

10. The Mandela Era: 1994-1999

Redressing colonial and apartheid land dispossession was always a central principle of South African liberation movements. From the mid-1950s and the establishment of the Freedom Charter (Table 1), the African National Congress (ANC) argued that nationalisation could serve as the mechanism for righting decades of dispossession and destruction of black property rights.³⁷⁴ In 1986, anti-apartheid activist Joe Slovo argued: "The redistribution of the land is the absolute imperative of our conditions, the fundamental national demand. It will have to be done, even if it involves some economic cost, in order to continue to mobilise the people whose support has brought the democratic forces to power".³⁷⁵

Table 1. Excerpt from the African National Congress Freedom Charter of 1955

The land shall be shared among those who work it!
Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger.
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers,
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land.
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose.
People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

³⁷⁴ The Freedom Charter set out the manifesto of the African National Congress and defined its objective as the establishment of a multiracial democratic state. The preamble declares that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white".

³⁷⁵ Masiphula Mbongwa, "Nationalisation of the Land", in Selebano Matlhape and Angelika Münz (eds.), *Towards a New Agrarian Democratic Order. A South Africa Economic Research and Training Project (SAERT) Reader on the South African Land Question* (Amsterdam: SAERT Project, 1991). This book was the outcome of a SAERT policy-workshop at the University of Wageningen in November 1989. Slovo, who was born in Lithuania and came to South Africa at the age of nine, was a founder of the armed wing of the ANC and general secretary of the South African Communist Party in the 1980s.

However, by 1992, the ANC leadership abandoned the notion of nationalising land, largely due to widespread concern among white farmers, the business community and foreign governments and investors.³⁷⁶ Based on less than salutary experiences in Mozambique and the Soviet Union, returning exiles also opposed nationalisation and expropriation.

While nationalisation was not the ANC position in the constitutional negotiations that led to black majority rule, many politicians and land rights activists blamed the eventual settlement for the government's inability to resolve racial inequities in land ownership. The settlement effectively legalised more than a century of seizures by white European settlers that uprooted millions from their ancestral lands, almost always without compensation. This meant that subsequent reapportionment would require the consent of the very elites that had benefited from racially-directed land seizures in the first place. The South African government would have to raise revenue to buy farms and provide land to those who had become landless, even as property prices rapidly rose when major post-independence instability did not materialise.

The South African constitution provides for the expropriation of property "in the public interest", which is defined to include land reform intended to bring about "equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources".³⁷⁷ Compensation and its manner of payment must be "just and equitable, reflecting an equitable balance between the public interest and the interests of those affected"; however, at least one high-ranking official in the Department of Land Affairs suggested that "just and equitable" is not identical to "market value" and may represent a lower or higher payment.³⁷⁸ An amendment to the Restitution of Land Rights Act simplified expropriation procedures, without prejudice to the constitutional rights of landowners.³⁷⁹

As democracy became a reality in the early 1990s, the ANC engaged in intensive debate about how to address land reform. The most basic – and fundamentally political – question facing the incoming government was

³⁷⁶ Anthony Sampson, in *Mandela: The Authorised Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), describes how the ANC leadership abandoned in 1992 ideas of nationalisation designed to redress decades of dispossession and destruction of black property and economic rights.

³⁷⁷ Section 28 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993. This section became known as the "property clause" in the chapter of the act on fundamental rights. The "final" constitution was the subject of further negotiations and was passed as Act 108 of 1996. Rights to land and property are dealt with under its Section 25.

³⁷⁸ ICG interview, South Africa, 29 April, 2004.

³⁷⁹ Circumstances to be considered when expropriating property included: its current use; the properties historical acquisition; market value; direct state investment and subsidy in the property; and the purpose of expropriation.

how radical it could afford to be in redressing land injustices without endangering the fragile compromise that had produced majority rule. The concern that drastic redistribution could spark a collapse of the commercial farming sector was equally important.³⁸⁰ In theory, the government had a choice between imposing reform and inducing reform. Imposing reform would entail forced redistribution of land, with or without compensation to current owners, and could be advanced by legislation that substantially altered the conditions for land ownership and agricultural production. For example, minimum or maximum limits could be set on farm size or the number of farms owned. Taxes on land transfer or land ownership could also be tailored to ensure wholesale redistribution.

Alternatively, reform could be induced by using market instruments and state subsidies. For example, state-owned land could be sold or capital provided to lending institutions for certain categories of land acquisition. Official records show that the state owns 24 million hectares of land, of which about 13 million are in the former homelands, and another 3.5 million are national parks and protected areas. The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) regularly refers to 4 million hectares that potentially could be redistributed.³⁸¹ The type of resettlement of small-scale farmers from communal areas that had taken place in Zimbabwe in the first decade after independence was ruled out. The ANC argued that South Africa had seen quite enough social engineering under apartheid.³⁸²

A. ANC COMPROMISES

On coming to power in April 1994, the ANC government was quick to reassure landowners that redistribution would proceed according to market principles and in line with the interim constitution and the bill of rights negotiated by the main political groups during 1993. That constitution, as noted, provided that every person could acquire and hold rights in property, that no deprivation of property rights was permitted except by law, and that expropriation would be permitted only for public purposes and would be subject to "just and equitable" compensation.

³⁸⁰ This section draws heavily on the work of Stephen Turner and Hilde Ibsen, *Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa: A Status Report* (Belville, South Africa: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, 2000).

³⁸¹ The state does not have proper records regarding the scale of land ownership by parastatals and municipalities, both of which are major holders, though most of their land would not be available for redistribution. It is also important not to overemphasise the potential of state land to address land needs.

³⁸² ICG correspondence with Ruth Hall, a researcher at the Program for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), 6 March 2004.

In general, the government would pursue three primary paths for addressing the land issue: *restitution* for land that was seized in the twentieth century; *redistribution* of land to blacks; and adjustments to the nation's *land tenure* laws. These categories were not mutually exclusive. For example, land could be redistributed to an individual or group under general redistribution plans or to specifically address a restitution claim.

Restitution was a key point of debate for the new government. The purpose of the land restitution program was to provide remedy, whether through land or cash compensation, to people dispossessed by racially discriminatory laws and practice. A restitution claim qualified if the claimant was dispossessed of a right in land or was not paid just and equitable compensation as a result of racially discriminatory laws or practices after 19 June 1913 (the date of the 1913 Natives Land Act).³⁸³ Restitution could be in the following forms: the land from which claimants were dispossessed; alternative land; compensation; alternative relief comprising a combination of the above; or priority access to government housing and land development programs. Owners whose land was expropriated for the purposes of restoring land to successful claimants were to be compensated in a just and equitable manner.

The program was designed to support the process of reconciliation and development, with due regard to the over-arching consideration of fairness and justice for individuals, communities and the country as a whole. The government's policy and procedure for handling land claims was based on the provisions of the constitution and the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994, the first law adopted under President Mandela.

In South Africa, as in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the policy debate oscillated between those who believe that land reform must focus on the redistribution of productive agricultural land to the poor and those who preferred focusing on raising agricultural productivity and nurturing a new generation of black commercial farmers. At the time of transition to majority rule, however, there was little disagreement in South Africa about the purpose of land reform, with anti-poverty considerations seen as more important than increased agricultural production. It was recognised that most small-scale farmers were women who were farming somewhat marginal holdings incapable of producing full subsistence and who were dependent on supplementing their income with non-agricultural activities.

During the Mandela presidency, land redistribution aimed to provide the disadvantaged and the poor with land for residential and productive purposes. The government developed a single, yet flexible, grant mechanism to meet the needs of a wide variety of applicants. Land redistribution took a

³⁸³ This excluded land lost to colonial conquest before 1913.

number of forms.³⁸⁴ Under the Provision of Land and Assistance Act, promulgated by the previous government in 1993, the Mandela government assisted eligible persons in obtaining settlement/land acquisition grants – maximum \$4,900 – to purchase land directly from willing sellers, including the government.³⁸⁵ Additional financial resources were provided for planning, community facilitation and dispute resolution. Because small grant-sized parcels were largely unavailable, those wishing to acquire land usually formed groups to facilitate purchases.

The constraints on implementing land reform were quickly evident. The newly elected government was hamstrung in its efforts to deliver on sweeping promises through a largely centralised and often uncoordinated bureaucracy. Under the interim constitution, land administration was considered a prerogative of the national government, and agriculture a provincial responsibility. NGOs, organised around protecting property rights and opposing forced removals, were in a position to influence emerging policy significantly. A series of policy debates took place about land redistribution, with the World Bank playing a prominent role.³⁸⁶ The policy that emerged was first presented to the public in the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Program, and later in a 1997 White Paper on Land Policy. Many of the principles were also codified in the democratic, final constitution promulgated in 1996.

The ANC established a program of deregulation and liberalisation, along the lines it had advocated before coming to power. The subsidies and protected markets that white farmers had enjoyed for decades were rapidly dismantled. The World Bank concurred that removing these privileges would make it easier for black farmers to compete in commercial agriculture while stimulating a shift from large-scale production to more efficient smaller-scale farming.³⁸⁷

The land program was variously described as a "market-led" or "demand-driven" approach designed to fuel economic growth while achieving the fundamental political goal of equity, access and ownership. The scope of the program was ambitious. A World Bank review envisaged the redistribution of 30 per cent of white-owned land to over 800,000 black

³⁸⁴ These include: group settlement with some production; group production; commonage schemes; on-farm settlement of farm workers and farm worker equity schemes.

³⁸⁵ Act 126 of 1993 (as amended).

³⁸⁶ Lionel Cliffe, "Land Reform in South Africa", *Review of African Political Economy* 84 (2000), pp. 273-86.

³⁸⁷ Gavin Williams et al., "Liberalising markets and reforming land in South Africa", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 16, no. 1 (1996), pp. 65-94.

households in five years at a cost of \$4.34 billion.³⁸⁸ The Reconstruction and Development Program adopted the 30 per cent transfer figure as a goal and maintained, "A national land reform program is the central and driving force of a program of rural development".³⁸⁹ The plan saw land reform "generating large-scale employment, increasing rural incomes and eliminating overcrowding", with the aim of supplying "residential and productive land to the poorest section of the rural population and aspirant farmers".

As the program was launched, there was a clear expectation that land reform and agricultural development would move forward within a broader, integrated process of rural development. Boosting agricultural production was assumed to be a core goal of redistributive land reform, although residential uses were also acknowledged. The result was expected to be the rapid expansion of a more efficient small, black family farm sector that could drive growth in the agriculture sector as a whole. While commercial agriculture's share of GDP had fallen (it was about 5 per cent of GDP and 10 per cent of employment at the time), it was believed that it had the potential to create employment and raise rural incomes.

In 1994, following the first democratic elections, the Department of Land Affairs emerged through the restructuring of the bureaucracy. This reshuffling included the Department of Development Aid and the Office for Regional Development, the latter an office that had been instrumental in laying out the apartheid map of the independent states and self-governing territories. The Department of Land Affairs recruited a dozen or more young professionals, first as consultants, then as senior managers, many of whom had been active in land rights NGOs in opposition to the forced removals of the apartheid regime.³⁹⁰ Those it recruited were mostly white, including the minister, Derek Hanekom, and the director general, Geoff Budlender.³⁹¹ Thus, from the beginning, the challenge was to build a shared organisational culture between old and new bureaucracies with greatly differing mindsets. The drawn-out process of restructuring the Department of Land Affairs consumed bureaucratic energy, often distracting officials from the primary

³⁸⁸ World Bank, "Options for Land Reform and Rural Restructuring", Land Redistribution Options Conference, Land and Agriculture Policy Centre, Johannesburg, October 1993.

³⁸⁹ African National Congress, *Reconstruction and Development Program*, 1994.

³⁹⁰ For example, the Association for Rural Advancement (KwaZulu Natal), Surplus People Project (Western and Northern Cape), Transvaal Rural Action Committee and the Border Rural Committee (Eastern Cape), all of which were affiliates of the National Land Committee based in Johannesburg.

³⁹¹ As Deputy Director General for Agriculture, Derek Hanekom also took over responsibility for the Ministry of Agriculture with the break up of the government of national unity in 1997.

task of land reform. Between 1994 and 1999, the Department of Land Affairs was consistently unable to spend fully the government or aid funds allocated for its purposes.

A two-year pilot land reform program was established in November 1994 with the following key aims:

- ❑ initiating land transfer to landless and disadvantaged rural people, especially women;
- ❑ establishing these individuals as self-reliant lease-holders and owners;
- ❑ testing the most appropriate financing mechanisms for both land transfers and infrastructure provision; and
- ❑ exploring the most appropriate administrative structures and systems for implementation of a decentralised program, including the management of common property resources where required.

The pilot program was implemented in nine districts, one in each province, through agency agreements between the Department of Land Affairs and provincial directors general, with each province designating a lead department. The arrangement was necessary because the newly created Department of Land Affairs lacked administrative capacity at the provincial level. In 1994, when it began work, it had only four regional offices outside Pretoria.³⁹² It established provincial offices over an eighteen-month period, beginning in early 1995.

B. DEVELOPMENT AID

From the outset, donors were keen to assist the government and ensure that the transition to majority rule would not be disrupted. Before the transition, the ANC had engaged the World Bank to share its international expertise and work with local researchers and future policy makers to contribute to the land reform agenda in South Africa. A number of conferences were organised and several publications resulted from this work.³⁹³ The ANC's party platform also adopted the target proposed for land reform that came out of these consultations: 30 per cent of the agricultural land in five years.

³⁹² Excluding offices of the Survey and Deeds Branch.

³⁹³ In particular, the Land Options Conference organised by the Land and Agricultural Policy Centre – an ANC think tank – in 1993 produced important working papers, eventually resulting in Johan van Zyl, Johann Kirsten and Hans Binswanger (eds.), *Agricultural Land Reform in South Africa: Policies, Markets and Mechanisms*, op. cit.

The largest allocation of funds was to the pilot program, subsequently renamed the Land Reform Support program, to which the Netherlands, UK, Denmark and EU contributed. Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands also funded related work. Official development assistance in grants to land reform during the Mandela administration amounted to some \$30 million. The World Bank did not provide direct financial support because the government did not need loans and wanted full ownership of the policy-making process.³⁹⁴

Minister for Land Affairs Hanekom had a cordial relationship with donors from 1993, having earlier served as coordinator for land and agricultural policy in the ANC's Department of Economic Planning. Funding agreements were based on requests from the government to support components of the national land reform program established in the initial policy document of the Reconstruction and Development Program and the White Paper. Assistance largely served to reinforce and complement a program to which South Africa was already contributing the lion's share.

From the outset, both donors and the Department of Land Affairs recognised that foreign technical assistance was politically sensitive and avoided making it a condition of funding. Most technical experts recruited by the department were South African, though funded with donor help. Donor funds were also used for a range of activities directly related to delivery of the three principal components of the land reform program: redistribution, restitution and tenure reform.³⁹⁵

C. THE 1996-1999 PERIOD

Implementation of these ambitious plans was slow and uneven. In March 1996, the special government office overseeing the Reconstruction and Development Program, headed by Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo, was closed and responsibility transferred to the office of the then deputy president, Thabo Mbeki. The program itself was replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy. The abandonment of the original program appeared to signal a shift away from rural development, and the drafting of a Rural Development Framework in 1997 was largely

³⁹⁴ Tension in relations with the World Bank went back to 1993 when ANC officials (in Shell House) and the ANC-aligned researchers at the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre in Braamfontein felt that the World Bank staff were attempting to hijack the policy-making process.

³⁹⁵ For example, funds were applied to research, policy development, pilot initiatives (particularly in the development of market-assisted land redistribution), mediation, conflict management, community facilitation, farm credit for land reform, development of tenure policy and legislation, initiatives to support new land rights legislation, communications, training and developing the capacity of the Department of Land Affairs.

left to the Department of Land Affairs to complete.³⁹⁶ With no coordinating agency driving the efforts, the attempt to formulate a rural development policy had little impetus. It no longer appeared that land reform would be the central, driving force behind rural development.

Part of the reason land reform efforts began to stall can be traced to the tangle of laws governing tenure. Many areas referred to as "homelands" were deliberately created to further racist policies and provide reservoirs of cheap migratory labour. The complexity of the legislation governing the eleven former homeland areas hindered attempts to dismantle the apartheid map, and many earlier laws remained on the books. It was not until the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act of 1996 that some 30 per cent of the population finally acquired the right, independent of government consent, to occupy or use their land.

Tenure reform also needed to address a range of problems that resulted in the frequent dispossession and exploitation of blacks on commercial farms. The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act of 1996 protected labour tenants and gave them the right to claim land. The Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997 aimed to protect people living on rural land with the consent of the landowner against unfair eviction. The Prevention of Illegal Evictions and Unlawful Occupation Act of 1998 enabled owners to evict people who unlawfully occupied their land but made it a criminal offence to do so without an order from the Land Claims Court. In principle, these laws vested workers with new rights, replacing the old system dominated by land owners. However, many farmers anticipated the adoption of the new legislation and evicted farm dwellers before it was enacted. Illegal evictions of farm dwellers outnumbered legal ones by a factor of twenty in some provinces. The victims were often tenants or workers who had lived in the same place for generations.³⁹⁷ This created the largest wave of rural-urban migration since the end of apartheid and increasing reliance on casual and migratory labour, rather than permanent farm workers.

Tenure has been the most difficult aspect of the land reform program. The Department of Land Affairs has never had the personnel or resources to ensure that the Extension of Security of Tenure Act was effectively communicated and enforced. The problem has been exacerbated by the financial limitations of government-funded legal aid programs. There are reports both of terrible brutality by farmers against their farm workers as well attacks by farm workers against farm owners. Agri-SA, the commercial

³⁹⁶ Curiously, the "Green Paper on Rural Development", published in *Government Gazette*, no. 16679, 3 November 1995, under the Reconstruction and Development Program, made little mention of land reform. This had to be rectified in the drafting of the Rural Development Framework by the Department of Land Affairs.

³⁹⁷ ICG interview with Peter Jacobs and Ruth Hall of PLAAS, 27 November 2003.

farmers' union, continues to call for repeal or amendment of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act. In contrast, NGOs representing farm dwellers have sought more radical legislation that would give them ownership rights.

The 1997 White Paper once again articulated the government's commitment to land reform and set the following order of priorities:

- ❑ redressing the injustices of apartheid;
- ❑ fostering national reconciliation and stability;
- ❑ underpinning economic growth; and
- ❑ improving household welfare and alleviating poverty.³⁹⁸

The White Paper contended that by helping create conditions of stability and certainty, land reform was essential for sustainable growth and development. As anticipated in the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Program, the government policy was based on three sections articulated in Article 25 of the 1996 constitution:

§5. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions, which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis.

§6. A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress.

§7. A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress.³⁹⁹

D. THE MANDELA RECORD

The Mandela administration achieved limited progress in land reform and was often thwarted by competing interest groups, constrained administrative capabilities, excessive centralisation and a tangle of tenure legislation. But after initial difficulties, where land was redistributed, clear

³⁹⁸ The publication of the "1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy" was the culmination of a policy development process that began with the Rural Development Policy document and was followed by the Land Policy Principles Conference at Kempton Park in 1995 and the Green Paper in February 1996.

³⁹⁹ The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

economic progress was apparent, and reform efforts appeared to be gaining some momentum.

By mid-1999, the Department of Land Affairs was in the final stages of opening district-level offices. Within each province, there were to be five or six offices at the level of the local government district. The department had finally recognised that only close collaboration with local government would integrate land reform into rural development.

Fewer than 3,000 restitution claims were settled by mid-1999, involving a little more than 11,000 households and 225,000 hectares of land.⁴⁰⁰ After that date, however, the pace quickened, largely due to streamlined administrative procedures. About 80 per cent of the registered claims were urban. Yet rural claims involved far larger numbers of individuals: the average urban claim had six beneficiaries where, in contrast, the average rural claim has almost 60 beneficiaries.⁴⁰¹ Well-known cases covered removals under the notorious Group Areas Act, such as District Six in Cape Town, which involved 1,698 tenant claimants and \$4.9 million in compensation.⁴⁰² Urban settlements usually involved only financial compensation and thus were quicker.⁴⁰³ However, as they often did not transfer land to blacks, they did not address the core issues – racial dispossession and the skewed nature of ownership. They were nonetheless highly emotive, and their resolution contributed to national reconciliation.

Land redistribution under Mandela was "demand-led" and did not involve the acquisition of land by the government for subsequent resettlement. A survey in 1999 concluded that land reform efforts had succeeded in embracing the rural poor and placing productive assets in their hands.⁴⁰⁴ Beneficiaries had better access to services than the rural population as a whole, although poverty remained persistent. On the basis of this study, the World Bank concluded that the program was contributing to equity and efficiency while fostering sustainable growth.

Among the problems of the government's approach, which was based on responding to applications by plaintiffs, was its high transaction costs (partially a factor of the minister's insistence on approving each and every application). In addition, old socialist ideals seem to have slipped into the program as most of the projects approved contained business plans based

⁴⁰⁰ McIntosh Xaba and Associates, "An Institutional Review of the Land Reform Support Programme", 30 November 1999.

⁴⁰¹ Department of Land Affairs, "Cumulative Statistics on Settled Restitution Claims: 1995-29 February 2004". Available at land.pwv.gov.za/restitution/Statistics/March/rural%20urban%20breakdown%2029%20february%202004.doc.

⁴⁰² "Plans to Speed Up Land Redistribution," *Business Day*, 14 February 2001.

⁴⁰³ Department of Land Affairs, "Cumulative Statistics", op. cit.

⁴⁰⁴ Klaus Deininger and Julian May, *Is their Scope for Growth with Equity? The Case for Land Reform in South Africa* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2000).

on collective farming. The small size of the grant, coupled with the failure of the minister to scrap the sub-division rules, forced people to form large and often ill-prepared groups to raise the sum necessary to meet the asking price for land. Further, as noted, the Department of Land Affairs consistently under spent its budget until 1999, largely because of its failure to decentralise decision-making, the detailed nature of farm planning and limited administrative capacity.⁴⁰⁵

In late 1999, the Department of Land Affairs, the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the EU and Denmark commissioned an independent and comprehensive review of the land reform program. The seven-person team, including long-time observers of land reform in Africa, concluded that significant progress had been made since an earlier examination:

A significant improvement in the delivery of land redistribution and restitution projects is evidenced in the last two years. Moreover there is much increased efficiency and cost-effectiveness in delivery during this period. A comparison with land reform delivery elsewhere would suggest that other African countries delivered more land as a proportion of total population, but over much longer time periods than the South African Land Reform program has been in place. It is nonetheless suggested that the market led grant/application system has imposed significant capacity requirements on the Department relative to the supply led approaches of other African countries.... [The Land Reform program] has been one of the few national programs which has highlighted the rights and needs of the rural poor.... The policies and programs of the department have generated more debates in the media and the public discourse than any other program or national department. To this extent, it has supplanted what was the role of land-based NGO's in the 1980s and early 1990s.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ Capital expenditure through 2000 for land acquisition, development and financial compensation was approximately \$144 million. By comparison, South Africa's housing program had spent about \$2.4 billion on almost one million houses.

⁴⁰⁶ Dr. Alastair McIntosh, Jan Barnard, Gwendolyn Wellman and Anne Vaughan (McIntosh Xaba and Associates), Sandy Sejake (Tsimeni Consulting), Prof. Lionel Cliffe (University of Leeds) and Dr. Robin Palmer (OXFAM GB), "Review of the Land Reform Support Program", the Department of Land Affairs (South Africa), the European Union, the Department for International Development (UK) and the Danish International Development Agency, 30 November 1999.