

# Seeking solutions for turmoil in Ciskei

By NDUMI GWAYI

**A**GAINST the backdrop of accusations, counter accusations and mounting tension, representatives from more than 30 organisations across the political spectrum attended an Idasa conference on violence in the Border/Ciskei region in Bisho on September 4.

During the morning session political parties and institutions made submissions as to the causes of the violence, its impact on the region and possible solutions.

In the afternoon a series of broad agreements were reached with varying levels of consensus, but absent from the discussions after lunch were the Ciskei Council of State, the Ciskei Defence Force and the Ciskei Police Force, although the recently formed Ciskeian party, the African Democratic Movement, (ADM) was present.

There was general consensus on three items:

- The need for a commitment to free political activity in the region as defined in the first chapter of the National Peace Accord and that this commitment should be given symbolic force by the repeal of Section 43 of the Internal Security Act of the Ciskei.

- The need for the dispute resolution structures of the National Peace Accord to be resuscitated and that the Ciskei government should rejoin and commit itself to the Border Dispute Resolution Committee and the accord.

- The need for an independent investigation into violence in the region by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry and the need to enlarge the terms of the commission to cover the Ciskei.

There was majority agreement on two further issues, although the ADM dissented and offered alternatives.

Most parties agreed that an independent, impartial interim administration should take over the government of Ciskei immediately and that Ciskei should be reincorporated into South Africa.

However, the ADM proposed that both these matters should be the subject of national negotiations.

Finally, it was decided that a delegation of church, business, labour, ANC and SACP leaders should represent their views to the State President, the Ciskei Council of State and the general public.

**Ndumi Gwayi is the regional director of Idasa in the Border area.**

*We now face the ultimate management challenge – that of managing our own future as a species*

(Maurice Strong, The World Competitiveness Report, 1991)

**T**HE process of development is usually conceived of as a linear progression from a beginning stage (primitive/childlike) through growth and specialisation towards an end-point on a line, which represents the current position of countries regarded as already developed.

Development aid is then conceived of as an effort on the part of developed countries to help the underdeveloped people of the so-called Third World to "catch up" with the rest, often by providing them with capital programmes and projects suited to a First World development environment, where the cultural and infrastructural base upon which these plans originated is already present.

The model for this conception is that of the Marshall Plan, which was in fact one of reconstruction and not development.

Often conceived of as a kind of production process, whereby First World input will produce Third World output in the form of benefits "trickling down" to the poor, this approach has proven itself untenable. The intended "take-off" fails to occur, which is then explained in terms of political and economic ineffectiveness or injustice resulting in exploitation and dependency. The assumption underlying this conception of development is that the latter is equatable with economic growth. As US-based specialists Russel Ackoff and Jamshid Gharajedaghi have pointed out, growth and development are not the same and neither is necessary for the other to take place ("rubbish heaps can grow without developing and people can develop without growing").

This confusion points rather to the lack of an operational definition of development, and therefore the lack of an appropriate measure of it.

In its broadest terms, the development process occurs on two levels, the physical and the aspirational, the first seeking satisfaction of basic needs, measured by standard of living; the second seeking satisfaction of human aspirations, evaluated as quality of life. The latter is obviously harder to measure since it concerns qualities and not quantities.

Satisfaction of basic needs is the precondition without which quality of life is hardly achievable, yet we find they have rarely been achieved in conjunction with one another. Whereas Third World development



**Development has become a buzzword the world over. Stellenbosch researcher MARTINE DODDS (above) sheds light on the concept and challenges South Africa's politicians to transcend conflict and embark on a course of 'interactive national development planning'.**



problems are largely concentrated around basic needs satisfaction, (ie the generation and distribution of "plenty", with concomitant problems relating to choice, access and justice) and refer to the standard of living axis (means), First World development problems are predominantly concentrated around the quality of life axis (ends). The latter would include the environment, since quality of life is inconceivable under conditions of environmental degradation.

These processes occur simultaneously and influence one another. *How* you seek to satisfy basic needs has implications for your aspirations and ideals; and pursuit of your chosen ideals has implications for basic needs satisfaction, whether this relates to an individual or society as a whole. For example, globally the industrial world's single-minded pursuit of material wealth has had profound negative consequences in terms of