provides us with the basis to understand the poor living conditions in South Africa.

The following table by Ros Hirschowitz, Mark Orkin and Piet Alberts is explained as follows:

Table 10: Loadings obtained by each variable on each component constituting the two

Stats SA development indices (after rotation)

Variables	Household infrastructure index	Household circumstances index
(a) living in formal housing	0,65	-0,01
(b) access to electricity for lighting	0,78	0,07
(c) tap water inside the dwelling	0,83	0,12
(d) a flush or chemical toilet	0,84	0,19
(e) a telephone in dwelling or cellular phone	0,77	0,05
(f) refuse removal at least once a week	0,74	0,19
(g) level of education of household	0,60	0,25
(h) monthly household expenditure	0,84	-0,08
(i) unemployment rate (expanded definition0)	0,39	0,45
(j) average household size	-0,02	0,90
(k) children under the age of five years	0,05	0,80

Source: www.statssa.gov.za: Key baseline

“Index 1, the Household infrastructure index was constituted by the following variables:

- (a) living in formal housing;
- (b) access to electricity for lighting;
- (c) tap water inside the dwelling;
- (d) a flush or a chemical toilet;
- (e) a telephone in dwelling or cellular telephone;

- (f) refuse removal at least once a week
- (g) level of education of household head; and
- (h) monthly household expenditure.”

We can select one or two of the variables, such as refuse removal or a flush or chemical toilet, which are essential to maintaining a healthy environment and curbing the spread of diseases such as cholera. The lack of access to electricity caused fires and the destruction of squatter or temporary housing. “Index 2 the Household circumstances index was constituted by the following variables:

- (1) unemployment rate (expanded definition);
- (2) average household size; and
- (3) children under the age of five years”(www. statssa.gov.za:Key baseline) .

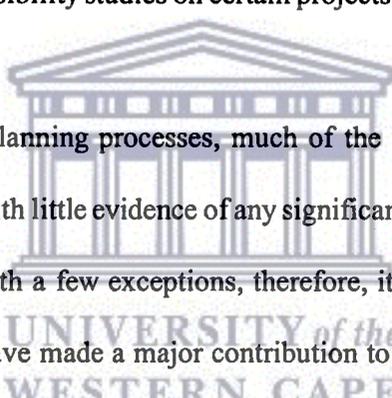
These statistics show the dire need of want in which poor South Africans have been driven into by apartheid legislation. It is evident that a very small percent of wages emanates from self-employment. The reason is that the system of apartheid took away the little property, which the black people owned, especially land and livestock. There is a systematic way in which black South Africans are been marginalized and not accorded the opportunity to create their own jobs that will assist them in employing themselves. The government has the sole responsibility to promote those people that are willing to create their own jobs by helping fund schemes that will create employment for the needy.

As The Reconstruction and Development Programme - A policy framework by the African National Congress puts it, “The democratic government must play a leading role in building an economy which offers to all South Africans the opportunity to contribute productively. All job creation programmes should cater particularly for women and youth. Implementing agencies should include representatives from women’s and youth organisations” (RDP:1994:18). The next topic to be discussed is a section on the African National Congress and Umkhonto weSizwe.

3.4: The African National Congress and Umkhonto weSizwe

It seems that the government is failing to include and accommodate people from various political influences to execute its project plans. It is failing the very people that voted it into power. It seems that the ANC-led government is taking people for a ride. Leaders say one thing and practice another as if there is another power that is manipulating their actions. The government is bent on selecting and placing irresponsible individuals in important positions. Most of these individuals are usually caught up in corrupt activities.

The government seems not to utilize the available skilled manpower at its disposal. There are so many consultants that are contracted by government institutions across the broad spectrum of our country to conduct research and feasibility studies on certain projects that the government has been encouraged to establish or launch.



“In many strategic planning processes, much of the work has been facilitated by outside consultants with little evidence of any significant skills transfer to staff within the organizations. With a few exceptions, therefore, it does not seem that strategic planning processes have made a major contribution to the building of public sector capacity. Within the public sector, there is also little agreement as to where the strategic planning functions should be placed. Although some departments have established inclusive and participative transformation units, others have not...”

(Presidential Review Commission:1998:26).

On the one hand, the government is not training the specialised manpower to execute or implement its development programs, on the other, it is failing to plan and even when the planning has been completed on its behalf, it sits on, files away, abandons or discards the plans, which it dumps to give place to the new. Most of these projects never get off the ground. They are cut short

because the government takes too long to implement them and in so doing frustrate the people that the project was aimed to benefit. One of these projects is the British Aerospace project that was intended to help the former freedom fighters of the ANC, mainly from the ANC's former military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), to settle down in the country and start a new civilian life. As the RDP has pointed out, "Government agencies must provide infrastructure and skills to raise incomes and businesses. They must protect the rights of workers, both family members and others, and provide training in productive and managerial skills" (RDP:1994:94). The British Aerospace project is not often talked about, as it should. There is so much silence about it that one suspects that it has died a natural death.

The project had received extensive publicity in the media, promising to train former freedom fighters that need new skills to occupy the jobs that the new project was to create. When the British Aerospace representatives announced the sponsorship to start the project, many of the former freedom fighters were hopeful that at least their problems of poverty would soon be over. The Umkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans Association (MKVA) members read with appreciation in the news that, "British Aerospace will spend more than R4.5 million to provide training and jobs for former Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants. The company, Europe's largest exporter of high technology aerospace and defence equipment, will provide the MK Military Veterans Association with the project finance for an industrial/agri-business park and training center near Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg" (<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr1998/pr0325.html>:1).

The report went on to say that the project would help in establishing small micro and medium enterprises at the center to become the suppliers of a variety of items, such as, metal, plastic, and leather aviation and automotive components, overalls and other industrial garments and agricultural products. The enterprises would become the preferred suppliers of British Aerospace and Sweden's Saab aircraft once completed.

More than two years have passed and the project is not in place. Many of the would-be-

beneficiaries have waited patiently without anything happening. The leaders who received the funds on behalf of the former freedom fighters are not saying much about the money and the would-be-beneficiaries do not know what to expect. They are frustrated, disillusioned, helpless and not confident about the future. They have been marginalized and given a raw deal. One wonders why this programme has not been launched so that it can help the people that need help.

As Mr. MMS Mdladlana, the current Minister of Labour, pointed out at the launch of the Human Resources Development Strategy on the 23rd of April, 2001, in Midrand,

“If we are to overcome the disaster of millions of our people being ‘left hanging’ and subsequently being trapped into poverty - then our Human Resource Development Strategy must ask - where are the jobs to come from and what kind of preparation is embedded into? Surely, it is decent jobs that bring dignity and rising quality of life to all - not just to the few - in context of ever deepening democracy and respect for human values that go with it. If we don’t say this upfront then frankly, millions will ask, ‘What’s the point’”? (<http://www.doj.gov.za./search:1>).

British Aerospace specifically wanted to help the former guerrillas. It is clear that the problem, which was to be solved, has stayed unsolved. The former freedom fighters that now feel betrayed by the leadership and the organization, which they have been taught is their mother and father, may be asking what was the point for their participation in the liberation struggle. They may be asking whether they are being punished for having taken a stand and participated in the struggle for liberation.

What is evident is that the funds were made available, the vision and the plans are put in place, but the action is not forthcoming. Not much is being done and therefore these veterans are left out in the cold. These individuals, know no one else apart from their organization, the African National Congress which has disbanded its military wing and established the MK Military Veterans Association (MKVA).

According to a memorandum of understanding of the MKVA, this organization was formed with the aim of transforming Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants and re-integrating them into civilian life, especially those who could not fend for themselves due to old age and disablement, creating and developing income-generating community-based projects involving the veterans; assisting in vocational training, education and providing assistance to dependants of veterans and promoting and defending the rights and their dignity, including the history and heritage of MK (<http://www.anc.org.za>:1). The background information to the scheme of military demobilization and integration is as follows. When many comrades did not make it into the army because of the standards required by the former South African Defence Force (SADF), they were given an option for demobilization. Some of them did not make it because they were sickly, old, and unfit to be incorporated into the army. Among them were those who were fortunate to receive a pension, specially made for former political activists. Those who applied for it now receive it but there are others who are still on the waiting list because they relied on someone else to file in their applications. These are individuals who cannot read and write. These are the cadres who were kept in the military camps in Angola, Mozambique, and Tanzania for many years without a mission.

The government's lack of time management, that is, its failure to implement the said project(s) timely, is pulling down its development drive to the lowest ebb. The main reason for this is because certain leaders quote verses of Marx and Lenin and believe that, by so doing, they will achieve their goal towards service delivery. As at present, the democratic government is building an economy, which is making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Instead of empowering the youth and women, it is building a black elite composed mostly of men at the expense and suffering of the jobless poor who are unable to fend for themselves. The people need assistance to help them get out of the scourge of poverty that is haunting them everyday. South Africa's new democracy has come about because of the struggle for freedom. The topic in the next chapter is on the need to formulate new laws and policies for implementation.

Chapter 4: Legislation, land, housing and water

4.1: Legislation: Need to formulate and implement enabling laws and policies

The government has succeeded in enacting a number of Acts that correspond to the 1996 Constitution. In the year 2000, alone, 69 Acts were passed by Parliament. Given these developments the present leadership of the ANC-led government can now be able to fulfill the people's expectations and bring about meaningful change. This change must come through the repeal of all apartheid laws, which must be replaced with new democratic Acts. The problem with our new democracy is that the laws that governed the masses of the people during the apartheid years continue to be in force in a subtle manner when the new Acts are being ignored and not implemented as required.

The new democratic government is contaminated or affected by the past policies of apartheid. The leaders have failed to understand that in order for them to amass some wealth, there must be an element of exploitation in their dealings. However, any kind of exploitation must contain an element of discrimination. Any discrimination in South Africa is tantamount to the practice of apartheid. The choosing of certain people over others cannot be fair practice. If the government is not turning the masses of the people into a black elite as a whole, an idea which is far from real, then it is choosing certain individuals that it prefers over the ones it intends to discriminate against, especially those groups of people the ruling party does not regard as its loyalists but whose support the leaders need at election time.

When Parliament passes new Acts, these do not get implemented sooner as expected. What happens is that the laws that are enacted cannot take immediate effect especially when they are created for a particular reason and point in time. Once this time frame during which legislation needs to be implemented passes, it becomes ineffective. The new Act, namely the Promotion of Equality

Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000, is clear. Its Preamble says,

“The consolidation of democracy in our country requires the eradication of social and economic inequalities, especially those that are systematic in nature, which were generated in our history by colonialism, apartheid and patriarchy, and which brought pain and suffering to the great majority of our people. Although significant progress has been made in restructuring and transforming our society and its institutions, systematic inequalities and unfair discrimination remain deeply embedded in social structures, practices and attitudes, undermining the aspirations of our constitutional democracy” (Act 2-2000:1).

The Act contains encouraging words that carry a vision and mission that is intended to lend us a better future. However, it is difficult to know whether these words will be translated into real action or if they will be implemented at all when the practice of racial discrimination and job losses continues in South Africa. Minister Penuel Maduna, who is among the black elite under the Department for Justice and Constitutional Development, leads this Act.

In his address to Parliament Minister Maduna said, “As a country, we have a number of legislative measures and embarked upon a series of activities to address the problems of corruption, particularly in the Public Service, and to ensure that integrity, good governance and transparency are promoted in the public sector as well as in the civil society in general...” (Debates of the National Assembly - 13 to 15 February 2001:307). These great and encouraging words delivered by the minister may not turn into positive action.

Minister Maduna further explained,

“Of even greater significance is the fact that we now have a panoply of pieces of legislation aimed at reducing fraud and particular forms of misconduct relating to bribery and corruption. These include the Corruption Act of 1992, the Public Protector Act; the Public Service Act; the South African Police Service Act; the Special

Investigating Units and Special Tribunals, the executive Members' Ethics Act, the National Prosecuting Authority Act, the Promotion of Access to Information Act; the Prevention of Organised crime Act; the Public Finance Management Act; and the Protected disclosures Act of 2000" (Debates of the National Assembly- 13-15 February 2001:307).

In a discussion paper written for the ANC's 50th conference, Pallo Jordan, then Minister of environmental Affairs said,

"No serious person could pretend that South Africa is not a country of far greater opportunity than it was 19 years ago.... In the immediate time frame this must include job creation, skills development, the empowerment of women, the strengthening of the popular organs of civil society and active involvement in the fight to end poverty.... The ANC must also encourage this black bourgeoisie to cultivate within their own enterprises and in those where they hold executive positions, the creative management of the conflict potential in industrial relations. The ANC must influence the black bourgeoisie to assume certain reconstruction programme-related responsibilities and give the lead to the business community with respect to responsible corporate behaviour" (<http://www.sn.apc.org.wmail/issues/971128/BUS28.html>: 1).

The elimination of poverty cannot be realized through the creation of a black elite. The belief that if more money is placed into black hands then more jobs will be created for blacks by blacks is a non-starter. This idea or approach looks more appealing but it is misleading as much as it is necessary. The black elite is not supposed to be created, it will evolve and develop on its own once there are plans that are put in place to eliminate poverty and put economic developmental strategies into place. The idea of creating a black elite is too soon to be placed on the national agenda. It is a trick that is being used to waylay the people and hoodwink them into supporting a corrupt venture embarked upon by certain leaders whose sole idea is to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor.

There is no legislation that says a black elite must be established or created. There is no guarantee that a black elite, once put in place, is going to create jobs. The creation of a black elite is just an excuse by greedy black individuals. The other disturbing factor is how this elite is being built, at what cost and with whose agreement. If there must be any elite in South Africa, it must grow together with projects aimed at eliminating poverty, landlessness and joblessness. Black empowerment should not be translated into the creation of a black elite that fails to deliver goods and services to the masses. What the elite does is to pander and enrich itself with the taxpayer's money. Surely this is not good governance.

The creation of a black elite breeds more inequalities, which will ricochet at the faces of the elite. It is very disturbing to see some of our leaders getting themselves to be misconstrued as perpetuating some of the imbalances of the past which we all fought against. Little progress is being made and there is no eradication of social and economic inequalities. There is too little which comes too late. People have become more destitute and helpless. They have become frustrated and are losing faith in some of the leaders whom they see as enriching themselves. What is most disturbing is that a black elite is created in South Africa by appointing certain individuals in lucrative or top positions in government at the expense of the poor masses and the taxpayers. It is very disturbing especially when the country has just come out of apartheid and racism.

Former guerrillas who did not have money in the bank strut around podiums of halls and stadiums dressed-up in expensive clothes, act in pomposity and address the people and promise them heaven and earth without actually meaning it. Most of them seem to have had their speeches written for them. They do not seem to know and understand that their audience need to be taken seriously and to do that, the leaders need to come to grips with the present situation. The leaders need to assess the situation and know exactly what is happening in the various communities, which they represent. It seems as if little research is conducted on the subject and less communication is taking place between the leaders and the people that elected them into power. In fact, it seems that

some of the leaders were seconded to their present positions without the input or say from the general public.

The South African population is being assured day-by-day that something good will be brought about from their vote, but it is just the opposite. Government officials have become corrupt, it is believable, and they do it with confidence with the understanding that they will not be made accountable and punished for their misdeeds. Monies, which are allocated by international donor bodies, are not used for what they are intended. They are kept in the bank for a long time so that the people for which they are meant, can forget about the project. It is believed that these funds may be diverted into the pockets of individuals at a later stage when everyone has forgotten about them. When government officials announce that there will be a certain project put in place, the announcement is done in the full presence of the media and the people who expect to benefit from it. In most cases people are taken for a ride because the monies, which are intended to improve their lives, do not reach the people who deserve the financial assistance. Most projects do not get off the ground; they collapse into oblivion and fall away, to the detriment of the needy. One of the government's Achilles heel, is the lack of trust in the people it intends to help. Another is the lack of skilled manpower needed to implement projects and keep them running. These officials fail to deliver because they have become too busy and insensitive about the plight of the needy. Government officials are too busy with maintaining their own positions and strengthening their power base rather than worry themselves about the plight of the poor. It seems that as long as they and their families are happy and living well, the people they are expected to serve can forget about getting their lives changed for the better. In a White Paper on Human Resource Management in the Public Service it is said that,

“Greater transparency and more competent and accountable management of human resources will mean that it will no longer be possible to manipulate employment criteria such as qualifications, health requirements, probation, temporary employment, and ill-

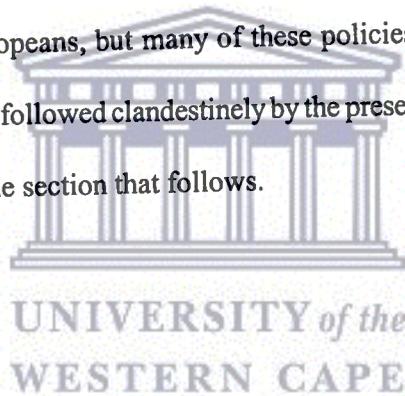
health retirements, to restrict the careers of those from disadvantaged groups, and to avoid dealing with poor performers” (Government Gazette No. 18594:1994:29).

We have come to realize, sadly, how government officials are able to play with the people’s sentiments because there is a lack of political education for the general public. The government has not done enough to educate the people to understand their rights. In most cases, people are left out in the cold with no one to turn to because they believe the government is just doing them a favour when it comes to project development. They are not aware that they have a right to have access to information about things that are in the public interests, and that there is an Act which allows individuals to demand access to information. The Promotion of Access to Information Act, 2000, has been enacted for this purpose. Government officials are following an ideology of socialism or communism, which is being compromised by capitalism. The leaders are in a catch-22 situation, they want to adhere to their political beliefs on the one hand and satisfy capitalism on the other; capitalism that they invite to invest money to create jobs and request to donate funds, which are needed to spearhead new projects. The Marxists of today do not have a free hand in practicing their ideology without being hampered, manipulated and dictated upon by capitalism, rather than what is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today’s proletariat has become man-made machines that are being operated by remote control. We have computer-generated machines that are capable of performing specific tasks in the factories and mines. The whole technological development is forcing the Marxists into a tight corner, making them to feel that they are betraying their cause if they comply with the machinations of capitalism. The Marxists are resisting capitalism for the sake of resisting it because they have no choice but to comply with it as capitalism wants its money to be spent according to its capitalist norms.

The African National Congress-led government, with its adherence to Marxist and Leninist leanings, is caught up in a struggle for realizing its goal of implementing its socialist dispensation that is challenged by the growing adversity of capitalism. As an old African saying spells it out,

“When two elephants fight, the grass suffers.” In ideological terms, this simply means that when capitalism and socialism fight it out, the general public suffers. It seems that the government is following its own agenda to the detriment of the people. One would have expected the government not to make empty promises or base its activities on ideology, but on the implementation of needed programs.

“In the short term, the RDP must generate programmes to address unemployment. These measures must be an integral part of the programme to build the economy, and must also relate to meeting basic needs” (RDP, 1994:18). What is more disturbing is that the government is not consistent in its daily operations. It seems there is no short or long-term planning. It is evident that there is a pile-up of strategies, ideas or policies that emanate from various sources in South Africa, such as consultants who want to make quick money. The other problem is that donor organizations like the European Union are funding numerous projects that are aimed at bringing about democratic change that is visualized by Europeans, but many of these policies are not utilized because they conflict with the socialist agenda followed clandestinely by the present government. The problem of land restitution is discussed in the section that follows.



4.2 : Land restitution and the redress of landlessness

The apartheid government created the homelands. It forcefully removed people from their places of abode and dumped the black people on 13 percent of barren land. The white minority government took away 87% of fertile land for itself. The government of the day was determined to destroy the livelihood of the people.

“Land is the most basic need for rural dwellers. Apartheid policies pushed millions of black South Africans into overcrowded and impoverished reserves, homelands and townships. In addition, capital-intensive agricultural policies led to the large-scale eviction of farm dwellers from their land and homes. The abolition of the Land Acts cannot redress inequalities in land distribution. Only a tiny minority of black people can afford land on the free market”(RDP:1994:20).

So much has been said and written about the evils of apartheid legislation. The present government officials that were the victims of apartheid and directly affected by its legislation in the recent past, are doing little or nothing to address the situation. Many people remain landless and homeless. To this end,

“A national land reform programme is the central and driving force of a programme of rural development. Such a programme aims to address effectively the injustices of forced removals and the historical denial of access to land. It aims to ensure security of tenure for rural dwellers. And in implementing the national land reform programme, and through the provision of support services, the democratic government will build the economy by generating large-scale employment, increasing rural incomes and

eliminating overcrowding” (RDP:1994:20).

The government is failing in its duty to put an effective administrative machinery to bring about real change, more effectively and timely. Many blacks that were robbed of their land have remained on the waiting list for long periods of time. These long waiting periods have left most of them dying from old age, disease and poverty. It is surprising to think that the government officials who are not taking the proper action expect not to grow old too after denying the rest of the people they are expected to serve their democratic rights. The government knows that the land reform programme can change the lives of the rural poor for the better but it is not just speeding up the process, so that people can start using and developing their land resources.

What is most disturbing is that,

“Even though the 1936 Land Act itself has been repealed, none of its retrogressive regulations has been done away with. The total impact of this is confusion, frustration and uncertainty at the level of administrators who are under great pressure to deliver in terms of demands of the new dispensation albeit within an archaic legal framework. This kind of contradiction simply cannot co-exist with efficient and effective service delivery efforts. Administrators point out that departments have to be seen to take action on behalf of government within the law. But in a situation where there is no comprehensive act of parliament for the present democratic demand-driven dispensation, it is well nigh impossible to realistically conceive service delivery programmes, develop appropriate operational structures that can be verified, authorize results-driven expenditure, vigorously drive implementation, reasonably reward compliance and punish non-compliance, where necessary and progressively meet user need and get job satisfaction” (Public Service Commission:2000:24).

The words that are quoted above, sum up the reason why service delivery is so difficult to bring about. The leaders seem to be held back by the structures of old apartheid legislation, which

seem to make their work more difficult. It must be understood that there are countless communities across the length and breadth of South Africa that lie in wait with the hope of recovering the land that they have lost to the apartheid government. It seems the government is very reluctant to grapple with the situation and to correct the wrongs that apartheid legislation imposed on the people. "The programme must include the provision of services to beneficiaries of land reform so that they can use their land as productive as possible. Assistance must include support for local institution building, so that communities can devise equitable and effective ways to allocate and administer land" (RDP:1994:22).

It is unfortunate that our government is not empowering the people, as it should for example, through the programme of land restitution. The government is encouraging the land claimants to opt for compensation, and it is disturbing to know that the monies that are received by the claimants are not at the market value. These monies will not assist the people to create jobs or get out of poverty. Selling their land away is a serious mistake on the part of the people who are strengthening the idea of neo-colonialization. A people without land are like a people without a soul. The government should have encouraged the claimants to embark on projects that will benefit them in the long run. These projects are capable of bringing them more economic returns in the future for the coming generations; monies that would have being their economic base for their support, for centuries to come. The problems of housing and the acquisition of land are discussed in the next section.

4.3: Housing: dealing with the challenges of housing

Around the middle of December 1998, former Premier Matthews Phosa announced that the province of Mpumalanga expected to exceed its quota of 53 000 houses by at least 13 percent in May 1999, the deadline by which national government promised to deliver one million houses. The province was building houses at a rate of four per hour and had exceeded its quota by 4000 houses. Mr. Phosa was speaking at the launch of the province's flagship Siyathuthuka Community Housing Project in Belfast (Mpumalanga). He is quoted as having said that the success of the project came about because of support from the private sector and community involvement, including 21 separate local building contractors who created permanent jobs for more than 200 local residents. The Billiton Development Trust had provided finance to local entrepreneurs to set up their own companies and won tenders to build houses (BuaNews/GCIS/www.gov.za/search97cgi/).

This success story proved that houses could be delivered if the people involved were determined to achieve their goal. The project proved that the disadvantaged people, given a boost by leadership and financial institutions could do it for themselves. While Mr. Phosa was giving valuable leadership and speeding-up delivery, his fast paced actions towards delivery were cut short by political wrangling which eventually put him out of office and out of the leadership of a worthwhile housing campaign for the poor. Mr. Phosa as leader of Mpumalanga province played his cards as a committed leader with the understanding that, "Delivery systems (will) depend upon community participation. While the central government has financing responsibilities, provincial and local governments should be the primary agencies facilitating the delivery of housing and should

be particularly active in the delivery of rental housing stock..." (RDP:1994:27).

Most supporters of the ANC did not welcome the departure of Mr. Phosa from local government politics as it robbed them of a person that was committed to service delivery. Several individuals were unhappy saying that there were certain people within government who manipulated the political situation for one political reason or the other. It is believed that the tripartite alliance, namely the ANC, Cosatu, SACP, is deliberately embarking on a go-slow path as far as service delivery is concerned. The reason for doing this is to maintain the power base of the ANC by hoodwinking its supporters to live on empty promises.

The supporters are usually reminded how they are going to be helped, unaware that their trust is being betrayed. There must be a constant reminder to voters by using that spark of hope that the ANC is worth supporting because it is expected to provide housing, jobs, health care, education, and other services which not everyone receives, but just a lucky few. We also need to question the system of allocating housing to the new owners. The housing backlog is growing and getting out of proportion not only because of the legacy of apartheid but because service delivery is slow.

The other factor that contributes to the increase of the backlog is population migration. The numbers of people in urban areas are swelling while those in the rural areas could be diminishing. A large number of people are getting out of the former homelands attracted by the city lights where they intend to look for better opportunities. These people are abandoning their homes in search of greener pastures, which they must contest with Africans who are migrating from the independent states north of South Africa. Some of these people are running away from war and indeed our worst enemy, poverty.

Another factor that adds to the housing backlog is the lack of proper administration regarding house allocation. When houses are allocated to the people, preference must be given to those whose names appear on the waiting list. However, there are people who are affected by natural disasters such as the one that took place in Jukskei (as stated in the Abstract) where people were forced-

removed because of a cholera epidemic. Similarly, the recent heavy rainfall during the months of February 2 and March 2000 in the Northern Province displaced many families. Heavy rains destroyed many houses, roads, bridges and their livelihood, crops and livestock. Those affected have not recovered from the disaster caused by the heavy rainfall, as government has not brought some relief even after a year has passed.

There are many people who are crossing our borders and settling the land in South Africa thereby increasing the already existing number of people on the housing waiting lists. Some people who are allocated with houses sell them for a small fee and go and squat in another new area. The government has made great strides to address the problems that face the people that live in squatter camps. Most of these informal settlements have been recognized and many are geared for real development or improvement. Water and sanitation facilities are been installed and over-crowding is controlled and minimized completely by recording the names of the new owners and the numbering of the plots on which new affordable houses are to be built.

The squatters will benefit when a government programme gives homes to the homeless. "Legislation must be rapidly developed to address issues such as tenants' rights, squatters rights, the rights of people living in informal settlements, community reinvestment by banks, evictions, consumer protection, land restoration, community participation in planning and development, and anti-discrimination protection" (RDP:1994:24).

The people who are eligible for permanent housing must be South African citizens. It is a shame that South African citizens continue to be humiliated by fighting with foreign nationals for their inalienable rights. In an interview in September 1997, with Sfm national radio station's AM Live, the Minister of Housing Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele was reminded by a radio presenter about the three million houses that were to be built. The minister explained the two factors affecting housing as (a) the lack of accessibility to land and (b) the slow approval of projects by some housing developers. The first problem was that 322 000 houses were delivered between August

1994 and 1997, and the second was that the department reaffirmed its position that it would reach its target of one million houses by 1999. When asked why she was confident in accomplishing her mission, the minister responded by saying that she had appointed a ministerial task team to identify the problems on the ground to help solve the problems that were blocking delivery. She identified the two main obstacles, administration and management, as the issues that blocked housing delivery. She explained that the restructuring of the Provincial Housing Board, for example, and the Housing Amendment Bill would contribute to service delivery. When a question about the housing backlog was raised, the minister mentioned things such as the ironing out of bureaucratic red tape and others that impacted on the numbers. Other factors that increase the backlog, she added, are newly married couples needing new houses and people that are coming into South Africa from the region. These, she said, were new housing formations, which could be remedied by the involvement of the private sector and government. She explained that it is the priority of government to attract more investments to create jobs and help the people to access housing on their own without its help.

The radio interview confirmed the existence of a housing backlog which would not be cleared sooner, even when it was reported that 12 000 houses were being built every month. It is necessary to establish where these houses are being built and who are the beneficiaries. The 400 houses that were reportedly being built daily, were estimated at 144,000 for each year, but this number does not match against the number of officially recorded marriages that exceed by far the number of houses that are being built. This simply means that if more marriages should be recorded, including single mothers and homeless citizens in general, that are recorded as married and living together as husband and wife or partners, then the backlog could be larger than what is recorded in official records.

“In 1998 the total number of officially recorded marriages for South Africa was 146 741. The crude marriage rate for registered marriages was 348 per 100 000 of the population. Of the provinces Western Cape had the highest crude marriage rate (589 per

1000 000 of the population. Gauteng had the second highest rate (495 per 100 000 of the population) followed by Free State (445 per 1000 000 of the population). KwaZulu-Natal could be explained by the fact that unregistered customary and traditional marriages mostly occur in this largely rural province. In general the more 'rural' a province, the fewer the number of the registered marriages per 100 000 of the population" (<http://www.statssa.gov.za/Reports/DEMOGRAP>).

There is a shortage of 2 741 houses each year, if we have to subtract 144 000 houses from 146 741 marriages, not to mention single mothers and fathers. The elderly, unemployed, single mothers and children are in dire need for proper housing facilities. The government is trying its utmost best, but there are not enough houses to go around. The problem of housing is connected to a number of things; one of them is the creation of jobs. If enough jobs can be created in the areas where the people live presently, this will ensure that the people will not have to move away from their areas in search of work in the cities where there is a scarcity of jobs and accommodation. Land, water and sanitation, issues that will be dealt with in section 4.4 below, are of vital importance to the alleviation of poverty. Making land and water accessible to the poor and providing proper sewerage system and sanitation can alleviate the housing backlog. When the people are given the option of acquiring land for building their own houses and for subsistence farming that they may have food to eat, they will have more strength to develop toward small-scale commercial farming and the acquisition of the much-needed jobs. The next section discusses how water is very important in food-production, sanitation and for human consumption.

4.4 :Water and sanitation

Cholera is a disease that has hit South Africa's rural population hard in recent months. The disease is hitting hard at both human beings and animals alike.

“Although epidemics rise and die off, cholera appears to be increasing steadily in Africa, with levels this year higher than those recorded since the early 1990's. In 1998, 20 cholera cases and one death were recorded in South Africa. There were 68 cases and two deaths in 1999. The current epidemic, with approximately 5 000 cases and 33 confirmed deaths, is by far the most serious outbreak” (Bramdaw:17 October:2000: cited in Indicator:Vol. 17 No. 4: December 2000:48).

South Africa is a country, which lacks reserves of clean water. It is sad to know that when water becomes available, it will not be affordable for the poor communities and its scarcity will contribute to more outbreaks of cholera. Most projects that are being launched must be aimed at improving the acute situation of water shortage that is affecting all the communities.

As it is pointed out in the RDP document,

“Water is a natural resource, and should be made available in a sustainable manner to all South Africans. Today, more than 12 million people do not have access to clean drinking water and 21 million people do not have adequate sanitation (toilets and refuse removal). Less than half the rural population has a safe and accessible water supply, and only one person in seven has access to adequate sanitation...”(RDP:1994:28).

The disadvantaged sector of our population has been deprived of clean water for years. These scanty

water supplies have brought about disease and death to many communities. Lack of clean water supply not only killed the people, it also killed livestock, which is part of the livelihood of these people.

As it is clearly indicated,

“South Africa is a water-scarce country. The existing limited water resources are also unevenly distributed, with 70 percent of the country receiving 11 per cent of the rainfall. Apartheid South Africa used its military and economic might to coerce its neighbours into acting as sources of water, sometimes to the detriment of these countries’ own water needs and of the sub-continental watertable”(RDP:1994:28).

The lack of clean water and sanitation facilities contributes to the spread of contaminable diseases such as cholera and foot and mouth. When livestock is directly affected by disease, there cannot be a regular supply of fresh milk for the babies. The human body cannot survive or be healthy without proper nutrition and a supply of clean water. Crops also need a supply of water in order to grow. The supply of irrigation water is a valuable aspect of life to subsistence farmers. With a reasonable amount of water supply, they can grow their own crops and food in general. People in the Northern Province grow a number of things from fruit, mangoes, bananas, papaw, mielies and a number of vegetables. They grind the mielies into powder and use it as a staple food, while the mangoes and bananas strengthen their bodies in preparation for the dry winter season, which still gives them a supply of certain crops when well-managed. The scarcity of water made the lives of the rural people unbearable and difficult to manage.

“The RDP’s long-term goal is to provide every South African with accessible water and sanitation.... The RDP’s short-term aim is to provide every person with adequate facilities for health. The RDP will achieve this by establishing a national water and sanitation programme which aims to provide all households with a clean, safe water supply of 20 - 30 litres per capita per day (lcd) within 200 metres, an adequate/safe

sanitation facility per site, and a refuse removal system to all urban households”
(RDP:1994:29).

It is very sad to be informed that, ^{MB}

“Over the past four years the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry has been doing nothing else but rewriting the water legislation of the country in order to give force to the constitutional mandate. Arising from a wide process of consultation, we now have a White Paper on a National Water policy for South Africa (1997), the Water Service Act (1997) and the National Water Bill. These three documents will enable the Government to protect the right of the people of South Africa in relation to water. The Government, as custodian of the water resources of South Africa must manage them so as to ensure that all South Africans have access to sufficient water of sufficient quality”
(<http://www.gov.za./dept./water:4>).

What the government has failed to do is to live up to what it says it wants to achieve. It does not seem that people now have water after the three years of rewriting legislation. The government has simply run out of excuses because actions speak louder than words.

“According to press reports and subsequent investigations, the immediate precipitating factor for rapid spread of the cholera epidemic was the disconnection of a rural community from the supply of clean water for not paying a connection charge. The cut was effective from the beginning of August and the first case of cholera was confirmed on 19 August (Salgado, 1 October 2000: as cited by Indicator). Water supplies were reconnected, but the epidemic spread exponentially. The rural development Sector Network has provided additional details. The awful truth of the epidemic, it argues, is one of punitive action being taken against a poor rural community”(Indicator SA:Vol. 17 No 4:December 2000:49).

The report proves that there is a contradiction in the strategy that the Department of Water

Affairs and Forestry is applying for water delivery. The department gives us great hope that a positive stand has been taken to alleviate water shortage but the other side of the story gives us the impression that water delivery will not be realized within a period of 20 years. It is also stated in the Indicator SA: Vol. 17, No. 4: December 2000: 48:

“It is becoming increasingly clear that something is wrong water delivery. While in past years there was bold optimism that the backlog in water services - particularly to the rural areas - would be overcome in the near future, a series of setbacks has led the present Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), Ronnie Kasrils, to talk of the process taking another 20 years or more (Kasrils, 14 August 2000: cited in Indicator). Even the promise of 6 kilolitres of free water to all families has been received with skepticism, as the entire weight of policy is still in the opposite direction. The current cholera epidemic has exposed serious fault-lines within water and sanitation provision to the rural poor... It gives some idea of the strain under which the provisions of clean water and sanitation in now labouring”.

What is happening in South Africa is that we have individuals who talk endlessly without taking any positive action. Gone are the days when leaders would go to conferences overseas and chronicle the struggle led by the ANC but take less action in executing the struggle itself. The struggle on the water front is bigger than any other struggle because water is life. What we fail to understand is that the government is charging the poor people for the much-needed water. This practice is against the very principles that are embedded in our Constitution.

The Water Research Commission filed a report to Parliament in 1999. The report clearly states that, “In a water-stressed country like South Africa, where water resources are limited, the country will face serious water shortages within the next few decades, if growing water demands are not curbed. Therefore, to overcome this, water management in South Africa must in the face of both financial and environmental constraints, focus on optimum use of limited water resources” (Water

Water shortages will be a visible feature in South Africa given the pace at which the delivery of clean water is going to be realized. The backlog of water supply is going to take a long time to be curbed. Many communities, especially the rural communities, are going to remain without clean water for many years to come. Speaking at the launch of the Human Resource Development (HRD) conference in Midrand, Minister of Education, professor Kader Asmal gave a ray of hope,

“Clean water has been supplied to over 6.5 million people, yet we still have outbreaks of diseases that are the direct result of dirty water or poor sanitation. In 2000 alone, over 400 000 houses were connected to the electricity grid, but fire and candles remain the dominant source of heat and light in many homes, especially those in rural areas. For all of these social needs, financial and human resources must be brought together. This Human Resource Development Strategy (HRD) is intended to provide a framework for linking social needs to jobs and to workers” ([http://www.doj.gov.za/search97cgis/-Launch of Human Resource Development Strategy:2](http://www.doj.gov.za/search97cgis/-Launch%20of%20Human%20Resource%20Development%20Strategy:2)).

It is also sad to know that politicians in certain constituencies to gain more votes use water as a tool. For instance, some people in the Hammanskraal area said that their cut water supply was reinstated at election time but cut again after they have voted. They implied that the water supply was used to buy their vote. It is evident therefore that the leaders in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry say one thing and practise another. What is happening is that the policies that are being put in place are not followed through as they are supposed to be.

The scarcity of water in South Africa seems to be made more acute day-by-day and by the time we come to our senses, clean water will be a commodity owned by private foreign companies who will end up charging exorbitant prices for our water. When the scarcity of water becomes more acute and foreign companies have full control over it, there will be political blackmail and our democracy will be hollow and meaningless. It is my view that this scarce commodity be made

available to the South African populace free of charge because:

“The Constitution guarantees everyone the right of access to sufficient water. This right is elaborated further in the Water Services Act (Act 108 of 1997). It states that everyone has a right to basic water supply, and a right to basic sanitation, and places a duty on all water service institutions to take reasonable measures to realize these rights. The challenge faced by the government is in providing resources to ensure that all South Africans can enjoy these rights” (Water Research Commission:1999:19).

Ours is not to criticize unintelligently. We have to wait and see, especially that the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry has a budget of R3, 279 billion for the 2001-2002 financial years. Apart from supplying clean water and proper sanitation to the South African population, the government should pay immediate attention not only on the killing of white farmers in South Africa but the way in which farm-owners treat their farm-workers as discussed in the next section.



Chapter 5: Farm workers, welfare, and sport

5.1: Farm Workers and their plight in farms

Apartheid was essentially an undemocratic and draconian measure to oppress and suppress the black people. It denied them the right to vote and condemned them to be foreigners in the country of their birth. The aim of the regime was to give the white people greater access to our country to exploit its raw mineral resources. The other reason was to exploit cheap labour to benefit the mining and farming bosses. The gold-mining conglomerates continued to exploit both the cheap labour and the rich mineral resources of the country.

Farm labourers continue to suffer from exploitative white farm owners. They are ill-treated and sent away by their bosses when they get old. Most farm labourers do not belong to trade unions that can fight for their rights. Everyday passes by as conditions grow from bad to worse regarding the treatment of farm labourers. The labourers engage in hard labour but receive meager wages although they work under difficult conditions. Most of them grew up and lived on the farms from childhood. Added to that, the government of the day is making too little changes at too late a time. The government seems to be using the carrot-and-stick approach by selectively giving some “lucky” people, water, housing and sanitation. The approach of the government in dealing with everyday

issues today is very cynical and very misleading. The government is giving the majority of the people false hope. The poor people must wait in line expecting to be served, only to discover that they are not being served at the end of the day.

It is unfortunate that the present government is not transparent about its future actions as regards the implementation of its policies such as new legislation such as the Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Bill (B70-2001) which states says in clause 2.9 that maternity leave, a 45-hour week, overtime, meal intervals, rest periods, annual leave, including clause 2.10 which prohibits child labour as conditions of employment. The problem with new legislation is that it takes too long before it is enacted and implemented. Unless the process of putting the proper policies in place is not speeded up and implemented timeously, then service delivery will be impeded a great deal.

The government is presently not in a rush to bring about meaningful change. It is working at its own slow pace, afraid that the people may desert it and be preoccupied with improving their lives. The government is not rushing to serve the people because once this is done the people will be satisfied and no longer hungry, and further that they will discard the practice of civil disobedience and political demonstrations. The politicians are afraid that there will be no issues around which they can rally or mobilise the people to support them.

I am of the view that certain politicians have realized that if the people are satisfied, they could forget about politics and be concerned with their social issues and the improvement of their lives. It is therefore important for the African National Congress-led alliance to review its mobilization strategy. It must consider abandoning that the way to mobilize its supporters is to keep sections of our population poor and to blame the poverty, that it has the power to turn around, on the apartheid past that is well-known to us.

The government should begin to seriously involve the people at the grassroots level in its developmental programmes.

“There is an urgent need to review the conventional framework of hierarchical management and the concept of the professional manager. A reformed management structure such as that suggested by Bennington and Murray (1992) for local government would place the emphasis on a type of management that makes decisions in close partnership with civil society and the users of services, as well as the private and voluntary sector organizations and unions . . . ”(Bayat and Meyer, 1994:197).

As at present, the people feel left out in the issues that affect them daily. People do not want things to be done for them; they want to do these things themselves as this gives them pride of achievement and self-esteem. The apartheid racist government treated people like children, giving them no chance to think for themselves, and to learn how to achieve excellence in life. The new democratic government has left the status quo to remain in place and its attitude causes concern.

“This situation raises many questions, such as:

- Why was the national RDP Office abandoned?
 - Why has the government economic policy shifted so significantly in favour of the private sector?
 - What happened to the people-centred development approach of the RDP?
 - What is standing in the way of realizing socio-economic justice in South Africa?
 - Why are international financial institutions so intimately involved in policy formulation?
- Are poor people’s interests being placed first when it comes to making policy? If not, why not”(RDP, 1994:5).

Our government needs to shift its gears toward improving the lives of the poor. Black people are left to be ravaged by poverty and disease as if there is a secret agenda that is being followed to exterminate large numbers of our people so that our country and its rich resources can remain in private foreign hands. Large chunks of our land are being sold to private companies while racist

farmers are expelling farm-workers from the farms on which they were born, raised and work. Unless the right legislation is passed and implemented immediately farm workers will continue to face humiliation at the hands of their employers and poverty will remain in place. The following section discusses welfare.

5.2: Welfare and the provision of related services to the poor

Apart from broad-based economic growth, the South African government is beginning to deal with the provision of basic social services to the poor. The Department of Welfare's annual report 1999-2000 states that, "The objective of social welfare is to promote the well being of individuals, families and communities, welfare services are part of a broad menu of social services which aim to enhance the quality of all South Africans and which provide enabling environment for children, youth, women families and older persons to achieve their aspirations . . ." (Annual Report-1999-2000:Department of Welfare:13)

To support this objective, the Minister of Social Services Zola Skweyiya has gone out of his way to meet the people and saw the problems that face them.

"The Minister's Provincial Visits brought home the need for greater urgency in addressing the problems in the existing system of social security. The inhumane and undignified treatment of beneficiaries at pension points, the suffering caused by inefficient administration procedures; the lack of basic infrastructure at pension pay points and welfare offices; and the limited access that communities have to important

information on social grants (especially the Child Support Grant), had to be addressed in parallel to the work of the Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive Social Security. The plight of beneficiaries was again brought into a sharp focus by the report of the Ministerial Committee on the Abuse, Neglect and Ill-Treatment of Older Persons released in March 2001" (Report of the Department of Social Development June 1999-March 2001:16).

. Among the pensioners that he met were the disabled, the old, sick, etc., who are expected to join a queue in order to receive their pension allowance. Some of these people often faint from sunstroke or even die of exhaustion, while others are turned home without receiving their monies.

These problems of poverty can be reduced when:

"The Department has developed and negotiated service delivery standards for payment contractors to reduce the length of queues, to provide better facilities at pay points and to reinforce the principles of Batho Pele . In addition the Department established an interdepartmental team to improve government's services at pay points, including provision of help desks, safety and security, basic facilities and first aid facilities" (Report of the Department of Social Development June 1999-March 2001:16).

The Batho Pele Principle says, "Citizens should be consulted about the level, quality and choice of public services they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services that are offered" (Public Service Commission:2000:xiii). Indeed pensioners are not consulted on matters that effect them directly. I know of a case of a pensioner in Hammanskraal whom I personally intervened. A lady neighbour took it upon herself to collect money on his behalf. The lady ended using up all his money, making him to run out of food before the next allowance was issued. The woman would collect money on his behalf and buy whatever goodies she chose, including liquor. His monthly allowance would be finished within days. The pensioner had no option but to agree that his money be collected for him, because of the bureaucratic stumbling

blocks caused by the poor management for paying out pensions by contracted companies.

Some pensioners got literally robbed of their allowances at their homes after they had collected their money. Lack of protection for the pensioners forces them into a position of non-recipients, individuals who seem to have been denied the comfort of receiving the allowance, when this was just the opposite. However this position is bound to change because,

“There are more than 7000 pay points in the country and the improvement programme will be rolled out over a period. While the Department proposes to prioritise the pay points that fall within the nodal points of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy and the Urban Renewal Programme, it is necessary to have an overall picture of the conditions of all pay points in the country. The Department is about to commence a detailed audit of all pay points and social security offices in the country”(Report of the Department of Social Development June 1999-March 2001:16).

It is unfortunate that poverty and inequality has become a barometer of measuring how fast capitalism is growing in South Africa. Capital growth can only grow when a certain number of the population in a country becomes part of the structures that are geared toward economic development. Poverty is bound to soar to a higher level in South Africa because not much is being done to alleviate it.

The alleviation of poverty can be achieved when the ANC moves away from its ideological attachment and begins to face reality by grappling with the issues that affect the people daily. The leaders must come out of their political slumber believing that one day they will wake up to find South Africa having been transformed into a socialist state.

What is sad is that food, property, health care and good services cannot be transformed into communism. Fish, apple, mango, banana, water, trees and nature as a whole cannot be turned into communists because they have been there before Marx and Lenin. Added to that, we do not hear of communists investing capital to create jobs. The political campaign to scare investments away must

be stopped in South Africa, if we are serious about improving the lives of its people.

The leaders should understand that the problems of unemployment, landlessness and poverty are surmountable. South Africa has the capacity to address these problems as long as there is a willingness among the leaders to work toward achieving success. The government needs to stop saying one thing and practicing the other, for instance, calling for investments and threatening the investors with strike action before investments are concluded or secured.

The ANC-led alliance has in its ranks individuals who live in a communist dreamland. These are the individuals that already know that poverty can be alleviated by creating jobs for the people. It is surprising that more than six years after the economic sanctions against South Africa were lifted, leaders still gloat onto preaching Marxist and Leninist theories that scare away potential investors and the loss of desperately needed jobs.

If we try to analyze the situation from a layperson's point-of-view, we will find the following. Let us first ask ourselves how possible is it for an investor to be dictated upon on what wages to give out to his/her workers even when they have not made a profit. I would guess that an investor could be allowed to invest in South Africa and be given some time to grow. The leaders of the labour union can work out a strategy and timeframe when to strike or not to strike after reviewing the financial statements which companies publish at the end of their financial year. This approach will help labour not to target companies for strike action unreasonably without knowing their profits or losses. The leaders of the labour unions could find out what profits are made by using the statistics to demand wage increases.

We should also understand that the owners of the means of production would not like their companies to be run or controlled by remote by the leaders of the labour unions who want to impose their will on investors, who they want to dictate upon how they should run their businesses. The unions have nothing to say when the potential investors do not invest but have something to say when they do. Therefore, labour and government need to agree on a common strategy on how the

issues that affect wage increases should be addressed. Potential investors should know from the onset what to expect as far as wage increases are concerned and the profits made by companies each year. We can also argue that these investors have a certain budget as capital, which is divided into various sections of the business in order to make it to succeed. The labour union has to give the investors a chance to begin making profits, and demand more wages from the profits. Investors invest in certain countries by also looking at the availability of cheap labour.

The labour union should strike a balance where this type of labour can be made available at a more dignified wage to address the past apartheid legislation. The labour organizations like Cosatu can sit together with the government to make proposals that will address the rights of the workers and those of the investors, so that there can be a win-win situation. One option is to give a time-frame to an investor to generate profit and only after that, the workers can be rewarded for their services.

When the workers are retrenched, the labour union does nothing to bring back their lost jobs; these workers swell the ranks of the unemployed and are forced into poverty. These people can no longer go back to rejoin the peasantry or become small-scale farmers because they have no land. The labour unions do not have anything in place to absorb workers that lose jobs through strike-action or retrenchments. Therefore it is necessary for the labour movement to revisit its strategy and encourage investors to come to South Africa and create the much-needed jobs.

“Stable, consistent and predictable policies as well as a dynamic economy should create a climate conducive to foreign investment. The democratic government must ensure treatment of foreign investors equivalent to treatment of national investors. They should abide by our laws and standards (especially with respect to labour), and obtain the advantages available to all investors. ”(RDP:1994:93). A discussion on the deracialisation in sports is outlined in the next section.

5.3: Sport and the challenges of deracialisation

Sport is the greatest entertainment of all time. It is one of the pastimes that nurtures the brain and strengthens the body. Sport builds a country into a healthy nation. It is a tool that can bring about a drastic reduction to drug and alcohol abuse. Sport can foster unity of purpose to a country like ours that has a divided past. Not so long ago, one apartheid legislation after another denied the majority of our country opportunities to participate in sport such as rugby, softball, deep-sea-diving, cricket, fly-angling, archery, and other games, which are still dominated by whites.

The architects of apartheid in sport would like to hear us complain and recount how their discriminating laws in the game humiliated us. It probably makes them happy and makes them feel great to hear how effective apartheid in sport was. We are not going to tell them how apartheid in sport victimized us. What we need to tell them is that we are no longer the victims but the victors because we have made great strides in making a positive step in sport. We have made great achievements in putting our country on the international map in sport, including the categories that were not known among the disadvantaged communities because of apartheid in sport.

There was racialism across the board where black boxers and footballers were segregated and not allowed to compete against whites. If there was to be any interracial competition in sport, it took place outside South Africa. For instance, the boxing match between Anthony 'Blue Jaguar' Morodi and a white South African boxer Arnold Taylor, took place in Maseru (Lesotho) in the 1970's. Taylor was at that time a world champion and was beaten by Morodi on points, but Morodi's victory did not count.

However, today we can say that our government is consolidating the areas in which we are

strong, while we are developing weaker areas such as baseball, cricket, and rugby, by introducing sports academies all over the country. We are building young sports men and women by establishing camps on school campuses in the above-mentioned areas, which are still considered to be 'white'. Today we can boast of the Amakrokrokro, a group of disabled sport men and women that are capable of bringing home medals that are the envy of the world.

South Africa is now more than ready to host the World Soccer Cup. We have hosted the recent heavyweight bout between two international boxers Lennox Lewis and "the Rock" Rahman, and are awaiting a rematch between the two boxers. The Department of Sport and Recreation has so far brought our women on board the boxing ring. While the Boxing and Wrestling Control Act, No. 39 of 1954 stipulated that- "(1) No female shall take part in any tournament as a boxer or wrestler, (2) No person shall - (a) hold or assist in holding any tournament in which any female takes part as a boxer or wrestler; (b) negotiate with any female with a view to procuring her services as a boxer or wrestler at any tournament"(Boxing and Wrestling Control Act, No. 39 of 1954). The apartheid Act prohibited women from participating in boxing tournaments. We now have new legislation that gives women the right to participate in boxing. Section 35 of the new South African Boxing Bill states that-

- (1) "Subject to this section, the provisions of the Boxing and Wrestling Control Act, 1954 (Act No. 39 of 1954), mentioned in the third column of the Schedule are repealed or amended as indicated in that column of the Schedule.
- (2) Any regulation or authorization made or granted in terms of a repealed provision of the Boxing and Wrestling Control Act, 1954 (Act No. 39 of 1954), must, unless inconsistent with this Act, be regarded as having been made or granted under the corresponding provision of this Act, and remain in force until withdrawn or repealed..." (South African

Boxing Act, No.11, 2001).

Our new law will enable the boxing fraternity to bring fairness in sport. Unscrupulous boxing promoters will no longer exploit our boxers that are going to enjoy protection under the new law. However, this law cannot be left to remain on paper alone, it needs to be implemented as will be shown in the next chapter, the conclusion and recommendations sections of this research.

Chapter 6: Conclusion, recommendations, references

6.1: Conclusion

Research highlights the reasons why government cannot deliver services to the people timely and directly, especially to the affected communities. The problem is that some of our leaders have become self-centred. Most of them have personalized their positions of power, which they feel they must strengthen if they have to retain them now and in the near future. The main problem that is affecting service delivery is that the leaders are working in isolation from the people they are supposed to serve.

The present relationship between government and the public has turned bitter into what I describe as 'us and them'. Government officials now boast by calling themselves the 'elite', a term, which has the elements of divide and rule. This elitism comes about because of existing ideological differences. However, it might not be ideological difference alone but political bullying as well because the masses of the poor are not aware of the secret agenda that the government has embarked

on, to hurt or punish them for being ignorant about the political attachment of the leaders to Marxist and Leninist ideologies. Such ideologies are pursued in secret at the expense of the suffering of the people because the people want their lives to be improved and will not eat Marxist and Leninist ideology.

The trend is for party members to play or act as socialists if they are to be considered for a leadership role. What we see is a leadership that leads a western and capitalist lifestyle of the bourgeois elite. As Caiden has explained, "Public officials have never been seen as mere catalysts, ciphers, or instruments, whatever image they may have held of themselves. They are political actors and they are expected to be political actors. Political leaders use them for personal and party interests. Qualifications for public office depend on compatibility with political leaders. In short, the public beaucracy is politicized" (Caiden: 1971:82).

What is evident is that the government is not performing well as the people expect it to serve them. Similarly, what is clear, as explained in the text, is that there is a power struggle that is going on between those that are affiliated to communism and those who are not. The problem of ideological inclination by party leaders will not go away because the struggle for power is aimed at benefiting a select few.

As Bayat and Meyer have clearly stated, "Placing too much emphasis on family ties, political affiliation or other extraneous and usually irrelevant factors, could cloud the thinking of those making the appointments. Even if the government of the day does not overtly condone nepotism, the practice could be surreptitiously implemented by the patronage system of awarding offices, or through the manipulative influence of secret organisations"(Bayat and Meyer: 1994:219).

Socialist ideology will punish the people it says it intends to help, and to crown it all, even if

the people agree to fight for the establishment of a socialist state, it has not been proven anywhere in the world that socialism will benefit everyone. In South Africa, many of these bureaucrats are attached to their secret political beliefs over everything else.

The type of political inclination that we see may seem discriminatory. It might look as if the divide and rule practices are being perpetuated clandestinely by certain individuals even when it has not been proven that socialism will bring with it adequate water, housing, health care and everything else. It is not known whether every person will own a car and not suffer from disease, or whether there is going to be plenty of money and food to go around.

What is clear is that most government officials are applying unprofessional practices in their daily work. Most clients are not served when they apply for essential services, for instance pensioners who sometimes have to wait for periods of more than three months without receiving their allowances. There are people who have applied for the return of land where they were forcefully removed by the former apartheid government, who have been waiting for as long as they can remember for a positive answer.

We can only conclude that in South Africa, socialist ideology has overpowered professionalism and it is bound to hamper economic growth. In order to remedy these anomalies, the government must begin to embark on a campaign of consultation. South Africa as a country should be seen to being run by the people and not by the 'elite' or select few that base their operations on communist ideology that is far from the culture of the people. There must be a constant review of government activities and the monitoring of the political activities that take place from time to time. The government needs to involve the people on the ground and this must be done just as it was before and during the anti-apartheid struggle when leaders involved people on the ground. The ANC-led government can easily reach out to the people by using the same strategies that they applied

during the struggle. These strategies will need to be upgraded with professional practice that can bring about a fulfillment of these tasks. Government activity can grow if it encourages public participation and open political debate through the sharing of information that will culminate into the formulation of clear policies that emanate from the people themselves and not those policies that the government wants to impose upon the people. When the people know the origin of the policies that bind them, they are keen to respond positively to those policies by embracing them, therefore, government will not be acting alone, but in concert with the aspirations of the people.

In South Africa, most of the ideological activities are held in secrecy and what is agreed upon does not agree with the present Constitution. As all of us know, Marxist and Leninist ideology is not part of our Constitution; it is not part of our law. The laws that our Parliament enacts are not debated on the basis of Marxist and Leninist theories. Moreover, the numerous consultants that are contracted to come out with project proposals do not base their findings on ideology but on practical research.

Indeed, there has been a lot of government intervention in many constituencies that are controlled by the African National Congress because of infighting over positions and on who must lead in a particular area. This infighting looks normal on the surface, but if one could look deeper into the whole affair, it would be established that this power wrangling comes about because of ideological differences.

There is a silent war that is raging within the ANC-led alliance where Cosatu is sometimes accused of using strikes as a test of its strength in preparation for forming another political party out of the ANC. The problem that is at hand and which many of these leaders will not want to admit is simple: the members of the alliance cannot work out a ratio of how to share their elections' victory. For instance, the Northern Province provincial executive committee was dissolved and an interim

task team was put in place to run the province. It is not known what happens as regards the day-to-day operations in the province. A report in the *Sowetan* of 8 May, 2001, says,

“The national working committee of the African National Congress has opted to select a low-profile candidate list to serve in the interim leadership core (ILC), following the dissolution of the Northern Province provincial executive committee at the weekend. The new members of the ILC, which is headed by Mr. Paul Pitsi Moloto, replaces the leadership of Premier Ngoako Ramatlhodi as chairman and Mr. Bennie Boshielo as secretary of the ANC. ANC head of the presidency, Mr. Smuts Ngonyama said the PEC was dissolved following protracted leadership battles which bordered on tribalism and ethnicity . . . Divisions in the province first hovered over the PEC in 1996 when Ramatlhodi was unseated by Mr. George Mashamba as provincial ANC chairman. Problems resurfaced in recent months as candidates used tribal differences to garner support in view of the provincial congress to be held within three months. Ngonyama said the 25-member ILC was expected to forge unity by ending disunity, strengthening the culture of the movement and exploring means to stop divisions for good” (*Sowetan*, 8 May, 2001:5).

This news article is quick to quote Mr. Ngonyama’s explanation of the problem as tribalism and ethnicity. Many people are expected to read and believe in the story without seeing the real problem, which is nothing more than ideology. The SACP has been able to recruit most of its membership on tribal grounds and, it is unfortunate to say, it is the one that is dragging us back to the apartheid era so that eventually people from the disadvantaged sections of our population will have no one to blame but themselves. Meanwhile, services will not be delivered but the monies that were aimed at assisting the people will disappear into thin air. This problem is bigger than we thought

because if we think deeper, we will find that apartheid is being assisted to survive by our own leaders who are unknowingly driven by the desire to serve communism, which is treated to be above everything else. Communism is using tribalism and ethnicity as its mask.

Party loyalism is hiding behind these two ills that have gripped our country for decades. This ideology is capable of sowing divisions within members of the same ethnic group or the alliance itself. What is disturbing is that the members of the communist collective are controlled by remote and do not trust anyone apart from themselves. What is worse is that there is a lot of mistrust among the party loyalists who are afraid of getting exposed about their operations. One would guess that the action of disbanding the local government would cost the province some money, which will not be accounted for. It is not known if the members of the task team are going to safeguard the interests of the people. We also do not know if the powers that be will ensure that responsibility is shared equally among the members of the alliance.

I am of the view that certain members of the alliance are not allowed to sit in particular meetings in which important decisions are taken where members of the labour movement and the South African Communist Party, are usually not invited. The complainants say that it is very unfair because come the next election, members of the alliance will be praising one another boasting on how much they need each other and how strongly united they are; but when positions are allocated, the ANC has a tendency of forgetting its friends. This power wrangling is making the people on the ground to suffer. The ruling party is failing in some of its duties because of a lack of management skills among its officials. The mismanagement of essential services, make it look like the practice of corruption.

There is a solution to this problem. Government needs to separate party politics from administration. Service delivery will suffer as long as government officials try to politicize

administration. The end results might be seeing communists wanting to do positive things only for the communists, hence the reason for calling themselves the elite. This elitist attitude is being placed before everything else. It is placed before the delivery of services for the people. In the whole, the unfortunate thing is that what is done by the government is only impressive on paper, especially when what is being done does not touch the people that are affected directly. As long as what is happening does not bring about change to people, change will be regarded as something that is very far-fetched. The government is trying to achieve success by delivering the much-needed services to the people in more ways than one as explained in the text.

There are success stories and these have been recorded in a number of government reports.

The current Minister of Education Professor Kader Asmal has said,

“But civil society in a broader sense will also need to be involved, since the strategy is all embracing. Human resource development starts with the newborn child, concerning their health, welfare and development, and ends only when we depart this life. Until then, lifelong learning and social development take place through a variety of structures and organizations, including traditional authorities, community structures and non-governmental agencies, cultural and sporting associations, and many others. All of these will have to be involved in the strategy for it to succeed, and my call today is for all of you to read the document and see where you can make a contribution . . . ”

([http://www.doj.gov.za/search97cgis/-Launch of Human Resource Development Strategy:1997:2](http://www.doj.gov.za/search97cgis/-Launch%20of%20Human%20Resource%20Development%20Strategy:1997:2)).

It seems that the government is working on political issues alone without the involvement of the people on the ground because while the money is being spent by it on numerous projects, its efforts do touch the lives of the people directly to bring about the necessary change.

“The Skills Development Strategy recently launched by the Minister of Labour is an important component of this larger HRD strategy. Where skills development is specifically focused on improving the quality of working life, the HRD strategy is concerned with the overall quality of life - for children, for youth, and for adults - and whether or not they are employed. These include concerns about infrastructures (such as water and sanitation provisioning), health and welfare, food security, and democratic participation, all of which contribute to any measure of the quality of life . . . ”
([http://www.doj.gov.za/search97cgis/-Launch of Human Resource Development Strategy: 1997:2](http://www.doj.gov.za/search97cgis/-Launch%20of%20Human%20Resource%20Development%20Strategy)).

The most marginalized members of our population are the disadvantaged black population that continues to suffer from the after-effects of apartheid draconian laws. One of the most devastating issues that confront the women and youth is unemployment and lack of education and training. Women are usually employed in low paying positions that are scarce. They are usually over-worked, exploited and underpaid. Most men view them as inferior sexual objects. Similarly the youth is underpaid for piece jobs that are scarce. Their role in our society is seen by some fathers as insignificant, forcing them to lose self-esteem. The lack-of-love paternal relationship forces them to look for an easy outlet in drugs, crime, and gangsterism. Following in the next section are the recommendations.

6.2: Recommendations

I therefore make the following recommendations that can be applied to address the problems. The first thing that the ANC-led alliance must do is to come together in a round-table and thrash out the issues that make them to differ. There must be constant consultation and agreement on a common strategy on how to address day-to-day political issues. It seems there is a tendency by members of the alliance to indulge in unnecessary competition where the members of the South African Communist Party (SACP) would choose to do things as communists and for the communists only, and the members of the ANC would want to favour only ANC members and exclude the members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the SACP and vice versa. This type of situation culminates in disagreement and confusion on what is to be done.

The situation at present seems to be that there are groups or cliques of leaders who are doing things on their own accord without consultation. Their reason for not consulting may be that they are intending to conceal information about what they intend to do, so that there are no checks and balances. This is the reason or excuse for what is called the black elite. The very idea of a black elite makes everything that is meant well a mockery unless we are told that there are certain individuals that want to be an elite and others that do not. The question: is how is the black elite going to be created if discriminatory practices are been applied to uplift certain individuals or groups economically and politically over others? The idea of creating a black elite will not grow unless an element of corruption is present. Therefore, the alliance must work out a system, which will be agreed upon by everyone. This system must assist the leadership on who must lead in certain areas.

Government should develop a policy that will bind civil servants to a contractual agreement between themselves and the employers. The contract must stipulate the things that are expected by

the employers as the executive and ensure that the job is done professionally to serve the people and their constituencies and not for self-interests of the individuals.

What seems to be happening at present is that anyone who gets an opportunity to be elected or appointed to a position is appointed or elected without open criteria known by all. There is no criterion that is known or put in place to ensure that those who are placed in important government positions will be so appointed with the blessings of their constituencies and not by their political parties alone.

The alliance partners are like a group of people who have won a prize, which they have to divide among the three of them. The problem that the alliance faces is how to go about sharing responsibility amongst one another. One easy solution is for the alliance to divide the positions according to the number of the members of each of the three parties, over the overall number of the whole entity and divide it by three. This will ensure that there are an equal number of representatives present at each level of government that will ensure that decisions are not taken indiscriminately without involving important role players in policy-making.

Government should ensure that the decisions that are made by the stakeholders must be implemented to ensure delivery. The government must not be a government that is looking for solutions and answers all the time or be a government for making or processing legislation that it is failing to implement. Government has a lot of materials that it needs to review and implement and has to stop digging for corrective measures that are already at its disposal, ready for implementation.

The government has already made the groundwork for democratic change. What is missing is that there is little action emanating from the part of government to implement what has been decided upon, for instance, the findings or recommendations of the Reconstruction and Development Programme must be perused fully as it a blueprint for transformation and democratic change. The

programme can be used to remind and guide government on whether it is on the right track. It will also help it to achieve its objectives.

Government business is still male-dominated. Government need to give the women and youth special attention so that they can achieve self-sufficiency and be brought on board to play an effective role in building the nation. The women need to be assisted to acquire important skills that can be applied for self- development and child-upbringing. These skills must be used to inculcate in them a spirit of belonging and pride. Their contribution to the nation should be recognized and not undermined. The women and their children need to be given opportunities in education and training to prepare them for the immediate future. Women and youth issues should be addressed timeously so as to alleviate their suffering. Correctional Services is doing a good job in the prisons by training the young men in arts and crafts. These skills could benefit the nation a great deal if these projects were established in the various communities in South Africa to engage the people and prevent them from committing crime. The government should rather prevent than cure the crimes.

There must be more bursaries to enable women to attend school, especially through day-care centers where women can combine the learning of new skills with childcare. The government must establish centers for women in all the communities in the country where women can receive training and survival skills. These centers must help women to cope with trauma, stress, harassment, rape and general abuse. We need to see more women in the positions of power participating fully to change our male-dominated world practices to a gender equal society. What has to happen is that the country needs to invest in its youth, particularly females, by placing more training facilities at their disposal at a young stage.

The problems that face the youth are numerous and these can be addressed, if the country values its youth. The youth need to be trained and groomed to assume leadership roles and learn to

grapple with the day-to-day affairs of our country. Training need not be for the sake of grooming individuals to support a particular ideology such as communism. The ANC government should move away from placing certain individuals in strategic positions of power through appointments and the basis of political loyalty. The youth need to be trained into professions that will help develop the country's economic situation. The 'elite youth', who are presently being encouraged to be the adherents of Marxist and Leninist theory, should rather be trained in various skills that they can apply to the economic and social development of our country.

There is need by government to manage and monitor the distribution or allocation of houses to the homeless.

“Present institutional arrangements within government also lack monitoring and evaluation system to measure performance and evaluate policy outcomes. Annual reports, which national and provincial departments prepare, are largely dried, skeletal and not always helpful. These largely fail objectively to outline successes and failures of the previous year. In addition, they are not flexible enough to give immediate feedback to policy makers and implementation” (Presidential Review Commission:1998:26).

There are many ways that can be applied to achieve poverty reduction. The key solution is the acquisition of land for redistribution. The labour movements themselves, should be requesting the workers or their members to contribute R1 a month to acquire some land. The amounts that are collected can reach millions of rands and these millions can be invested overtime. The unions can buy shares in companies, they can buy land and they can begin to build houses. If the labour movements were following the teachings of Marx and Lenin with proper interpretation and commitment, they could help the people to establish collective farms in which agricultural businesses can be conducted.

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