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This paper advocates the establishment of a VSA volunteer programme in South AfriCa. It is based on the premise that there exists in New Zealand a si nificent number of peOple and organisations who would financ ally support on an ongoin basis the establishment of a VSA programme in South Africa. It s also based on an assessment of South Africa's needs, and an estimation of the current position in which the New Zealand Government finds itself.

A well planned and executed fund-raising'campaign to achieve this and would doubly benefit VSA, in that not only would it result in the establishment of such a programme, but it would also, in the rocess, have the potential to significantly raise VSA'S publ a profile, eegecially amongst those VSA might consider to comprise its targe group.

This paper therefore proposes:

- 1. That VSA investigates the establishment of a volunteer programme in South Africa:
- 2. That a secure funding base for a long-term programme in South Africa be investigated.
- 3. That seeding finance be sought to enable these investigations to be completed:

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Most are aware of the extent to which New Zealanders were involved in the anti-Apartheid campaigns of 1981. What is not so readily appreciated is the extent to which campaigns of this type have been a feature of New Zealand political life stretching back beyond 1949.

There have been more than 70 years of sperting contacts between New Zealand and South Africa, and for more than half that time, these contacts have faced organised opposition from within New Zealand. Whilst there have been powerful external inputs which have helped to shape the way this opposition developed, the anti-Apartheid movement in New Zealand has been, nonetheless, en indigenoue.movement, growing out of our own experiences, society, view of the world and appreciation of our role in it. The attitudes which gaVe rise to these can aigns haVe not changed. What has altered is the ability for t ose who support the anti-Apartheid struggle to find constructive channels through which they can continue to demonStrate their commitment to a liberated, non-racial South Africa.

It was in the field of sport, and particularly rugby, that New Zealanders felt they were best able to contribute. Now, the lifting of tPeople to People' sanctions has cleared the way for the resumption of most, if not all! sporting contacts. It

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.5therefore appears to many people that there no longer exists any role for individuals to play. Many feel excluded from the events being played out in South Africa. Whereas once anti-Apartheid and solidarity movements were pushing and cajoling governments, now there seems to be a role only for governments and international agencies. -

The extent to which this is so became clear from the recent visit of the two-person delegation from the South African Council of Churches. They reported that many supporters with whom they had met SpOke of a feeling of pewerlesaness and frustration, and an inability to find a means by which they could now contribute to those attempting to build a non-racial South Africa. "What can we do now?" was a frequently asked question.

Those being referred to cover a broad spectrum of the New Zeeland public. At its peak in 1981, the various anti-Apartheid H U  $_{\rm I}$  I $_{\rm L}$ ) .3,

coalitions would have been in regular contact with ln excess of . - 20,000 people. ,-

The movement also worked closely'with a wide range of sympathetic organisations, almost all of whom had strong anti-Apartheid policies. Many of these organisations contributed financially to either local anti-Aparthoid groups and/or to South African organisations in exile.

These organisations include the churches (particularly the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican churches): the trade unions; student groups: women's groups: and primary, secondary and tertiary teachers.

In the current situation, nearly all 0! this funding has stopped, not because of a change in att tude, but heeause of the absence at any focused, ongoing campaign.

A focused, well presented campaign has the potential to raise significant funds from these organisations and individuals. Initial investigations inVOlvihg several diverse groups have not with a very pOsitiVe response.

In addition to 'this, political events in south lAfrica, and natural disasters in Southern Africa will help to focus increased: attention on the region. This increased focus can only heighten the fund-raising capacity of such a campaign. .

Specifically, the drought which is so critically affecting the whole of Southern Africa (see separate paper), will inevitably affect the development of a VSA programme in South Africa. As the effects of the drought worsen, the international attention it attracts will put the spotlight more on South Africa's' development needs.

In the wider context, a cam aign.to raise funds for a volunteer programme in South Africa as the capacity to build long-term relationships between concerned New Zealanders and VSA. There is no reason why this relationship should stop at, or be confined to, support for any VSA South Africa programme.

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' If VSA'S Africa Pquramme is to o ' ' .
where we are Presently based, C nsolldate 1n thoge Countries
funds from the private 5e t
negded. Establishing a VSA programme in Souk Atriu;:fg 2::
major way of identifying and involving those andividuals and
organisations most likel to form the bus 5 of ^\prime
funding for VSA'S Afrioaugrogramme. 1 private sector
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VSA has, since the mid-19805 been both a solidarit or
and a supporter of domestic'antivApartheid campaigng, ganisation
As a solidarity organisation, it has had clearl tormulatci
policxes prohibitin volunteers from visiting South )Africa. This
policy was ado ted n response to the clear appeals of both the
ANC and the Un ted Nations General Assembly to the international
cemmunity for the total isolation of scuth Africa. It was also
adopted as a measure of aolidarit with the frontline t t
several countries in which VSA hasya programme. . s 3 es'
Whilst several volunteerusending agencies had a similar policy
to VSA's, a number, including Vso, had weaker policies.
Whilst not an anti-Apartheid movement. VSA honatholn-I ubiioiy
supported .nti-Apartheid campaigns laimod. at aecur ng the
cannnllnrion of variouc uporta tours 1nV01VLUg South Airica.
The philosophy behind the development of a VSA programme in South
Africa complements these revious positions. Indeed, liprogramme
of this sort could be 5a d tu_represant s logicai-ahd-praaticui'
extension of VSA's current policies and position.
Recently, the Policy and Planning Committee considered VSA's
involvement in seven African countries: Zimbabwe, Tanzania,
Botswana, Namibia, Uganda, Zambia and South Africa. South Africa
came second to Tanzania as the most appropriate country for a
volunteer programme. This is in spite of the fact that South
Africa scored low on Question 1 (impact on country) "Priority for
pOOrer/poorest nations in Africa".
Over the past few months, in response to deVelopments within both
south Africa and the Southern African region, VSA has been
working more uluuely with New zeaiahd agen01es involved
specifically in these issues. This is particularly true of our
relationship with the African Information Centre.
VSA has in place management capacity to take some 1m ortant
initiatives, with two field representatives based in Afr ca and
a Programme Manager (Africa) with an extensiVe background in
southern Africa issuas. VSA is well placed to play a major role
in the unfolding of New Zealand NGO response to developments in'
southern Africa. our response to South Africa's needs, and to
the worsening drought affecting the whole of Southern Africa
will largely determine the extent to which YSA becomes, in New-
Zealand terms, a major player, or merely a neisy supporter on the
sidelines.
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A recent article in the lEvening Post; about South Africa posed the question "After the courting, will there be help?" The ve

answer did not seem to be posit . "With the United states running a US\$400 billion deficit, and the communists, those other traditlohal targets of Western disapproval, in eVen more disagray, South Africa looks likely to get only peanuts in terms of hid," the article concluded.

The need for deVelopment assistance is urgent. changes in south Africa, the great social and econ which have been inflicted by Apartheid on the B will not be alleviated by the mere repeal of laws. Nor will their repeal modify the features of South African society.

Despite recent

omic injustices

lack population

. basiq Apartheld

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Unequal distribution of? wealth and grout differences in the conditione under which peeple live are the most immediatel

. visible aspects of Apartheid. White privilege alongside Blacii deprivation and pOVerty are seen inhevery aspect of life: in the ownership of land and other economlo resources; in diaperities in pay and aqueee to occupation: in the provision of health and welfare servlces: and in access to amenities.

?White control of land and its unequal distribution are two or the main bases of the Apartheid system and of the wealth and power at the disposal of the White minority. 087% of land in South Africa is owned b White interests: the remaining 13% is in the hands of the Blac population. The other economic resources of the country are predominantly controlled by the White minority as well, or by foreign interests, or a combination of both. Corresfonding to unequal economic and social power, there is a wide d sparity in incomes betWeen Black and White. In 1987 Whites, while only 17.7% of the popglatlon, still held 53% of all personal disposable income, while Africans, set of the population, held only 34%. Annual per capita thte lacome was estimated in 1990 at 14,880 rand, while for Africana it was only 1,246 rand.

O Government fl urea, per capita spending on health gggoagiggetin 1988/89 Was \$27 rand per person, and for Africans 138 rand er persan. Heav index of health reveals the contrast 'between the dlfferent popu ation groups: life expectancy, infant mortality and the diseases associated with poverty. The estimated mortality rate for those unde; five years was 63 deaths per 11,000 live births tor Attlcan children and 9.3 deaths per 11,000 live births for White children. Lite expectancy for White males is 66.8 years and for Black males 55.1 years. In education, African children have 368 rand per year spent at school student, haVe 41 pupils Ln each class and an examinet on pass rate of 57.9%. White students, on the other hand, have 2,299 rand per year spent on each enrolled student, 16 pupils per teacher and a pass rate of 96.1%.

It m ht be ar ued, both by people inside and outside of South Afrigg, that.thi principal agent of change in South Africa should

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be White South Africans Perha ' '
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This argument .15 both precious a'nd brittle, "33251333536
viewed in the context of what it is the ANC is asking of its
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iglgghh ienal friends and supporters (see iVSA Support.RequestedI
One of the biggest immediate/long-term problems is the d
gripping Southern Africa. It is rated as the worst singguga:
beginning of White settlement, some 350 years ago. The last
thing South Africa needs is such a calamity. South Africa is
usually an exporter of grain but this ear 9 ml
have to be imported into Southern Afriegu llion tons "111
The iEvening Poet' re ortod in late A ril that "12% of Son
Africa's pre-school c ildren suffer c ronic malnutrition (12
total 30% of rural children and 17% or urban children are under-
weight). 7 million Black South Africana live in housing
off oially designated as ishack' Which 1m to an t .
are truly appalling," Y he conditions
EghwanDDQIEtBQQnQBSQQ
In mid-1991, ANC representative Arnold sterile visited New
Zeeland. Whilst in Wellington, he met with a number of organisations and individuals, including VSA. During his
discussions with us, he aekod that VSA consider establishing a
volunteer programme in South Africa.
In September 1991, the ANC's Australasian representative, Eddie
Funds, repeated this request. He emphaaiaeduthat, uithnreeent-
developments in South Africa. friends of the regime. and business:
people in particular, were flooding into South Africa. The time
was appropriate, he said, for the iFriends of the People' to also
come. He saw the areas of greatest need as being education,
housing and health.
He emphasised the importance of VSA making contact with the
development forums which are being organised throughout South
Africa by the ANC.
Sothie Mazibuho and Samuel Shale, representatives of the South
African Counczl of churches, visited New Zealand in March 1992.
They met with VSA, and emphasised the hope that VSA would be able
to establish a volunteer-sending programme in South Africa in the
near future. They saw the areas of greatest need as including
education and unemployment. They emphaeised that the greatest
needs were in the rural areas, particularly in the Bantustan.
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What is most needed in the first instance is seeding capital. It is believed that if a detailed programme were able to be presented to sympathetic New Zealand organisations and individuals, the bulk or the necessary funding would be forthCOming. But in order to get to a position where we are able to present such a detailed programme, seeding money is needeci.

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In the context of this paper, the urgent prioyity'is for a source of seeding ca ital to be identified. Dntailed\_, s 1%%e would N'MMW! viosagelmgggim 53.9613Mahrgegge wank gleam? publidity and fun -rais xpensee

Specifically, these costings have been based on the heed Ear three Vielts to South Africa of between 10-14 days each. Tt in enVisaged that VSAfe zimhabwe Field Representative, Graham Tate, would partiqipete 1h all three. In addition, the costinge allow for two Wellington-Johanneshurg return visits, one in the context of an established field visit. In addition to internationel airfares, internal travel costs within South Africa accommodation and per diems have anew been coated and luoluded: The costings aleo 1hclude internal New Zealand costs associated With the investigation of secure long term funding for such a programme. specifically, the coatings include two visits to Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin, the cost of publishing support materials and an administration fee. 1 i . t in

There would seem to be four sources from which seeding capital could be obtained: The VSA bloc-grant budget; the Powell fund: the New Zealand government: international agencies. There are obvioue .pros and cone associated with each of these possibilities.

HERT is in the process of developing a development assistance policy vie e vie South Africa, and a relationship with the ANC. This is evidenced by the various discussions that have taken place already between MERT and VSA. It im also evidenced by the on a v'eit to nouth Livia. a: wlu aoahrun- the Hand 92 uhnwvu final. aim: and Africa Division. v52. parti'cipated in briefing and advising Mr Coohrane prior to his visit.

The Africa Information Centre is organising a small delegation to meet with Foreign Minister McKinnon. At this meeting, the A10 will be putting forward a series of development assistance proposals. (These are outlined in Appendix I.) VSA has also been asked to participate in this delegation, which comes at an important time while NERT is in the process of formulating its recommendations to the Minister. It is not only appropriate, but also important for relevant N603 to also be making submissions to the Minieter.

A proposal to Government for seeding capital from VSA would complement the AIC's proposal very well. It would allow the GOVernment to see two of the few New Zealand NGO agencies with both a detailed working knowledge of and long-term commitment to Southern Africa working in an integrated, coherent, focused and practical way. For's a minimal amount, Government, would be furchesing a well-integrated, relevant programme which would give tooth Visibility and involvement.

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It is far too early to determine what a possible VSA programme in South Africa might begin to look like. Having said that, it is also helpful to have some idea of what might be possible. The HD.DT

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following is therefore no more than a working sketch 0: what could be possible.

of obvious importance is the cost of such a programme. The annual cost of maintaining a volunteer in the field has been calculated to be \$24,000. This is based on a number of assumptions, namely:

t the lvolunteer'-based coats (i.e. airfares, initial midterm and resettlement allowances, baggage, language tuition, insurance and furniture) have been calculated as being the same as for Zimbabwe-based volunteers.

h nehthly allewehces will be paid by VSh and leave has been set at a similar level to UNV in Namibia. This is at best an lon the high aide' gestimato.

h accommodation will be paid by VSAv and has been set at \$500\_per volunteer per month. This could well prove to also be on the high side.

i no allowange nae been made for tranSport. This may well be an item which will have to be built into costs.

For all monies raised from the private sector, VSA should be eligible for a 1:1 subsidy, except for assignments involving women or children, where the subsidy is 3:1. On this basis, the annual cost to VSA of placing a volunteer in the field would be either \$12,000, or \$6,000. A mix of volunteers where one was involved in development projects involving principally women or children and two were involved in other projects, would result in the average annual cost per volunteer to VSA being \$10,000. A possible fundraising programme could look to have the following as its objectives:

Churches: fund commanity based project(s) endorsed by SACC, and benefitting women nnd/or children.

Unions: fund income-qeneratihq project(s) endorsed by COSATU.

Education Unions/Teuchars: fund one general litor-cy proqtemou) endorsed by relevant groups in South Africa.

On tfp of this there will be funds contributed by the general publ o.

The releVant organisations inside South Africa plus the ANC could appeal to their own counterparts in New Zealahd to en port these projects. This could form the basis or our appeal pu lioity. A relationship involving the VSA South Africa programme could then develop between the New Zealand fundin organisation and sister organisations in South Africa on t a one .hahd, and directly with the project itself and the volunteer on the other. This would establish the basis for ongoing annual funding of the project.

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It is proposed that a time line be established which would aim to see voluntears on the ground inaide south Africa by January 1994.
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