

**Ruth First
Memorial Colloquium**

**The Possibilities of Radical Transformation in Southern Africa
after Negotiations: Theory and Policy**

University of the Western Cape
August 17-18, 1992

PROGRAM

DAY 1 - MONDAY, AUGUST 17

9.15 am
Registration

10.00 am
Welcome - Jakes Gerwel
Opening Remarks - Robert Davies

10.20 - 11.30 SESSION 1

Graca Machel:
*Liberation Movements, Winning and Exercising Power, Socio-Economic
Development: The Mozambican Experience*

Jeremy Cronin
*The Boat, the Tap and the Leipzig Way: In Search of a Revolutionary Strategy
for the Present South African Conjuncture*

Neville Alexander
Negotiations: Collaboration or Liberation?

11.30 - 11.45 am Tea

11.45-1.00 pm SESSION 2

John Saul
*Structural Reform: A Model for the Revolutionary Transformation of South
Africa*

Ivy Matsepe Casaburri
*The Great Challenge: Affirming the Majority Character of South African
Society*

1.00 - 2.00 pm Lunch

2.00 - 3.30 pm SESSION 3

Frene Ginwala
Gender and Economic Policy in a Democratic South Africa

Rhoda Kadalie
Role of Women and Women's Organisations in Transformation

AnnMarie Wolpe
Education as a Form of Control: What Hope for Black Women?

3.30 - 3.45 pm Tea

3.45 - 5.40 pm SESSION 4

Albie Sachs
Perfectibility and Corruptibility

Devan Pillay
The Necessity of a Challenging Press

Sergio Vieira

Haroub Othman
The Intellectual and Transformation in Southern Africa

6pm Ruth First Commemoration, Main Hall

MCH91-103-3-6

17:25-

DAY 2 - TUESDAY, AUGUST 18

8.30 - 10.30 am SESSION 5

Thozamile Botha

Delivering Urban Services: The Need for a Radical Transformation of Local Authorities

Nolulama Gwagwa

Community Participation in the Development Process: Prospects for the Future

Blade Nzimande

'Civil Society', Mass Organisations and People's Power in South Africa

Yvonne Muthien

Civil Society: Abandoning a Counter-Hegemonic Project

10.30 - 10.45 am Tea

10.45 - 1.00 pm SESSION 6

Laurence Harris

Allocation or Transformation: Economic Perspectives on Socialism

Marc Wuyts

Aid, Adjustment and Sustainable Recovery: The Case of Tanzania

Eddie Webster

Towards a Socialist Theory of Radical Reform: From Resistance to Reconstruction in the Labour Movement

Henry Chipeya

Quo Vadis? Trade Unions and Negotiations for Change in South Africa

Helena Dolny

Negotiating New Terrain : People, Tenure and Production

1.00 - 2.00 pm Lunch

2.00 - 4.30 Two parallel sessions:

SESSION 7

Peter Katjavivi

Ruth First: Her Contribution to Liberation in the Context of Namibia

Bridget O'Laughlin

Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Revolution: Some Reflections on the Mozambique Experience

Henry Bernstein

Agrarian Reform in South Africa: Who? What? How?

Anna Maria Gentili

Ruth First: Teaching through Research

Judith Head

Transformation of the Structure of Poverty in the Struggle for an Effective HIV/AIDS Policy

SESSION 8

Sehoai Santho

South African Mining Industry: A Sectoral Perspective on Economic Growth, Structural Transformation and Employment Implications

Robert Davies

The Significance of Theoretical Debates on Regional Co-operation and Integration in the Transformation of Southern Africa

Gary Littlejohn

South Africa After Negotiations: The Lome Convention and Possibilities of Transformation

Ibbo Mandaza

Southern Africa in 1990s

Ruth First Memorial Colloquium

*The Possibilities of Radical Transformation in Southern
Africa after Negotiations: Theory and Policy*

University of the Western Cape
August 17-18, 1992

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Alexander, Neville

Negotiations : Collaboration or Liberation?

The purpose of this paper is to consider whether the negotiations strategy formally embarked upon by the African National Congress and its allies in 1990 can be considered as the continuation of the 'national liberation struggle' in South Africa.

It examines the relationship between class-collaborationist strategies and the theory and practice of racial collaboration in South Africa during the 20th Century. Its major premise is that under the prevailing conditions of racial capitalism, in South Africa, class-collaborationist strategies will give rise to similar, but not identical, structures of racial inequality to those that were generated by racial collaboration.

The paper concludes with a brief consideration of alternative strategies.

Bernstein, Henry

Agrarian Reform in South Africa : Who? What? How?

The paper surveys a number of issues concerning agrarian reform (including land redistribution) in the circumstances of a negotiated transition from apartheid. Its central argument is that the political-organisational constitution of social forces in the countryside is the essential condition of any democratic agrarian reform. Constituting such social forces is the basis for exploiting contradictions within apartheid institutions (the white farming bloc, various state apparatuses) to expand their 'openings' to reform.

At the same time, the vigour and clarity of social forces organised around land and agrarian reform enable specific reform measures that may be negotiated within, and limited by, current conditions of struggle, to be integrated with a broader strategic vision and longer term process of national democratic transition.

Botha, Thozamile

Delivering Urban Services: The Need for a Radical Transformation of Local Authorities

This paper examines the post-February 2, 1990, Constitutional proposals and their implications for local democracy and community empowerment. To this end the paper begins with an overview of the current sub-national government institutional arrangements. It attempts to relate possible restructuring at the regional level to changes in local government.

Its special focus is on the four metropolitan areas - Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth - with a view to testing how the emerging scenarios might impact on the capacity of the local authorities to deliver services while maintaining economic growth at the local level. The question posed is, what type of radical transformation is capable of improving the revenue base,

efficiency in service delivery of local councils, and addressing people's expectations without impacting negatively on the economy?

The paper refers to municipal services in general but pays special attention to urban land use, housing, water, sanitation and electricity provision. These services are regarded as being basic essentials for the society as a whole. The paper argues that the state has a responsibility to ensure that every household has access to these services on a sustainable basis. It cautions against raising expectations to unattainable levels and at the same time warns that the failure to visibly address people's needs is a recipe for confrontation between the state and the people.

While the author recognises the role of the market in the provision of municipal services, he does not believe that it is the only mechanism to ensure efficient and effective service delivery at local level.

Chipeya, Henry

Quo Vadis? Trade Unions and Negotiations for Change in South Africa

This article delineates the costs and benefits to the labour movement of the active participation of COSATU and other trade union federations in the economic and political decision making processes in the country, and argues that only by making strategic choices about their role in the economy and in politics will the trade union movement be able successfully to minimise the prospects of being co-opted and maximise the benefits of having a role in the direction of the economic and political decision making in the country.

The paper argues that following COSATU's stand some years ago that it was no longer acceptable that management and the state should be the sole managers of the country's economy while workers and their organisations played the role of spectators on the sidelines, employers and the government have not generally accepted that the acute political and economic crisis which the country is facing can only be resolved by negotiation in which the trade union movement plays an active role. This resulted in COSATU and NACTU participating in various economic and political forums.

'Corporatism' and 'social contract' were key words which were increasingly being used to describe these activities in which the trade unions took an active part. This raised questions about whether these new and important roles of the trade unions would not damage the links between the trade unions and community organisations, the trade unions and their rank and file members and most important of all, the trade unions and their demands for socialist transformation.

The paper then argues that the trade union movement could be in danger of succumbing to the attractions of the extremely important role of having a say in the planning of the economic and political future of the country, but at the expense of links with their membership, community organisations and a socialist programme. However, the trade unions, through making strategic choices about their activities and alliances, will have a greater chance to increase the benefits of participating in the economic and political decision making processes and reduce the costs to its membership and to its links with community organisations.

Cronin, Jeremy

The Boat, the Tap, and the Leipzig Way : In Search of a Revolutionary Strategy for the Present South African Conjuncture

The paper proceeds from a critique of several different strategic assumptions currently informing the practice of the ANC-led liberation alliance. It distinguishes three main bodies of strategic assumption on the core question: "How do we democratise South Africa?"

Each of these strategic paradigms, the paper argues, has its own inherent flaws. Proceeding from a critique of these paradigms the paper then tries to illustrate how, in the period since February 2 1990, the unresolved and often rather unclear interplay of these different paradigms has resulted in practical vacillations and confusion.

Finally, on the basis of the critique, the paper tries to sketch out the framework of a revolutionary strategy. Such a strategy needs to avoid both reformist and unrealistic romantic illusions about the immediate South African conjuncture.

Davies, Robert

The Significance of Theoretical Debates on Regional Cooperation and Integration in the Transformation in South Africa

Ruth was among the first to recognise the importance of the establishment of organisations seeking to promote economic cooperation among the independent states of southern Africa. At a time when the significance of the formation of organisations like the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and the Southern African Labour Commission (SALC) was at best opaque to many South Africans (including those involved in the liberation struggle), Ruth both strongly welcomed these initiatives and sought to mobilise research support for them.

The processes of political change underway in South Africa since February 1990 have led to a change in the problematic of regional cooperation and integration in southern Africa. Originally compelled by the antagonistic stance of the apartheid regime to see transformation of imbalances and inequities in the existing regional economy and the evolution of a cooperative relationship in terms of a process of contestation with South Africa, regional organisations like SADCC and many of the independent states and peoples of the region are now looking to a democratic South Africa's involvement in a programme of regional cooperation and integration to give new vitality to efforts to promote an equitable and mutually beneficial form of economic interaction in southern Africa. This is being reinforced by the current global trend towards the formation of regional trading blocs and by the active pressure of powerful regional and external 'interested parties'.

This paper seeks to review some of the major approaches towards 'post apartheid' regional cooperation and integration in southern Africa which are emerging in the current debate. Its focus is on the theoretical content and policy implications of some of the major proposals now being advanced - such as the World Bank's neo-liberal adaptation of conventional trade integration theory and SADCC's recent reaffirmation of a 'development integration' approach. The paper seeks to address such questions as: How can closer regional cooperation and integration contribute to a project of progressive transformation in South Africa? In what ways could involvement in certain types of integration project become a further means of subordinating a democratic South Africa to

the current global orthodoxy? The paper also seeks to examine the concrete actions of key actors and major trends on the ground in an attempt to provide some objective assessment of perspectives and prospects.

Depelchin, Jacques

From the End of Slavery to the End of Apartheid: Toward a Radical Break in African History?

A comparative historical analysis of processes of transition/transformation of capitalism focusing on slavery, colonialism and apartheid. All of these phases present similar characteristics with regard to the reproduction of the conditions of capital accumulation. Are there lessons to be drawn? In the case of South Africa, are there reasons for expecting a more radical transition than the ones we have seen so far?

Dolny, Helena

Negotiating New Terrain: People, Tenure, Production

State policy and legislation can facilitate land redistribution - but can fail (or serve only the middle class) if there is no organised civic power. Furthermore if the state is to be effective in its policy design, it must take cognisance of the regional diversity of rural areas. Moreover within a region, different classes of rural producers organised, or are employed on, different production systems and gain access to land through varied tenure arrangements.

This paper highlights the importance of considering the micro situation in policy making. Section one takes the predicament of Moutse as a case study - with a population of almost 200 000 people, diverse tenure systems, and employment opportunities for perhaps less than half its people of working age. In section two I outline the proposal of the National Party and the para-statal DBSA which suggests that subsidised access to freehold should be the mainstay of any affirmative action programme. I examine this proposal critically considering the market price of land, its productive valuation, class stratification and the debate around scale and productivity. In section three I advocate the benefits of a demand-led land reform process, a multiple options strategy in which categories of people qualify for differing benefits. This requires a positive attitude to tenure flexibility and the need to consider segmented land markets. Section four acknowledges that while an enduring land redistribution depends on availability of funds and economic policies which support small scale producers, the lobbying capacity of the community and its political supporters is a key determinant. I revisit the situation described in Moutse and describe what steps sections of the community are taking to negotiate new terrain in terms of land, water, marketing, possibilities and conditions of employment.

Erwin, Alec*Reconstruction and Socialism in South Africa*

The paper starts with the need for a reconstruction of the South African economy if it is to meet basic societal needs. The issue that then arises is whether such a reconstruction could form the basis for socialism in South Africa.

To answer this a few issues that are seen as critical are examined. Firstly, what can be learnt from reconstruction in the centrally planned socialist economies? Secondly, can we learn anything from social democracy where sustained growth was achieved with a clear social content?

These experiences are then located in the South African context in order to evaluate their usefulness. This then leads to an examination of the concept of a revolutionary change and in what context it occurs.

An attempt is then made to delineate policies and their possibilities that would achieve a reconstruction process that builds the basis of a socialist society.

Gentili, Anna Maria*Ruth First : The Relevance of Teaching Through Research*

This paper deals with the method of research employed in one of Ruth First's major works, namely "The Barrel of a Gun", published in 1970. Ruth was one of the few Marxist intellectuals who put at the centre of her research the analysis of the state and political system. Research had to be vigorous, but at the same time it had to discover contradictions in order to provide knowledge for action.

**Ginwala, Frene; Mackintosh, Maureen;
and Massey, Doreen***Gender and Economic Policy in a Democratic South Africa*

This paper does not attempt to formulate policy on gender issues, but reflects on the implications of gender questions in policy formulation on the economy: how the present and future economy would look if one took into account the *total* population of South Africa - black and white - rather than simply the minority of the population who happen to be male.

'Men's role' and 'women's role' in the economy and in most of society are not biologically determined (apart from pregnancy and childbirth) but are culturally allocated, and the relationship between the two is not one of equality but of oppression. Experience in other countries has shown that periods of rapid structural change have frequently worked to the detriment of women. This does not refer only to the structural adjustment programmes imposed by the IMF - though the democratic South Africa must be alert to the dangers. Without simultaneous action that will relieve women of their existing tasks in what we call here the hidden parts of the economy, women will find that new apparently progressive policies have not eased their lives but have added to their workload, to the extent that it becomes more difficult for them to participate in the economic and political changes.

If economic policy does not take the position and needs of women specifically into account, then the structure of the South African economy will tend to take policy in a gender-discriminatory direction, further worsening the relative position of women within the economy. Combatting the tendency means redesigning economic policy, on the basis of an understanding of the implications of all policies for gender relations.

The central purpose of this paper is to show that gender bias in economic policy cannot be combatted unless we change the way we think about the economy. Our initial aim has been to explain the implicit bias, and to lessen the lack of information, which underlies the design of policies running against the interests of women. We argue that economic policy and the whole terrain of economic debate tends to be deeply biased against women.

We show that:

- economic concepts *exclude* women; the perspective of men is wrongly perceived as the universal objective perspective;
- the economic activities of women are systematically *devalued* and omitted in economic statistics and argument;
- economic analysis largely *omits* the economic relations between the genders, for example at work and within the household, hence:
 - aspects of the operation of the economy are systematically *misunderstood*, hence:
 - economic policy is based on some false premises and can systematically work to the further relative and absolute *detriment* of women.

We suggest that in part, these poor statistics and biases in economic analysis are a reflection of the economic injustice faced by women in present day economies, but the ignorance and bias also operate to perpetuate and reinforce that injustice.

This in turn has meant arguing for a rethink of some of the basic categories of economic analysis and policy-making. We argue for a redefinition of many of the supposedly gender-blind concepts of economics to be more genuinely gender-neutral. This would imply for example redefining:

- 'labour' to include both paid and unpaid work; with a proper exploration of the technology, conditions of labour, levels of output, and the terms of substitution of unpaid work by paid labour in economic change;
- 'work' and 'the working day' to include unpaid work, hence recognising and valuing women's total working day;
- 'production' to include the production of human resources and reproduction of the social relations in society;
- 'the household' as a complex of economic relations which can be influenced by economic policy;
- 'women' as full working adults, not dependents;
- 'income distribution' as measured among adults, not households; and
- 'skill' as not an objective fact, but a category structured by gender-related assumptions.

If we can change these ways of thinking about the economy, if we can rethink some of our basic categories, and design policies based on this new thinking, then the coming period of economic restructuring could be a good one for women too.

Gwagwa, Nolulamo

Community Participation in the Development Process

It is universally acknowledged in the development field that communities/beneficiaries have to participate in decisions over development issues that will affect their lives. It is however apparent that there is no consensus over the level, nature and content of such participation.

This paper seeks to highlight the centrality of community participation as one of the key ingredients for a health development process. However, the level, nature and content of community participation is always both a terrain and product of struggle.

To set the context, the first section of the paper briefly traces community participation in South Africa within a particular history of apartheid and the struggle against it. The next section examines community participation in the current period. It argues that whilst there is consensus that there is a development impasse, and that community participation has a critical role in unlocking it, still very few development projects have meaningful community participation. Some of the reasons for this are advanced. Finally, the paper explores the likely fate of community participation (level and content), given the possibilities of a negotiated settlement with 'incremental changes', scarce resources to be allocated at community level, relationship between civil society, state and political parties, etc.

Harris, Laurence

Allocation or Transformation : Economic Perspectives on Socialism

For socialists involved in national liberation struggles before the late 1980s, political liberation was envisaged as an element within a wider social transformation conceived as the construction of a socialist society. That society was conceptualised within the paradigm of central planning, and, in most cases, the applicability of its economic system to the post colonial (or post apartheid) state was not discussed in detail. (Ruth First, however, did make a notable contribution to understanding its political economy, especially the interaction of state-led development and regionally-based private accumulation in the context of Mozambique's rural transformation.)

However, the economies of the Soviet Union's centrally planned system and other socialist models have long been the subject of economic analysis. In this paper I critically evaluate the currently dominant approach to the subject, which concentrates on the allocation of resources in a static framework and I argue for an economics of socialism based on a concept of social transformation.

I argue that the absence of such a perspective in modern work is at the root of two failures : the failure of economists to foresee the crisis and collapse of the soviet and East European economic systems, and the failure to develop a socialist programme for economic transformation in Africa.

Head, Judith

Transformation of the Structure of Poverty in the Struggle for an Effective HIV/AIDS Policy

In a conference whose theme is the possibility of transformation in South and southern Africa after a negotiated settlement, a paper dealing with HIV/AIDS might appear incongruous. Even if it is conceded that HIV/AIDS will have a major impact on South African society, how that impinges on the process of transformation is by no means obvious. At best it would appear to be a technical question of making more resources available for the care and treatment of those living with the infection, or readjusting estimates of future personnel needs in the economy, and the like. I shall

argue, to the contrary, that an effective policy to combat HIV/AIDS must be centrally concerned with the transformation of the structure of poverty and inequality in South Africa. It must address the class structure generated by apartheid, and the structure of the system of exploitation which will be the legacy of a democratic government. It must also tackle the repressive character of state ideology around sex.

The paper will suggest that as a result of the conditions of poverty which have accompanied and are indistinguishable from the process of proletarianisation, the health status of many, if not most, of South Africa's inhabitants has been severely jeopardised. Many people, because of malnutrition and exposure to other immuno-suppressant conditions, are more susceptible to HIV infection after exposure than are people whose immune systems are intact, whatever the mode of transmission. Once infected, the evidence suggests that they might also be more infectious to others. Furthermore, the conditions in which treatment is given in health care settings must also be critically examined, since there is a strong possibility that invasive procedures with inadequately sterilised equipment might in fact be a mechanism for transmission of the infection.

I shall argue that if these hypotheses are correct, then in addition to addressing individual behaviour it is of critical importance to address the structural conditions that provoke and promote susceptibility. These are of three kinds. First, individual behaviour takes place within a social and ideological context. The legacy of the apartheid state is a climate in which sex cannot be dealt with frankly and sexual awareness and education campaigns are often couched in moralistic terms which undermine their very purpose. Understanding the role of the state as moral policemen and changing the role of the state becomes critical.

Secondly, the future structure of health services in a democratic South Africa must be addressed. These are currently divided along racial and class lines; the wealthy and mainly white having access to private medicine, while the poor and mainly black are relegated to an increasingly underfunded, understaffed and demoralised public sector.

The third area of central importance in the control of the HIV epidemic is the need for an attack on poverty and unemployment generally, but in particular on the migrant labour system. This permits capital accumulation in the urban centre through the increasing impoverishment of the rural periphery, and with it the proliferation of the conditions which make people susceptible to infection after exposure.

Kadalie, Rhoda

Role of Women and Women's Organisations in Transformation

The long-awaited release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of liberation movements in South Africa have not ushered in the new peaceful South Africa that many of us have been waiting for for decades now.

Although the main pillars of apartheid have been scrapped, apartheid is still alive and well in the sense that a white minority government is still in power, education, health, housing and employment are still out of reach of the majority, and poverty is still the domain of predominantly poor black women and children.

The transition to a non-racial non-sexist democratic South Africa will not be smooth. There have been violent right-wing backlashes; civil war (fuelled by state support) is raging in Natal and parts

of the Transvaal. The negotiation process has been tempestuous, as evidenced by CODESA. And, yet, there is a sense among South Africans that a process has been set in motion that cannot be reversed.

Where do women fit into all of this? Women are conspicuously absent from the negotiation process and from the political leadership of all the major parties. Only 11 out of 80 who hold office in the National Executive of the ANC are women; as for the racially-based parliament, six women hold office in a male-dominated wilderness!

The absence of women in positions of power is no reflection on the state of their politics. The women's movement in South Africa is one of the most vibrant sectors of the mass democratic struggle against apartheid, and has been the most instrumental in mobilising women against specific laws of oppression.

There is a proliferation of women's organisations in the country. Although they differ according to region, race, class and policies, all are united in their opposition to apartheid and are, therefore, actively engaged nationally in the processes of transformation. In November 1991 the Women's Alliance was launched in the Western Cape region, consisting of forty organisations, such as trade unions, political and service organisations, churches, etc. Its main purpose is to ensure that women's rights are put on the agenda of all political parties and other organisations. In April 1992 the Women's National Coalition was founded by women from 56 national organisations with the aim of spearheading a campaign for a charter of women's rights. Whereas the Women's Alliance consists mainly of organisations explicitly linked with the national liberation movements, the Coalition includes oppositional groupings as well, such as the Nationalist Party, Inkatha, the Democratic Party and other more conservative groupings.

At the launch, political differences among delegates in no way stopped them from enthusiastically adopting a programme of action to ensure that women's rights are protected in a future constitution.

This paper will explore how women have made it possible for the politics of difference to coexist with the politics of sisterhood. The problematic notion of sisterhood imported from American feminism in the '60s served as a catalyst for women to confront differences among themselves across race, class, ethnic, language and religious divides. Diversities of historical, regional and cultural origins had to be acknowledged, respected and understood before women could form alliances to work together in order to improve the quality of life for the masses of black people in South Africa, and so in turn, affect the lives of privileged few. Some of these alliances were and continue to be painful as women deal with the painful specificities of their oppression and occasionally breakdowns in these alliances do occur. But it was only in dealing with these problems that strategies for joint action among women across the divides began to materialise.

The challenge thrown out by Gail Omvedt that "*it is one thing to spread the consciousness of women's oppression, it is another to create a women's movement among women who have no common political perspectives*", is beginning to come to fruition as women are desperate to break the deadlock around the political power struggles of the male leadership, which often end in violence of which women and children are the victims.

Katjavivi, Peter

Ruth First: Her Contribution to Liberation in the Context of Namibia

Abstract not available

Littlejohn, Gary, and Goodman, Paul

The Lomé Convention: Why is it of Interest to South Africa?

This paper looks at the implications for South Africa and the region if it joins the Lomé Convention. It argues that the trade implications will be such as to help foster economic growth in South Africa, while the aid implications will be small, and will carry little danger of diverting aid from South Africa's neighbours in SADCC.

In the light of moves within the Commission of the European Communities to reduce the importance of Lomé, leaving African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries with few safeguards, it will probably help the ACP countries for the Lomé Convention to have the boost in political profile which it will gain if South Africa joins it.

The conclusion is that joining Lomé will not greatly enhance the prospects for radical transformation in Southern Africa, but will help Southern Africa to maintain a united front in relation to trade with and aid from Europe.

The arguments are illustrated with relevant examples from Namibia, Mozambique and Angola, while being based mainly on conditions in South Africa itself, on the provisions of the Lomé Convention, and on the relation of SADCC as a whole to Lomé.

Machel, Graça

Liberation Movements, Winning and Exercising Power, Socio-Economic Development : The Mozambican Experience

Mozambique won its independence through an armed struggle led by a liberation movement - FRELIMO.

The secret of the victory lay primarily in the liberation movement's ability to transform itself into a true mass movement. For the majority of the people, the movement represented their aspirations and they took on the struggle as their own.

Mozambique's first years of independence continued to be characterised by this deep identity between the liberation movement in power and the broad masses. Institutions and structures that guaranteed the real exercise of power by the people took root from one end of the country to the other.

However, after seventeen years of FRELIMO's exercise of power, is it possible to say that the deep identity between FRELIMO and the majority of the people still exists today?

What are the challenges that the liberation movement had to face, particularly in the struggle for economic and social development? To what extent has FRELIMO managed to fulfil the people's basic needs and bring improvements to their lives, and thus maintain its legitimacy as representative of the Mozambican people's essential interests?

Given that the armed struggle in Southern Africa was the most radical way of transforming relations between the colonial and oppressive order and the emerging socio-political order based on mass movements (as it was in Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and as it already is in South Africa), what lessons does the Mozambican experience offer to the other liberation movements in the region which are facing the same challenges?

These questions are the basis for the ideas I would like to contribute towards lines of work and study that could be useful for the current process in South Africa.

Mandaza, Ibbo

Southern Africa in the 1990's

The primary concern in any discussion on the future of South Africa and Southern Africa relates to the process whereby the sub-region, to characterised by inherent conflict and antagonistic contradictions, will find peace and security. But designating Southern Africa as one of the areas of regional conflict in the world often conceals the specificities of the problems behind the typology that is now the pre-occupation of analysts of international relations. More often than not, such perspectives are given to postulating and proposing solutions that may have little or no bearing on the fundamental question that constitutes the problem itself. It is these impressions that account for the euphoria that has been generated ever since de Klerk's speech of 2 February 1990 and the subsequent release of Mandela and other political prisoners. There is good reason to celebrate these victories but there is a real danger that the euphoria thereby generated at home and abroad might confuse the real issues about the conflict in Southern Africa.

This paper contends that the goal of achieving a non-racial and democratic South Africa is a superimposition of an idealistic international liberalism that has generally been either unable or unwilling to acknowledge the nature and content of the conflict in that country; a mere slogan, nay even an ideology, designed to conceal the fundamental contradictions. Far more disturbing, however, are those analyses which convey the impression that the resolution of the South African question is anything but the process whereby there has to be addressed the historical, economic and political factors that have together contributed towards the definition of South Africa and Southern Africa as we know it today.

A central feature of these liberal analyses and/or expectations is that which is portrayed in the concept of post-apartheid - a non-racial and democratic South Africa; and therefore a new regional order based on closer economic cooperation between South Africa and the other countries of Southern Africa. Hence SADCC itself hopes that a post-apartheid South Africa will soon be a member of SADCC. The process whereby such an apocalypse will be born is never explained by the protagonists. It is merely presumed. They would not dare suggest even the parameters of such a process less the dream dissipates in the face of a reality that is already characterised by bloody violence and with the prospects of the bitterest struggle before the apartheid state is overtaken in the emerging new dispensation.

This paper therefore attempts to dispel such misconceptions, perceptions and even policy considerations about the sub-region in general and South Africa in particular.

Matsepe, Ivy

The Great Challenge : Affirming the Majority Character of South African Society

The issue of affirmation of the majority character of the South African society, when located within the larger context of transformation/restructuring and democratisation and the consequent public debates, poses tremendous challenges.

This is so for several important reasons which must be confronted in order that the final outcomes of change should lead to a radically improved situation for the majority people at the lowest level of society. These reasons are:

- The current conjuncture forces us to critically examine the content of transformation and democratisation;

- These notions are not transparent - indeed, they are 'contested and contestable' because they are often based on 'derived concepts' 'received notions within theory' or the challenges to these notions under concrete realities/circumstances;

- The contestation of the construction of a new social order and 'management' of the resultant tensions, demands that we critically assess what the possibilities and constraints are and therefore the challenges posed. But it would be superficial to end here. It is important that we clearly identify what we are up against. Therefore we should not get caught up in romanticised notions and falsely coherent accounts of majorities and minorities; of the old and the young; the disadvantaged and advantaged; rural and urban; female and male; black, especially African, and white. We need rather, to go beyond these in our search for alternatives that come to terms with our realities.

The constraints imposed on transformation and democratisation processes are numerous. Not only should they be analysed and understood in their origins, whether internal or external to South Africa, but also in terms of whether they are internal or external to the majority of people within the country because the political imperative(s) posed will indeed be the great challenge.

The paper will focus on the discourse of transformation and democratisation and the political imperatives that shape the choices policy makers as well as politicians and revolutionaries themselves make and are likely to make in affirming the majority character of South African society.

Muthien, Yvonne

Civil Society : Abandoning a Counter-Hegemonic Project

The paper attempts to make an analytical intervention into what has become a highly polarised debate on the autonomy of civil society in South Africa. The fact that the debate has congealed around opposing camps within the ANC alliance, has seriously detrimental implications for progressive political mobilisation in South Africa.

The paper examines (i) both liberal and marxist appropriations of the concept civil society in South Africa; (ii) re-examines the Gramscian conception of civil society in all its complexity and ambiguity; (iii) then addresses a particular appropriation of Gramsci by post-marxism; and finally, (iv) examines the political implications of reformist and partial appropriations of Gramsci for political mobilisation in South Africa.

Nzimande, Blade and Sikhosana, Mpume

'Civil Society', Mass Organisations and People's Power in South Africa

The aim of this paper is primarily a critique of the current usage of the concept of 'civil society' in contemporary left discourses, both in South Africa and in Western Europe. The focus will however be on South Africa.

The paper's entry point is an assessment of why there is such a sudden interest in the usage of the concept of 'civil society'. Some of the important reasons include the collapse of Eastern European socialism and the growth of pro-democracy movements in Africa and other South countries. The

paper also looks at the current conjuncture in South Africa and the way in which it has contributed to the development of the usage of the concept 'civil society'.

It is our argument that any attempt to use the concept of 'civil society' by anyone who claims to be a marxist has to be informed by the understanding and review of what Marx and Engels understood civil society to be. The paper makes a brief theoretical survey of the meaning of the term in Marx and Engels, and concludes that from these works the usefulness of the concept 'civil society' has a limited value in understanding society and in theorising democracy. The paper also briefly looks at how Gramsci uses the concept, and what meaning can be derived from such usage.

The paper sets out to critically evaluate some of the current usages of the concept 'civil society', basically showing that the way this concept is being used in South Africa at present is in a liberal sense and is based on a serious misunderstanding of Marx, Engels and even Gramsci.

Finally the paper attempts to construct an alternative conceptualisation of the process of democratisation of the South African society. The paper argues for the urgency of building organs of people's power as the only means of ensuring a thoroughgoing transformation of South African society. This is done mainly through a critique of the notions of 'organs of civil society' and 'social movements'.

O'Laughlin, Bridget

Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Revolution: Some Reflections on the Mozambique Experience

The seminar theme, reform or transformation, hints in an oblique way both at the ongoing negotiation process in South Africa and at an old opposition in western marxist thought : reform or revolution.

In this paper I argue that the reform/revolution opposition captures only partially the nature of the relationship between mass struggles and the action of the state in both revolutionary and non-revolutionary conjunctures. Using as an example Frelimo agricultural policy in the first years after Independence, an area where Ruth First did a lot of work and thinking during her years in Mozambique, I will argue that there was an illusory confidence in the power of the party to restructure, transform if you will, the organisation of rural life almost by fiat, because the party controlled the state. Barriers to transition were thought to be principally ideological, which is why so much attention was given to 'pilot' experiences and 'mobilisation'.

There was, in short, no real strategy of transition for moving from the economic organisation and class structure that Mozambique had at the time of Independence to that which Frelimo wanted to construct. The state withdrew from the private market, even though the vast majority of rural people were small mercantile producers and/or wage-workers whose lives were reproduced through the market. Import-based mechanisation was chosen as the way to improve labour productivity even though the existing economic structure had a fragile export base and the existing class structure made it difficult to use and maintain machinery effectively, etc.

In conclusion, then, the struggles of socialists in and out of revolutionary moments are really not so very different as we perhaps would have liked to think. In both moments socialists must engage the state problematically. In both class interests must be forged which find in socialism better ways of living for working people. I would also like to show that development strategies like that of Frelimo are not necessarily the product of 'development coalitions', scheming consciously or unconsciously to realise the aspirations of incipient national bourgeoisies. Such strategies emerge out of the dreams of socialists and out of our received ideas. These ideas, like the reform/revolution opposition, may

capture important aspects of political life and yet in their silence not be satisfactory guides for revolutionary practice.

Othman, Haroub

The Intellectual and Transformation in Southern Africa

Abstract not available

Pillay, Devan

The Necessity for a Challenging Press

Radical transformation, and with it a culture of democracy and accountability in South Africa, is only possible if there is a free, critical, challenging and diverse press.

- The press must be free from external manipulation, whether it be government, political parties or capitalist interests. This is the only way to ensure that views are honestly expressed, and that news is not consciously distorted to serve narrow ends.

- The press must be critical and challenging, even when it supports the broad goals of a particular organisations.

- The press must be as diverse as possible, in order to meaningfully reflect the full range of opinion that exists in society.

Mechanisms therefore need to be in place to ensure the independence and diversity of the press. The current situation, where one voice (that of monopoly capital) reigns supreme, has to be meaningfully and drastically altered. But in tipping the scale the other way, it would not be in the interests of democracy or transformation if the press merely reflects the interests of a future democratic government (even if it represents the interests of the poor).

Debate and difference has to be institutionalised, and any government has to be held accountable, on a daily basis, for its actions. Only a free, critical and independent press can, in the end, ensure this.

Sachs, Albie

Perfectibility and Corruptibility

Abstract not available

Santho, Sehoai

South African Mining Industry : A Sectoral Perspective on Economic Growth, Structural Transformation and Employment Implications

This paper aims to discuss the significance and centrality of the mining industry, especially its strategic gold mining sector, to the process of capital accumulation and the impact of this process in South Africa and on the economies of the labour-supplying states in southern Africa.

The central objective of the exercise is to review some of the debates and perspectives on South Africa's mining industry and the impact that it has had on the country's unbalanced economic growth pattern and also investigate the limits of this resource based economic growth model. The political economic setting of model has determined the manner in which the investible surpluses that have been generated from this sector have been distributed in southern Africa.

The other main objective is to examine the employment capacities of this resource based economic growth model and the specific forms of labour utilisation processes that have historically developed within a mining industry where cheap labour and cost minimisation have been the rule. The basis of this cheap labour strategy has obviously been the migratory labour system in which southern African countries have been involved. A major concern here is about the future of this migratory labour system in the context of a transition to a post-Apartheid South Africa.

These are some of the concerns to be considered in discussing the relationship between the mining industry, capital accumulation and employment implications and the impact of those developments in South Africa and southern Africa. The justification for the above focus especially within the context of the present crisis of profitability afflicting the gold mining sector is based firstly on Ruth First's own concerns about the impact of capital accumulation in South Africa's mining industry on Mozambique in her well known publication, *Black Gold* (1983).

The other justification is my own concern with the present crisis afflicting the gold mining sector in particular and the consequent retrenchment of mine workers from South Africa and southern Africa, attributable to a contracting and rationalising gold mining industry. This on-going retrenchment process signifies a tendency of South Africa's capital accumulation system to transfer the socio-economic costs of adverse economic developments to the periphery in the context of an ever-expanding pool of the unemployed in the southern African region.

The impact of this process on these traditional labour supplying regions like Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland and also those within South Africa, i.e. the Transkei region, has been disastrous.

Saul, John

Structural Reform : A Model for the Revolutionary Transformation of South Africa

This paper examines the problem of developing and sustaining a revolutionary theory and practice adequate to meeting the challenges of a post-apartheid South Africa. It begins from the (perhaps obvious) premise that merely formally 'deracialising' the economy and then proceeding with 'business (more or less) as usual' will not meet the needs of the vast mass of the South African population. But it also argues that an alternative approach which seeks simply to define the scope of 'progressive' post-apartheid socio-economic strategy in terms of a more active 'redistribution' of surpluses creamed off from the private sector is not much more adequate. The fact is that the popular movement will have to impinge in crucial ways upon the *production* decisions of capital if the requirements both of resuscitating the South African economy and of meeting the needs of the population are to be met.

However, in a context in which prior revolutionary experiments (now by and large defunct in any case) offer little positive inspiration and prevailing socialist theory only limited guidance, there is a pressing need to develop new ways of thinking about the modalities - at once socialist *and* realistic - of a radical restructuring of inherited socio-economic institutions. Drawing on the work of such thinkers as Andre Gorz and Boris Kagarlitsky, the paper seeks to present the concept of 'structural

reform' [a concept I first used with reference to South Africa in my article "South Africa: Between 'Barbarism' and 'Structural Reform'", *New Left Review*, #160 (1991)], as being particularly useful in this regard. Thinking in terms of 'structural reform' can help ground a practice that avoids the twin dangers of, on the one hand, a romantic (and inevitably all too rhetorical) ultra-revolutionary approach, and, on the other, collapse into a mild reformism that will do little to alter the balance of inherited class power and conservative/technocratic decision-making.

Obviously, the fact that the grim and immediate struggle against the apartheid state and the apartheid system remains front and centre in South Africa renders this discussion somewhat more abstract than it might otherwise be. Yet important battles are also underway on a number of policy-making fronts beyond the constitution-making realm that already have begun to have profound implications for the balance of power and policy in a post-apartheid South Africa. Clearer thinking can be expected to help on such fronts both now and later. The paper also takes account of the severe constraints that will hamper any attempt to develop and to implement radical socio-economic policies: the increased power of capital, international and domestic, in an era of accelerated globalisation and the absence of any strong counterweight to capital's global writ in the post-Cold War era, the technical, administrative and other constraints on the popular movement's capacities as it seeks to deepen its challenge to established power centres.

Most importantly, however, the paper seeks to demonstrate that the theory and practice of 'structural reform' - an approach that keeps front and centre the long-term goal of structural-cum-socialist transformation while also emphasising the importance of a cumulative democratic empowerment of the popular classes - is already the implicit approach of the mass democratic movement at its most promising in South Africa. Emphasis on the role of 'civil society' as an active agent of change, the pressing by the trade union movement of claims upon capital that run beyond the terms of the wage bargain and other features are cited in this regard. But the paper does suggest that embracing more selfconsciously the concept and the language of 'structural reform' could help make the popular movement's revolutionary practice even more cumulatively effective in the long run.

Vieria, Sergio

Abstract not available

Webster, Eddie and von Holt, Karl

Towards a Socialist Theory of Radical Reform : From Resistance to Reconstruction in the Labour Movement

The paper begins with the debate in the 'Review of African Political Economy' in 1978 between Ruth First and Archie Mafeje over the implications of the Soweto Uprising of 1976. Towards the end of her response to Mafeje, First asks the question: "What are the conditions under which this front of the struggle (the development of workplace organisation) can be conducted?"

This paper attempts to answer this question through an analysis of the emergence and development of the democratic labour movement since the seventies. It is divided into two parts: Part One traces the rise of the democratic unions in the seventies and their emergence at the centre of resistance to apartheid in the eighties. Part Two traces their growing involvement in the politics of reconstruction and identifies some of the obstacles facing the democratic labour movement as it seeks to play a more central role in the economy.

The rise of labour in South Africa raises a number of questions relating to the direction this

powerful movement is likely to take in the nineties. Will the labour movement provide the foundations for the 'struggle for socialism' as First suggests, or will its role be to facilitate the democratisation of capitalism in South Africa?

The paper argues that the practice of the labour movement has pointed in the direction of an alternative to either revolution or co-optation. Instead we have a situation in which the labour movement is able to challenge capital and the state through the mobilisation of an independent power base. This has led to a change in the balance of power in the workplace that is leading not to revolution, but to compromise and radical reform.

But while the practice of the labour movement is pointing in the direction of this alternative, no attempt has been made in South Africa to explore the implications of this for socialist theory. This paper is part of a wider project to develop what we will call a socialist theory of radical reform. Such a theory would aim to provide the basis for the gradual socialist transformation of capitalist society. Such a theory would need to address a range of organisations of civil society as well as the need for a left political party. We focus in this paper on a crucial organisation within civil society - the democratic labour movement - although we address, in our concluding remarks, implications of our analysis for the South African Communist Party.

Wolpe, AnnMarie

Education as a Form of Control: What Hope for Black Women?

This paper will schematically outline the role of the education system in advanced industrial society as a force in reproducing the specific conditions of women in both the family and in work. In the course of this the reciprocal relationship between the family-school-work triad will be demonstrated.

Although primitive accumulation in South Africa has been slower and more uneven than in advanced industrial countries, the expansion of industry generated particularly in the '60s and '70s is speeding up this process. This paper will next examine the effect this has had on women in particular, and how the social relations have been reproduced in the absence of a universal education system.

The changes initiated by the 2nd February 1990 will affect every aspect of life in the country. The education system is likely to be massively extended for a variety of reasons, not least of which is the need for an educated population. This paper will also be concerned with raising as a future research agenda the possible effect of changes in the educational system at this juncture on black women. Much of what will be said can only be seen as speculative owing to the dearth of empirical data and the absence of rigid theoretical analyses.

Wuyts, Marc and Doriye, Joshua

Aid, Adjustment and Sustainable Recovery : The Case of Tanzania

1. The Arusha Declaration in 1967 initiated a socialist policy which placed heavy emphasis on the role of the state as the prime mover in development. This concept of a developmental state entailed the following key characteristics:

- public action was equated with state action: the state represents the public interest and is most suited to carry it out;

- the state budget was the principal instrument through which the state exerted its influence over the economy: mobilising resources and allocating them in accordance with the priorities of state action;

- the economic priorities of state action were twofold: (1) import substituting industrialisation under the direct control of the state (parastatal enterprises), and (2) basic needs provisioning by the state, financed through taxation, and virtually free of charge to the user (health, education, water supplies etc.). [Note, however, that Tanzania's commitment to the liberation of Southern Africa also implied quite considerable economic investments, particularly in infrastructure.]

By and large, up to the end of the 1970s, state action was fairly coherent and reasonably effective, notwithstanding its inherent tensions (see below) and some major blunders such as forced villagisation. There was not yet a sense of a so-called 'crisis of governance' - a term which became increasingly prominent in the 1980s.

2. However, the development strategy pursued during this period was full of inherent tensions:

- the rate of investment (investment as % of GDP) increased but output growth slowed down, particularly in manufacturing, but also in other productive sectors. By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, GDP growth was mainly accounted for by the growth in services (particularly public services);

- the strategy of import substituting industrialisation brought in its wake a rapid increase in import requirements (particularly, investment goods and intermediate goods), as a result of the increasing capital and import intensity of manufacturing production. Exports, in contrast, continued to depend on agriculture. Except for the coffee boom in 1976/7, exports witnessed a downward trend, producing a persistent shortage of foreign exchange.

- the basic needs strategy put the emphasis on quantitative expansion through investments in social infrastructure (schools, water supplies, health posts, etc.). Investments in these sectors were often not subsequently matched by recurrent funding (which dependent on recurrent revenues, needed for their operation). Quantitative expansion, therefore, progressively provoked the deterioration of quality of services.

- paradoxically, the avowed strategy of self-reliance became increasingly dependent on foreign aid. Foreign aid mainly consisted of project aid (investment support), not commodity aid (recurrent import support). Therefore, recurrent imports (consumer goods, oil and other intermediate goods) had to be financed by revenues from exports. Declining export revenue, coupled with the steep rise in the price of oil, meant that import capacity for recurrent imports reduced dramatically while more investments were undertaken. The result was investment without growth characterised by a rapid decline in capacity utilisation.

In short, Tanzania pursued a development strategy which failed to take account of its inherent constraints. It amounted to an investment drive which could not be sustained in terms of the recurrent costs (imports and recurrent budget revenues) such investments implied.

3. The early 1980s witnessed a severe economic crisis: falling GDP (particularly in manufacturing); the development of parallel markets, rapid inflation and severe shortages of commodities; a significant withdrawal of foreign aid provoked by disagreements with the IMF on economic policy; the collapse of public revenues (which depended on imports and on formal sector performance) and consequently, public expenditures leading to cuts in investment programmes and a further severe deterioration of public services; and the dramatic decline in formal sector real wages and salaries which was aggravated by the fact that public sector employment kept increasing (partly as a result of policy measures to cushion the impact of the crisis).

The crisis broke the consensus on public policy which informed state action up to that point. The morals and morality of the civil service changed dramatically: individual survival strategies, often involving the use of public office for private gain, prevailed as the dominant form of coping with the crisis. Consequently, state action lost much of its cohesiveness.

4. Subsequent reforms and, particularly, the adoption of structural adjustment policies compounded this lack of cohesiveness of state action, notwithstanding the period of economic recovery (1985/6 up to the present). Three processes were at work in this period:

- the increase in foreign aid and its changing composition in favour of import support propelled a process of growth based on increased capacity utilisation;
- the rapid depreciation of the Tanzanian currency (together with the increase in the aid flow) meant that foreign aid, measured in Tanzanian shillings, came to dominate economic aggregates;
- this also applied to the public sector which became more aid dependent than ever; not just in volume, but also in direction. The effectiveness of state action increasingly depends on the availability of foreign finance which often concentrates on selective interventions based on own organisational structures and finance. This resulted in a further loss of coherence in state action since the latter reflects different and often uncoordinated donor preferences rather than a coherent policy. As such, the effective capacity of the Tanzanian state to direct or influence economic development is further eroded.

In sum, the nature of the recovery is unlikely to be sustainable without continued reliance on foreign aid. Furthermore, the policies pursued under structural adjustment and the character of donor actions effectively accentuate the incoherence of state action which is increasingly propelled by donor preferences backed up by foreign aid.

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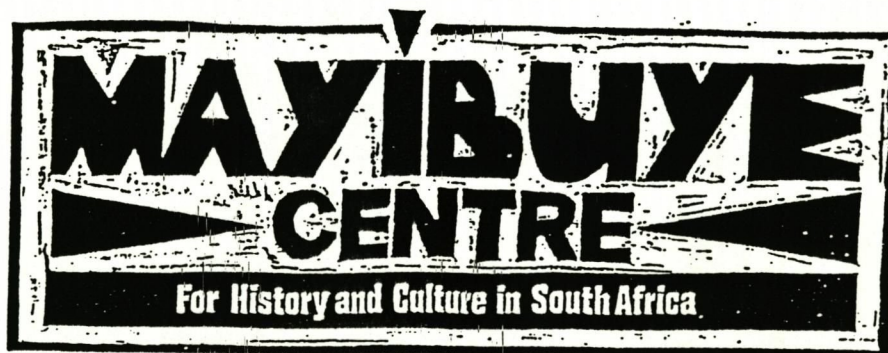
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EXHIBITIONS * BOOKS * FILMS

MONDAY 17 AUGUST:

- 09.30** onwards - **Book stall:** Mayibuye and struggle books, including works by Ruth First.
(Senate Building)
- 12.30** onwards - **Small exhibition** in honour of Ruth First.
(Mayibuye Centre, next to auditorium)
- 13.10** **A World Apart.** Internationally acclaimed film on the life of Ruth First and her family.
Introduced by the scriptwriter, Shawn Slovo.
(Library Auditorium)
- 17.00** **Opening of Visual Arts Group exhibition.** Works by more than 30 Cape Town artists.
Including tributes to Ruth First by Sandra Kriel and Sue Williamson.
(next to Library Auditorium)

TUESDAY 18 AUGUST:

- 13.10** **90 Days.** Film on Ruth First's detention without trial in the sixties, with herself acting in the main role.

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