

Proposal for The Role of the Department of Social Welfare within The ANC

June 1991



INTRODUCTION

After taking into account various studies made by various scholars in the field of Social Welfare so as to bring the ANC's Department of Social Welfare in line with modern thinking and democratic trends in a changing South Africa, it is thought that for our purposes the suggested approach by Anne Letsebe and Jackie Lofell in a paper prepared and presented to the conference on Health and Welfare in Transition, April 1990 on "RESTRUCTURING SOCIAL SERVICES IN SOUTH AFRICA", their vision to some extent coincides with our own vision and also our definition of Social Welfare.

However, in the ANC we believe to have a conclusive and final definition of Social Welfare because it is not possible to have final definition of human problems which emanate from the legacy of a complex apartheid and unjust system. As the composite writers state, is not possible to offer ready solutions to the many dilemmas which arise but to identify them and possibly strategise.

Any paper on Policy would have to be discussed in many circles, particularly at branch level and at Regional level so as to arrive at a common and united position from the people on the ground to build a human service system which has maximum grassroots support and makes participation a reality. Therefore our report should reflect our:

1. VISION AND VALUE BASE

For purposes of this paper, social welfare refers broadly to social services, benefits, social security, social facilities and social policies to promote physical, social and emotional well-being in society.

The need for social welfare in South Africa arises largely from the destructive effects of apartheid and capitalism. Welfare is a response to working class demands resulting from deteriorating social, political and economic conditions.

In order to begin to appropriately address the above needs, social welfare in South Africa needs to be committed to a new vision especially that of our ANC. A vision which:

- promotes social justice
- responds to contemporary social realities
- holds a vision for change.

As has been the case with most helping professions, under the present system of government, professionals have wittingly or unwittingly served an ideological role for apartheid. In order to redirect our energies to a new vision it is vital that we firstly recognise now that we have been the nuts and bolts in the wheel, and that we have to change in line with ideals. We cannot afford to be equated with the hated "Native Commissioners" of yesterdays South Africa but, if we keep referring our people from office to office for days on end when they come to our offices for help we are beginning to fall into that trap.

In a new South Africa welfare should have a new purpose. Welfare should be regarded as a central strategy for the new nation. Hence it must be closely co-ordinated with other national strategies and become the means by which redistribution of resources can occur. This conception of welfare involves an important shift in thinking - welfare has in the past featured low in public consciousness, particularly in the ANC which tended to regard social welfare as simply hand-outs "Umphando" etc and the priorities of policy-makers, and because it served mainly as a safety net for urban people, particularly whites in South Africa.

2. BRIEF PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY (THE ANALYTICAL APPROACH WILL BE CONTAINED IN THE POLICY PAPER DELIVERED SEPARATELY)

- People are the wealth of a country. They have the capacity to contribute to their own development and to the development of the nation. The ANC will actively facilitate this development at the local, regional and national levels.
- The ANC will create a social infrastructure that will enable individuals to take maximal responsibility both their own well-being and the well-being of their fellow citizens.
- The family is a natural and fundamental unit of society, and ANC will ensure circumstances in which secure and fulfilling family life will be protected, but this can only be realised with resources and manpower through counselling.
- All citizens, irrespective of race, gender, religion, political affiliation or disability will have equal access to human welfare services. In the allocation of scarce resources, the sole criterion will be human need.

3. THE PRESENT STRUCTURAL IDEAS IMPLEMENTED SO FAR

When the Department was first formed we sent a circular to the 14 Regions requesting them to elect one of the REC members as a Welfare Officer who would in turn operate through the branches to get Welfare Officers and that each Region would have a Welfare Committee drawn from all the Welfare Officers of the branches. This structure would be answerable to the REC and then to the DSW ultimately.

AT HEAD OFFICE LEVEL IS PRESENTLY AS FOLLOWS

1. Head of Department
2. Administrative Secretary (acting National co-ordinator)

3. 4 Social Workers
4. Secretary/Typist
5. Receptionist
6. 3 Drivers

Following our brief introduction we need to look into the motivation for the formation of a DSW in the ANC. When it was apparent that our people would be repatriated from exile, our ANC office in Lusaka launched the first Welfare Unit which subsequently gave birth to the National DSW, whose tasks broadly viewed would be as follows:

- 3.1 Formulation of an alternative Social Welfare Policy for a post-apartheid South Africa
- 3.2 To look after the social welfare needs of ANC exiles after they have been repatriated back into South Africa
- 3.3 To look after the social welfare needs of ANC ex-political prisoners
- 3.4 To look after the social welfare needs of victims of political violence and apartheid in general.

The first mentioned above task i.e. policy formulation for a post apartheid South Africa is dealt with in a separate document headed "The Social Welfare Policy discussion Paper".

We will now make mention of the problems that this Department is faced with from day to day. It is important to note that comrades have come back to nothing. They are forced by circumstances to go back to their overcrowded 1-2 bedroom homes. Some have found that their parents have passed away, and the original home is no longer there. Their brothers and sisters have married and are unable to accommodate them. Comrades main problem is accommodation, employment and counselling.

In order to understand and empathise with the comrades it would be best to put the problems we have to deal with into different categories.

- 4.1 Physically disabled
- 4.2 Mentally ill
- 4.3 Chronically ill
- 4.4 Problems of children whose parents have passed away in the course of the struggle
- 4.5 Problems of our old veterans
- 4.6 Problems of the unemployed comrades
- 4.7 Problems of comrades who are homeless
- 4.8 Cases of comrades who passed away at home and abroad
- 4.9 General Cases

4.1 PHYSICALLY DISABLED

Problems of unemployed comrades who have been disabled as a result of bomb explosions or ambushes by Unita Bandits need further treatment. It is obvious that if we refer them to ordinary hospitals we would be taking chances with their lives. These comrades are still very young and have a whole life ahead of them. Therefore it is the duty of DSW to ensure that they get the necessary treatment and rehabilitation and counselling. In this regard we can only place them in the existing expensive previously white nursing homes, necessitating a special medical fund. We have been using a Lesedi Medical Trust Fund (now exhausted) for this purpose.

We need to organise funds immediately because there are lots of comrades who still need to be referred to clinics e.g. there is a comrade who sustained hand grenade injuries in Angola and lost his eye, arm and the use of his left leg.

Another comrade is blind, partially deaf, and has no upper limbs. He needs to undergo extensive physiotherapy so that the feasibility of attaching artificial limbs could be explored.

Another comrade was shot all over his body in White City when violence erupted in the Reef.

4.2 MENTALLY ILL

Problems of exile can be understood in terms of absence of family and the stress of having to adapt to a completely new way of life. Comrades in exile carry on their shoulders a high stress load. Therefore exile is a traumatic chronic stressor which leads to acute stress syndromes. As a result of that some comrades experience serious psychological problems.

Comrades who come back mentally deranged are faced with various problems. Firstly, there are no government institutions that provide proper psychiatric services for blacks. Only private services are available and they cost a fortune e.g. the case of one comrade who left the country at the age of 13 and has come back totally disorientated.

He has been hospitalised at the Johannesburg hospital for the past two months and the doctors recommend that he be sent to Sterkfontein Mental Hospital DSW and his mother objects to this recommendation because we know for a fact that, this will make his condition worse. His mother would like to take care of him

personally but unfortunately she doesn't have a fixed place of abode. Other comrades have found that the parents have passed away and their brothers and sisters are unable to accommodate them.

Comrades who once suffered from mental breakdowns are beginning to get relapses as a result of family problems and lack of self actualization.

4.3 CHRONICALLY ILL

Chronically ill comrades need ongoing treatment and a proper diet. Here we are talking about comrades who are HIV positive, a child with cerebral palsy, comrades with sugar diabetes, asthma and cardiac cases. The problem with comrades who fall under this category is that, they might not be able to live on their disability grants. We therefore recommend that DSW provide them with maintenance grant to augment their meagre disability grants.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

DSW recommend that:

- funds be raised so that these comrades could be able to get proper therapeutic care.
- Homes be built/bought where rejected comrades could be provided with a place in which they might belong
- Extensive counselling be provided to comrades in order to help them find something worthwhile to do.

5.1 PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS PASSED AWAY IN THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE

The social welfare needs of these children are basically accommodation, education, medical treatment and clothes.

There are those whose relatives are still alive and would be prepared to live with them, unfortunately because of economic reasons they cannot provide for their needs. In such cases it would be necessary for DSW to refer them to Child Welfare Society so that a children's maintenance grant could be applied for them. The meagre grant will not provide for their needs therefore, the DSW will have to help them in whatever possible way.

Those who don't have relatives will have to be put up for foster care or adoption. The ANC will have to decide whatever it is going to follow the State's adoption procedures or devise our own. Those who cannot be taken for adoption will have to be placed in homes rather than government institutions.

The DSW has already had people who have come forth with the idea of fostering our needy children. We need to encourage this since foster care is preferable to adoption.

5.2 THE PROBLEMS OF OUR OLD VETERANS

The problems of our old veterans especially those who come from exile is that they have not had any contact with their relatives ever since they left the country in the 60's. Some have found that their relatives have moved to unknown destination or have died. This state of affairs call on the movement to provide alternative accommodation for them, while tracing occurs.

We all know that there are few old age homes for blacks and the conditions there are terrible. Moreover we strongly want them to be reintegrated therefore we recommend that homes be built/bought with in communities for them. As it is the old age veterans from Tanzania who were placed at the private Soweto Old Age Home feel isolated politically.

DSW will have to ensure that they get their I D documents through liaising with relevant department and apply for pension grants for them. The leadership could raise this issue with the relevant government department to minimise the usual delays in registering for pension funds.

5.3 PROBLEMS OF THE UNEMPLOYED COMRADES

Over 50% of the comrades from abroad will come back unskilled therefore they would not be easily placed in employment. This means that they are not in a position to fend for themselves and would automatically become "Social Welfare cases" It is the duty of DSW to help comrades until they are able to stand on their two feet but at the same time guard against to creation of the dependency syndrome. Again it is the duty of the social workers to counsel the comrades, motivate, guide and help them decide how to earn their living. In the meantime, DSW will have to provide relief grants to these comrades until a point that they are able to fend for themselves.

5.4 PROBLEMS FACING COMRADES WHO ARE HOMELESS

We have comrades who's homes were burnt down by vigilantes and have been displaced. We also have problems of comrades who have gone back to their overcrowded homes and sleep on the kitchen/dining room floor. Such comrades have come to the DSW for help.

Finally, we have cases of comrades who found that their original homes are no longer there and families have disintegrated. We have four couples and 11 children with this problem and they have been placed at a house in Diepkloof. Food has to be provided for them on a weekly basis.

Social Workers are trying to help these comrades adjust so that they could be able to fend for themselves because the state of affairs cannot go on indefinitely.

Two or three comrades have been given money to erect shacks in their home backyard. Maybe the question to ask here is how far can the movement go in trying to address this problem? because we not have resources and there is a backlog in housing already.

5.5 CASES OF COMRADES WHO PASSED AWAY AT HOME AND ABROAD

Deceased comrades fall under three categories namely:

- A. Comrades who passed away abroad before the unbanning whose families were never informed
- B. Comrades who are passing away abroad after the process of repatriation has commenced and their families wish that they be buried
- C. Comrades who are passing away inside the country as a result of political violence.

Dealing with death is one of the most difficult tasks that this department has ever been faced with. Much as social workers are professionals, handling bereaved families, helping them to work out their emotions during these times, it has become clear that not all aspects of death can be dealt with relative ease.

A. COMRADES WHO PASSED AWAY ABROAD BEFORE THE UNBANNING WHOSE FAMILIES WERE NEVER INFORMED

This department has been called upon to inform and assist families of comrades who fell in action inside and outside the country, while the movement was banned.

- (i) Some families have had their sons/daughters fall during the cause of the struggle and were never informed, which has created unhappiness when they came to learn of the matter from various sources.
- (ii) Families have requested for the remains of their children to be brought back for the proper burial.

Here the ANC needs to adopt measures of firstly informing the relatives and making a symbolic gesture with the assistance of the branches and regions. As regards the exhuming and reburial of the remains the ANC needs to adopt a policy which will be acceptable and workable.

B. COMRADES WHO PASSED AWAY ABROAD BEFORE THE UNBANNING WHOSE FAMILIES WERE NEVER INFORMED

Families of these comrades need to be informed, first of all, the mechanisms of which can be worked out.

Secondly, arrangements for their bodies to be brought back home is the one issue which clearly needs to deal with in terms of resources.

Thirdly, confusion has arisen as regards the fact that the department had been informed that the movement had suspended bringing back bodies and the fact that comrades had to be buried where they fall. In some instances this directive was heeded by some regions outside the country while other regions have simply made arrangements for these bodies to be brought back. There has been no common approach to this matter.

Fourthly, in cases where bodies were brought back, families and branches have approached the department to assist with mortuary and burial fees which have amounted to +R2 000 a case, for funds in respect of food, transport and catering etc. Looking at the whole scenario it is evident that:

- (i) the ANC needs to have a common approach as to where comrades are buried, families have to be treated equally, for if one family can be assisted to work out their feelings and emotions and pay their last respects, why do the opposite for the next family without creating remorse and hard feelings.
- (ii) The department needs funds to assist in the transportation of the bodies from outside the country, maybe, even consider a special fund.

As to the catering and other funeral arrangements the department is unanimous that some assistance should clearly be forthcoming from the branches themselves.

C. COMRADES WHO ARE PASSING AWAY INSIDE THE COUNTRY AS A RESULT OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Once more the prime factor facing the department in this case is the question of resources. Now that the ANC is unbanned, destitute families of comrades who pass away inside the country more so due to the question of violence, need assistance in terms of burial and catering fees.

Secondly, comrades who come from exile need assistance in cases where they have passed away or their parents passed away.

GENERAL CASES

Under this category, are miscellaneous cases assisted on the recommendation of Social Workers for financial assistance, arising from the above mentioned problems. In most cases people were given one-off grants.

The department needs to define the concept of "destitution" and the type of assistance to be given. However, some form of assistance or the other needs to be provided and catering needs to be seen to by the branches.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the face of the foregoing factors it is obvious that the DSW has an important role to play. DSW is the human face of the ANC and now we address ourselves to the problems and provide services tells a lot about the ANC. We therefore recommend that the ANC allocate funds and facilities so as to enable this department to achieve its aims and objectives.

7. A SUMMARY OF OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Having in mind that in a normal society:

- (1) The State accepts primary responsibility for the welfare of all its citizens i.e.
- (2) A normal base which flows from humanitarian values (Discussion Document on Welfare Policy Prepared for the I.W.C. – Durban Pg 4)

It is necessary to point out that the perceptions of our people concerned with this thinking. This is better expressed in two regional reports which reflect the philosophy at grassroot level (letters attached for your information) from:

1. George Boinamo – Zeerust
2. Rev. M. Xundu – Eastern Cape – Convener of the Department of Social Welfare

7.2 These are dangerous perceptions which compel us in the ANC to live up to the expectations of our membership.

7.3 The NEC has decided that comrades who die outside must be buried there and that bereaved families must be told as such.

7.4 It is our sincere view that this is a very fundamental mistake which must not be adjusted immediately, for the following reasons:

- A. Our membership and society in general has the legitimate expectation that the ANC will at least assist the bereaved families to pay their last respects to a son or daughter who has been exclusively serving the interstate of the ANC for 10 or 20 years, whatever the case may be.
- B. A failure to do this makes the task of the ANC branches difficult in terms of building the organisation. On the other hand where the ANC does play a role the feedback we get is that we have played a building role in that community that will surpass a 100 rallies and speeches. Everybody knows the sensitive nature in which death is viewed in our communities.
- C. The problem which is correctly cited for the stand taken by the NEC is lack of resources. However, the Department feels that the importance of the particular issue requires of us to go out and raise funds on that specific ticket. There are numerous practical steps that may be taken in this regard, to avoid irreparable harm otherwise caused to the ANC.

7.5 A broad recommendation is that the Department be treated as an exception to the good rule that all Departments desist from raising funds and depend on the budget allocations.

The organisation will be better served if the Department is allowed to exploit its own fund-raising capacity of specific issues which may appeal to certain would-be donors. This could be subject to the following conditions.

- (i) That all funds raised are immediately reported to the T.G. so that they are fully accounted for at the appropriate times.
- (ii) That funds raised in this nature are funds which may otherwise not have been available to the ANC.
- (iii) The Department must motivate identification of a special "category" for which special funds need to be raised.

7.6 Finally, it must be emphasized that need will be the sole criterion for assistance. The categorisation of comrades into returnees, ex-political prisoners and "other ANC members" should be merely used for administrative convenience and at no stage must comrades feel that one category is favoured over others, if their conditions are the same.

7.7 The ANC is not a government, it is a non-profit making organisation, itself dependent on donations. It can therefore never address all the material needs of its large membership as it did in exile.

However, we must try and do our best. Sometimes comrades who have left our offices empty handed leave happy because of the manner in which they have been received and the validity of the explanations as to why we cannot help. We have a humanitarian duty to provide a shoulder for our people to cry on. The problems that may flow from the disillusionment of our members should they feel that the ANC does not care for them when they are in difficulties are immeasurable in money.

**Social Welfare
Policy Discussion
Paper**

June 1991

**ANC
Department
of Social
Welfare**



Draft for Discussion within the ANC

1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The success of the first post-apartheid government will be judged by many in terms of its concrete performance in eradicating the extreme deprivation that they suffered under apartheid. Can a people's government ensure that the people have homes, enough to eat, schools for their children and access to health facilities?

Will the destructiveness and unpredictable violence of apartheid give way to security? If it is too early to speak of prosperity, will the new regime at least offer opportunity?

The answers to these questions will depend on the coordinated efforts of a range of government departments in the first democratic administration, their capacity to mobilise and justly allocate resources and relate constructively to initiatives for development that exist within communities.

Among these departments or departmental divisions will be that of social welfare, whose task it will be to see that the most disadvantages and those with particular disabilities or special social needs are beneficiaries of and participants in this drive to improve the quality of life on a national scale.

Not only do social welfare workers in a mixed economy post-apartheid society retain a special brief for the poorest of the poor – those without any prospect of formal employment – it will be their task to ensure that vulnerable groups, including children, the very old, the disabled, the mentally handicapped and mentally ill, are not neglected as targets are set on achieving the greatest good for the greatest possible number. On the contrary, these disadvantaged minorities must benefit to the full from the absolute dismantling of the racially discriminatory, colonially styled and anti-democratic welfare system of the apartheid state.

Social welfare services need to be rescued from the anti-welfare state dogma of the apartheid era and re-engage solidly with the jobless poor who were simply abandoned to their miserable fate by past governments – and sometimes rescued by community sponsored and internationally funded relief agencies.

Given the large number of unemployed, the projection of a slow return to healthy economic growth rates, the low pay of most South Africans and their limited capacity for taxation, it is unlikely that the social welfare establishment's reclaiming of the poor will take place in the comforting context of extensive social security provision. It is far more likely to occur on the uncertain and challenging terrain of development – for instance, in state sponsored public works

programmes conceived in terms of a national development strategy. Welfare personnel must bring to these projects and determination of priorities in accordance with communities perceptions of needs.

The seeming incapacity of the South African economy to carry the burden of full social security benefits implies neither that existing pensions and social insurance schemes should be abandoned, nor that their present limitations should be accepted.

For ideological as well as economic reasons, apartheid welfare planners firmly rejected the notion that citizens have a right to social security. As result, menial and severely means – tested pensions/grants have been the sole state social security provision.

Under apartheid, a non-contributory state pension scheme was established for destitute old people; non-contributory disability and war veteran's pensions were set up; and a contributory unemployment insurance fund. There are also various care grants for children and the disabled. All non-contributory scheme pay out benefits on racially discriminatory scales. Despite the meanness of provision, for black rural households the old age pension is, after contributions from migrant workers, the main form of cash income – a literal lifeline.

For the working classes and those further up the socio-economic scale there is private social insurance – industrial provident funds, corporate pension schemes and a multiplicity of schemes run by private insurance companies. Industrial, commercial and white collar workers are also covered by UIF.

As in the health field, the observation can be that there is rudimentary state purchased coverage available for those in secure, adequately paid work. Whether this "two tier" system should or could be abolished in favour of a national pension scheme is a complex matter. That state assistance needs immediate and fundamental restructuring to eradicate the inequities and injustices of apartheid administration is beyond doubt. That this alone will dramatically increase the social security budget is also starkly clear.

In addition to venturing boldly into development programmes and reassessing social security measures, planners for a post-apartheid welfare system will have to undertake a major reorientation of the existing social service network.

State – subsidised voluntary associations carry out the bulk of social services in South Africa. They run family welfare agencies and a range of specialised forms of care – for the mentally and physically handicapped; for the aged; for former prisoners; for alcoholics and drug users; for the mentally ill. The overwhelming majority of these

organisations were instituted within the privileged white sector for white people with special needs. Until recently, through its grip on the purse strings, the Government ensured the segregation of non-governmental organisations was strictly observed.

In recent years, under pressure of social workers and community groups a process of desegregation has taken root. More services are becoming available to black communities; formerly all-white boards of management are including some representation from black communities; services are becoming more relevant to conditions in which black welfare consumers find themselves. But the number of organisations prepared to embark thoroughly on this course of action is miniscule – and there is no pressure from national welfare structures, governmental or non-governmental, to accelerate the process.

It is carecely surprising that the social ills caused directly by apartheid were ignored by the formal, registered and state assisted welfare organisations – problems such as the dislocation of families under the migrant labour system; the after effects of indefinite detention of thousands of young people; the anti-social behaviour or youths totally alientated from the racist institutions of society; the brutalisation of children who witnessed death, defied death by engaging the forces of the state and inflicted death.

The problems of families and individuals damaged in these and other ways by apartheid will not be solved the day all South Africans win the right to make a cross on a ballot slip. They are deep seated and deply harmful patterns of behaviour which may be alleviated in individual cases by highly skilled social work assistance. And by social, development and political practices which restore the institutions of society to a position of respect.

Special attention will have to be paid to the reconstitution an overall rehabilitation of communities totally destroyed by the political violence of the transitional period. Settlements that were torn down amid bloodletting and fire and death cannot be rebuilt simply in zinc and bricks. They have to be made whole socially and emotionally and will need highly committed and highly skilled help to heal themselves.

The reintegration of thousands of political exiles into society is another complex social challenge of the transitional and immediate post-apartheid era. It not only demands a great use of limited resources in terms of providing homes, jobs and training opportunities for those returning. It also requires interventions to releave the deep stress and insecurity that repatriation entails for many families and individuals.

The existence of these problems and the internationally accepted rights of the disabled, the very young and the very old to special

enriching attention and where appropriate, special protection social casework method and a transformation, rather than abandonment, of the network of voluntary social agencies nurtured under apartheid.

2. POINTS OF DEPARTURE

In social welfare, as in other fields, there is a growing realisation that post-apartheid provision will be a thorough but gradual transformation of present systems, rather than a question of “off with the old, and on with the new”.

Although this transformation will be initiated literally as a democratic South Africa comes into being – fundamental institutional changes will be made through the constitution itself – there simply is not the capacity, in terms of finance, personnel and organisational infrastructure, to effect an instant overhaul.

However, there is a pressing demand for the development of a new set of principles and policy guidelines for social welfare which will distinguish the new system fundamentally from the discriminatory, paternalistic and controlling apartheid welfare system. It must be clear for all to see what visions and notions of social justice welfare planners have before them as they seek to answer enormous social problems with limited resources.

3. PRINCIPLES UNDERPINING A NEW POLICY

Social workers within the mass democratic Movement have proposed that the following are key principles in shaping welfare policy in a democratic South Africa.

- 3.1 People are the fundamental natural resource of a country since they have the capacity to develop personally and are the motor force in the development of the nation. The government, therefore, has a responsibility to facilitate both personal and national development organisational framework which will enable citizens to assume responsibility for their own well-being and the welfare of fellow South Africans.
- 3.2 The family is a natural and fundamental unit of society, essential to the stability of society and to the wellbeing of its members. The Government will undertake to safeguard family life.
- 3.3 Social welfare services will be made available on the sole criterion of need. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of race,

gender, religion or political affiliation. (one of the most appalling examples of the discriminatory nature of the present welfare system is the different old age pensions paid to Africans, Coloured, Indian and white persons).

- 3.4 Specific attention will be given to the needs of the disabled and other disadvantaged or vulnerable groups by means of programmes of affirmative action.

The principles coincide with several provisions in the ANC's Bill of Rights. Article 10 in the ANC's Bill of Rights focuses the main aim to meet the basic needs of people and also makes special provision for certain groups such as women, children and the disabled.

Clause 1 of Article 10 states:

"All men and women have the right to enjoy basic social, educational, economic and welfare rights".

Clauses 14 and 15 refer specially to the right to a minimum income and Welfare Rights. Welfare rights in these clauses refer specially to income security.

However, it is not enough to enshrine these objects in a Bill of Rights, specific legislation will have to be enacted to back the policies. A starting point in some of the most widely accepted elements of a new policy are listed below.

4. CENTRAL POLICY ELEMENTS

- 4.1 Human resource development will be viewed as an intrinsic feature of a national economic development strategy, not as an adjunct or an alternative.
- 4.2 The establishment of an effectively non-racial social welfare system requires affirmative action to overcome the bias of the apartheid era welfare system.
- 4.3 An egalitarian development strategy, embracing a social service element, should be instituted to overcome the urban rural bias.
- 4.4 The right of non-governmental organisations to mobilise resources and institute social welfare programmes shall be recognised, irrespective of the range and comprehensiveness of state services.
- 4.5 The Government will observe principles of democratic participation in the planning and administration of social services, by providing for participation of interested parties – especially social services client groups – in relevant planning and management structures.
- If social welfare is to achieve the meeting of basic needs through a

democratic process then at Local, Regional, and National levels there should be a co-ordinating structures which allow for community representatives, government representatives, health, education, housing, economic, social and community development professionals. These structures would be responsible for developing an integrated development strategy and plans in implementing them.

5. RESTRUCTURING OF THE WELFARE MAZE

In the non-governmental sector, voluntary agencies are co-ordinated vertically in specialised, sectoral organisations – such as the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare, the Sa National Council for the Aged, the South African National Council on Alcohol and Drug Dependence. There is considerable replication services on racial and religious bases.

Issues in Restructuring

Debate in progressive welfare groups has highlighted four key issues to be considered in restructuring the national welfare system. They are:

5.1. The nature of the Central Government Welfare Authority

The first issue, the nature of the central welfare authority, centres on the question whether goals are best pursued under the direction of a separate, specialised Ministry or within a hybrid Ministry, such as Health and Welfare; Health, Education and Welfare or Labour and Welfare.

It would seem right that in the short and medium terms, at least, a separate ministry of social welfare will be needed in order to concentrate in redressing the imbalances caused by apartheid welfare over the years. In this regard we differ with the Health Department of the ANC when they suggest that the health and Welfare Ministry will be the best structure.

This is not to deny the relationship that exist between social welfare and other sectors such as health, education, labour, economics, etc. In view of this, our recommendation of a single Welfare Ministry must be qualified with a strict demand for interdisciplinary co-ordination aimed at eliminating the isolation of social welfare from related disciplines.

5.2. The Degree of Centralisation of Welfare Enterprise

The second major issue – the desirability of centralisation or decentralisation in welfare planning and provision – cannot be seen in isolation. There is a broader debate in ANC constitutional committees about decentralisation in the governmental structures of a democratic South Africa. The discussion document on constitutional principles observes: "A unified South Africa shall not be an over-centralised, impersonal and over-bureaucratised country. The precise relationship between central, regional and local governments can be worked out on the basis of acknowledging the overall integrity of South Africa and the existence of fundamental rights for all citizens".

5.3. The Relationship between State and Non-governmental Welfare Sector

The question of devolution is not unrelated to the debate on the relative roles of the state and non governmental organisations in the running of social welfare services. Both entail the central state ceding a degree of control – while probably not giving over too much of the burden for raising the funds for the services.

What then is the guiding principle in deciding which services should be devolved within the state and which should be given over to state-subsidised voluntary associations? The notion that there are certain absolute rights to certain elements of social services and care which should be available to all citizens.

The concept of welfare rights is strongly developed in the value base of the ANC and is reflected in the Freedom Charter, the Women's Charter, the Bill of Rights. If a government asserts such rights as policy it has a corresponding duty to provide the service and to do so universally for all citizens. It cannot in such essentials, depend on non-governmental institutions to fulfil its undertakings.

Given the ANC vision that there should be a safety net of social services through which no single citizen should fall. An ANC government would be committed in the long term to a programme of substantial expansion of state social services and social security benefits.

5.4. The Redefinition of the Non-governmental Welfare Sector

The fourth structural issue is reorganisation within the non-governmental sector. The need to reorientate social agencies to

overcome past racial biases and elitism has already been discussed. This will need to be done in such a way as to engage rather than alienate, existing personnel.

6. NEW PRIORITIES IN STAFFING FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL SERVICES

A shortage of skilled manpower will undoubtedly prove to be one of the major constraints on the extension of social services. The main issue here is to define the type of human resource that we require. The shortage has been most keenly felt precisely where the need is greatest, as figures clearly show. In the white community there is presently one social worker for every 1 116 people; in the black community the ratio is one to 20 462.

7. FINANCING THE SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEM

The assumption underlying all of the above discussion is that the state will assume major responsibility for the financing of social welfare services and that there will be the political will to increase social expenditure. The question that remain is what practical constraints will impact on this impulse to more generous social provision.

CONCLUSION

The social welfare system represents only one of central avenues through which a future government can ensure that the wealth of society is spread a little more evenly and justly. The others like education, health services, rural extension services – are equally important.

There is a special significance of social welfare services to the ideals of democracy and liberation: It addresses the desperate need of those who remain crucially impotent despite universal franchise – the handicapped, the young, the extremely old, those whose mental abilities are weak or clouded, those confined to institutions and those trapped in the grip of deepest poverty. Its aim is to establish the fundamental human and social rights of society's weakest and most vulnerable members.

This discussion document aims at raising the issues currently being debated within the progressive welfare movement. Regional welfare

structures will have to be strengthened in all regions to lay the ground for in depth discussion and simplification including translation of the content. Therefore, a process will be followed which should result in a concrete draft policy of the ANC which will form the basis on which the movement would engage in discussions with other players in the welfare movement.

The Western Cape regional welfare Committee has taken the lead in this regard. They have drawn an impressive discussion document which is being debated within the region. Southern Natal follows closely behind. In terms of forming the Social Welfare structures, the situation in the PWV and Eastern Cape Regions are promising.

The DSW is the youngest and the one busiest department in the Movement. For this reason the goal of setting up Regional structures and co-ordination with the National Office has not been as good as it should be. This situation must be rectified immediately. A contributory factor to this problem is the fact that the ANC Welfare Offices, are inundated with immediate and urgent problems facing our membership in these difficult times. Therefore, the long term question such as the post-apartheid policy formulation get automatically relegated to the back seat. A balance will have to be drawn between the two equally important facets of the Department i.e. the drawing of an alternative Welfare Policy and the provision of Social Services to our people.

FORWARD TO A DEMOCRATIC ACCEPTABLE EQUITABLE SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM!!!