In South Africa, after our demoralising history of Apartheid, the more defective our leaders, the more we long for highly effective, ethical leaders. Regrettably, our leaders sometimes consciously act in unethical ways, because power and position lead them to believe that they are not bound by the same ethical norms as the rest of society.

As we embrace the dawn of the 2009 elections, we need to remember that sometimes leaders who have “little power and standing in the community come to believe their own propaganda” and “have no guiding morality and are driven solely by the pursuit of self-furtherance” (Andrew Stephen). Every being, whether a leader or a follower, should be expected to adhere to the ethical norms of society and it should come from within.

Given the gift of the right to vote after the wounding years of Apartheid, we have to try to ensure that our leaders honour the promises they made when soliciting our votes. It is imperative that South Africans realise that power is not vested in leaders alone, but also in followers.

We need to hold our leaders to ransom when they quote our Constitution about our entitlement and our rights and then claim that they cannot deliver because …

A universal truism espoused by Barack Obama, that holds especially true for South Africans, is that “hope is the bedrock of our own nation; our destiny will not be written for us, it will be written by us.”

In the light of the recent xenophobic attacks, our 2009 elections is not the only crisis of ethical leadership we have to consider. We are Africans and we need to remind ourselves that our destiny is intrinsically linked to the destiny of Africa as a continent. I quote from a blogger:

“Where have the heroes of our African story gone? Men and Women who are not afraid of the night? Where are the leaders who stood up against a tidal wave that was said to never wash up on a shore? What has happened to courage under fire that crafted the stories that have reached every corner of the earth? We’re calling out… come out of hiding. You who were once the great, the hopeful, the bold. Come out of hiding you who once defied the ways of the old and looked not to the past but leaned hard into the future. Come out into the open, you were once not afraid of the sweat of the fire because who knew what you were fighting for. There is a new fight, not for a land that was ‘taken’, not for a people who were ‘lost in their own homeland’. There is a fight for what was fought for. Let us not stand by and watch as we lose hold on that which we have all so dearly desired, that is still in our land. This is our LAND, this is our AFRICA. Let the heroes be heard. Let the nation be stirred! I am an AFRICAN, this is my land, here are my people.”

(Robin Pullen; Thought Leader; Mail and Guardian, 3 June 2008)

Written by Franwin Francis, Staff member of the Ethical Leadership Project (in her own capacity)
The objective of the conference was to investigate the contributions of existing politics practices and initiatives in political parties and government by exploring:

- the ethical frameworks of political parties and government’s relationships with its stakeholders
- politics’ role in nation building
- politics’ role in alleviating socio-economic conditions in disadvantaged communities
- politics’ role in contributing to ethical leadership challenges confronting politics with respect to ethical leadership.

The conference was attended by approximately 270 delegates from various political parties, political organizations, trade unions, faith-based organizations (FBOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), educational institutions, municipalities, state departments and advocacy groups dealing with issues relating to ethical leadership and politics.

This dynamic and often controversial conference (that got tongues wagging in the press) started off on a day that shone with the promise of young springtime. The weather seemed to have an effect on the conference delegates as they chatted animatedly while sampling the various breakfast snacks on offer outside the Great Hall - one could feel the buzz of social networking among the various strata of politicians milling about and undertaking great feats of linguistic acrobatics.

Yes, Spring was in the air, the floor-crossing, in-fighting and metaphorical pie-throwing of the previous days were subjects conscientiously avoided by the breakfast-nibblers and smiles flitted from face to face like caffeinated honeybees at a flower show. And then they filed into Great Hall 1, took their seats, and reality reasserted itself.

Ms Pramilla Vassen (ELP Chairperson) cut the tension in the room with a warm welcome, then raised it again by expressing Premier Ebrahim Rasool’s apologies for his absence (causing random bursts of not-so-sotto voce mutterings between various pockets of the audience). This turned out to be just the first of many emotional roller-coasters that the audience would ride over the course of the conference.

Ms Vassen, doing an admirable job of settling down the delegates, then announced that ELP Vice-Chairperson Rev Courtney Sampson would be delivering the keynote address in lieu of the Premier.

Ms Vassen proceeded with her opening address, Theoretical Orientation - Ethical Leadership In & Through Politics, which provided a brief background of the ELP, its objectives and methodologies and spoke to the context, objectives, expected outcomes and motivation behind the conference itself.

Next up was the first panel discussion of the day: Ethical Leadership In & Through Politics: Perceptions & Reality (Perspectives From Political Parties In The Western Cape). The panel consisted of Mr Lance Greyling (ID), Mr Max Ozinsky (ANC) and Mr Hansie Louw (ACDP). Mr Theuns Botha (DA) pulled out of the panel at the last minute due to a family emergency (his interview responses, however, are included in The ELP Interviews Political Leaders, from page 6).

ID representative Lance Greyling was first to speak. He declared that politicians often tend to ignore ethical leadership in their daily political practices and that the perception of the public, particularly during floor-crossing - that ‘ethical politician’ is an oxymoron - is justifiable. Shaking his head, he noted that the practice of politics seems to be more about the accumulation of power than the upholding of basic principles: “We are supposed to be serving in the public’s interest but often the interests of the individual or the party is put ahead of this goal. …When power trumps principles, ethics is often the loser.” Mr Greyling declared that South African politics runs the risk of exacerbating rather than ‘bridging the divides’ of its past (‘bridging the divides’ is the ID’s slogan).

Max Ozinsky (ANC) referred to key examples of ethical political leadership: Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, and Nelson Mandela. He described how they demonstrated ethical leadership in practice - relating the story of Mandela who, when offered individual freedom, during his incarceration in the dark days of apartheid, turned it down and declared: “I am not free until all South Africans are free.” He went on to say that, while the majority of South Africans’ political and ethical orientations were shaped by these exemplary political leaders, service delivery and transformation remain key challenges. “Whenever service delivery is skewed, whenever state resources are diverted from its intended beneficiaries or programmes, it is usually the people on the ground who ultimately suffer. This is unacceptable.” Mr Ozinsky blamed the mechanisms of neo-colonialism (the corruption of public officials by multi-national and other corporations, for example) for the current scourge of corruption and the harbouring of wealth by the few.

Hansie Louw (ACDP) followed, arguing that ethics and morality exist only in dictionaries today and that South Africans are in dire need of help, given that our leaders and politicians are the primary reflections of this (this, he contends, is the reason why politicians are ‘legally bribed’ to join other political parties). Mr Louw went on to say that neither the police nor the church have the required impact. He described the socio-economic challenges in South Africa and the political “inability” to deal with these challenges head-on. He pointed out that the majority of poor South Africans’ prospects for a better life are degenerating - elaborating by drawing a stark comparison between the increasingly-thriving property market and our disturbing poverty and unemployment stats.

Louw’s statement that political parties/the government are delaying housing by 1) continuously promising houses and 2) making voters unhappy elicited several murmurs from the audience. He concluded by calling for practical ethics to transform the socio-economic dynamics in the Western Cape; for cooperation between government, churches and communities; an end to the housing backlog and poverty; and changes in the constitution.

The very vocal audience got their chance to quiz the three politicians during Q&A session that followed. The current floor-crossing debate in the Western Cape and Hansie Louw’s remarks on the provision of housing created intense debate.

Ozinsky then made a statement that was picked up by the press like a dog catching a frisbee - he argued that floor-crossing was a result [read: fault] of the “instability of the electorate”. Those members of the audience not vociferously pinning oped at the podium slack-jawed.

Max Ozinsky
Rev Courtney Sampson, the replacement keynote speaker, was up next, and turned out to be just what the doctor ordered after the high tensions of the last session. Rev Sampson delivered his thought-provoking (and very impressive, given the fact that he’d had mere hours to prepare) presentation: “The Challenge Of Moral Renewal In Politics.” Displaying arresting oratory talents - drawing in the crowd with ceaseless conviction ranging in tone from Zen-like calm to very intense - Rev Sampson had the audience hanging on his every word. He argued that the real challenge lies in the way in which we as individuals respond to our Constitution. He talked about the necessity of politicians remaining visionary and of all of us fulfilling our duty to be contributors and not detractors. Sampson declared that our political life is dogged by too much desperation, that “Our democracy must be marked by decency and dignity.” Rev Sampson lifted the hearts of many in the audience and caused more than a few misty eyes and rueful smiles. And when he closed, with this poignant reminder: “We must deal with how we think - the battle of the mind is absolutely crucial - because the still-present inequalities of our society must not make you resentful... to push aside reconciliation... to not value the gains we have made... to not value the essence of our democracy... We are, after all, the bridging generation. We are the only experience of the past” the hall resounded with applause.

Keeping up the inspirational momentum, the podium was next engulfed by the charismatic and persuasive presence of Mr Tony Ehrenreich (COSATU Provincial Secretary), who was to talk on the theme: “Differences & Poverty In The Western Cape: The Quest For Democratic Governance.” Forthrightly, eloquently, Mr Ehrenreich listed the incredible gains made by our young democracy. He defined our democracy as people-centred, caring - and paid for in blood. His clear baritone rose and fell, taking the audience’s emotions with it, as he charged every South African with protecting and nurturing our democracy, with defending our common public good. He spoke of the danger of corrupt political leaders weakening our democracy - thirteen years in and we’re seeing a decline in participation, a trend towards imperial leadership and away from servant leadership, and a growing lack of responsibility. He talked about having respect for the humanity of one’s opponents, of engaging in a way that is appreciative of the spirit of UBUNTU, of always keeping in mind that, in dehumanizing another, one dehumanizes oneself. Mr Ehrenreich defined floor-crossing as the most unethical political act, stating that: “It may be legal but it is illegitimate and absolutely lacks credibility.” He referred to socio-economic challenges and highlighted the consequences of ineffective policies with fluidly candid precision, concluding: “Leaders have an obligation to stand for a noble, higher purpose that inspires people to action by providing them with hope... As leaders of society we must restore and ensure the ethics of politics.”

Another Q&A session followed, during which conference delegates engaged enthusiastically with the panel. Delegates focused on key issues that had been raised: the current scenario of floor-crossing, bridging the gap between our past and future, political leaders as contributors and detractors, concerns about the province’s socio-economic challenges, and government and political leaders’ ethical responsibility to lead and care for the disadvantaged communities. Some conclusions were that: the silence of the public in the face of immoral politics should be defined as an unethical practice; our best ethical practices should be measured against the most marginalized and vulnerable in society; power is not the exclusive domain of politicians; political parties need to be rebuilt; and, we should learn to live democratically by ‘unlearning’ oppression, by showing forbearance when encountering differences and contrasting political practices.

The next panel showcased the views of Mr Ryland Fisher (author) and Mr Karl Cloete (SACP) on the theme: “Bridging Inequality: Race, Class, Cultural Differences & Poverty In The Western Cape.”

Ryland Fisher addressed the impact of race on poverty and vice versa, reading excerpts from his book, Race, to emphasize his argument. He made reference to projects such as the One City Many Cultures Project which he initiated while he was editor of the Cape Times newspaper. He focussed on how the history of the Western Cape has led to a situation where the Western Cape is decidedly different to other provinces: with abundant riches, but also huge inequalities. He described how some of these differences are manifested in the domain of politicians; political parties feed off each other; and, we should learn to live democratically by ‘unlearning’ oppression, by showing forbearance when encountering differences and contrasting political practices.

Karl Cloete (SACP) described the racial stereotypes and prejudices that still play themselves out between coloured and black workers in our working class communities as painful. This ‘painful’ reality, he states, is especially so for those who believe in the emancipation of the working class and the philosophy of a non-racist, non-sexist society. He went on to describe the role of regional dynamics in applying strategies to rally our people against ignorance, prejudice, exclusion and marginalization. He asserted that prejudice along racial lines has found a safe haven within many spheres in our society and that it finds expression where one group wants to yield power over others and where there is a scrambling over positions and resources. He concluded that the capitalist class knows no colour when seeking to maximize their profits.

The eloquent and gentle-voiced Ms Fatima Shabodien (Women on Farms Project) addressed “The Challenges Of Transformation Through Redistribution”.

From left: Ms Pramilla Vassen, Mr Lance Geyling (ID), Mr Max Oznisky (ANC) and Mr Hansie Louw (ACDP) participate in a panel discussion on “The Quest For Democratic Governance” (see Karl Cloete’s interview responses from page 6).

Ms Vassen had to call the house to order several times as decibels levels peaked time after time, and the student assistants handling the roving microphones had their work cut out for them as they scurried from one passionately-opining delegate to the next.

The Challenges Of Moral Renewal In Politics

The eloquent and gentle-voiced Ms Fatima Shabodien (Women on Farms Project) addressed “The Challenges Of Transformation Through Redistribution.”

Media Coverage
This conference raised media attention which resulted in several radio talk show interviews and discussions on the Afrikaans radio station, Radio Sonder Grense (RSS); Ms Fatima Shabodien and Rev Courtney Sampson took part in the morning talk show, Praatsaam on one of the conference’s topics: “The Challenges Of Moral Renewal In Politics.”

Some of the newspapers (e.g. The Cape Argus) covered some of the more controversial aspects of the conference which raised ample awareness of the ELP’s contribution in society - and provided fodder for further discussion in opinion pages, blogs and the stand-up routines of a comedian or two.
The issue of race and the inequalities in the Western Cape between the rich and poor communities was revisited. Ms Shabodien’s views regarding land redistribution and gender inequality on farms in the Western Cape were addressed. It became apparent that the majority of the audience were not informed about the current state of poor farm workers on farm land in the Western Cape. The delegates were eager to enquire about the situation and the responsibility of government in these situations. Ryland Fisher’s premise - that we all are basically racists - became a point of heated debate that continued long after the conference had adjourned for the day.

Minister Lynne Brown (MEC – Dept of Finance and Tourism) kicked off the second day of the conference with her presentation: The National Growth And Development Strategy And The Vision Of iKapa ehlumayo. She defined an ethical leader as being all about good, fair and efficient governance in achieving the targets set out by electoral promises made to the people - delivering on a better life for all. She supported this statement with an excerpt from our Provincial Growth and Development Strategy, iKapa ehlumayo (the Growing and Sharing Cape) which states: “by 2014 the Western Cape will be a sustainable ‘Home for All’ its citizens, whether rich or poor, boy or girl, regardless of mother tongue, race or creed and whether living in a suburb, township or informal settlement. The Western Cape will be an empowering place to live in with improved opportunities through shared growth and integrated development.”

Ms Brown held that our economy is creating jobs, but not enough jobs (especially at the lower to medium skill level where we have many unemployed people). Our youth are also bearing the brunt of poverty, unemployment, crime and violence, raising the importance of policies of social inclusion and addressing vulnerability as integral to a shared growth and integrated development approach. Ms Brown concluded that we must continue to strive for good governance and ethical leadership – stretching our capacities to the limit and ensuring a legacy for the future.

The Q&A session with Minister Brown was characterized by searching questions pertaining to the Provincial Growth and Development Programme. The delegates of the Outshoorn local government were particularly inquisitive and interacted with the Minister on issues of government’s relationship and cooperation with municipalities. Delegates enquired about the government’s development programmes in light of the reality of poverty and inequality in the province.

Mr Sifiso Mbuyisa (Director: Human Rights and Social Dialogue; Dept. of the Premier; ELP Board Member) deliberated on the topic: A Cross- Sectoral & Integrated Approach In 15 Priority Areas In The Western Cape. Mr Mbuyisa described how, during the 90’s, the African State became the most demonized social institution in Africa, vilified for its weaknesses, its over-extension and its interference with the smooth functioning of markets, its repressive character, and its dependence on foreign powers. In support of this view, Mr Mbuyisa quoted Sender’s (1999) description: “It is hard to find an economist, social scientist, or journalist who does not take a jaundiced, indeed a tragic view of development in sub-Saharan Africa. People at all ends of their ideological spectrum appear to agree on a pessimistic prognosis. They commonly use a language that evokes disappointment, moralistic outrage, repugnance and a barely concealed, if not overt, contempt for ‘African barbarism’. The predominant and stomach-churning metaphors are medical/biological: blood, rot, scars, mutilation, plagues, deterioration, starvation, and pathological crises are said to be endemic.”

He concluded his presentation by describing the Social Transformation Programme in detail. The charismatic and energetic Minister Richard Dyantyi (MEC – Dept. of Local Government and Housing) addressed the audience next, on the topic: Towards Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements With Developmental & Well-governed Municipalities With Effective Service Delivery - Challenges & Successes. Mr Dyantyi delivered his speech with the flair of a seasoned public speaker, inviting impromptu participation and putting the audience at ease by setting an affable, accessible tone to the dialogue. He stressed the importance of platforms of this kind in assessing service delivery, public perception and in mutual understanding between political leaders and their constituencies. Mr Dyantyi’s presentation, given its participatory nature, flowed organically into the Q&A session that followed. The high level of interaction, debate and reflection from both the floor and the panel made for a very interesting session. Minister Dyantyi stimulated constructive debate and provided delegates with honest and realistic answers. Not surprisingly, delegates were generally appreciative of the Minister’s ability to relate to their questions and concerns.

Dr Lydia Cairncross (TAC; Coalition Against Public Health Cuts) followed, speaking, with empathy and passion, on the theme: The Challenges Of Health Inequality In The Private & Public Sectors. Dr Cairncross, in her concise, guileless, straight and often blunt earnestness, describing the huge inequalities that typify the health sector, was profoundly moving. The statement that the while South Africa spends 8.8% of its GDP on health, our health index reflects a population that has limited access to healthcare (a discrepancy arising from the fact that most health expenditure is within the private sector, which services less than 20% of the population), as expressed by the curly-haired doctor, struck home instantly and jarringly with a huge portion of the audience, who murmured their agreement sporadically throughout her speech.

Dr Cairncross called these private-public inequalities the most startling in South Africa’s health sector. She argued that the concept of healthcare as a profit-making, commercial enterprise is fundamentally contradictory to the Right to Health enshrined within various international declarations. This is echoed strongly in our Constitution, Bill of Rights, the Freedom Charter and the RDP. Yet the private sector continues to flourish at the expense of the public sector in terms of human and material resources (most doctors intern at public hospitals, then leave for the much more attractive private sector, meaning that public hospitals are actually further subsidizing the private sector in terms of training their human capital). She went on to elaborate on the fact that the SA health system also suffers from enormous inequalities inherited from apartheid - access to health care was then differentiated on the basis of race, geographical location and social status, and post-94, contrary to expectations and hopes, some of these inequalities have deepened.

Private-Public Initiatives and Social Health Insurance do not address the fundamental ethical problem of the corporatization of health services. She concluded: “In a society that is serious about a dignified life for all, the Right to Health must mean access to equal, quality and free health care for all its citizens. This can only be achieved through a single, public health system based on the ethic of service, not the pursuit of profit.”

Dr Cairncross’ Q&A session saw enthusiastic participation from the audience in the form of reflective dialogue between the speaker and delegates. Many delegates expressed appreciation for the honest and direct manner in which Dr Cairncross addressed the inequality in the health sector and the disclosure of the realities within the sector.

The last speaker to address the conference, Mr Benett Joko (PAC)
Delivered a presentation on the theme: The Role Of Ethical Leadership In Political Organizations. He defined leadership by: “What they say and not say, what they do and what they don’t do, what they write and what they don’t write. A leader has to identify with the people they lead. A leader is the best of us, best-qualified to achieve transformation. A leader is the most sincere of us, must always maintain principled positions in the face of adversity. A leader is the most fearless of us.” Mr Joko continued by identifying three forms of cowardice (i.e. the opposite of the ‘fearless’ attribute in the above definition): physical cowardice - being afraid of any contact with anything; intellectual cowardice - most prevailing in our academic institutions; and moral cowardice. He then defined politics as the science and art of government. He stated that the Pan-Africanist view is that politics is the science of obligations to control facets of communal life. He argued that Pan-Africanists cannot have politics without morality; rights without obligations. He then posed the question: “Whose criteria are we using to measure ethical leadership in political formations?” He answered that we should use universal values and not the values which have corrupted African systems. He noted that honesty, sincerity, best service and fearlessness are some of those values. Mr Joko maintained that the role of Pan-Africanist leadership has always been to project those values and that the PAC has been led by ethical leadership in pursuit of its political objectives. He concluded that South Africa is an African society and the role of its leadership has to be in line with that.

The Q & A session created an interesting and lively debate between the speaker and delegates and highlighted the differences in ethos and practice in various political parties.

Strolling out at the end of this conference, amidst the cut and thrust of steady conversation, it was doubtful that a single delegate was left unaffected by the discourses they’d witnessed and participated in - indeed, with Rev Sampson’s battle of the mind analogy in mind, it appeared that we’d all acquired a little more field-training.

What is your book, Race, about?

I think the essential message of the book is that we need to talk and talk and talk about racism, that we’re not doing enough of that. That essentially, after we got our freedom, we were so into reconciliation that we (almost) papered over the cracks in society. We were so determined to reconcile that we didn’t look at the differences and so on. The book is also based on a series of interviews I did with some prominent and some not so prominent South Africans. The prominent South Africans included Naledi Pandor, Rhoda Kadali, Melanie Verwoerd, Wilmont James and Carel Boshoff. I spoke to them a little bit about their experiences with racism, and of race, and how it has impacted on their lives.

I start off from the premise that all of us are racists, I say that I am a racist, and I believe all South Africans are racists, and unless we actually can make that kind of admission, we will never be able to deal with the racism itself. And I think in explaining this to the people I interviewed, most of them in fact agreed with me.

Do you think that politicians take the notions of Ubuntu and Moral Regeneration into account?

I think a lot of them are. I also feel that what has happened is, if you’re in politics as a career, you make money out of it, you get a salary, and, because of that, you don’t want to rock the boat, you want to make a salary next month and the month after that. I mean, we saw what happened to Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge - she rocked the boat and she lost her job, she lost her salary, they’re also asking her to pay back a whole lot of money - so, with that example set for other people, do you think anybody else is going to speak out? Nobody will speak out because they will all be scared.

One of the things that I’m involved in (in my spare time, which I don’t have a lot of) is a foundation in Hanover Park where we’ve brought together former activists and we basically go into Hanover Park and try to work with the people in the area. I grew up in Hanover Park and I was looking at the group I’ve got around me and they are a fantastic group. They’re all driven, but not by getting anything out of it, they are driven by wanting to make a difference to the community, which is what drove us all through the struggle years. I mean, when we were involved in the struggle, it was never about what you were going to get out of it. In fact, you could get killed, get detained, you could get tortured - but you never thought you were going to get a pay packet at the end of the day, and that’s the difference you see. And these guys [politicians], they are driven by the pay packet and not by the desire to actually make a difference to the community, and that’s sad.

With the things the way you’ve described them, do you have hope for this country?

I have a lot of hope. I have hope because when I look at the people in the Hanover Park Foundation, they’re fantastic people, and they’re providing leadership in the community. We had a meeting the other day with the youth of Hanover Park and they’re fantastic people. They are all amazing young people who are doing all kinds of wonderful things in the community without being satisfied and without seeking recognition, and that’s the kind of people who give me hope. Not the people on top, but the people on the ground, and hopefully more of these people will come through and make their way up in the societal ladder, and hopefully one of these people will end up being the president.

Maybe one of the young people in Hanover Park, who are now playing such a fantastic role in that community, will one day become our president. And hopefully by the time he or she becomes our president, they will still be true to the kind of ideals they have today, and that will be wonderful for our country. So I have a lot of hope.

How do you think politics and politicians can develop a morally transformed society?

You know, let me say to you upfront that in fact I’m a great supporter of the Premier. I think he’s probably one of the few people who have some kind of moral fibre, but he’s one person you see. And he also gets caught up in the battle for survival, the political survival battle, so he also has to compromise, and compromise and compromise, so it is very, very difficult. Like I said, I understand completely what he’s trying to do with his 15 areas and I think his intentions are noble, but it’s not going to work, because he’s basically throwing money at these areas and when you throw money at these kind of areas, people go crazy. The Western Cape, with its political battles, is much more complicated than any other province because not like the other provinces where the ANC is almost assured of victory - here the ANC is not assured of victory. So the ANC is fighting that kind of battle on the one hand, internal battles on the other hand, and they’re actually spending so much time fighting those kind of battles that they’re taking their eye off the ball, and unless they’re able to sort themselves out internally, they’re not going to be able to deliver to the people satisfactorily, and as a result they’re going to be voted out of office. I think that is sad, I think it’s important for the province to have an ANC government, because if local government and provincial government are aligned to the national government, it makes it so much easier to deliver. And that’s one of the reasons it’s been so difficult to deliver in the Western Cape, because at one point local government is aligned to national government, but provincial government is one side. And then provincial government is aligned, and local government isn’t, and it just causes a mess-up here.

“I start off from the premise that all of us are racists, I say that I am a racist, and I believe all South Africans are racists, and unless we actually can make that kind of admission, we will never be able to deal with the racism itself.”

- Ryland Fisher
With reference to you/your political party, how can politicians facilitate good practices that would contribute to the development of a morally transformed society?

THEUNS BOTHA (DA)

Let me start off by saying that the history of the past 300 years is an unnatural history in terms of the fabric of our society. Our history necessitates unnatural processes to rectify the inequality of the past. The ethical standard that we currently have in South Africa is the direct result of the political history of the country, and I think eventually we will only be able to rectify that ethical standard once we’ve made significant progress in reconstituting the society, in terms of a ‘normal’ society. We must make a differentiation between perceptions and realities. For instance, the public perception is that black people are mainly responsible for crime is perhaps true, but on the other hand, if it is true, it is because of the history of inequality. So, if we have a colour in South Africa, which is unfortunately not the way it is supposed to be. And, because of those inequalities, this results in a substandard ethical level in our country. The obligation is with politicians, and public representatives in general, to address those inequalities. I have a very simple solution as to what one’s approach should be. There’s a group effect with us: “because person A did that, I can also do that” - there’s even a perception that if you steal well enough you will be promoted. The thing is that I think it starts with the individual - we must make 100% sure that the individual understands his individuality and his right as an individual and that his individual behaviour, opinion and ethical standard can make a difference in society, so we’ve got to take it in bite sizes. I think demonstrating this is the best solution. There’s always, in every decision you take in life, whether it’s got to do with your personal life or your work life (and in politics, for that matter) only a right and a wrong way to do it. So decide to choose the right way, decide to choose the right thing to do, regardless of the short-term negative consequences - Do the right thing. And that’s not always possible in reality.

LANCE GREYLING (ID)

It’s quite an in-depth question. I think, on a number of levels. I think that political leaders should firstly be concentrating on values. They must think in terms of what kind of values they believe should inform the operations of our society. And then what they should be doing, as ethical leaders, is upholding those values both within their own personal lives with the aim of trying to inspire others to conform to those values as well and to try to bring about that kind of society that we all desire. So I think that’s the crux of ethical leadership on a personal level, but then also trying to inspire it on a collective level.

MAX OZINSKY (ANC)

I think the key issue is who politicians see themselves serving, and how they play that role. In the tradition of the ANC Liberation Movement, our role is to serve the people and not to serve our individual interests, or the interest of particular interest groups. So, I think, the kind of politics that we are trying to generate is the use of political and other power to overcome centuries of colonialism, overcome centuries of economic deprivation and marginalization and to ensure that everyone in the country has the basic conditions that allows them to live their lives in a healthy and normal way and to contribute to building our society and nation. So the very starting point at the moment, for our politics to overcome problems of morality, problems that are caused by poverty, marginalization, must be to provide food, shelter and proper education. And we need to focus the direction of our politics and our political leaders on those issues. I think issues of individual morality are very important, but we must see the priority as meeting people’s broader needs and ensuring the interaction of politicians with the large number of poor and previously disadvantaged people.

HANIE LOUW (ACDP)

I think it’s vital that we get to open the eyes of society and if I can just use a practical example: my wife, two years ago, had a birthday in Khayelitsha, so we drove a couple of our white friends in who’d never been there, we had a good breakfast there and then we went to somebody’s home, which was a temporary house, or shack. We live 20km from there, but we are totally removed, we live in separate worlds. So we need to open the eyes.

Once we have their understanding, we need to touch their hearts and then we need to get the purse strings to open, on an individual basis and on a corporate basis too.

I think if we start to do that, we can effect a large-scale change, and then we can get to our ethical best practices.

I think it’s vital to talk for those who cannot talk, who, for whatever reason, cannot verbalize what they are suffering, or do not want to verbalize it. I believe that if we can do that, I think, then we can go to best practices.

KARL CLOETE (SACP)

I think politics can certainly play a significant role if it is premised on the following principles:

Firstly, the principle of accountability - we think that if there is very little accountability then you run the risk of a free-for-all where ‘everything goes’. There are no set and defined rules, there’s no set and defined conduct, and there is just no set way of engaging with any particular matter unless there’s accountability.

Secondly, is the principle of openness and transparency. I’m raising this because if you look at our new society, post-1994, and I’m not saying this did not exist before 1994, a lot of corruption is at the centre of almost everything that we do, we aim at almost all the sectors in society and, in my view, it is simply because there’s, in many instances not enough transparency, not enough openness, not enough accountability. Take the arms deal as an example - our South African society today knows very little about the goings on around the arms deal and you have a few selected cases that have appeared before the court, but you may not be aware of the extent of the so-called corrupt practices that surround the arms deal.

I think politics, if it is to deal with ethical leadership, must be underpinned by accountability, openness and transparency.

To what extent does your political organization empower leaders of society for the development of our people and nation-building, specifically?

LANCE GREYLING (ID)

As I have said before, I think that what political parties should be looking to do, as opposed to simply just accumulating power, should be to look at dispersing it as well. And that should be one of the marks of a political party and that’s something that we are striving towards - it’s summed up in our people-led development approach as well. We believe that we need to somehow devolve power down to the community, to the people’s level and that we need to inspire people and provide the resources that enable them to take charge of their own lives as well. I think that this is vital important. I think that a political party cannot simply claim to be able to deliver everything to everyone. I think that what is required in South Africa, and with the enormous challenges that we face, is honesty; and the ability to actually recognize that all of us need to be involved in this. It’s something that we continually strive to do. So in our politics, we try
to engage in practical initiatives too. We engage in initiatives such as the Access To Education Initiative which said: those that can afford to pay for school fees of other people, come forward, and those that can't afford school fees for their kids, come forward, and in that way we are trying to bridge the divides, we are trying to, in very practical ways, bring communities together. We're trying to reach out to society as a whole as opposed to standing on a pedestal as a party and saying 'this is what we can do for you'. We are actually trying to inspire people to do the right kinds of actions, in terms of the values we have.

BENNEDT JOKO (PAC)
I would mention certain instances, but you are talking about a collective leadership here. Personally, besides being the Chairperson of the PAC in this province, I am also a councillor in the City of Cape Town. There were certain instances, which have been covered in the news, on the issue of the establishment of the council of the city. I had the opportunity to play a swing-vote, so to speak. Had I decided to vote either way, I could have entirely changed the complexity of the city. Because we are grounded in values, because we understand particular principles, in terms of our moral conduct, the PAC has empowered us to stand up for those particular positions, regardless of the adversity you may actually face - to be able to articulate a position no matter what would happen thereafter. So it's not about single instances, it is about the culture that has been imbedded within the party. It is what the party has groomed us to understand, it is the vision of the PAC, which we hold dear, that has shaped even our thinking. That is how the PAC is actually empowering us. It has ground in those particular principles because one aspect that we understand, in terms of politics, is that there are multiple sources of influence. One of them is the issue of ideas, the second aspect would be the issue of money. Some people may be shaped by their ideas, and some people are shaped by money - they become corrupt individuals because their perspective is narrow, it is focused on monetary issues, it is focussed on personal gains. But our grounding is based on ideas. That is where we draw our source of inspiration. That is our source of influence, that is the source of influence that the PAC brings onto us.

THEUNS BOTHA (DA)
We have, specifically in the party, leadership programmes, especially for very young people. We do head-hunting, and put suitable candidates through a leadership academy that we've developed in the party and spent a lot of money on - so that's a specific course.

In general, as a politician, I think the most important thing we do through our policy, is say to people that you've got to believe in your individuality, we live in an open-opportunity society, and you have got to take the opportunity, you've got to make the decision. And I think, in that regard, how we try to capacitate communities, and our constituency, is to educate them that life is about choices - you can either not be concerned and get AIDS, or you can make a choice and not get AIDS - and we make provisions for failure, because we're human, we're not perfect. But we want you to make a decision. You have got to decide with everything you do. It's a very difficult message to bring to people who are in dire need - to say that they can change their own circumstances, especially if you're given an opportunity in a society with very few opportunities to many people. That's what you should strive for, to make a choice and make a difference by executing that decision. I think, in our party that is the most important concept that we are driving: Individuality - that you've got to take responsibility for your own life, that you've got to make choices, and use opportunities. And the task of government is to provide those opportunities, and that is where we are mainly in opposition with the ANC. That we say that you do not create the opportunities, or that the opportunities are exclusive, or that the opportunities are created in theory, but not in practice.

HANSIE LOUW (ACDP)
I think, as a political party, we are fairly young - although it seems to me they form political parties every other day at the moment. But we have done significant things in the City of Cape Town. We have a councillor who is very young, who, three years ago, was living in Khayelitsha and is still living in the same place. He's in council now and we are training him to grow as a person in politics. With that, it also gives us access to other people in the community - so we have people on street committees and ward committees, we try to make them aware of, on one hand, not only the needs that exist, that they communicate to us, but also, on the other hand, how we can address the need and get answers and also action. So those are some of the things that we do. Then we have have 2 sub-council chairs in the City of Cape Town giving assistance to people in communities and helping them get to a situation where they can get housing for themselves. Or conversely, to address the questions about housing lists and to fight if there is any corruption in those, because there may well be. The other possibility is to help to find jobs, even if it's casual jobs - for all people, not just those related to one political party only, because in the end it's a solution for everybody - we need to generate income for the people of different areas.

6 How does your party engage in the practice of transforming socio-economic conditions, specifically with regard to disadvantaged communities?

MAX OZINSKY (ANC)
The ANC, by large, represents those who suffered from colonialism and poverty. The whole centre of ANC policy and ANC practicing government is to change the lives of those people. So we are leading the fundamental transformations of all aspects of South African society - meeting the immediate needs of people for their survival, providing food, security, housing, basic education - but also making sure that all the aspects of power in our society are transformed to make them accessible to the poor and the broad mass of our people.

So we brought about and led the adoption of the new Constitution that puts people at the centre, we've brought into place numerous mechanisms that allow popular participation in decision-making that affects people (e.g. school governing bodies, community police forums), we've pushed the policy of Black Economic Empowerment, and support for small businesses - we're involved in an evolutionary process that brings this change directly to people. Of course, it's an evolutionary process, it doesn't take place overnight and it requires a lot of coordination and time and the forces that can bring about these kinds of changes, and that's really at the centre of what we are trying to do.

HANSIE LOUW (ACDP)
I think, for us, it is important to have bridges built between different communities, and that's what I referred to earlier as well - that we get people that have access to money, or have money, to meet other people with needs. To facilitate the transfer of certain skills and to reemphasize that we can learn a lot from each other. And if we can really do that, we can find true reconciliation and we may even, in the process, convince people to make a voluntary restitution - to go forward and to wipe out poverty, because that's what we need to do.

LANCE GREYLING (ID)
I think we are looking to achieve that on three different levels. Firstly, in terms of our policy agenda, what we do look at is, specifically, the kind of policy gaps in South Africa at the moment that are not addressing economic development and the needs of people. We have done a thorough review of policy and we've identified those gaps and, certainly, we engage with government around that - to look at ways in which we can strengthen the social contract between government and people. That's on the one level. On the other level are the kinds of
initiatives we run, such as the Access To Education Initiative, The Wheelchair Fund as well and various initiatives we’ve done that can in some small way provide practical solutions to people. Of course, we’re not a party with huge amounts of resources, so we are limited in our scope in terms of that. And the other way in which we can help is in those councils where we do have authority to govern with other parties, we are able to ensure that the budgets that are passed are pro-poor budgets, such as the one in the City of Cape Town which we objected to pass until they had included certain provisions which looked at rebates for pensioners and certain provisions around access to water and electricity. So, I think, as a party, we have certainly been pushing for a more pro-poor agenda on various levels - national, provincial and local levels. And then I think, lastly, we work in terms of also taking up constituencies’ concerns - issues such as the fishing quotas - and on that level, we have chosen to engage with the minister concerned - highlighting some of the problems and the suffering that has resulted from certain policies and looking at ways in which we can address those issues.

BENNET JOKO (PAC)
Besides putting those ideas to (and instilling those ideas in) general people throughout various structures at the grassroots level, we also judge leadership on what they do, and on what they do not do. So the moral conduct of the leadership has to stand on a high pedestal. You cannot have leaders who speak one thing today and expect the general people on the grassroots level to follow the same, but don’t actually practice what they preach. There is a certain scenario within the PAC regarding how you uproot this conduct - the issue of non-tolerance when it comes to corruption. Recently the PAC had taken an action, even besides popular sentiment, against its former president, Comrade Pheko. It was against probably a general popular perception that had been coined in a particular fashion with a high profile individual within the structure. This is where it has to begin. It has to begin right up there, in terms of any organization. You cannot try to instill this particular discipline and these particular actions at the bottom, it has to be applied both horizontally and vertically, so across the whole political organism.

Could you think of a situation that demonstrates an ethical best practice of your leadership, or leadership within your organization - or a situation that did not demonstrate ethical best practice? What knowledge and value skills do you think we need in this country to promote a morally transformed society?

BENNET JOKO (PAC)
Look, it is actually not in our culture to shower ourselves with compliments, it is for the people to judge us as to whether we are behaving ethically or not. That has been the case as we grew up with. We are not in the business of standing up and singing praise songs for ourselves, it’s for the people to judge us on what we have done since we established ourselves. So I wouldn’t single out any instance in my personal capacity, but I would project that in the stance that has been taken by the party. Individuals are failible - you might be something today, and tomorrow you might be something else - but the value system that has been embedded within the PAC will hold. That is the centre that all of us are holding onto. So it has never been about ourselves, as individuals, it has always been about African people in general.

KARL CLOETE (SACP)
I think one of the critical issues for us is one of the principles of the Freedom Charter that says that the people shall govern. We think that much must be done to give expression to that principle. And we must acknowledge that some steps have been taken, for example, the legislation around ward committees that would give people in a particular area a voice to address issues that local government must take up (but whether that necessarily is full resource, is fully propagated so that people have a clear understanding of the roles and responsibilities of those institutions is another matter). The same goes for school institutions, you have school governing boards, and the same goes for community police forums. Those institutions have been created for us, we look at them as entities where the people can govern, where the people can voice their own opinions about safety and security, education, and service delivery at a local level. We think that those things have to be enhanced, so people can participate in processes such as those, and in a sense, the make the question of participatory democracy at the centre of governance very real. I think, in the 1990s, we in the SACP started a campaign under the then General-Secretary of the party, Chris Hani, which was called the Triple-H Campaign. It raised the issue of hunger, health and housing as the three key areas that required urgent attention from the new democratic government. For us, that’s the kind of leadership that speaks to the needs of society, particularly those that are marginalized, those that are poor, those that are vulnerable - this example is a clear sign of what leadership can undertake to raise the awareness of society, the consciousness of society. So society can say: “these are all the things that all of us must rally around”; because we’ve got a backlog in housing, we’ve got health services that are not very affordable, efficient or accessible. And then of course, you’ve got the question of hunger, so food and food production is important and you’ve got to then design policies. So that, for me, was an example of the kind of moral and ethical leadership that we’ve provided.

LANCE GREYLING (ID)
I think in terms of best ethical practice in my own party, I am lucky to be in a party which has some very brave individuals that have been able to stand up, at great personal cost to themselves, and speak truth to power. And I think that is ultimately what is required from a public representative - to be able to put the interest of the public ahead of one’s own personal comfort. I think, if I look at some examples of that, my own leader, Patricia De Lille, exposing some of the corruption involved in the arms deal and the kind of death threats she endured for over a year. To me, that provides a kind of inspirational leadership as well. I think it is also being demonstrated in the floor-crossing period where a number of our colleagues, risked that personal risk to himself, actually managed to get evidence of particularly unsavoury activities that were happening around this floor-crossing - bribery and various other things - we’ve had to provide 24-hour security to that councillor. So I think that we’ve seen, from our party at least, some very brave acts on the parts of individuals, and I think that’s the kind of model I’d certainly like to live up to. In terms of floor crossing, or unethical behaviour, I’ve said it before, I think the real problem with floor-crossing is that it, in a sense, rewards and promotes unethical behaviour on the part of public representatives. I don’t wish to cast judgement on any kind of public representatives, it is their constitutional right to cross the floor, and that’s protected at the moment. But I do think it is an enormously difficult time for public representatives and political parties, because you do see a level of unethical behaviour, you do see betrayals, you do see personal relationships being strained, a lot of these people are your colleagues who you’ve come a long way with, who then for whatever reasons choose to depart. I think it’s an enormously trying time and I don’t think it should be thrust on public representatives. I think that it puts all of us in an invidious position which I don’t think is something that we need at the moment, and I don’t think it’s something that the electorate really wanted.

MAX OZINSKY (ANC)
I think that the starting point should be that our society is not suddenly morally degenerated, our society has been under tremendous attack for the last 350 years - from colonialism, which is a system aimed at disempowering people and ensuring that they don't have the capacity to make decisions. And the symptoms of that, that we are seeing today, come from that long process. We need to not deal with simply the symptoms, we need to deal with the underlying structure of our society so that we can then overcome the symptoms. I think that we need to accept that the quickest way to creating a confidence amongst people, a kind of behaviour and a society that values individuals, is to ensure that people can meet their basic needs, without suffering, without needing to steal or other things to meet their basic needs. So we need to really focus on eradicating poverty and educating people - because without those two things we can never address the moral and other issues revolving around building cohesion in our society. When pondering about the floor-crossing, it occurred to me that those parties that lose members will be the biggest opponents to the floor-crossings. When they are gaining members, they support it, when they're losing members they don't support it. But what has emerged is that there are political parties that do not practice internal democracy. And the question then is: what is the way out for members of those parties who now find themselves in a situation where they are unable to express their views, their views are not taken seriously or otherwise are suffering at the hands of dictatorial behaviour within their parties? Secondly, underlying the moral approach of the ANC is two issues. The one is sacrifice and dedication to the people, the other is respect for collectives and working together - and linked to that is the whole issue of reconciliation, understanding that we have different views but that we can convince each other to change our views, or be convinced in those debates. The question I have is: if we say that one of the key things that South Africa has shown to the world is the ability to reconcile, when people change their views in political
Another issue.

That is what creates instability.

Between thirty and forty percent of the time, parties are governing with less than fifty percent of the vote. Most of the time, the party will see more than fifty percent of the vote, and it's very unlikely that one political party will see more than fifty percent of the vote. Britain, France - most of the time, parties reach simple majorities, but in some municipalities, the ANC, two on the side of the DA. In the other 28 municipalities, the ANC, two on the side of the DA, the party in the province, that various parties reach simple majorities, but not absolute majorities in the councils. I think out of the last year's local government election, there were only four municipalities where parties reached an absolute majority, two on the side of the ANC, two on the side of the DA. In the other 28 municipalities, power has been assumed by coalitions and that coalition situation leads to deals being made between parties, and can lead to horse-trading. This creates the instability, because, as we've seen in some municipalities, outside of the floor-crossing period, a party will decide it no longer wants to be in that coalition, it wants to be in that coalition. So power then shifts from one pole to the other - that in itself creates the instability. So the instability is not confined to the floor-crossing period, it is a part of the political life in this province. Now, in one kind of liberal political thought, the idea that no one party has political dominance is considered a good thing. If you look at countries like the USA, Britain, France - most of the advanced capitalist countries - it's very unlikely that one political party will see more than fifty percent of the vote. Most of the time, parties are governing with between thirty and forty percent of the vote. That is the situation in this province by and large, and that is what creates instability.

Whether it's a good thing or a bad thing I don't know, that's another issue.

That's really the point I was trying to raise.

To MAX OZINSKY: You stated that the problem of floor-crossing is the fault of the electorate - could you elaborate?

MAX OZINSKY (ANC)

I was referring to instability. Look there's a general view that the instability in the province is caused by the fact that people switch political parties. My own view is that the instability in the province is caused by the fact that there is no one dominant political party in the province, that various parties reach simple majorities, but not absolute majorities in the councils. I think out of the last year's local government election, there were only four municipalities where parties reached an absolute majority, two on the side of the ANC, two on the side of the DA. In the other 28 municipalities, power has been assumed by coalitions and that coalition situation leads to deals being made between parties, and can lead to horse-trading. This creates the instability, because, as we've seen in some municipalities, outside of the floor-crossing period, a party will decide it no longer wants to be in this coalition, it wants to be in that coalition. So power then shifts from one pole to the other - that in itself creates the instability. So the instability is not confined to the floor-crossing period, it is a part of the political life in this province. Now, in one kind of liberal political thought, the idea that no one party has political dominance is considered a good thing. If you look at countries like the USA, Britain, France - most of the advanced capitalist countries - it's very unlikely that one political party will see more than fifty percent of the vote. Most of the time, parties are governing with between thirty and forty percent of the vote. That is the situation in this province by and large, and that is what creates instability.

Whether it's a good thing or a bad thing I don't know, that's another issue.

That's really the point I was trying to raise.

Can you tell us a little about your project, Women on Farms?

Women on Farms is an NGO. We focus on working with women who live and work on commercial farms, primarily in the Western Cape, and then, first of all, citizens of South Africa, but also as labourers and tenure occupants on farms. We also work with men and children, but women are our primary constituency. Basically, our approach is to ensure that women, first of all, understand their rights in law. Before 1994 there were no laws that governed living and working on farms, and, since then, a range of laws has been passed through parliament. So our primary strategy is ensuring that women know about these rights, and the second part of it is to assist women in cases of human rights violations. It's very difficult for these women to realize their rights in law (when they do choose to go down that path), so our organization is quite busy, as you can imagine, because the range of violations on farms is extensive, especially for women. The problems that farm women experience manifest in many different areas, including sexual violence, issues of access to services, gender-based violence, and also just general violations in terms of women as workers on farms. But the context in which all of this takes place is basically that these women, and men, on farms have not fully realized their rights as citizens of South Africa. They continue to live out an existence as subjects in someone else's universe where the Constitution and the laws that we fought for simply don't apply. Firstly because, when laws are passed in parliament, these women don't know about them and, secondly, there's very little investment in monitoring these laws. So while the changes on paper have been quite dramatic over a very short period of time, the enforcement of it is lacking, which means, in real terms, not much change has taken place.

During workshops held by the ELP with BAWSI, the workers were often very critical of the unions, saying that they weren't there when they needed them. Have you found this problem?

Yes, this is difficult, and there is gender bias, and this isn't limited to farm worker unions. But we have actually reached a point in our history where there are more women workers than men, so it doesn't make sense that there isn't a gendered approach in trade union organizations, that there's a complete lack of women leadership in these unions, and that there is a bias towards recruiting permanent workers who happen to be men. What started off as an atypical kind of employment, the casual farm worker, is now the norm in the sector. So if you're a union working in this sector you need to adjust to the changing labour structures and have a modernized organization that reflects the structure of labour, which unfortunately trade unions are struggling with. But in fairness to them, they are very under-resourced unions, and, as you know, unions are run by people who are farm workers themselves, so there's a lack of skill and resources in effective mobilization.

Leading up to 2010, we have heard that there are more evictions taking place?

Well, they have been upgrading farm workers' houses into guesthouses for some time now, and one of the myths that is perpetuated through organized agriculture is that economic hardship drives evictions and that farmers are struggling themselves, and for this reason, they have to evict workers, that it's more cost effective to contract day labour. But when we analyzed the data in evictions, there's no link between eviction numbers and the economic state of the agricultural sector. For example, you'd expect, during red wine glut of 2002, that there'd be a spate of evictions around that time, or after it, on wine farms, but there's nothing like that. Instead, we see a massive spike in evictions in the run-up to any new law that relates to farm workers. So when the sectoral determination of farm workers, which legislates minimum wages, was about to happen, there were massive evictions sweeping the land. The same for the introduction of the law regulating tenure security for farm workers. We believe that what drives evictions is a political imperative, is a backlash against a black government that has taken the rights of a very marginalized community quite seriously by legislating, but unfortunately not by investing in its enforcement. So there is that. Farm workers will talk about how farmers told them "Gaan vra vir Mandela." After 1994 that was very common response when workers wanted anything from farmers, because there was a sense of betrayal, and in that sense it's very important to understand farming within the framework of paternalism. Farmers see themselves as the 'parent' of farm workers, who are their perpetual 'children'. Therefore they shouldn't rebel, they shouldn't assert their rights, they should just be loyal and grateful for what they're receiving.

Is government moving in the right direction? Is there hope?

Yes. Just a week ago I sat in on our National Parliament in the National Council of Provinces, where the Dept. of Land Affairs reported to the standing committee about the question of evictions. I left there very hopeful, because it's the first time that I know of where they have to evict workers, that it's more cost effective to contract day labour. But when we analyzed the data in evictions, there's no link between eviction numbers and the economic state of the agricultural sector. For example, you'd expect, during red wine glut of 2002, that there'd be a spate of evictions around that time, or after it, on wine farms, but there's nothing like that. Instead, we see a massive spike in evictions in the run-up to any new law that relates to farm workers. So when the sectoral determination of farm workers, which legislates minimum wages, was about to happen, there were massive evictions sweeping the land. The same for the introduction of the law regulating tenure security for farm workers. We believe that what drives evictions is a political imperative, is a backlash against a black government that has taken the rights of a very marginalized community quite seriously by legislating, but unfortunately not by investing in its enforcement. So there is that. Farm workers will talk about how farmers told them "Gaan vra vir Mandela." After 1994 that was very common response when workers wanted anything from farmers, because there was a sense of betrayal, and in that sense it's very important to understand farming within the framework of paternalism. Farmers see themselves as the ‘parent’ of farm workers, who are their perpetual ‘children’. Therefore they shouldn't rebel, they shouldn't assert their rights, they should just be loyal and grateful for what they're receiving.
How can politics facilitate good practices, especially to develop a morally transformed society?

I think where I would like to start, in response to that question, is by talking about the context first of all. As politicians, what do we exist for? Is there a cause and a purpose that is driving us to be in these kind of positions? And if there is, what is that? I want to situate my own response within the framework of Ubuntu - as an African value first of all, but more particularly to South Africa, and its values - that is to say, in a sense, that, as an individual, I exist because of you, because of others; and what I do, I do it to help a family, a community, a collective, as opposed to the kind of individualism that you get in a country like the USA. Because politics in these two countries, from whatever angle you look at it, because of these values, will always be different.

And once you lose sight of those values, you get to be in a challenging position. In the South African situation, we are coming from a very painful past. And coming from that painful past, I think there has been a kind of leadership that has helped us, as a country, to be where we are. One can argue that there were ethical motives behind that to help us get where we are. We sometimes refer to it as a miracle, to be where we are from that painful past/that conflict that we were in. A miracle, in a sense, that you had on one table the opposing forces talking, and talking about a particular purpose - taking this country. It's also a miracle that you had those ruling the country engaging in these negotiations, going forth knowing that come 1994, they were unlikely to win those elections, and this is where a miracle comes in. How do you give power now, when you know you're not going to get it tomorrow? We often don't talk about that, when we talk about the miracle. So it was a miracle because it was, first of all, bloodless, but secondly, you had this lifted-up kind of leadership that prevailed over and above the anger and bitterness we had as a country. And, I think with Madiba being the first president in 1994, it helped the country to demonstrate this kind of ethical leadership: somebody who has been in jail for 27 years, but would start and run a country with less bitterness, almost no bitterness, and embrace and focus on reconciliation. So I'm saying, coming from that painful past, focussing on issues of reconciliation, Ubuntu guided that leadership. Without it, I don't think we would be where we are today. Perhaps today would be different in any other country. We see examples of that today, the Middle East, for example, have a lot to learn from this country. You can go to Ireland - they still have a lot to learn. I'm talking about developed countries. So there is something in the 'soft power' - that we can provide, as South Africans, and therefore, the nature of our politics can be defined in terms of that. Because we can't stand up on a platform and say 'we'll invade your country and sort you out', we're forced to talk. We're forced to provide this kind of leadership. Today people like Mandela and his generation are in the evening of their lives, and we can never replace them. That I know - no one can be another Mandela. But we can learn something from that generation - which speaks about ethical leadership, which speaks about the soul, the RDP of the mind - in terms of how you always put forward the purpose that you are there for. Because the purpose, beyond reconciliation, is about how you lift these communities - we are dealing with a lot of disparities between the haves and have-nots. How do we, in one country, have such extreme poverty and extreme wealth? The Western Cape is a good example of that. You've got the beauty in this province, you can go to Camps Bay, etc. But you've also got extreme poverty. We've just had these floods, we've been traveling and seeing people living under water - where people are using boxes to get onto the bed because there is water in their house, and they still sleep in that house. Those are inhuman conditions - just in one city.

I'm an MEC for government housing in the Western Cape, a very challenging portfolio. It's made up of three components. On the one hand I've got to deal with local governments - there are 30 municipalities here, and you have to ensure the health of those municipalities. Every one of us sitting here, as much as we are located in the province, are located somewhere more specific - in the Cities of Cape Town or Stellenbosch or Saldanha - so it's important that those councillors, and everybody else in those municipalities, are supported and given the kind of leadership that you can get from the president, the premier and the MEC. So we've got to build that skill, that capacity, we've got to ensure that when you go and knock on their doors, you're not being sent from pillar to post before you're helped - whether it is to do with a specific service, your accounts, whatever. Secondly, is the issue of housing. You've got a huge backlog in this province - about 400 000 people who need housing. We can build about 16 000 a year, but we need 30 000 to beat that backlog. So we have this homelessness, people living like animals, living in water like I just mentioned - others have been living in asbestos houses for years. We have to deal with that. And there are others in backyards that are just forgotten, because what we see are those in the shackles, those that are in front of us, those that are marching. Those are that, are quiet, are thought of as not overcrowded, yet there is overcrowding where they are. So the problem is huge. The little that we have to have is to be balanced between those in informal settlements and those in backyards. And you can only succeed in that when you create partnerships, when you can draw in the private sector and say 'you've got a role to play here'. In this category you have people who rely on you, state-owned enterprises and all sorts of land issues. The third part of this portfolio is around disaster.

But let me go back to housing and human settlement. We have coined a strategy for housing in the Western Cape that we have called Isidima - in English it means dignity. When you consider that, in Khayelitsha in Site C or Site B, you've got people who relieve themselves on the N2 as you drive past every day, they don't have toilets, they don't have water, all that person is asking for is dignity. They say 'I can wait until the point that my house is built but before that I need water, I need a toilet', and there's a ladder, a hierarchy of those kinds of different needs that you need to respond to. Some are staying far away - as far as Khayelitsha and having to work in Camps Bay. They have to wake up at 4 o'clock in the morning and be in Camps Bay at 7 o'clock so they can wake me up and make tea for me in Camps Bay.

And therefore, we are saying, as part of this strategy for human settlement in the Western Cape, we've got to integrate these communities. We've got to bring those who are far away closer to their work opportunities, because part of what we are doing as government is not ethical. We spend a lot of money subsidizing the trains and buses to help those living far away, but we could use that money somewhere else, it could be put to better use. And where we build these houses, there's a shelter - nothing else. There are no schools, no facilities, no
clinics, no playing grounds, so why would you be surprised when there’s crime? Because they have not provided for those kinds of things. Our strategy is about saying: “How do we bring back that kind of dignity? How do you transform it for this society? You can’t complain about how the crime rate is rising, because there is all kinds of diseases that have given rise to the kind of conditions that people are living under. And therefore, all of us have to come in and work as a collective cluster in transforming the society. Because if we do not go on that process, we are going to continue to spend money on very unsustainable ways when we could deal with it and prevent it. So our budget has got to be preventative, and we have to try to cure a problem that we ourselves can stop. So from where I’m sitting, I see myself with a role to play in transforming our society. It’s never easy, because, as I want to bring people closer to Hout Bay, you’ve got to go through that process. It’s painful. So, from where I’m sitting, I’ve got to take that kind of decision that sometimes is going to be unpopular. But if I believe that the decision that I take is going to be good for tomorrow, I do that. So you may know me because I always put up a fight with Mayor Zille and others, but it’s because of the kind of work that I do. We don’t necessarily agree on every issue because we come from different backgrounds. But there’s a purpose that we’ve got to achieve, which is about uniting the societies, integrating these communities, because what you have, since 1994, is what one could call ‘the de-racialization of communities’. You have areas like Parklands, where there’s black and white - but who stays there? The rich - whether black or white. And therefore you still have the poor (on one side) and the rich (on the other) though the rich is not just white, it’s now black and white - so we have a new, class challenge; this divide has ceased to be on race lines. It has now become a challenge in a number of ways. We sometimes speak about the lack of skills that we have, besides those that would leave the country to pursue economic objectives and other issues. You are aware of the Homecoming Revolution that we are talking about - we are trying to bring back people, to bring back skills that we need in the country. You are aware that we are even putting some laws and legislation in place to discourage teachers, nurses, from going to Saudi Arabia, from going to the UK, when we need those skills in every rural part of this country. They pursue certain objectives that are good for them as individuals. I was reading this report last year on macro-social trends, The Nation In The Making. This is a report made by government which was looking at the soft part of society - its religion, its youth and so on. One of the things about young people that it raised was that many black young people - coloured and African in particular - aspire to American values, the kind of songs they want to sing, the movies they watch, while with young white youth there’s a level of patriotism amongst them of South African-ness. Very strange, strange but true.

The Ethical Leadership In & Through Business Workshops

The Paarl World Of Business Workshops: Gender Justice In Business (31-10-2007)
Economic Justice In Business (1-11-2007)

These two workshops were held in Paarl at the picturesque Paarl Cricket Club, on the 31st of October and 1st of November 2007, for members of the Black Association of Wine and Spirits Industry (BAWSI). Dr Clint Le Bruyns facilitated the workshops, with the assistance of ELP Project Manager, Ms Sue McWatts and ELP Researcher, Dr Gordon Dames. The participants were mainly farm workers and emerging business leaders, of all ages, from rural areas in the Boland, Overberg and Cape Peninsula.

The first workshop focused on the theme: Ethical Leadership & Gender Justice in Business, while the second was themed: Ethical Leadership & Economic Justice in Business. The objectives of these workshops were: (1) the development of ethical leadership for a morally transformed society, (2) to foster ethical leadership responsibility for gender and economic justice in business.

Dr Le Bruyns used methods that included formal and informal teaching and learning; personal and shared narratives; individual and group reflections; group dialogue; group activities; and open discussions.

Dr Le Bruyns elaborated on the meaning and role of leadership and the importance of ethical leadership in the development of moral transformation in the workplace, community and society to foster ‘human dignity, equality and freedom’. The impact of a worker’s identity in the workplace was highlighted as an important matter that may have both positive and negative implications, i.e. defining one’s own and other’s identities determines the quality of interpersonal relationships in the workplace. Participants teamed up in groups of four to solve a riddle which stimulated an open and friendly atmosphere and taught the principle of friendly interaction without discriminating against the other. The next activity confronted

continued on next page
The Ethical Leadership In & Through Business Workshops (Continued)

Participants individually with the question: How gender-friendly is your workplace? The following results were recorded: males have the upper hand; males enjoy all the opportunities; the abilities of women are underestimated; men give direction; males are in control; female responsibility, respect and delivery = hardworking team [sic]; women are paid less for equal work; women feel powerless in decision-making; and mindset = how we think of ourselves and others.

The workshop was led to grasp the moral challenge of the group’s gender identity experiences: that it is critical to employ gender sensitivity in order to practice ethical leadership. Dr Le Bruyns discussed gender-based problems (e.g. abuse, inequality, discrimination, violence, marginalization, exploitation, etc.) with the participants, allowing them to share their own experiences of these moral problems that have such a damaging effect on people and communities where the dignity, rights and hopes of people for a better life are being compromised.

The importance of ethical leadership as the responsibility of positive influence in the world of work for gender justice was addressed. The realization thereof fosters a common good that inspires ‘human dignity, equality and freedom’. Three aspects which demonstrate ethical leadership (vision, values and action) were discussed.

The methodology of Tödt was applied to engage participants with skills on decision-making; to discern what the problems are and how to deal with them. Participants learned that action for change, on individual and institutional levels, requires four aspects, namely: (1) individual consciousness; (2) individual conditions; (3) constitutions, legislation and policies; and (4) informal norms and exclusionary practices.

Norman Rockwell’s famous 1960 painting, Triple Self-Portrait, was applied to illustrate three identities: the perceived image, the idealized image, and the real image. This exercise illustrated an analogy of how business is viewed in regard to the ethical aims of ‘human dignity, equality and freedom’. Participants shared ‘general as well as the following personal perceptions and moral challenges of business as experienced in their world of work:

**The Negatives** - BEE is racially orientated; corruption; poor marketing; municipalities require certificates and withhold information; the minority has economic power; business institutions are still discriminating; non-transparent negotiations about salaries; poor salaries with no acknowledgment - affects production [sic]; irresponsible leadership; limited funding; unemployment; crime; poor business management; and selfish leadership.

**The Positives** - promotion; acknowledgment of women - i.e. more opportunities; organized; skills; growth in business; equal rights; entrepreneurial skills; team work; communication; good relationships; good system and controls; discrimination against women in the past.

Participants evaluated the workshop as a big success and requested more workshops of the kind. Some of the comments of the participants illustrated that the workshop did contribute to their needs: “[I’ve learnt] that there is a goal in life. That we can achieve in life, and it is being yourself and a better person. … Hoe om jouself te kan beheer in ‘n konflik. Hoe om besluite te neem as ‘n goeie leier”.

Another Participant evaluated the workshop generally positively: “You guys rock and we will meet again … it is very good and I have learned a lot”.

“[The important points that I’ve learnt was how to respect and value other people’s opinions; how to network and believe in yourself as a leader; how to make proper decisions and how to reach out to others. You need to have self confidence and the decisions you make must be realistic. You must be able to accept criticism. Be responsible and have an open heart. If your workers are happy in their workplace they work much better”.

Another commented on the workshop by stating that: “It was very informative. My perspective on things is very different than what it was before. It was good for the people to partake in the discussions and the clay practical. I enjoyed myself. The message was brought across very well and I would like to take what I’ve learned and use it at my workplace … It was challenging, encouraging and it empowered me. Showed me there is hope as a citizen of SA; and how to embrace ethical leadership.”

This newsletter was created by

**The Entertainment Factory**

Digital Video Photography Video Editing Post-Production Photo Manipulation Desktop Publishing Graphic Design Creative Writing Concept Refinement Copy-Writing Illustration Animation Production Consultancy Jingles Foley Scoring

Contact us for all your company’s branding, promotional material and digital design needs!
We’ll provide you with a specially-tailored, professional package that’ll suit your project and your pocket!

+27 (0)21 439-9411

info@TheEntertainmentFactory.org

Anusha Naicker:
+27 (0)82 630-8268

Robert Delport:
+27 (0)72 380-9880