

SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Carnegie Conference Overview

by

Francis Wilson

Carnegie Conference Paper No. 311

Cape Town,

13 - 19 April 1984

ISBN 0 7992 0899 X

CARNEGIE CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

The concluding address to the Carnegie Conference, delivered by Francis Wilson, the Director of the Inquiry. 19 April 1984.

When we were beginning to think about making the preparations for the Carnegie Inquiry Conference, I thought that maybe at the end it would be nice to try and sum it all up. But I have done a little calculation and I worked out that if I spent twenty seconds on each paper, you would be here for the next hour and forty minutes. It is impossible to try to sum it all up.

I am mindful that the first requisite is to be brief, because we have had a very full week, and, I think, a very stimulating week, but I want to start by drawing out just one or two facts from the massive array presented to us. I take them simply because they have come to my attention rather than because I have read everything and sifted out the key facts. Let us take something that Eric Buch discovered in the Eastern Transvaal in a survey of two and half thousand school children in Sub A and Sub B. He found that 40% of them come to school without food (CCP 199). Think of the noise that that sort of fact would have made, if that had been part of the findings of the First Carnegie Inquiry. And then put that micro fact next to John Hansen's sober analysis of the nutritional status of black children under the age of 14, which finds that one third of them are below weight (CCP 205). Then you look at Andrew Stone's paper on one small area in the Ciskei, studied in micro-detail, and 90% of that community have to share their water with their livestock (CCP 148) That fact

CCP is the abbreviation for Carnegie Conference Paper.

assumes greater significance when you put it next to Professor Schutte's detailed study of two villages up in the Northern Transvaal and Venda, where he says that in one of these villages, in the year that he studying it, 30 babies were born and 10 of them died because the water was contaminated and inadequate (CCP 64). And one begins to see something of the sheer human cost, the moral cost, the unforgiveable cost of the inadequate water situation in our rural areas - from the Ciskei to the Northern Transvaal.

Or again, let us take Wilfred Wentzel's reseach (CCP 38). The particular fact that I want to refer to was spurred on by a subsequent report by a journalist who did some further research (and a very nice creative interaction took place here between the press and academia) on the costs of drinking water in Steytlerville in the Little Karoo. There is water in the town that you can get out of a tap, but it's brak and it makes you thirsty, so you can't drink it. So you buy water from someone who has a supply of sweet water. So you go and fetch your own water, which is cheaper than buying from a man who brings it to you. The cost if you go and buy your own water works out, per thousand litres, at 28 times the cost it is for you and me here in Cape Town. If you are an old age pensioner, and you haven't the strength to fetch that water yourself, and you have to hire someone to fetch it for you, the cost to that old age pensioner, who is getting R57 every second month, is 50 times as much as it costs me in Rondebosch. Now we couldn't believe those figures, but we have double checked them twice; we have phoned the City Council and looked at the prices and it seems to be of that order of magnitude. So that is a dimension of poverty, as Mary Jane Morifi said in her paper on Philipstown, poverty can be very

expensive (CCP 33). Similarly, you find that Anton Eberhard's paper shows very clearly that for those people living on the Cape Flats who can afford the connection fees and the appliances for electricity, they are paying a half or a third, but considerably less than those who have to buy paraffin or some other form of fuel (CCP 155). Once again, poverty is expensive. You will have seen Tony Grogan's cartoon in the Cape Times this week of the old lady with a baby on her back collecting firewood under the ESCOM power line. There was all that cheap power going to the cities and there was no way that she was going to be able to plug into it.

BASIC NEEDS

At the first level of basic material needs, I think we have to be very simple about the whole question of poverty in Southern Africa. There has got to be water, there has got to be fuel, there has got to be food, there has got to be shelter for the people in Southern Africa.

THE MACRO PICTURE

What about the macro picture. Well, we have had some controversy already and I am sure there will be more controversy about the macro picture. Norman Reynolds gave us an overview when he said that if one breaks it down in percentage terms, the proportion of families who are below the measure of poverty is about 7% in the cities, 13-14% on the platteland, and 80% in the reserves. In other words, 93 % of the poverty is outside the major cities (CCP 234). Now we can quibble about the statistics but they are certainly consistent with the observations coming in from all the 300 papers, that there is poverty all over South Africa but it is really in the rural areas that it is most acute. This is not to

suggest that there aren't enormous problems about the quality of life in the cities, particularly for women with young children struggling to work, or for men without their families in the cities. Let us not kid ourselves that there is not poverty in the cities. But what we see around Cape Town, for instance, fades into insignificance compared to what we will find in the Karoo or in the Ciskei.

Another dimension of the macro picture is portrayed in Charles Simkins' figures. I want to say a word or two about them. If one goes to his paper (CCP 7), the one that prompted the controversy, but also remembering some of his earlier essays, one must see it in context of the ongoing corpus of magnificent data that Charles Simkins is building up for us about the South African economy. In his paper, he said that in 1960, the proportion of homeland families getting no income at all was 5%, and the proportion in 1980 was 13%. These were households with no income from any sources, wages from the towns, pensions, agricultural income, anything you can think of - so what he is saying to us is that the proportion of households who are getting poorer has increased in total. He also said that in 1960, 99% of the population in the reserves or the homelands lived below the Minimum Living Level, and in 1980 it was 81%. In other words, there had been a fall in the proportion of the population living below the Minimum Living Level. And that is due, it seems, if one looks at the average statistics, to possibly three things: First, the increasing urbanisation on the edges of the homelands where people are working in manufacturing and so on; secondly, the once and for all very remarkable tripling of real wages on the gold mines which happened for a whole variety of reasons and was made possible, but not caused by, the rise in the price of gold in the

1970s, and thirdly, the sudden rise in an altogether new phenomenon, a well paid rural bureaucracy of substantial numbers of people, in Umtata, Bisho, Mafikeng, Mmabatho and elsewhere. Now what are we seeing here? We are seeing that there has been a rise in income for some people but that that income is all totally urban income. In other words what is happening in the homelands is merely a reflection - and a rather pale reflection because the connections are far away - of what is happening in the cities.

We also need to recognise, and we get this from an earlier essay of Charles's, that in 1960, the population in the reserves was 5 million people, and in 1980, it was 11 million. So doing some calculations, we see that in 1960, 5% of 5 million people, i.e. 250 000 people, came from households that had no income at all. By 1980, it was 13% of 11 million people, which is 1,43 million. In other words, in absolute numbers, the number of households that had no visible income had risen by 5 and a half times. That is all there is Charles Simkins' paper. Secondly, he says that as far as the Minimum Living Level is concerned, in 1960, 99% of 5 million people, that is 4,95 million people, were below the Minimum Living Level. In 1980, it was 81% of 11 million people, which 8,91 million people, nearly a doubling in numbers of people who are below the Minimum Living Level. So it seems to me that what Charles was saying and what people are observing are reconcilable. What I query here about the macro picture was the possible optimism that we might be moving rapidly towards the elimination of poverty in the future. It seems to me that what happened to the earnings of those who live in the homelands happened because of two key things, that will not go on happening. One was the sudden rise in mine wages, and the

increase in the number of local people going into the mines because the mines were cutting down on labour from Malawi and Mocambique. To illustrate that with figures, in 1960, 100 000 men came from Mocambique to the South African mines, and in 1980 it was 35 000 men. Now that decrease in employment for the people of Mocambique was matched by an increase in employment to the mines of people from the Transkei, and that is unlikely to continue. Secondly, there was this once and for all sudden increase in the civil service. You remember Catherine Schneider said the other night that up to 1975 if you had a matric, you could get a job up there in the Northern Transvaal, in Giyani, but after 1975, the jobs closed up.

And I think what is really perturbing people as they look into the future of South Africa is the question as to where those jobs are going to come from - with commercial agriculture seeming to have reached its peak in terms of employment; with no evidence at the moment that the mines are likely to increase their employment substantially; and with the third sector, manufacturing, having very heavy pressures from the state with its influx control and so on, to go as capital intensive as possible. And it seems to me that one of the major themes that we have to focus on as we move into the future is how do we increase the number of jobs so that the people who are in the reserves are going to have jobs.

I think it is also worth noting, drawing from Charles' paper, the appalling statistic that one quarter of all wives are separated from their husbands. I think that those who haven't done so should read Pamela Reynolds's paper on "Men without Children" (CCP 5). There has been quite a lot in the press this week about women electing to stay single as a strategy against poverty. And

that may well be true but I think somebody needs to speak up for the men. I want to speak of the impoverishment, the horror of having to live in a hostel trying to make some money to send home, or to share with a friend, a lover, or a new family one may have in town. I think that for me is one of the most horrendous aspects of what we have in South Africa today, and it is happening not a mile from here, men living in their hostels trying to remember that they are human beings when a Christian state is saying to them, "No, No, No, you are just a labour unit."

THEMES

What about some of the themes that have emerged from the Conference? Well, again it is too soon and it would be presumptuous for me to try and draw out all the themes. I think that that is something we are all going to go away to read about, and reflect on, but I would like to mention in addition to that theme about "Men without children", the whole ecological question. Certainly as far as my own consciousness is concerned, I have become much more aware of the ravages to our ecological balance now taking place in the rural areas of South Africa. And it is not only in the reserves. You read John Daniel's paper about agriculture in the Eastern Cape (CCP 144), or listen to David Tapson about the consequences of our maize policy (CCP 260) and you will become extremely worried about the longer term consequences here in this society of the way in which we are managing our resources. The soil in South Africa is not indestructible, despite Ricardo's phrase. It is wasting away at a great rate and with that soil erosion, is the wastage of water as well. To me that is another major dimension which we are nowhere near beginning to cope with. What it does imply of course is that

not only have economists got to learn to talk to political scientists, to sociologists, to anthropologists on the humanities side of the campus, but that the social scientists have got to learn to start talking constructively and creatively with the natural scientists and vice versa. And for me a very encouraging sign of this conference were those papers that came from the Department of Botany and elsewhere, from the Energy Research Institute, raising these sorts of problems in a context which we had to think about. I do think that we have got to work much harder at bridging those gaps between the disciplines because it is in those crevasses that some of the worst problems in our society are occurring and we don't even notice that there is a problem.

LESSONS

What then are some of the lessons that have emerged from this past week. Well, I think that one has been very fully dealt with by Paul Streeten in his summing up - the danger of the single number. And I do want to say something for a moment about the question of the definition of poverty. We were told very aggressively sometimes when the Inquiry was beginning, "You must define poverty. Tell us exactly what you're measuring because unless we know what we are measuring we are not going to be able to do any comparative work at all." That just seemed wrong. We had to feel our way forward.

What does poverty mean? Picking up a point that Wilfred Beckerman made to me verbally two or three years ago, poverty is like an illness; one has to see it in all its dimensions. I am sure that that was the right approach, that what we now emerge with at the other side is a much fuller idea of what poverty is. Certainly

the primary indicator of poverty is income, because the first thing one needs is money, and one mustn't avoid that fact. But at the same time, we do need other indicators as well, as Paul Streeten has been suggesting; indicators such as infant mortality rates, such as the distances walked to school, such as water supply - all these different social indicators which help us measure our quality of life. I am very sorry that George Ellis wasn't here at this conference, but he is away on sabbatical. We didn't have enough input from George Ellis's thinking about how to measure poverty and quality of life. His is a paper that I recommend to you - it didn't really surface because he wasn't here to speak to it, but there is important new thinking emerging there (CCP 4).

I think it was also useful to get the film festival and the ideas from around the world. We are after all a global community and there is much to be learnt from the other parts of the world, whether it is Mondragon in Spain or the Amul Dairy in India, or the Literacy Training in Peru - all of this I feel has a great deal of insight and indeed inspiration (CCP 241).

STRATEGIES

What about some of the strategies that emerged? Well, again, it would be presumptuous to try to summarise everything that emerged in this morning's long plenary or in the individual ideas from particular papers. Certainly one of the most exciting tasks that lies ahead in the next 15 months is to look through all these strategies and to try to think which of them makes sense, which of them could be adapted right now. Let me refer to a few of them.

There is this idea for the rural Legal Resource Centre which emerged out of the Lawyers' Working Group, and I can remember a very exciting half hour about a month ago when the lawyers were meeting for the umpteenth time and feeling absolutely dead - no ideas had emerged and nothing had happened - and then suddenly out of the clear blue sky came three marvellous ideas, and the group started running with those ideas and they seem to have developed from there. And that is a good point to make because it illustrates that one of the things that surely we are needing in this country now, is imaginative action. It doesn't come easily. One has got to struggle and struggle and go on looking, and then suddenly something emerges and one wonders why on earth one didn't think about it years before; it is so simple and it is so obvious and it's do-able and it's effective. I do think that one of the things that we have to go on pushing for is this imaginative action.

Another idea came from the education group, who did an analysis of the de Lange Commission which managed to do a whole report on education in South Africa without, I think, discussing rural areas, certainly not discussing the farm schools. This idea was that actually there are a lot of children living out there on the platteland who are not getting to school, or who find it virtually impossible to get to high school levels. Therefore there should be ways and means, perhaps in alliance with the churches, of providing boarding schools in the townships so that children even now can start getting educated. Because if one looks at the macro trends, quite clearly more and more people are going to be pushed off the land because of farm mechanisation, as the farms increase in size. If one reads Michael de Klerk's papers from the Western Transvaal (CCP 27,28) or Sean Archer's

and Eileen Meyer's analysis of what is going on in Hanover (CCP 34) the lessons, or the signals are all there. We are moving into huge land ownership and with that comes the expulsion of people from the land. That raises an enormous question as to where the children that are pushed off the land are going to work when they grow up.

Clearly, there is room (and it is high time) for a much wider assault on malnutrition. And here again there is exciting evidence of what can be done. One has got the UNICEF publications about Gobi FFF or whatever the process is called. But also if we look within our country, we can see Mamphela Ramphele's clinic up in the Northern Transvaal (CCP 204), or we can look at Gelukspan in the Western Transvaal just south of Mafikeng where a young Dutch doctor, Dr Martin Bac (CCP 268), has gone in with a very cleverly thought out strategy of health teams which is having an immediate, visible impact on health care without any shift in the measurement of income. Nothing in the indicators is changing except that far fewer children are dying, and that sort of action seems to me to be terribly important. And so we have to go and sit at the feet of the doctor and find out what we can learn from his experience and how it can be replicable.

Another area, and I shouldn't be saying this but it is nice to say so, is that the academics have something to do. We have heard requests from all around for better statistics. In the field of food and nutrition, we should be measuring heights and weights of children, because that would be a very important indicator about what is happening in the country. Another sort of statistic, for example, that Neville Alexander mentioned this morning in the field of education, is the distance that children have to move to

get to school. We have to build up the statistics we need rapidly, maybe with sample surveys and so on, so we can actually measure whether things are getting better or worse. We have got no idea at the moment whether children on average in the Karoo are walking further, the same distance or less than they used to a generation ago. And we need that kind of evidence.

There are other areas where we have to have the information. For example, it is quite clear from what has been said around the country that one of the critical things happening at the moment is retrenchment. Workers are losing their jobs, very often finding themselves back in the reserves, not necessarily getting their unemployment insurance, and suddenly a family that was getting some income is reduced to zero income. There is no insurance, no land, and no remittances. And yet we have no idea as to how many people this is happening to. It is not beyond the wit of the academics and the different universities of South Africa to be putting together a sample survey, or a complete survey, of all the business enterprises in this country with a telephone, and then keeping in touch with them every three months or so. And that kind of information would be enormously important in dealing with what is happening in this area.

Another strategy that I think has got a great deal of mileage in it, though possibly it is a long term strategy, is contained in Norman Reynolds' paper on public works programmes (CCP 234). There one has got a macro strategy carefully thought through, that has worked in other parts of the world and is viable, and would make an impact. I think that that sort of strategy is something we have to work on and be quite sure we understand. We need to think through the important criticisms that are made

about such strategies and see whether there are not ways and means of beginning to manoeuvre that strategy into place.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Well, I could go on on strategies. What have been the achievements of this conference? It is too soon to tell whether there have been any significant achievements, but we should just take note, no more than that, of the film festival which I think has brought a lot of new information into our society. For me one of the most exciting things was the video workshop. We weren't sure whether we would get two or three videos, and we had provided very little money - about enough money to make one full scale video, but in the end we got twenty. Don't ask me how people produced them but there they were, and certainly they were an enormous enrichment of our understanding of the immediacy of the problem. I also think that they indicate that those of us who write papers haven't got the only medium that there is, and that there are sometimes more effective ways of communicating. Similarly exciting was the photographic exhibition which is, to my mind, going to make one of the most interesting books that will emerge on South Africa - just the putting together of those photographs and a few facts and thoughts. Or again, the art exhibition.

Perhaps I should take this moment to tell you about a wonderful few days down in Nyanga where a large blue and white striped tent was hired, and various people, including Peggy Delpont and the leaders of the Nyanga Arts Centre held a - I suppose it would be a draw-in, or a teach-in, or a paint-in. We invited the children and anyone else to come in and paint. From this there emerged an exuberance and a wealth that was very exciting. Because the

dynamic of that experience was so different from a few well dressed and very gloomy academics going in with long pencils and a pad and saying, "Now tell me my children, how poor are you?" Rather one was making possible a situation in which the wealth that the people themselves have, could flower. And I hope that that is something that would happen in other parts as well. It didn't cost much money and it was exciting.

I think it is also significant that we have had at this conference, people from 20 or more universities from around southern Africa. There are practically no universities that did not have someone in some shape or form here giving a paper. An extremely important part of the strength of this conference was its diversity, the different perspectives, and the possibility of meeting each other. Of course, one can't not mention the major item which was those 300 papers. The speed with which those papers, and the number of them changed - there was a stage not very long ago when we thought that 150 would be the maximum, and suddenly there were 300. I think one of the most enduring achievements of this conference is just the sheer mass of the research data, and I would like at this point to pay a special tribute to Helen Zille. Never can a more charming person have been so effectively tough over the telephone, by all sorts of means to terrify academics to produce on a deadline. I suspect that it is because she is a top political journalist and knows that deadlines are serious, which very few academics seem to know, and she certainly beat you all into shape but I think you will forgive her for it when you see that we actually got our conference together and got all these papers ready.

And yet even the papers are not the most important thing about

this conference. What I suggested at the beginning has been abundantly proved by the week. Far and away the most important interaction at this conference took place outside this room. It took place down at the Bat and Cat, or wandering up and down the hill, anywhere that people talked to each other. I have never been to such an exciting gathering of South Africans in my life. I found it exhilarating and I hope everybody else did too, just the sheer diversity and the sense of energy focussed on a common problem. Perhaps that is a small model of what this country could be, that there is this sort of suppressed energy in our society. If only we could find the structures to release it - why, we could get rid of poverty in five or seven years. And here again we have to come back to imaginative action, to try to find ways of creating those structures. Which is an appropriate moment I think for me to say a word of thanks to the person who organised this conference and made sure that the important conversations actually did take place, and that you had tea to drink and that there was a nice band to listen to and five million other details to be sorted out, Micheline Tusenius. Some of you may not even have seen Micheline during the week because she was sorting out this, that, and the other thing. I do want to express right here and now our gratitude to her for a superb job marvellously done.

There are of course lots of other people to be thanked but I am not going to mention all the names now because the list is long, long, long. It was so very much a co-operative enterprise drawing in, some would say dragging in, a lot of people into doing far more work than they had ever bargained for, and it is something for which we are all enormously grateful.

THE FAILURES

What then of some of the failures of this conference? Well, Paul Streeten has mentioned some of the gaps: We didn't talk about transport. I am amazed that nobody has yet berated us for not having dealt with population, which is a huge gap. We had hoped to have a paper or two on population but they didn't come, and in the last resort the agenda is dictated by who is around to do what, but clearly we need to be thinking far more about population than we have been at the conference. I think that another lack in our consciousness at this conference was that we have been looking at poverty within essentially the old Union of South Africa. We did have papers on Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, but not on Mocambique, yet those four countries are as much involved in the poverty of this economy as the Ciskei or the Karoo. Let me give you an illustration. In 1897 or thereabouts, 60% of the labour on the gold mines came from Mocambique. The people of Mocambique spent a century developing the gold mines, accumulating a mass of capital for creating jobs, and it is their political bad luck that the capital accumulation took place on the wrong side of the political boundary. Ditto Lesotho. Ditto Swaziland. Ditto Botswana. And I do think that one of the dimensions that has been lacking at this conference is a real awareness of the facts of poverty and the process of impoverishment as the structure of our capitalist society changes, and an awareness of what is happening out on the periphery where that periphery goes onto other sides of political boundaries. No study of poverty in southern Africa, no thinking about strategies is complete, if it ignores Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Macambique. These countries, through the system of migrant labour, which has been in operation for the full hundred years of South Africa's industrial revolution, have been

integrally involved in the growth of the South African economy, yet the places where they have come from, and gone back to, have not been benefitting from this system of migrant labour. The result is that these countries have become dependent on the South African economy. The exception is Namibia which has been much less involved in the migrant labour system. So paradoxically Namibia may be able to be independent in economic terms far more easily than those other four. But I think we need to reflect on that, and the whole network of dependency and independency needs to be much more thoroughly pursued.

Picking up the point that David Hamburg made this afternoon (CCP 309), of the need of the social scientist to be able to talk to the natural scientist, it is probably also true that social scientists need to talk to engineers as well, to apply science to what are after all very simple problems. It is not difficult to make sure that everybody has got drinking water, or fuel, and I suppose that what we are really going to have to find are ways and means of enabling poor communities to use that technology themselves, not having to wait till ESCOM generously decides to bring electricity there. We have to find ways and means of harnessing the world's knowledge, the technical knowledge, and putting it into the hands of the poor and the powerless. And that to me is a huge challenge to engineers and others who tend to think big - very big - and want to build bigger and better powerstations or whatever it might be. And yet those are maybe totally inappropriate to the actual needs of the society, which might be to put technological power for very simple things, such as Blake's hydraulic ram, into rural communities. We need to be reflecting a great deal more on that.

WHERE DO WE GO NEXT

Where then do we go next? Clearly the working parties have still got work to do. The old working parties of education and law have been working very hard for two years or more, and all faithfully came to the conference and all found themselves with a lot more work to do. But there are other newer working parties emerging - in the areas of Water and Fuel, Rural development, Influx control. But there are a whole lot more, all that was reported this morning.

Clearly there is more work needing to be done, not in the sense of a whole new range of research, but rather just in consolidating the ideas that have come up, to try to write something coherent about them. It may be a long book, it might be a short statement which is incorporated in the longer book, but once there has been a bit of a break and a chance to read the papers, we will try to come back and build into the next fifteen months the work of those working parties so that they may be able to round off, complete the work, some of which was begun at this Conference, some of it stimulated by this Conference. Then of course there are the possibilities of books. Originally it seemed that maybe there would be one or two books that would come out of the Inquiry, but looking at the wealth of material, I would be amazed if there weren't at least ten books. There seems to be a book emerging, let's say for example, on "Law and Poverty", there seems to be a book emerging on "Education and Poverty", there would seem to be a very informative book on an "Area study of the Karoo" ranging from Namaqualand right round to George, and many more.

The first job really is to sit down with that huge mass of material and for a number of us to go through it all and to think through what is the most coherent way of bringing that material out. Now clearly not all the papers can come out in book form. One will have to take a selection of papers for a particular theme or a particular area. But it should be possible to bring out a number of books which will substantially increase our knowledge of the South African society and of our thinking about strategies, and via books to disseminate that knowledge, not only now but in the ensuing generation. But of course books are not everything, and I think we should recognise that the papers as they have come to the conference have been given ISBN numbers which makes them official publications; they are going into all the libraries, and we are going to be selling a large number of library sets around the world, so that the papers, preliminary as they are, tentative as they are, are going around and being disseminated immediately. I think that is going to make a great difference to our consciousness of the situation of poverty in this country.

As far as the series of books is concerned, it seems that once those ten books on the conference have been brought together, it would be a good idea for one or two people to try to write a single synthesis if you like, a 90 page volume, on what have been the key facts that have emerged, what have been the major analytical causes as they have been thought about at the conference. We hope that it will be possible for such a book to come out over the next fifteen months. Then possibly picking up David Hamburg's point maybe it will be possible for a group of people to assess this whole inquiry and to look at everything and then reflecting - particularly on strategies for action - to

write their own report. I very much hope myself that something like this will emerge. But as you will see, this whole Inquiry, the conference, is part of an ongoing process which is scheduled to end fifteen months from now, and that publication and assessment are very much part of that process.

BRIEFINGS

But that is not all. There is the question of briefings. I think that those of us who have been here this week have learnt a great deal because we have been in small groups and heard papers, and discussed them over tea and so on. But for those who haven't been at this conference, I think there is a need for all of us to go off and brief different groups and individuals, whether they be trade unionists, or business men, or politicians or community groups, or whatever it may be, to share with them something of the factual knowledge, something of the analytical understanding and of the thinking behind some of the strategies, because these are so important. And these strategies, as has been said so many times from this microphone this week, are both the short run and the long run ones.

For the short run, I think a number of ideas have come up - we are back to our imaginative action. I simply want to say at this point that - and it is a very personal observation - there used to be a time when I thought that I had been born a couple of generations too early in South Africa. If only one could have been born after the revolution when we had sorted out the political scene and people were just treated as people, then we could get down to the real problems and that would be much more creative. I have now come to realise that the shape of our

society in the future, particularly after the change, is going to depend critically on the foundations that are laid now. Also that society does not change overnight; it grows. Breaks happen - certainly they happen - sometimes they are absolutely inevitable and essential - but societies do grow out of their own past, and it seems to me that we have got a very creative task ahead of us right here and now of laying the foundations for the sort of just and democratic society that all of us would like in the future. And that brings me back to the question of innovative action, the development of what appear to be short run strategies of non-governmental institution-building, which can do things here and now, and yet which are consistent with the long run goals which one cherishes for our society. And I think that if this conference has done one creative thing, I hope it has done this and this is to see that it is possible for there to be a marriage between what appears to be short run, stop gap, and long run goals. One has got to think through one's short run strategies in the light of the long run, and the short run is not to be despised. In fact, the only time we have to work in is now.

As regards the long run, of course what has been said all along, is that in the long run we have to assume political flexibility. And I think there are three areas which have been identified at this conference as critical when we start talking about political flexibility. One is influx control, another is the question of land and land ownership, and the third is the question of citizenship. These if you like are the pillars of the apartheid state. But I think we should also recognise that these pillars didn't suddenly start getting built in 1948. They go deep into our own history. So when we are talking of abolishing influx control, of having land reform, and of widening the citizenship

for all, we are talking of transforming not just the post-war ideology of one political party. We are talking of a whole shift in our historical direction. Now that historical direction has been there all along, it is implicit in the industrial growth of this society, but it requires big political changes. I think we are going to have to face squarely the fact that whilst the short run actions are important, are vital even, and we have to get on with them, we must not kid ourselves that they are going to resolve the problem of poverty in this country. We have got to tackle the long run issues which mean the abolition of influx control with all its ambiguities, and thinking also how best to manage that; it means thinking about radical land reform; and it means thinking about citizenship for all who live within the boundaries of what used to be called the Union of South Africa. And that without changes in those three, without full citizenship for all, we are playing games if we think that we can have that fair, just, equitable, non-poor society that we all dream about.

CONCLUSION

To turn from my head to my heart for a moment. Walking through South Africa last winter with Teddy Matsetele in the Eastern Transvaal, passing a village late in the afternoon where there were people queueing up who were going to be there till 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, or who were going to be replaced at 2 or 3 o'clock in the early morning, because that was the only time one might be able to get some water in that village, and I said, "That can't be true. You don't mean to tell me that people queue day and night for water." "Yes," they said, "it's absolutely true, because that bore hole is emptied all the time and then we have to wait for it to fill up, and so some of us have to go at 2 o'clock in the morning for our water."

On that same walk, going in to one of the hospitals in the Eastern Transvaal, not two hundred miles from the largest richest city in Africa, and finding a ward had 40 cots in it, and 60 babies in that ward with kwashiokor, emaciated, on the drip, starving. Now one cannot walk into a ward like that without emerging ashamed, sick and incredibly angry. And possibly one of the things that has been lacking in this conference has been anger. I am not sure that we are angry enough with what is happening. I think that we have got to go back, all of us from time to time, because if one lives in one's nice little house in Rouwkoop Road in Rondebosch with the birds chirping, playing tennis, walking up the hill to Varsity, it is amazing how fast one forgets about those children in that ward in the Eastern Transvaal. And I walked not through one hospital only, but through many hospitals in rural South Africa to see that.

Or again going with Joe Seremane in the Western Transvaal. We spent a week going around, and we met an old lady who had two donkeys and they were all she had in the world, and they pulled her donkey cart around. They were shot by soldiers because it had been decreed from on high that the donkeys were drinking all the water and that in the drought the donkeys should be killed, and so the soldiers just went around and shot donkeys indiscriminately. It didn't matter if you were an old woman whose only wealth in the world was two donkeys.

Or again, going into a village more remote even than Bendell, a resettled community which Anne Templeton has written a paper about (CCP 77), and wondering about where the people got their water, and meeting a man who had lost his job fifteen months ago. There is nothing in the area, no grass, no jobs, no

industry, no agriculture. For this man to start finding a job, he has got to walk fifteen kilometres to catch a bus, then pay R4 or R5 to get to the nearest town, Kuruman, and then go from Kuruman to Sishen in the hope of getting a job during a time of recession when he knows there isn't a job there because he had had a job there and he was laid off. And what does one say to that man whom you meet in the place that is even more remote than Bendell?

Or again going with Joe to a place called Magopa, near Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal, to a community of farmers who had lovely land, and cattle, but not enough land. So over the years a number of them had had to go and work in Johannesburg. But it was a community with stone houses, stone churches, water pumps, and all the air of a rural village as we like to think about it in medieval England. And you meet the people there, and they say, "The government has said that we must move and we do not want to move. This is our land, we brought it in 1912, it has been in our family for two or three generations", and then you go out and you are shown the churches which the bulldozers have already broken down, and you hear about the water pumps that have been removed and about the buses that are no longer coming. You go out and look at the stone houses that people have built painfully over the years out of their nothing, and then you hear some time later that the people have all moved voluntarily, and that the houses have been bulldozed. And that makes us very angry but I don't think it makes us angry enough.

Or again communities that have been living in Cape Town since the time of the Great Trek, black Capetonians, and we hear that one day some politicians get up into an aeroplane, fly around Cape Town and say, "Actually it is all wrong. They shouldn't all

be there, we are going to move them somewhere else." Can you imagine Margaret Thatcher getting into a helicopter, flying over London and saying to Islington, "All right, you guys, you shouldn't been there, you had better go to the other side of Basingstoke, and some of you should send your wives back to the north of Scotland." That makes us angry but I don't think it makes us angry enough.

What are we witnessing in this country? Yes, the economy is expanding. Some people are getting better off. Some people are getting paid better wages. But there is a lot of needless suffering and there is a lot of destruction of the wealth that people have. It is not a large wealth but it is something. For me one of the most moving moments of this whole Inquiry was sitting in a house in Lavender Hill, in a little group of people and hearing a lady who was one of the community leaders explain to us just what it had meant to be moved from District Six. She said, "We had houses in District Six, we were happy, we were poor, but there was a community. We were picked up from District Six and we were scattered like sand around the Cape Flats, and we had nothing. There was no community left, we could not rebuild." And it is the destruction of the invisible wealth, the human links which bind us, that is so appalling. And I think we have to say to the juggernaut, "That juggernaut must just stop, and stop destroying." Because with resettlements, and influx control, and the prevention of families living together, we are destroying the very fabric of humanity that is South Africa.

Is South Africa a rich or a poor country? I think that is an irrelevant question. We are a country with resources and just where we stand in the international scale is a very secondary

consideration. What we have to ask ourselves is, "Do we not have the resources to make sure that everyone who lives in South Africa can live as a family in a community in which they choose, that they can have water to drink that is clean, that they can have food to eat, and clothes to wear and that they have a job, and that we can all have some happiness?" And the answer to that question is surely that we do.

These papers constitute the preliminary findings of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, and were prepared for presentation at a Conference at the University of Cape Town from 13-19 April, 1984.

The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa was launched in April 1982, and is scheduled to run until June 1985.

Quoting (in context) from these preliminary papers with due acknowledgement is of course allowed, but for permission to reprint any material, or for further information about the Inquiry, please write to:

SALDRU
School of Economics
Robert Leslie Building
University of Cape Town
Rondebosch 7700