

**THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE LIBERALS'
USURPATION OF THE GREEN MOVEMENT: A
STUDY IN THE DEMISE OF THE LIBERAL
PARADIGM**

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“We know that the white man does not understand our ways. He is a stranger who comes in the night, and takes from the land whatever he needs. The earth is not his friend, but his enemy and when he’s conquered it, he moves on. He kidnaps the earth from his children. His appetite will devour the desert and leave behind a desert. If all the beasts were gone, we would die from a great loneliness of the spirit, for whatever happens to the beasts also happens to us. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the Earth, befalls the children of the Earth.”

Chief Seattle, 1885

“Only when the last tree has died and the last river been poisoned and the last fish been caught will we realise that we cannot eat money.”

Cree comment on the environment and materialism.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Jabulani Mzaliya, declare that this thesis in my own work and all the sources that I have used or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

Signed: At Durban this 31st day of October 2000

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SUMMARY

While South Africa is engaged in the politics of transformation and constitution making green issues are gradually taking a back seat. The nature of our transition to democracy concentrated largely on the transfer of political power without due consideration to the other sphere of government upon which such political power is anchored. It was therefore no wonder that many provinces appear to be disinterested in taking serious maintenance costs of looking after their environmental protection responsibilities. The neglect of green issues is such that few politicians overtly mention them in their speeches. Instead of recognising the economy as one aspect of a whole ecological and social fabric, *they tend to isolate it and to describe it in terms of highly unrealistic economic models.* International pressure does, however, have some influence on changing government attitudes towards the environment. The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the type of change that has taken place in environmental awareness by the government. To do this, it is necessary to examine both the past and the present green movements as well as the ideological premises of both.

The thesis traces the origins of the liberal argument and its transfer to South Africa. It demonstrates that while the origins of the green movement in America, Britain and Europe, was justified, it was not so justified in a South Africa that was ravaged by apartheid because it tended to favour the dominant political groups. The thesis argues that the liberals' domination of the green movement has caused its demise. The systematic entrenchment of their role and status in the green movement has created the impression (sometimes believed by many) that green issues are theirs, and their alone.

The thesis highlights the weaknesses of the South African liberal movement in so far as the environment is concerned. Cherished largely by the English liberalism in South Africa, it tended to challenge the Afrikaner rulers as a racial group. In such racially dominated contestations, ideology tends to be secondary. Liberals incited Blacks to challenge the Afrikaner State. In the process, liberalism became a stop gap measure of trying to topple Afrikaner nationalism while at the same time colluding with the very Afrikaner nationalists to stop African nationalism. In their pursuit of the green movement, the liberals ignore knowledgeable Africans who could contribute handsomely to the environmental debate in favour of those who have gone through universities. By and large these graduates and experts come from the White middle class. Hence the monopoly for getting knowledge about the green movement resided with the dominant political class. The State and Capital are discussed as being two sides of the same coin. Capital maximises profits while destroying the environment; the State and state official depend on the rich industrialists for the coffers and for supporting their election campaigns. The thesis calls for greater vigilance on the part of environmentalist.

The thesis is also against the distance the green movement keeps from the labour movement. Labour movements have bargaining skills and the numerical strength to bolster the flagging green activists who pathetically, in dismal numbers, picket companies in vain. Labour movements can also assist the green movement to find their way to the communities to which the Reds are closer. The thesis calls for the involvement of environmentalists and the integration between the international and the local advice to benefit the ecological struggles. In the final analysis, the thesis raises problems such as the centrality of the environment in the allocation of resources. The political transformation process was given as having failed to reduce the economic inequalities.

The thesis raises concerns that political power was forsaken for a continued control of the economy and this economy resided in the environment of the land. The failure to control the environment was also mentioned as detrimental to the delivery of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) which has the potential danger of raising the same arguments about dispossession as they were raised during the anti-apartheid struggle.

Although there are legislative constraints, the thesis argues for a greater interest aggregation in the dismantling of such constraints. It also highlights hopes for environmentally friendly policy making and this stems from the changing political circumstances. It is also demonstrated that the non-existence of stringent environmental measures stems from the fact that liberals control the legislative mechanisms, and as such they will always legislate in a manner not injurious to the means of production which they control. Basically then, liberals have become wealthy, and in a situation of wealth there is also a systematic mechanism to protect it, and the liberals have succeeded in protecting their wealth.

The thesis recommends that there should be an ideological shift for the green movement, and that this ideological shift cannot come about if the liberals still perceive the green issues as theirs alone. The liberals should not only view the environmental as an aesthetic entity but also as a means of survival for a large number of Africans. Co-operation between the labour unions and the green movement is essential because, at the end of the day, environmental degradation is a threat to the survival of both. Black people, who are directly affected by the green issues on a daily basis, should play a prominent role in the green movement.

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The confirmation by the de Klerk regime on the eve of its electoral defeat in 1994 that it had been producing nuclear weapons (Weekly Mail, 26 March to 1 April 1993), the discovery of abandoned toxic drums in Pietermaritzburg in 1992 (Natal Witness, [s.a]), the St Lucia saga, an unsuspecting chemical worker awaiting his death because of the Thor Chemicals debacle¹, [The late former Foreign Minister] Alfred Nzo's position over the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) at the UN, Abdul Minty's signing of the Pelindaba Treaty in Cairo (Mail and Guardian, 12 April to 18 April 1996), the devastating drought, the water shortage crisis, the proposed privatization of the Kruger National Park, the NIMBY² debate regarding the proposed steel factory at the Langebaan Lagoon in the Saldanah Bay (Sunday Times, 26 April 1995), the PIBBY³ principle, the BSE⁴ and

1

The diagnosis of the workers at Thor Chemicals in Cato Ridge was made by a doctor of the Industrial Health Unit (IHU). Two workers were in comma as a result of their exposure over a period of time to mercury poisoning. A third victim was given chelation therapy, and improved as a result, although he was still unable to walk or talk properly (NU Focus 1993:20). Subsequently, two workers, Peter Cele and Engelbert Ngcobo, died while the third victim, Albert Dlamini, is permanently disabled at the age of 28 (Mail and Guardian, 1 March to 7 March 1996).

2

Not In My Backyard refers to the debate that surrounds the siting of factories on sites which the local inhabitants oppose because among other things they will be environmentally affected.

3

Place in Blacks' Backyard.

4

recently the introduction of unleaded petrol⁵, are but a few incidents that have amalgamated to put the environmental debate back on the agenda.

Koch's analogy of the completed script and a cast in disarray regarding the St. Lucia saga is so perfect to explain and define the replete confusions which plague the South African green movement (Weekly Mail, 19 March to 25 March 1993). In fact the disarray is so tense that referring to the ecological and environment groups as a movement overestimates their importance and effect and connotes a unity of purpose and action when no such exists.

The forceful entrance of the environment into the public debate has also been enhanced by its economic implications. Quantifying the financial implications of the KwaZulu-Natal wild life alone, Hughes (NU Focus, Vol. 7, No.1 p18) estimates that "legally collected resources harvested annually in what should be a sustainable manner are worth some R120 000 000. This represents the direct cash value and does not begin to describe the economic value to the province as a whole nor does it include the huge economic multiplier effect of employment and commerce associated with its existence and

The BSE is a fatal brain disease in cows. According to Porritt (1990:59), the disease affects more than 3 000 herds in Britain. In early 1990, about 150 cows a week were being destroyed. The disease was almost certainly transmitted from sheep (where its known as 'scrapie'), via modern feeding methods which use the ground up remains of other animals including sheep) as a protein concentrate for cattle. The incubation period is about eight years. At the time of writing, there was much debate in the European Union about the export/import of British beef. A growing list of countries, including South Africa, banned the importation of British beef.

5

In their advertisement for unleaded petrol, BMW Motorsport ingeniously attributes the winning of their model to unleaded petrol. They state that "BMW and BP have given new meaning to legend of Racing Green. Victory after victory has been achieved in the super competitive South African Super Touring Car Series using BP unleaded petrol. This is bad news for our competition -but good news for the environment." (Daily News, 20 March 1996).

attractiveness.”

1.3 The aims and objectives of the study

The euphoria that gripped South Africa in the run-up to the 1994 general elections, rekindled at intervals by local government and by-elections all have conspired to make us oblivious to the lack of transformation in the environmental leadership struggle. As the country proceeds apace with its democratisation process, the environment and the environmental debates have continued to be dominated by the people who dominated them in the past. The main aim of this thesis is to argue for more representation for Black people in the environmental groups' leadership positions, so that the transformation on the political front, will not be undermined by the lack of it in other fields of human interaction. The thesis departs from the premise that politics and its transformation is the sum total of its parts, with the environment and environmental control being one of its most important.

This thesis is based on the hypothesis that South Africa, experienced political changes since 1994. The type of change envisaged by different constituencies and groups within the country were premised on each group's view of society and theoretical framework. Nolutshungu (1983:5) has observed that, “there can, therefore, be no question of an objective problem of politics, or of a discussion of it which straddles the two camps and talks with equal relevance and conviction to both. Yet, if the danger of ideological autism is to be avoided, some attempt to speak intelligibly of both and to both camps, has to be made even if one does essentially opt for, and operate within, one framework.”

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the type of change that was reached and to evaluate whether there was change at all. It is thus correct to look for characteristics of both orders, the past and the new, and to weigh the extent to which one has replaced the other. To do this, it is necessary to examine both the past and the present, and the ideological premises of both.

Pepper (1986:148) argues that "changes in society cannot therefore come merely by appeal to people to change their ideas and values, as the ecocentrics often plead with us to do. Changes can come only after changes in the way in which we organise ourselves in economic activity - through the changes in the mode of production. Such changes happen when the tension arises between the state of affairs which results from existing social organisation, and groups which are not best served by this state of affairs."

Building upon the notion of liberation⁶ the thesis is well positioned to probe the basic questions and offer answers to the questions such as to the ideological origins of our political conflict. We want to be able to say that since X was liberated from Y what was it that was bad with Y. It is our speaking to this question that we can begin to understand what is good about liberation. So in essence that liberation should, flowing from the foregoing, be seen in derivative terms. Liberation is as good as domination and oppression was bad.

The thesis seeks to argue that the liberals' domination of the green movement has caused

6

The author acknowledges the ideological charge of the term liberation, more so in the South African context. Indeed there are many within the South African political kaleidoscope who argue that only political and not economic liberation has been achieved.

its demise. The systematic entrenchment of their role and status in the green movement has created the impression (sometimes believed by many) that green issues are theirs, and theirs alone. Dominant classes achieve acceptance of this self-entrenchment by hiring intellectuals, artists, priests and philosophers to put about their social view as *the* social view, their account of the truth as *the* truth. It is for this reason that Marx often refers to ideology as false consciousness, for when the non-dominant class sees its own situation in terms which the dominant class has imposed on it, then it *misperceives* its situation, and cannot be aware about its conditions. Dennis Davis (Mail and Guardian, 8 March to 14 March 1996) also acknowledges this tendency to dominate although he ascribes it to other liberals. He states that "by contrast, some elements of liberal thought display an inherent fundamentalism, that only their world view holds the truth." Pepper (1986:174) states that "the bourgeoisie has always had the ability to generalise its own particular class view of the world as being a world view - a universal truth. In reality this appeals to universals; to generalities which may be dubbed as 'transcending politics' in order to make us all 'pull together' is in essence highly political and reactionary, and furthering social divisions."

1.3 Theoretical framework of the study

Gellner (1991:496) states that "the important thing is wealth (of either kind) tends to be respected in the right-wing dictatorship, and to remain important in the allocation of social roles. This has an important consequence: at the point of liberalization, it is relatively easy to do a deal with the about-to-be-ousted power-holders, a deal which is attractive to both sides. They can be told: if you go quietly, and abandon your monopoly of power, you may retain your wealth. From the viewpoint of the monopolists of power, such an offer

may be most attractive. At any rate, it is greatly preferable to risk of losing both power and wealth (and possibly life) whilst resisting a victorious new trend." In the South African case, political power was indeed exchanged for wealth, with Whites relinquishing some of their political power but steadfastly holding on to their wealth. Because wealth which was relinquished to the old ruling classes resides in the environment of the country, the environment too became disposable.

Emphasizing this connection between the *elites*, Miller (1996:692) argues that "most political decisions made in democracies result from bargaining, accommodation, and compromise among leaders of the competing *elites*, or power brokers. The overarching goal of government by competing *elites* is maintaining the overall stability of the system (status quo) by making gradual change; the goal does not involve the questioning or changing the rules of the game (the fundamental societal beliefs) that gave the *elites* their political or economic power..... One disadvantage of this deliberate design is that democratic governments mostly react to crises instead of preventing them. This means that there is an in-built bias against policies for protecting the environment because they often call for prevention of crises instead of reactions to them, require integrated planning now and into the future, and sometimes call for fundamental changes in societal beliefs that can threaten the position of groups currently in power in government and business." If no other argument serves to illustrate the nature and content of the transformation process, then this one does.

When de Klerk finally admitted that South Africa had been manufacturing nuclear weapons, it did not elicit the expected response from the green movement, although they had suspected this for a long time. Coming soon after [ex-Foreign Minister Pik] Botha's

visit to Washington, the admission was politicised to reap kudos for a staggering regime, and thus robbed the green movement of the spoils of victory. As noted by Weekly Mail (26 March to - 1 April 1993) "the government's new found *glasnost* was an exercise in damage control to curry favours with Washington." Indeed, there were broader smiles after the confession in the corridors of the White House and Downing Street that in Khayelitsha and KwaMakhutha. The situation where environmental issues are usurped by politicians to bolster their staggering images should not be allowed, for this politicizes the green issues than greening politics, the latter being a logical direction for green activists.

The need for the greening of politics is highlighted by Doyle and McEarchen (1998:110) when the state that environmental activists "make a realistic assessment of the chances that any new political party will succeed in displacing traditional parties and see their efforts best directed at getting their party to take green issues seriously. This is no easy task since green concerns have to jostle with a whole array of alternative claims about what is important. Nonetheless, in some circumstances in some places, existing political parties have adopted some green issues as part of their political calculations about how to position themselves to win in conflict with their political rivals."

Highlighting the intentions of the previous government to reap political benefits in granting the permission to rezone a farm on the Saldanah Coast, thereby giving the controversial Saldanah Steel Project a go-ahead, Mail and Guardian (18 December to 21 December 1995) argues that "the answer is clearly political. The National Party is desperate to achieve above-average economic growth in its only province and this project represents the corner-stone of 'the biggest single industrial development this country has ever seen. The prize is worth the risk of stomping on eminent experts and their arguments

in the scramble to get this heartland up and running before the next general election.”

The green debate is not as intense as it should be, given the country's level of industrialization. What green groups exist are minuscule, both in terms of operations and numbers. Relating this to the burgeoning green movement in Europe, with the French Chapter of the Greenpeace⁷ readily springing into action after [French President] Chirac's announcement that France would resume nuclear testing in the Muruora and Fangataufa islands in the South Pacific⁸ (CNN, 18 June 1995; Sky News, 5 September 1995; The Sowetan, 6 July 1995), one is inclined to see the decline rather than growth of South Africa's green movement. What appeared as a Green Party in the build up to the 1994 all-race elections has collected the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) cheque and disappeared.

The thesis will use “environmental groups”, “green movement” and “ecological groups” interchangeably. This does not mean the aims and their methods of operation are the same. Highlighting these differences, Lazzari (1993:207) states that in spite of the “giant strides made by the Green movement throughout the world in recent years, there are many people (probably a majority) who think that Green politics is nothing more than a grand

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Greenpeace is the world's largest environmental group, with 2.3 million members. They have risked their lives by putting small boats between whales and the harpoon guns of whaling ships, and by placing themselves between seals and the clubs of hunters. Others have dangled from a New York bridge to stop traffic in protest of a garbage barge going out to sea (Miller 1996:698).

8

Although the efforts of Green Warrior II were repulsed by the French Navy, it is worth noting that the media highlighted the effort made has now pushed France's Chirac in an invidious position of having to carry on with nuclear testing against public opinion, the very aim Greenpeace wanted to achieve. When this thesis was written, pressure was mounting on France and the complication raised by the failure of the French marines to detect the fugitive President of the Greenpeace who was hidden in the atoll. By the time this thesis is

form of nature conservation. He further states that the big difference between single-issue environmental campaigns and Green politics proper is that the former treats symptoms, while the latter deals with causes. Single-issue environmentalists rarely make a wide-ranging political analysis for the reasons of the problems they confront, while Green political activists most certainly do." Dobson (1990:13) warns: "The first and the foremost point about ecologism is that it is not the same as environmentalism....The principal difference between the two is that ecologism argues that care for the environment (a fundamental characteristic of the ideology in its own right, of course) presupposes radical changes in relationship with it and thus in our mode of social and political life. Environmentalism, on the other hand, would argue for a 'managerial' approach to environmental problems, secure in the belief that they can be solved without fundamental changes in present values or patterns of production and consumption."

It would serve the purpose of this argument if we briefly trace the origins and the growth of the subject of the terms mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The word "ecology" was coined by the German biologist Ernst Haeckel (1874) when he argued that each individual living organism was the product of co-operation between its environment (surroundings) and the body it had inherited. Although Aristotle had written about the relationship between organisms and their environment (surroundings), the honour for coining the word belongs to Haeckel.

This does not mean that people have not been worried about the environment before Haeckel's coining of the term ecology. Roman writers had complained about soil depletion a long time before Haeckel which soil depletion was caused by "modern" (in the

context of the Roman times but which we now view as traditional) farming methods. The Romans also suffered seriously from pollution and traffic.

The roots of our present conservation and the environment can be traced back to the intellectual expansion and ferment known as the Enlightenment period in the 18th century.

This development has taken two forms. Firstly, the study of the environment which has led to modern science on one hand and on the other the amateur natural history movement and through that the conservation movement. The second is the observation of human living conditions leading to movements for political and social reform and to the improvements of urban conditions.

The main argument of the Greens is that we are living unsustainably and in the 'context of a finite planet, the only viable society is a 'sustainable' society, and they suggest that none of the societies we have, at present, is sustainable beyond the next few decades. A sustainable society would find ways of minimizing the extraction of resources and the production and consumption of goods, rather than maximizing them, as we do now. Such an approach would deal with the environmental problems caused by the politics and economics of growth in a more fundamental way than single issue environmentalism - for all its importance - can ever do" (Lazzari 1993:208).

The schisms within the different environmental schools is highlighted by Doyle and McEachern (1998:37) when they state " each theory portrays the environment in a state of a crisis due to the dominance of these powerful 'ways of seeing.' Some of these new values are shared by a number of eco-radical theories, although each theory argues it position differently. For example, the deep ecologists level the bulk of their criticism at

the anthropocentric (human centredness) of the dominant paradigm. Social ecologists argue that hierarchy is the problem. The eco-socialists attack capitalist principles as the main culprit. Ecological postmodernists identify modernity as the paradigm that must be challenged and overthrown. Finally, certain types of eco-feminists argue that the paradigm of patriarchy is largely responsible for the widespread social and environmental destruction.”

It is acknowledged that there is no government even in industrialised countries, which is ruled by a “green” Party. In Germany *die Grunen* was part of the government in 1983 after winning 5 percent of the national vote which translated to 27 seats in the *Bundestag*. In Belgium, the Greens had achieved national representation earlier. The Values Party which was formed in 1972 in New Zealand, could lay claim to being the first “green” party but it failed to get national representation (Spretnak and Capra, 1984:163-164). In the European elections the Green Party of Britain (previously known as the Ecology Party) gained 2.25 million votes, 15 percent of the total cast.

What the present thesis wants to highlight is that an interest group does not need to be government to affect policy, and indeed there were no hopes that the Green Party in the 1994 General Election in South Africa would make an impact. The argument, however, is that it, and the green movement as a whole, like their counterparts in Europe, should fight for their interests until they are enshrined as the policies of the major parties that contest the elections (Crump 1993:117).

On social movements, Gorz (1994:36) argues that “civic initiatives and social movements modify the conception of the world and are, at the same time, an expression of changed

consciousness. They ensure that important dates are debated; they enliven our democracy by creating new forms of political-will formation, and they generally enrich our political culture. They can and, indeed, must pose ever-renewed challenges to the political parties, but they can never replace them." Lowe and Goyder (1983:126) state: "we deliberately do not have an elaborate structure like the trade unions and political parties. It does not need formal resolutions and working parties to get an issue going. People can easily get involved - indeed they are attracted by the lack of structure."

The treatment and study of the green movement is as relevant as the careful study of the political transformation in South Africa, for if the green issues are relegated to the periphery in the drawing up of the constitution, the dangers of unequal distributions which were characteristic of the past may still visit us, particularly because distribution is done through the medium of the environment - what with the environment being the sole custodian of the resources that have to be redistributed. The Reconstruction and Development Programme relies on the environment. To meet the goals of the programme, the environment must play its part. Housing, water provision, energy, transport, natural resources, nutrition, all require a sound and stable environment. The Growth and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) cannot survive if the environment is not stable and sound.

Apart from the centrality of the environment in reducing the inequalities, it has to be realized that we, as human beings, "have tramped all over the planet, and the geographical exhaustion of space seems to parallel our political imagination...Intellectual trends and political projects point towards a marking of time, and that is why Green politics so suits the tenor of our age. It tracks our uncertainty. It speaks to many constituencies, and manages to combine a search for stability with genuine radicalism. Green politics seeks to

transcend fear by feeding off it. It holds before us the spectre of a planet held together with sticking plaster: bursting at the seams with people who are surrounded by barren and sterile landscapes, and drowning in a stinking soup of chemical cocktails" (Lazzari, 1993:209).

The environment problem in the current international order is expressed in a letter to the editor of NU Focus which states that "[m]ore people need more water, necessitating large dams which inevitably destroys beautiful valleys forever. More people need more land for agriculture and less is left for wild life. More people aspire to all many things which result in pollution and pressure on natural resources" (NU Focus, 1992:1). On the need for access to land, Connor (1993:1) states that "all these aspects of human living depend upon people having rightful access to land. So when this is thwarted or denied, something fundamental to their lives is missing. They are personally threatened, as the saying goes, with having the ground cut from under their feet. This helps to explain people's intense reaction, often one of rage and/or despair, when their land is threatened or lost."

This international problem should start sending the alarm bells ringing if we consider the 2050 predictions of the world environmental degradations. An international panel of 2,500 scientists predict that by the year 2050, if the current trends continue, forests in Canada, Russia and Amazon would be damaged by heat and drought, storms will threaten Florida and the Southern US, the Sahara would have moved across the Mediterranean to southern Spain and Sicily, Mediterranean beaches will disappear because of the sea level rise, arctic ice will melt and the polar bear would disappear. Permafrost will melt and there would be huge landslides, oil pipelines, houses and road foundations will disintegrate, there would be water shortages in the Middle East and the Nile Delta will

disappear and the Maldives will disappear (Mail and Guardian, October 24 to 30 1997).

As a free South Africa enters this international setting, failure to grasp how the international dynamics work, together with the dominant players in the world, will benefit her environmental knowledge and protection less. On the contrary, the failure grasp these international dynamics work, may consign her to the very periphery. Such disregard for international involvement in environmental matters makes South Africa to be described as “the most ill prepared country in the world to face the challenges of reducing (global greenhouse) emissions,” and the fact that “South Africa narrowly avoided only observer status at the [Third United Nations Framework on climate change -Kyoto) conference. This would have been a blow since South Africa “is responsible for about 1,6% of global greenhouse house emissions, making the country the largest source of emissions in Africa and the 18th largest in the world” (Mail and Guardian, December 5 to 11 1997). An academic appreciation and analysis of the South African situation is thus a good starting point for South Africa’s understanding of where she should fit in the international environmental debates.

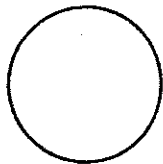
The South African transformation process brings with it inter-class, cross-cultural, inter-group and inter-racial co-operation among South Africans the first time round. It is in the creation of our new democracy that arises the chance, perhaps the only one at our disposal, for an early environmental consciousness. Referring to the international environment scene, Timberlake and Thomas (1990:11) have noted the new concern for the environment. They state that “the new concern for the environment, and thus for the future and for children, promises to create a new coalition of concerned citizens. At last, the many single-issue pressure groups can be united in one banner. The environmentalists,

those concerned with development for the poorest, women's rights groups, peace campaigners, tribal rights groups, children's rights groups, those concerned with international co-operation: all have a stake in future generations." Unlike in the long-established democracies - albeit of a peculiar genre - where cracks are appearing within their environmental groups, such as The Earth First! and the Animal Liberators in the US (Lazzari 1993:228), South Africa's wholesale transformation needs its environmental groups to use the moment of transformation to form a movement that will not have differences of opinion or ideology regarding the environment. While the merits of democratic forms of self-expression are desirable, it is not an unfair statement that such extra-democratic interest aggregation tends to create a vortex of unnecessary opposition - both tactical, strategic and ideological, within one environmental group. Lazzari (1993:228) has noted that "while connectedness among those involved in a cause is essential for morale, to the ideas and war stories, and for re-affirmation, increasingly it appears that coming together is worse for the radical environmental movement than being apart."

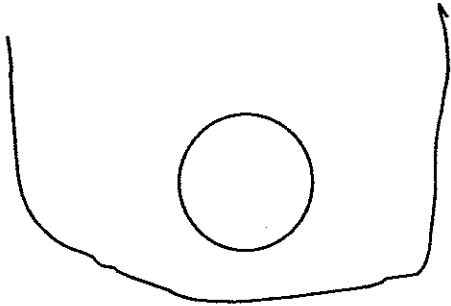
It will only be through belonging to a particular environmental school that we will escape the inevitable result of environmental degradation. It is appreciated that environmental debates are caught up in endless generalizations and there are many versions of green politics as there are supporters. There are different perceptions and interpretations of the politics of the Greens (Lazzari 1993:209). South Africans should belong somewhere in the environmental debate, but such belonging should "provide for security, and that is why the fearless and open-ended schemes of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries hold little attention. We want to live according to universal laws rather than try and design them"(Lazzari 1993:209).

Giving examples of these “parts” of the environmental debate Coker and Richards (1995:72) give descriptions of some of the actors involved in the environmental controversies. They use balls to explain these actors. These are shown in Figure 1. The first of these actors, which they refer to as A, has a straight lines with a ball at the centre. According to them this signifies that nature is capricious and if you belong to this category, it does not matter who you vote for, meaning that nature is sometimes good or bad to you. This category belongs to the fatalist actors. The second actors (B) are those who are represented by a cupped line with a ball in it and this means that nature is being, however much you shake it (nature), it will come back to the bottom of the cup. This category is that of the individualists. The third actors are represented by an undulating line and the ball (C) is in the centre of the “valley”. This means that within limits you can shake the ball and it will come back to the bottom of the “valley” but there are limits to it. This represents the hierarchist actors. Finally, there are fourth actors (D) who view nature as ephemeral. Here the cup is turned upside down and the ball is at the top of the cup. If the cup is shaken, then everything goes to ruin.

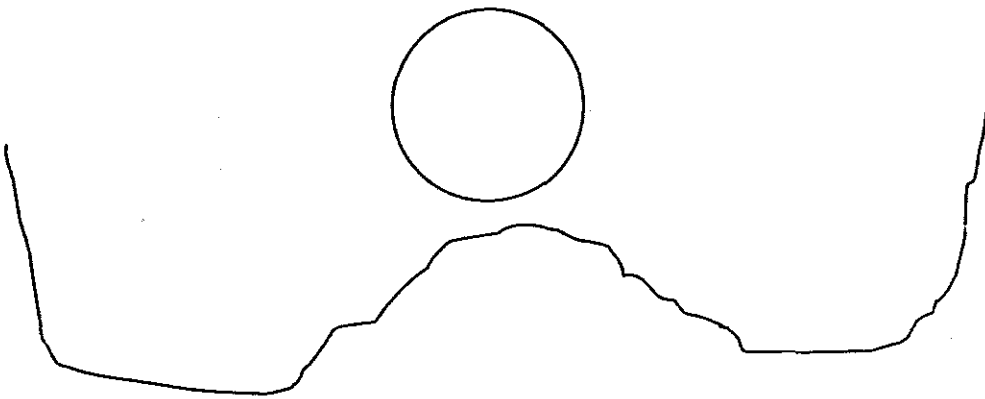
A: In this model it does not matter who you vote for, which means that nature is sometimes good or bad for you.



B: In this model, however much you shape nature, it will come back to its position.



C: In this model, you can shake nature but it will come back to the valley



D: In this model if nature is shaken, it goes to ruin.

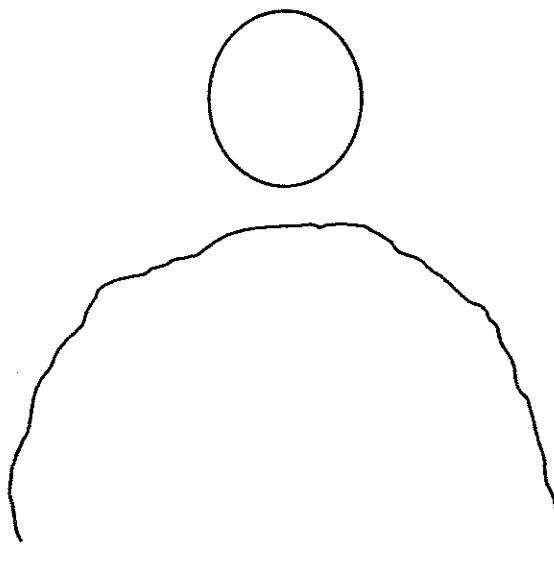


Fig. 1

1.4 Statement of the Problem

With South Africa gripped in the politics of transformation and constitution making, and as more Conference For A Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and Transitional Executive Council (TEC)⁹-structured organs try to develop themselves, and are being developed by mass contributions and participation, into realistic rather than theoretical constructions, green issues are gradually taking a back seat. None, or few, of the politicians have been serious about these green issues. Indeed, of the parties that are in the current Parliament, some politicians have never mentioned an environmental issue in their public utterances as a concern of and for the environment but mention has only been cursory: only when it invades their political domain. The neglect of green issues is such that even if some politicians do mention them, they do not know that they have mentioned them. Porritt (1990:21) has noted that "most politicians are very badly advised by their economists, who find it difficult to locate the environment anywhere in their abstruse and abstracted world." Economists are themselves caught up in a confusion of their own making. Spretnak and Capra (1985:77) have noted that present day "economists, whether neo-classical, Marxist, Keynesian, or of the many post-Keynesian schools (monetarist, supply-side, and others), generally lack an ecological perspective. Instead of recognizing the economy as one aspect of a whole ecological and social fabric, they tend to isolate it and to describe it in terms of highly unrealistic theoretical models."

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Although by the time this thesis is finalized, the CODESA and the TEC will be consigned to history, they are used here for the purpose of indicating that whatever new structure, legislation, proclamation has its roots in these two events. The events are important because they signaled a change from the past

Chambers (1988:1) has noted that "until recently the debates on environment and development have been dominated by values which reflect the 'first' biases of normal professionalism. These start with things rather than people, the rich rather than the poor, men rather than women and numbers rather than qualities. They bear the imprint of interests that are urban, industrial and central in location rather than rural, agricultural and peripheral. Poor rural children, women and men have been treated as residual not primary, as terminal problems not starting-points."

The nature of our transition to democracy concentrated largely on the transfer of political power without due consideration to the other sphere of governance upon which such political power is anchored. It was therefore no wonder that the environment was "the product of an ill-conceived late-night liaison during the transitional negotiations, [and even now] many provinces appear too disinterested in taking serious maintenance costs of looking after their devolved environmental protection responsibilities." (Environment Justice Forum Networker, Autumn 1997:3) The problem is so acute that "since the 1994 election there have been eighteen changes of political leadership in environmental governance." Another problem is the fragmented institutional location of environment departments in the provinces. [For example] in KwaZulu Natal Environment portfolio is attached to the minister responsible for Safety, Security and Traditional Affairs. In the Northern Province environment plays second string to the sometimes conflicting interest of promoting agriculture. In the Eastern Cape the Finance and Economic Affairs Minister has little time to consider his environmental responsibilities as evidenced by his 25 percent attendance record at MinMEC meetings with other environmental ministers" (Environmental Justice Forum Networker, Autumn 1997:3).

It is, however, gratifying that, in spite of the lackadaisical approach, there is a growing awareness of environmental issues as the new politicians settle in their positions. This was clearly evident in the Parliamentary Committee on Environmental Affairs' grilling of Willem Scott, the state's top pollution official. When Scott pleads lack of ignorance about local ordinances concerning stacking of mercury, Committee Chair Gwendoline Mahlangu chided: "You are the national director of pollution control and you do not know what the stacking requirements are? We can't take that from such a senior person, from an official of your calibre. This response is not good enough because it is at the local level that people are dying" (Mail and Guardian, October 24 to 30 1997).

It is unfortunate that this growing awareness is taking place in a situation of political polarization, with minority parties in the Government of National Unity (GNU) fighting for their survival rather on issues. It is in this light that there is a tremendous green debate within the African National Congress as a majority party in the Government of National Unity (GNU) and none among the other parties, and certainly none between these parties and the African National Congress. A good example of this is conflict between the elements of the African National Congress (ANC) who are pushing for the realization of the Reconstruction and Development Programme by building Iscor's LEW steel plant at Saldanah Bay, and the other opposing it as being destructive to the environment (Mail and Guardian, 22 December 1995 to 4 January 1996).

The gloom and hope expressed in the paragraphs preceding the last is typical of any process of transformation. In the build-up to the transformation, much that belongs to the old is not jettisoned, while all efforts are made to grapple with the new, so as to have the

best of both worlds, the past and the transforming. In other words, politicians try to carve a niche for themselves in the transforming entity. When the transforming entity graduates to some form of permanence, a niche of career permanence is continuously being carved. During these niche carvings, some issues are relegated to the periphery or they become disposable because they have, or will have, no bearing on ensuring political survival in both periods.

1.5 The significance of the study

Mulhall and Swift (1992:19), in arguing about the way that liberalism erodes cultural particularity, state that, “the original position involves abstraction from particularity, for people behind the veil of ignorance are denied knowledge, not only of their own social position, but also of what their society should be like and of their own particular beliefs about how they should lead their lives. There is a clear attempt to identify the respects in which we are all the same underneath, to characterize people in a way that detaches them from what it is that makes actual people different from each other.....”

Studying the environment is also relevant because of its centrality in the current issues facing the international system. Daily News (20 March 1996) states that “with an increasing population, increasing consumerism and the need to conquer poverty, as well as the threatening consequences of global warming, there are inevitable trade-offs which are usually at the expense of the environment.” For instance, the issue of resources is based largely on the ability of the environment to provide them. Refugees may leave their country because they lack a particular resource. Among the refugees there may be terrorists who are carrying weapons or are in the process of attacking the rulers of their

state using weapons that will destroy the environment. If the receiving government does not grant human rights interstate relations are affected. The way that they are affected may mean the withholding of exports, or war in which case the environment may be destroyed, for example, by defoliants.

Environmental awareness is also linked to the demilitarisation of our society, and it therefore is in line with the prophesied intentions (of demilitarisation) of the new South African State. Emphasising the way the environment plays a role in the world and the militarization of our societies, Spretnak and Capra (1985:iv) state that "the nations of the world have stockpiled more than 50,000 nuclear warheads, enough to destroy the world several times over, and the arms race continues at undiminished speed. While world-wide military spending is more than one billion dollars a day, more than fifteen million people die of starvation annually - thirty two every minute, most of them children. Developing countries spend more than three times on armaments than on health care. Thirty-five percent of humanity lacks safe drinking water, while nearly half its scientists and engineers are engaged in the technology of making weapons. Economists are obsessed with building economies based on unlimited growth, while our finite resources are rapidly dwindling; industrial corporations dump toxic waste somewhere else, rather than neutralizing them, without caring that in an ecosystem there is no somewhere else. Modern medicine often endangers our health, and the Defence Department itself has become a threat to our national security."

As a social science argument, this thesis does not waver from what a theory of social science should do - to put a theory forward to defend the interests of some or other group. The defence of any postulation fails to hold without the attendant destruction of a

competing theoretical assumption, dominant or non-dominant, it is incumbent upon this thesis to destroy that which exists and position its theoretical assumptions in an unassailable position. Arblaster (1984:322) states that "to denounce ideologies in general, is to set up an ideology¹⁰ of one's own." In short, the thesis seeks to dislodge the liberal theoretical paradigm dominating the green movement, and to replace it with a socialist one, or more specifically, its ecosocialist off-shoot. This ecosocialist stand will not necessarily be an attack on capitalism as unnecessary for economic growth and employment but because it is a peculiar type of capitalism, meant to enrich a few at the expense of the many. It thrives on those who are unemployed to keep those that are employed in check. It thrives on maximization of profit by underpaying labour while being very destructive on the environment for its perpetuation.

Defining eco-socialism, Pepper (1984:232) states that it "is anthropocentric (though not in the capitalist sense) and humanist. It rejects the bioethic and nature mystification, and any anti-humanism that these may spawn. Thus alienation from nature is separation from part of ourselves. It can be overcome by re-appropriating collective control over our relationship with nature, via common ownership of the means of production; for production is at the centre of our relationship with nature even if it is not the whole of that

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In trying to wade off the challenge to their environmental control, those who control it deny the role of ideology in the environment. The thesis wishes to argue that any praxis where human beings are involved, ideology will always play a role. The liberals who control it are informed by a particular ideology, and the only way to dislodge them is to come with a contending ideology. Defining ideology, Lerche and Said (1970:209) state that "[it] may be defined as a self-contained and self-justifying belief system that incorporates an over-all world view and provides a basis for explaining reality. Padelford and Lincoln (1967:59) define ideology as a "body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values and goals, which posit action programs for attaining these goals." Holsti (1967:163) states that "doctrine can be defined as any explicit set of beliefs which purports to explain reality and usually prescribes goals for political action... In some political systems, the leadership inculcates into society a comprehensive framework of doctrines, known as ideology."

relationship.”

There is an international myopia about “the economy”. Porritt (1990:21) has warned us of our preoccupation with what is economic: “the other big problem is that everything has to be *economic*, in terms of making money. That is the powerful criterion: if something is *not* economic, it is judged to be of no value, regardless of any long-term benefits it may bring. If something is economic, then that's fine, regardless of the long-term social and economic costs.” Like their foregoers, neo-classical economists, for example, clearly regard consumer satisfaction both as the analytic source of market prices and as the moral justification for allocating resources through the mechanism of markets that rely upon price signals.

Taking the argument of value and economy further, it can be argued that all values (in economics) are subjective and determined and exist in the mind of the individual, that goods exist in immeasurable quantities and are not wholly unique. Individuals exist to consume and their consumption is based on values that are relative rather than absolute. We (as human beings) seek to make rational decisions because that rationality is equivalent to consistency with similar other decisions. Society only exists as an aggregation of individuals and that there exists among those individuals, a degree of consensus in direction if not degree of preference.

In their boundaries of economics they argue that economics is concerned with economic efficiency, the maximization of the value of the consumption against the resources required to provide that consumption, that economics cannot conventionally draw conclusions about distributional and equity issues, that issues of morality and justice are

logically prior to economics. That economics is a descriptive science: its conclusions only have normative significance if we decide that consistency with other decisions is appropriate to the decision in question and that traditionally economics has not been an experimental science.

At any rate market models of development give little attention to environmental problems. Environmentalism is a mere ploy of those who are against the free market system and environmental problems can be solved through the price mechanism (Hunt 1992:120). For example, pollution is an invitation to enterprising and innovative marketist to launch another industry of anti pollutants, which in itself is a positive gain for the market forces. This group does not wish to accept that the price mechanism has failed to cope with the degradation of the global commons, such as the oceans, the atmosphere, the ozone layer and rain. A fundamental criticism of this, as Hunt (1992:121) notes, is "that the market has never worked and cannot work as envisaged because it is only the surface which conceals the underlying structural economic and political inequalities which generate both poverty and ecological imbalance."

The removal of the control of the green movement from a few liberals to the people is necessary because any group will be better able to control a situation when it can make *its* definition of the situation to be *the* definition of the situation. The definition of the situation in South Africa should come from the dispossessed. It is a situation of poverty, of urban/rural imbalance, of male/female contrasts - and we should appreciate that our perceptions and solutions to societal ills and our balance with the environment will be determined more by our willingness to adapt. Those that are rich cannot expect to enjoy their riches in the sea of the poor. Such riches will create a host of Robin Hoods.

It must be immediately stated that the thesis is not an anti-White diatribe, but it is aimed at throwing the gauntlet to the green movement which by the nature of apartheid has been, and is still, dominated by White middle-class liberals. In 1970, the failure of liberals to empathise with the Black masses was argued in the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) Newsletter (June 1970) when it stated that "we'll have, we believe, to close our ranks before entering society, not because we are racialists, as some charge, but because our sympathetic White countrymen¹¹ sincere and well-meaning though they may be, have been rendered by circumstances unable to view the problem from the Black man's viewpoint.¹² This argument, in spite of the political changes, still obtains.

The thesis notes Frederick van Zyl Slabbert's arguments on South Africa's political transformation that "the whole point about our transition was to get away from this kind of political theatre" (Mail and Guardian, 4 April to 11 April 1996). The political theatre is still around as noted by Laurie Nathan when he states that "denying the lasting impact on the white and black communities is counter-productive. It is more likely to fuel rather than defuse racial tension" (Mail and Guardian, 26 April to 2 May 1996). Sweeping such glaring continuations of deprivations (of Blacks) and control (by Whites) under the carpet

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The author acknowledges that there are sympathetic White countrymen and this thesis may be a blow to them. I am aware that liberal Whites try to find Black acceptance as argued elsewhere in this argument. They may view this with dismay, "because liberals hope that Blacks will acknowledge that some Whites, themselves, as it happens - are not The Enemy, but rather can be counted as friends and allies. For Blacks to grant this, if only by bestowing a smile, serves to certify one's moral stature" (Hacker 1992:55). If the thesis were to do this, it will be suffering from the same terminal illness of the liberals.

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The author is aware that there may be liberals who are shaken by this argument and they may think that a liberated person is trying to make a kill and to obliterate all those that he feels are not in sync with his postulations. Indeed, some of the arguments may be couched in liberation terms. There are no apologies if

creates problems on two levels. On the first level, the deprivation was orchestrated in a systematic pattern in a way that benefited the White class. The second problem, and the cause for anger, is the fact that just as we begin to be self-critical as a new nation, a section of those who benefited from the past nation demands of Blacks not only to forgive, but also to not even talk about what they want to forgive. In as much as the two words, forgiveness and forgetting, belong to two lexical domains and two totally different mental frames, it must be stressed that not forgetting is a human entity to which no person outside the mind that is working it, can ministrates as to how it should be achieved. It is equally significant that van Zyl Slabbert has not pontificated to Jews how they should sweep under the carpet their brutalization fifty years ago, and he has the gall to demand that South Africans, barely two years after should forget.

Neither is the thesis a Bible (the Capital is deliberate) of verdant morality. It is an argument around class, race, dispossession and repossession. It departs from the realist premise - that the liberals' control of the environment is deleterious to its survival. The environmental crisis will be treated not as an aberration of society but as part of it. Its control by liberals is not an unfounded thesis. Changing control of institutions is also not an aberration of mankind. On the veneer of caring for the environment, a process of dispossession was clearly embedded in the psyche of people. That it is White liberals who are being attacked by this thesis is part of our chequered history. It was because of the failure to speak out that led to Whites acquiescing in the suppression of their fellow countrymen. It will be our failure to speak out that such inequalities¹³ of the past will be

there are people who feel threatened.

perpetuated. Ben Turok, cited in Hallows (1993:30) calls this type of South African economy as the "skyscraper economy - an economy which is so terribly distorted as to satisfy the interest of only a minority within a minority. The result, in South Africa, is that 5% of the population own 80% of the land and four large corporations control 81% of the corporate capital. It is an economy that favours the production of Mercedes Benzs for 5% of the population and makes no bicycles for the 85%. As this 5% generate most of the waste, the richer they become, the more degraded the environment will be."

The inequalities of the past and the transformation process have brought about a new desire for peace. It is a sad reflection of South Africa's history that we now rejoice that the expected civil war was averted. This has made the maintenance of peace a priority. It should however, not be forgotten that peace should be maintained at all costs, but not at any price. If the price for the maintenance of peace is the perpetuation of domination, then the whole struggle would have been in vain, and the conditions will be set for the same conflict South Africa closely evaded. Freire (1992:143) states that "peace cannot be bought; peace is experienced in solidary and loving acts, which cannot be incarnated in oppression. Hence, the messianic elements of the theory of anti-dialogical action reinforce the first characteristic of this action: the necessity of conquest."

Africa. According to the Daily News, Water Supplement (20 March 1996), 60,6% of South Africa's water usage is for irrigation (and most of those who use it this way are commercial farmers), 17,8% is for municipal and domestic usage 4,3 % for power generation, 11,3% for industries, 3,3% for mining, 1,7% for stock watering and 1,0% for nature conservation. Needless to say, these figures do not reflect the inequalities in terms of colour, but the lopsided way in which these are distributed in the racial divide show that whites benefit more from distribution. Half the water used by Johannesburg for instance, is used by 16% of the population. Even in those rural areas where water is available, the Department of Water Affairs (DWA) acknowledges that there are places where rural communities pay up to 28 times as much for water as some wealthy suburbanites - and then for water of poor quality. Even within a domestic level, the inequalities cannot be escaped. Gardening alone takes up 35% of domestic water consumption, laundry and dishes 14%, Toilet flushing 29%, Bathing 19% and drinking and cooling 3,0%. The bigger of these figures reflect the trappings of luxury, for most poor do not have flushed toilets, they bath in rivers and their plots are small for gardening.

We are still products of our past, and our perceptions of society still reflect this past. The particularity of our beliefs³⁴ of what solutions to the problems of our history are is informed by this past. If we want to solve the present problems, our history comes to mind. If the thesis sometimes portrays a historical, rather than a political and an environmental analysis, and sometimes fails to use the historiographical tools as would be employed by a history researcher, it will be because our present cannot be understood without reference to and acknowledgement of the past. The deconstruction of such a myth is all the more important because both Black and White can tackle the environmental problems without thinking that one knows the mental and social capacity of the other better. So all of us are ordinary and equal. There are the many mythical constructions which ordinary people themselves place upon their own identities and the ways of existing in the world. This creates two views: the view from the top and the view from below. This is important in the environmental discourse, for firstly, we must admit that we are below the environment (therefore it views us from the top) and secondly, that it will only be when we view ourselves in terms of equality that we can be equal partners in preserving it, and equal beneficiaries in its many apparent benefits. Both the previously ruling class and the emancipated majority can then decide to have an equal and same benefit based on the spirit of one nationhood (what is gaining currency in African National Congress circles as the New Patriotism.)

Another kind of question we should ask ourselves is how a person or a group of persons acquire the beliefs they have. This should be done irrespective of the reasons that the person or these groups give for the beliefs they have. In later life, the tendency is usually to deny the past, if it portrays the person in a bad light. Indeed, hypochondriacs are fearful of damp evenings because of the protection they had during their youth.

Let us then agree that the past can be the foundation for the present in so far as it will provide us with its incipient ameliorative qualities, but it does not necessarily mean that all parts of a deconstructed entity will of necessity be part of a reconstruction. Let us admit that in the changing conditions, there is no White person "who knows his native better." Each one knows the other, and therefore none can speak for the other.

The researcher lays no claim to the South African reincarnation of Chico Mendez¹⁵. He is only concerned with the self-inflicted haemorrhage of the green groups. The thesis argues that if this gauntlet is not picked up, we might as well forget the green groups as a vital organs of civil society and prepare ourselves for the pilfering of resources accompanied by the absence and/or weakness of such organs. This thesis is not a messianic, proscriptive and pontifical conglomeration of anti-liberal phrases and slogans as some in the liberal camp may misconstrue it to be. *It departs from the premise that guilt, and White guilt in particular, has an ameliorative corollary. But that ameliorative corollary stems from the realisation that one was guilty whether as an individual and as part of a repressive nation or race. It is from this self-criticism that methods and strategies to combat the conditions which led to the guilt are going to be built. We can only be as sorry as we feel guilty. We can only be as forgiving as we understand the acceptance of guilt by those who have offended us.*

Central to the thesis is the assertion that organs of civil society under apartheid did not

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Chico Mendez was a Brazilian environmental activist allegedly murdered by two American timber capitalists' sons for opposing their destruction of the rain forest. Although the author has not followed the case of the two Americans who were suspected, it is heartening to note that the question of the tropical rainforest is receiving attention. The Columbian government has decided to return 20 million hectares of the Amazonian tropical rainforest areas to the local Indian population (Crump 1993:210).

become unfettered organs, organising and mobilizing on their own steams as organs of civil society. Many White organs of civil society reflected the state and the advantages of conquest. They concentrated on issues of being entertained by the vagaries and benefits of the apartheid construction. Their existence was therefore not because they were against apartheid, but because they benefited from it. It was in this vein that “well known conservationist Douglas Hey, a former director of Cape nature conservation, wrote approvingly of the establishment of separate parks and game reserves for “Bantu homelands and of the establishment of the racially exclusive Manyeleti Game Reserve which in 1975, ‘was visited by over 20 000 Bantu school children from all ethnic groups.’ Hey’s support for conservation apartheid was not surprising given his perception of blacks as being environmentally destructive. His comment that ‘there can be no doubt that the native youth is one of the greatest destroyers of wildlife in the Cape Province today was typical of the biased attitudes of many conservationists during the apartheid era” (Mail and Guardian, November 7 to 13, 1997).

On the other hand, the Black organs reflected a fight against that type of rule, and *ipso facto* attacked, albeit indirectly the white organs of civil society with which their collective power should have been harnessed to topple the unfettered state. The point of departure then of this thesis is not necessarily anti the green movement, but of particular type of the green movement, sired in the history of racial domination and therefore duty bound to die in the demise of that racial stratification. A study of this nature is necessary because there is a growing concern that the ecological problems will be compounded by the growing population explosion. The pertinent question is whether South Africans can make a culture shift from uncontrolled birth to population reduction. Solutions are not easy, and answers to such a question are as diverse as South Africa's classes. Highlighting these

difficulties, "Daily News" (11 July 1995) states that "it is as hard for the rich who build and furnish their homes with indigenous hardwoods as it is for the peasant who keeps goats and cattle because his father did so."

The class paradigm can, in spite of the denial of its existence in Africa by certain sectors of academia, be applied to the South African situation. In so far as it can be applied, and indeed answer the questions of inequalities which the capitalist induced denials cannot answer, it is proper to agree with Pepper (1986:150) that "relations between the classes are governed by these (bourgeois -owning properties/labour owning labour) economic facts, and these relationships of the economic base are translated into the institutions of society - the government, the bureaucracy, the legal systems and the political and educational institutions. These institutions and ideas they enshrine and seek to propagate all reflect the economic (class) divisions of society, and function to protect and enhance the economic interest of those who own the means of production, and to curb the aspirations of those who do not."

An environmental debate nowadays is more important than any other, when considering that because of differences between [Marx's] haves and have-nots, [NWO's] North and South, [Cold War's] East and West, [Apartheid's] Black and White, "we have unsustainable economic practices from two worlds. Consumptive patterns of the middle-class and upper income groups, though their numbers are few, account for most of the call on finite resources and most polluting wastes. At the same time we have a scale of poverty where most of the population's basic needs are not met. This, too, results in unsustainable resource use and most polluting wastes" (Daily News, 11 July 1995).

The international environmental debate confirms these assertions. As *The Star* (20 June 1997) states, "poor environmental quality is directly responsible for around 25% of all preventable ill-health in the world today, with diarrhoeal diseases and acute respiratory infectious disease heading the list."

There are growing voices which are arguing for the issue of environmental security to be treated with the same dedication as that of a threat to the security of the state as a whole. The term "national security", much in vogue during the Cold War, is gradually being replaced by other important security issues which cannot be solved by pure military strength. Porter and Brown (1994: 218) argue that environmental security "addresses two distinct issues: the environmental factors behind potential violent conflicts, and the impact of global environmental degradation on the well being of societies and economies. The idea that environmental degradation is a security issue when it is a cause of violent conflict, is consistent with the traditional definition of national security."¹⁶

While there will be reference to the decayed apartheid paradigm, efforts will be made to remove the thesis from this Foucaultian¹⁷ trap, and to analyse relations as they exist today. This will be done with the sole aim of discrediting the arguments that because apartheid

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After learning that Porter was a director of the international programme at the Environmental and Energy Study Institute in Washington, my conviction in my argument grew. This was because what he was arguing in his article (that the environment to national security is as important as the archaic "national" security) had already been appreciated as a fact by modern strategists. The paradox which crossed my mind was, here was one environmentalist bringing forth an argument that tended to equate environmental security with national security, while on the other hand there were strategists who were beginning to see their role being replaced by the importance of the environment.

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Foucault's arguments were centred around the notion that history should be seen only in terms of the Industrial Revolution. His prognosis were thus based on the "before-and-after" treatment of Industrial Revolution.

has ended, all life is now normal. Nolutshungu (1983:10) raises this issue about political change when he states that, "discourse on political change presupposes the distinctiveness and significant autonomy of politics as purely instrumental would tend to concentrate on the economic and social effects of political change, considering important only those political changes that more or less directly brought about alteration in those spheres, or suppressed it more effectively." The historical analysis of South African politics, at least those parts which the thesis will refer to, are not necessarily irrelevant to the green movement. The Green issues themselves stretch back into the unfathomable past and reach forward into an incalculable future, and the whole planetary community is bound by ties of interdependence which makes a mockery of man's mastery over nature. At both levels, the thesis will dispel the political and environmental overlordship of the past and also dispel the unfettered control of the environment by man in future.

The achievements of this thesis will play directly into the current process of reconciliation, though it will dispossess one group to empower the other, dispossession and empowerment being each other's corollaries. Its end-result would be the "levelling of the playing fields" and by discouraging the animosity that may continue if the current power relationships *vis-a-vis* the environment, between those who benefited in the past and those who expect to benefit in the present. It is motivated more by Gilbert and Gugler's (1987:136) observation that "the masses are frequently hostile to the more powerful and affluent. In varying degrees they have some understanding of the mechanisms that create and perpetuate the inequality they so acutely experience, but they have to get on with the daily struggle for survival. They evolve a design for living that takes the existing situation as a given to be coped with and only rarely defines it as a

contingency to be challenged.”

It is true that there have been political changes, but the system of domination is residual, spanning into social and economic inequalities, arising from the transitional nature of the political settlement. Nolutshungu (1982:10-11) states that “revolutionary intentions and means may in some cases accomplish only a reform, or even a destabilisation of the political order, and fail to effect significant transfer of power in social terms. Similarly, actual seizures of power by radical means can result in social and economic changes that are far less revolutionary as well as fail to alter, for what it is worth, the quality of political life itself.” The elections of 1994 have not granted Blacks economic rights and as such have absolved Whites from the burden of political responsibility. Citing the examples of Kenya and the Ivory Coast, van den Berghe (1979:61) states that “whites find themselves in a more comfortable position than they were before independence.” The control of the environment, as the thesis will intermittently remind, is still in the hands of those who controlled it in the past. And the green movement, as a social movement, has not changed to what can be referred to as revolutionary.

This observation is correct only in so far as it does not accommodate the fact that acceptance of inequalities *a-la-Marx*, has a time frame. Reactions to inequalities being unpredictable, but almost always bordering on violence¹⁸, one is apt to foresee dangers in

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Citing the potential of conflict over water for instance, Wally N'Dow, secretary-general of Habitat II, the UN Centre for Human Settlements, states that “increasing concern (is) being voiced that the next century may be scarred by wars over water, even as this century has been devastated by wars over oil.” He further calls for water conventions to prevent future conflicts (Daily News, 20 March 1996). If we take South Africa's disparities in water distribution as a microcosm of the international dimension, we are inclined to heed his warning that, “in the scramble for water, some of the drier countries of the world have already threatened water rich nations” (Daily News, 20 March 1996).

this environmental inequality. There are no efforts to seek political correctness, but violence being counter-productive to reconciliation, the thesis wishes to be politically relevant because it wants to discourage violence, at least one that will emanate from environmental inequalities. The origins of Marxist solutions to poverty reside in the very nature of liberal capitalist growth. From the poverty that stems out of it, people evolve ways and means to destroy it, with the sole aim of dispossessing those who possess. Jinabhai (1994:5) encapsulates this nexus by stating that “[t]here is a complex nexus between poverty, poor environmental and housing circumstances, illiteracy and unemployment and political violence. They all conspire to produce a web of causation that requires a multi-factorial and inter-sectorial approach, with genuine community involvement to break the vicious cycle of poverty, ill-health and death.”

The thesis is aware that on most occasions, social scientists behave like the citizens of a totalitarian state by shifting their allegiances *en masse* to a new paradigm, so long as that promises new normality. And this is indeed revolutionary movement, for just as the leaders of a revolution deny legitimacy to all the actions of the old regime and regard its servants as criminal, so here the scientific community has no mercy on anyone who would choose to practise in the old way.” If this thesis is shifting to restore normality, then it is relevant to the political changes.

This sudden change or what others would call a revolution, should not, on its own, create the very anxieties that were nurtured by the past. Freire (1992:28) warns against this when he states that “in order for this struggle to have meaning, the oppressed must not, in seeking to regain their humanity (which is a way of creating it), become in turn oppressors of the oppressors, but rather the restorer of humanity of both.”

If we take Gilbert and Gugler's argument further, the circumscription of the way that the unequal and dispossessed can get out of this inequality is confined to a few visionaries, we might position this thesis (certainly not the researcher - on the pain of being immodest) in the tangential proximity of that vision, in the hope that fully-fledged visionaries will pick up from where it ends.

It must be stated from the outset that the thesis is going to be pluralistic in its approach. It will be informed by Tocqueville's observation that "without active participation on the parts of citizens in egalitarian institutions and civil associations, as well as in politically relevant organisations, there will be no way to maintain the democratic character of the political culture or of social and political institutions" (Cohen and Arato, 1992:19). The plurality of the environmental argument is not misplaced because the bureaucracy which is in the mediate stage between them (the people) and the centres of power encourages the divisions which are essential for its (the bureaucracy's) existence. Public ownership stemming from this plurality makes people create bureaucracies, rather than bureaucracies creating them. Pepper (1986:30) states: "As people are divided into conflicting classes, so the bureaucracy which upholds the constitution reflects this division. It does not perform a mediating function between the different between the different social groups acting as universal class in the majority interest. Instead the bureaucracy encourages political divisions that are essential for its existence."

The subject of the environment spans the whole range of the political landscape of our society. It is through the medium of the environment that the aims of the Reconstruction

and Development Programme¹⁹ of the new government will be achieved. Food security, a problem Africa and South Africa are battling with, is reliant on favourable environmental conditions. Industrialisation, which will create job opportunities for the unemployed, will only be successful if a balance is struck between it and the environment. Agriculture and the agricultural industry are doomed to failure in the absence of environmentally friendly practices. Abrahamse (1993:4) has noted that "the true cost of White agriculture has never been under scrutiny. Recently white farmers have lost some of their privileges sinking them deeper into debt, but other costs such as true costs of labour and worker welfare, true costs to the environment that their practices have and do wrought, have not been questioned." In short, the success of the new government will, at the end of the day, not be judged by the number of political speeches and debates which are part of the parliamentary process, but will be judged on how it used the environment to benefit its electorate. Politics is about the distribution of resources and those resources accrue from the environment.

As the world progresses to the 21st century, the environment is gradually shifting the other paradigms of public and academic debate to the background. This is largely because debates themselves cannot continue to be entertained without reference to this or that environmental issue. Engaging a wide range of people, from the student to the scholar, from priest to president, from soldier to scientist, from the old to the unborn, topics currently entering the public and academic domain would stretch to the horizons. For the

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Realising the importance of the environment to the RDP, moves are afoot to entrench the protection of environmental rights in the constitution. According to Ms Winstanley (Sunday Tribune, 24 March 1996) changes in the environmental legislation include a positively framed environmental right. Another is queering the provincial competence. Provinces have the power to legislate on environmental matters and if there is conflict between national and provincial law, the latter will be superior unless it falls within five exceptions, one of which includes the protection of the environment. The third change we would like to see is the obligation of the state

sake of enumeration, the following issues hold the public domain and debate to ransom: changing atmospheric patterns, forestry, agricultural lands, desertification, groundwater, wetlands, coasts, estuaries, seas, oceans, coral reefs, islands, mountains, the Antarctica, the Arctic, greenhouse effect, the ozone layer, acid rain, food crisis, the fuelwood crisis, the grain drain... the list is endless. The international scenario finds it difficult to address what Porritt (1990:11-17) refers to as the "Dirty Dozen" of the ecological crisis. He lists ozone depletion, global warming, energy, air pollution, desertification and soil erosion, deforestation, water shortages, chemicals, toxic wastes, arms spending, international debt and population²⁰. These, on their own, are cause enough for the public to take notice and strategize - but this is given added urgency if we realise that their interconnected and complementarities demand our attention more than we realize.

The environmental issue becomes even more important if we realize that the more we try to escape from our mismanagement of the environment, we get into deeper crisis. Lazzari (1993:208) argues that "splitting the atom was to bring us cheap and virtually unlimited energy, but it has brought us the arms race, Chernobyl and thousands of years worth of contaminated waste. Biotechnology promised food for all, but our television screens annually remain filled with bloated bellies and dark staring eyes. The United Nations presaged planetary peace, but there have been more war deaths around the world since 1945 than during the whole of the Second World War..... Within a few weeks of each other, in 1986, the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Soviet Union and the American space shuttle, Challenger, both exploded. Despite mutterings on both sides which sought to

and other individuals to protect the environment."

place the blame for these accidents on the inefficiencies of bureaucratic centralism and disorganised capitalism respectively, many were left with the sneaking suspicion that no political system can contain the folly of our Promethean²¹ aspirations.”

Mzaliya (1995:49) has argued that “it is truism that while [human beings] have conquered nature, their technological advancement, their level of industrialization and their sophistication has had deleterious effects on natural phenomena, such as the hydrological cycle which are vital to [their] survival. However much nature has been conquered, there is still no surety that man can live without it. His technological achievements are bonded into nature, so his enjoyment of them is within the parameters dictated to him by nature.” Spretnak and Capra (1985:234) have noted that “it is *hubris* to declare that humans are the central figures of life on Earth and that we are in control. In the long run, *Nature is in control.*”

In the same vein, it would be instructive to view industrialisation in the Far East, as South Africa is being pressurised to take a leaf out of the industrial development of that region. At the three-day conference in Seoul, Korean Environment Minister, Hyun-Wook Kang commented: “Thanks to industrialization and the utilization of natural resources, we are enjoying material prosperity on a scale unparalleled in the history of human civilization... But this affluence also brings environmental contamination and the depletion of natural resources - a condition which has degraded our quality of life and become an impediment

growth is destroying the environment is a yes and a no, but does not agree with it.

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According to Greek mythology, Prometheus stole fire from the gods and gave it to human beings. He was punished by Zeus by being chained to a rock and having his liver chewed by a vulture every day for thirty years. He was rescued by Heracles (Lazzari, M. (ed) 1993. *Environmental Viewpoints. Selected Essays and*

to sustainable growth" (The Sowetan, 13 June 1997).

With our lives dominated by politically motivated aims, politicians who are engaged in power struggles do not view politics (power) as deriving from its component (the environment), but those politicians who are involved in the environmental issues engage in one issue only, say an island dispute, as if other environmental issues are separated from it. Or they may engage in industrialization as if water and agricultural concerns are divorced from it.

1.6 Choice of the topic

Any argument about the environment in South Africa cannot but entertain a vexing political question of the dominance of the liberals in that sphere.

The choice of the word "usurp" indicates the fact that liberals are pretenders to the throne of environmental control. The thesis is trying to wrestle the control of the green movement away from liberals because it is through their control that they exert a dimension injurious to the whole environmental issue: that of viewing the environment and nature conservation in aesthetic rather than realist perspectives.

The thesis wishes to make human interaction with the environment to be all-inclusive so as to appeal to a cross section of people. This will require that the environment's value should be viewed from all aspects. These aspects as stated in Connelly and Graham (1999:21) are economic (as the provider of resources for humans); life support (to sustain

and enhance life); recreational (for recreation, contemplation and activity); scientific (for development of scientific inquiry); aesthetic (for enjoyment of beauty, awe, wonder and humility in the face of the sublime), life (as a variety of living entities); diversity and unity (for its complexity and simplicity, relation of the parts to the whole); stability and spontaneity (for continuity and change); dialectical (for the interrelatedness of the social and the natural) and sacramental (for its religious awe).

The topic has been deliberately chosen to tie in with the current political changes and wants to argue that what has been achieved in 1994 has been political liberation²² - or simply put, the right to vote but that the right to vote does not in itself bring a total transformation of all areas of control - one such area is the green movement.

Continued control of the green movement is juxtaposed against the general demise of the liberal position- and the general loss of White power and privilege. What the thesis tries to do is to offer suggestions as to how this control can be changed in favour of the large majority of people, who by definition see the environment not in aesthetic terms, but as a matter of survival.

At another level, the argument wishes to give control of the environment to the people who are more harmed by its side effects, such as drought and other environmental hazards, the green house effect, floods etc.

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The thesis acknowledges the ideological charge of the term liberation, more so in the South African context. Indeed there are many within the South African political kaleidoscope who argue that liberation has not been achieved or only political and not economic liberation has been achieved. Liberation, seen in this context, is an argumentative flag beneath which sails disparate arguments.

The study was motivated by the work of Hayward (1990) who argued for a socialist view of ecology. Linked to the predominant ideology of some of those who were against the Apartheid State, the researcher aimed to extend that socialist thinking within the labour movement and the political movements towards an understanding of the environment that was in keeping with their political ideologies. Even if the leadership of the green movement was not based on the liberals' perception, any debate in Africa should, of necessity, be argued within the current belongingness of Africans to a co-operative type of setting, and the socialist paradigm is thus not far removed from a traditional African way of life.

1.7 The research methods used

In a study of such a wide and complicated topic as the environment debate, it became necessary to utilise various methods of enquiry.

Although it is essentially an environmental argument, the thesis has in places displayed strong geographical, sociological, anthropological and political flavour. It should be realised that social science enquiries periodically invade other disciplines within it. Indeed parameters within social science fields of enquiry are being blurred. Sociology, politics, geography and the environment are all tapering towards uniformity and discipline stereotypes are becoming marginalised. Dobson (1990:37) argues that the "general targets of attacks are those forms that 'split things up' and study them in isolation, rather than those that 'leave them as they are and study their interdependence. The best knowledge is held to be acquired not by the isolated examination of the parts of the system but by

examining the way in which parts interact. This act of synthesis, and the language of linkage and reciprocity in which it is expressed, is often handily collected in the term 'holism'." To facilitate debate in the social science realms, hard natural science tools are usually used. For instance, although Geography is based on space and time, and that space and time do not exist in the absence of human beings and animals, Population Geography, requiring among other things mathematical and scientific qualification, was introduced. Ecology, because in space and time there are plants and animals, was introduced. The study uses some of these tools when required.

1.7.1 Historical analysis

In so far as there is reference to the historical origins of liberalism and apartheid, the thesis is historical. In that respect a historical approach was used extensively.

An ideological construction that is trying to reform itself such as liberalism becomes a fountain of research because it reveals its own shortcomings and its vision for the future. Being an ideological argument, its vision for the future does not deviate from the original one. It is here that it becomes easy to focus on its durability by finding out whether its *modus operandus* has changed or not. It becomes easier to make a forecast of what liberalism will be in the future if we study its past and to find relationship between what liberal environmentalists did in the past and what they think they will do in the future.

1.7.2 Explanatory method

Historical analyses rely mostly on explanations. The explanatory method was thus applied. The explanatory method necessitated comprehensive use of available literature. All levels of explanation²³ were used. Genetic explanations revealed a series of events which lead the researcher to his conclusion. The thesis's conclusion being the irrelevance of liberalism in the current political landscape, past events which lead to this irrelevance are given. Explanation of intention was used to demonstrate that the main aim of the liberal tradition was to avert an African revolution are also given. By using explanation by reason, it is argued that liberalism can be ascribed to the incompatibility of the South African policies with the liberal paradigm. Explanation by disposition was used to support the argument that liberalism is incompatible because liberals are disposed to behave in a certain way. Explanation by function has been used to explain the liberals' control of the green movement by arguing that the function of the environment is to serve man. That the productive forces within the environment should be released from the aesthetic appreciation of the liberals to address the questions of unemployment and poverty, and that such release of productive forces should acknowledge the mutual relationship between man and nature. The last level of explanation used is explanation by subsumption under law-like generalisations. It is argued that those that feel that their power is threatened will behave in a way that sustains them in control. In such sustenance, they make many efforts to direct the way their opponents should engage in struggle with them through prolific and voluminous writings.

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For these levels of explanations, see Gregor, A.J. 1971. *An Introduction to Metapolitics*. New York: Free Press.

1.7.3 Definitive methods

In order to do justice to semantical controversies of definitions, a wide range of definitive techniques will be used. As the thesis will raise elsewhere, terms are manipulable. They mean different things to different people. They may also mean different things to the same people under different given conditions. Stipulative definitions will be used when new words, which the researcher will coin to facilitate his thesis are introduced. Precision definitions will be used to locate the particularity of certain words so that they are not vague and ambiguous. Lexical definitions, taken straight from dictionaries and thesauruses, will also be used. Theoretical definitions will also be made in an attempt to formulate an adequate characterisation of the objects. Finally, there will be persuasive definitions which will be aimed at convincing the reader towards the researcher's line of thinking. There will be cases where these definitions will be hybridized²⁴.

1.7.5 Inductive approach

As a social science project, the thesis relies on inductive processes to arrive at conclusions. Dealing with unpredictable human beings, in an unpredictable world environment, social science studies should avoid deductive conclusions - those are reserved for natural sciences. The conclusions will, then of necessity, not be wholly true, but their premises are going to be correct. The thesis accepts that although it is a carefully and extensively

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These kinds of definitions are based on Copi, I.M. 1961. *Introduction to Logic*. New York: Mcmillan, Pages 89-107)

studied project, there will always be, just as in all inductive processes, a possibility that its conclusions may not hold true for all times, and that they will also be challenged. It is itself informed by challenging other conclusions and perceptions.

1.7.6 Case study method

The St Lucia²⁵ and the Thor Chemicals debates will be selectively used in the thesis. This is so because it has been one of the longest conflict between government on the one hand, and the green movement and capital on the other. The main debate here will be the extent to which the dominant ecological interest groups have marginalised the people who should have been consulted, and the level to which the new government is trying to solicit an informed opinion, involving the people who were left out in the beginning. Another environmentally related reference that was used is that of water shortage²⁶ and unequal

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The tug-of-war between the government and conservationists over St Lucia is not new. According to Dr Ian Player (Daily News, 15 August 1996) the struggle for St Lucia has been going on for one hundred years. According to him, "it was proclaimed in 1895, but man would never leave it alone. Someone was forever coming up with another idea to use it for a purpose other than the one it was proclaimed for - a park. A blank spot on the map drew the eyes of a rapacious government. Here was the land that could be used for some crazy scheme. In 1927 the eastern shores was proclaimed, then deproclaimed. Natal Provincial Councils were overridden by central government and the conservationists were forced to watch the land being abused. There were dreadful plantations of pine trees sucking up the precious fresh water. Schemes to plant seed potatoes and to use it for a rocket launch site. When the rockets were fired we could hear them as far away as wilderness area in Mfolozi Game Reserve. The Lord only knows how the hippo and the crocodile were able to cope, I am sure that the disturbance of helicopters and the rickets drove many nesting birds from the small islands. In the 1950s the Mfolozi River was diverted from the mouth of the lake. Dredging activities damaged the narrows and the shallow crossing. The Hluhluwe Dam was built in the 1960s, cutting off a much needed water supply. Dams were planned that would have swamped the wilderness area of Mfolozi game reserve, but we beat them off, thanks to the media. Between 1964 and 1966 a commission of inquiry composed mainly of government scientists deliberated the fate of the lake and the wetlands."

Mail and Guardian (22 March to 28 March 1996) states that "the St Lucia area was annexed as state land to the colony of Natal in 1897. People continued to live in the area and were removed in the mid-1950s after the area was declared a state forest.

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distribution of resources.

1.7.7 Personal interviews

Personal interviews were conducted with the local people. The respondents were sampled randomly consisting of, firstly the communities of the St Lucia area, and secondly of the people along the river which has been poisoned by mercury from the Thor Chemicals industry in the Cato Ridge area. The occupational status of the people interviewed was not material as the thesis departed from the premise that those who were unemployed also suffered through the threat of the loss of employment for the employed. Age and standard of education and gender were not taken into consideration for the simply reason that the environment is everybody's concern, irrespective of these variables. An interview was held with a representative of the labour movement in the area of St Lucia to ascertain labour's position regarding the recommendations of eco-tourism by the government. In the case of Thor Chemicals industry, the thesis relied on the findings of the Davis Commission. An interview was also held with the representative of Richards Bay Minerals²⁷, an industry that has mining interests in the St Lucia area.

Apart from the fact that water is short in South Africa, the situation is exacerbated by its unequal distribution. It must be remembered that South Africa is a dry, drought prone country with relatively poor groundwater reserves. There are a few suitable sites for storing water and, where this is possible, both evaporation and siltation levels are exceptionally high. When it rains, it pours - the benefits of rain are often undone by flood damage, which also renders drinking water useless. The water that is available is not always where it is needed. Most water is consumed in the cities and suburbs; but what is needed for water to be evenly shared. Lastly population growth adds more than a million people a year - each of whom will need a minimum of 250 000 litres of water a year.

²⁷

Richards Bay Mineral's main argument was that after mining they can return the habitat to its original position. This landscape's strength lies in its originality.

The results of the interviews with the St Lucia pro-mining lobby and the anti-lobby, and those of the people near the Thor Chemicals mercury plant are interspersed in the relevant sections of the thesis.

1.8 The limitations of the study

Space and time constraints did not allow for freedom to engage extensively in the total environmental debate, which is one of the limitations to this study. By their very nature theses target a particular or specific area of *corpus* and concentrate its energies on them.

While this thesis answers some of the questions and offers some solutions, it is not an unlimited source book for environmental woes.

Firstly, by discussing people as they relate to the environment, the study diverts from the basic path of environmentalism - that it should not be so anthropocentric as to exclude human beings who are inextricably intertwined with other non-human beings in an environmental relationship. The researcher acknowledges this potential criticism. While on the one hand he argues strongly for the end of discriminatory leadership structures of the environment movement, he subtly entertains a form of discrimination through discriminating non-humans from humans. Indeed a critique of oppression that is unidimensional does not do justice to the debate but as it might well be imagined, space and time are of essence in the critiques of this (academic) nature.

Secondly, the thesis does not entertain the deep divisions that exist within the *modus operandi* of the green movements. Neither does it differentiate among the three types of environmental leadership nor does it put one in preference of the other. In instances

where the researcher vacillates between the leadership by example, or working within existing economic political and economic systems to bring change or challenging the system and basic values as a form of environmental leadership, this was done not out of confusion but out of the lack of direction of the green leadership itself.

Thirdly, in the debate between the environment and development - and whether one should be stopped for the other to survive, the researcher has also avoided pronouncement. This avoidance is based on the understanding that what we need before such pronouncements are made would be to involve people as extensively as possible on both sides. The reason for this is that in the South African polity, there is much talk about development while there is little or none about the environment. What the thesis wishes to do before the two polemics are engage in, is to change the leadership of the environmental movement which, as it is argued throughout the thesis, has colluded with the pro-development lobby, both as professional proponents of development and as financial beneficiaries. Professional in the sense that as the educated *elite*, the environmental leadership can take development to the heights that can at best satisfy their own egos and thus destroy its value to the population at large (in other words it could be the development that they as the *elite* wants). They are beneficiaries because of the financial remuneration that they can and do make in the processes of token objection to development (through fundraising) and as supporters of certain development strategies. The point is that funding comes to them when they object to development (as environmentalists), but they also earn salaries when they turn their coats, or allow some of their ilk to do so, and be development strategists, engineers and scientists, environmental impact practitioners, GIS experts, etc.

Fourthly, and as shall be clear throughout the thesis, the researcher is no aesthetic lover of

animals. To him, as to many others, animals are to be used for the purposes of survival. The researcher argues that indigenous people have never intended to surfeit on or abuse wild life, but simply hunted because they wanted their future generations to survive. This paradox puts them in the first test hurdle of environmental sustainability. The researcher does not object to the passion of animal lovers, rather he argues that in the context of false cultural superiority, many Whites, particularly liberals, have tended to impose this culture on South Africans, thereby eliminating any possibility of cultural diversity of the country. The researcher, in a similar vein, also argues against the inconsistency (or hypocrisy) of some liberals who hate the sight of a hunted deer, but are comfortable with leaving a million dollar's worth will to his/her domestic cat. In other words the domestication of animals as pets does not grant the liberals any more sanctimonious soul than the hunter who wants to feed his/her family.

The problem with relying too much on literature is that some of it is biased and some, or most, of the literature available, cannot escape print capitalism, where those who are being studied, wrote in glorified terms about themselves. Liberals, composed mostly of academics, business magnates and journalists, have access to the public either by their prolific writing in newspapers or academic journals. Some liberal journalists²⁸ push the liberal line in overt terms in their newspapers. Liberal and capitalist publishers make liberal writers' work publishable. Television will give it glowing reviews. One of the literature that will be studied is an autobiography by Helen Suzman, "*In No Uncertain Term.*" In its limited nature, as are all autobiographies, it tends to portray the

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South Africa's biggest selling Sunday newspaper, Sunday Times, had an editor, Ken Owen, who took an open liberal line. It has provided a platform for liberal ideological refurbishing.

autobiographer in a positive light. She does no wrong. She is praised all over. Criticisms against her are overlooked and she dons a saintly halo. It is therefore necessary that the biased literature be appraised openly for inconsistencies. Atkins (1993:6) has praised the method of studying the writing of the subject you are interrogating and likened it to a court case where the accused is given much room to explain his/her innocence in the hope that in the end s/he will incriminate him/herself.

Some of the inconsistencies within liberalism will come from liberals themselves. This is hardly surprising because an ideological position requires continuous introspection. This introspection is an internal argument which reveals to the public the acrimonious debates which are held behind closed doors. In South Africa where liberalism crumbles under the weight of dominant ideological leanings, liberals, such as one liberal critique of itself which has been used as a source, tend to coil to their individualistic²⁹ notions, and the group belongingness ends when one becomes self-serving. One such is a critique specifically of the Black Sash by Jill Wentzel in her book "*The Liberal Slideaway*".

Theses are intended to initiate debate, or to rekindle decaying and discarded postulations. In the limitations mentioned above, the researcher hopes that others or (himself in latter studies) will take each (and more) of the issues about the environment so as to bring a fuller picture.

²⁹

The argument will now and then refer to the large conservation areas such as the ones run by the Natal Parks Board (NPB), and may thus be faulted on its disapproval of individualistic pre-occupations resident within the liberal paradigm. Far from it, the thesis acknowledges that there are privately held parks, conservancies which can be pigeonholed within the actual liberal preoccupations with private ownership. It is this

1.9 Summarised structure of the thesis

One part of the thesis seeks to discount the relevance of the dominating liberal paradigm, with specific reference to the green movement, and the other tries to offer solutions to the marginalisation of the green movement as a result of this liberal domination so that it is brought back within the mainstream of civil society. The final thrust will be to remove the ownership of the green movement to the non-dominant classes.

Chapter Two deals with the origins of the concept 'liberalism'. It explores the shifting paradigm of liberalism, from its classical to its modern view with the aim of pointing out its shortcomings which made it susceptible to challenges from other ideological constructions. Chapter Three examines how, why and when this concept found roots in South Africa and how it gained acceptance. This will help elucidate the main argument, that is, why the Green Movement in South Africa is dominated by White liberals.

The second part of the thesis examines the shortcomings of the green movement in relation to the information supplied in the preceding sections. The main example used to illustrate the differences of opinions is the St. Lucia issue (i.e. how it was treated by state, the liberals and the unions). Shortcomings of the liberals are discussed. Chapter Four examines the structure and leadership of the green movement. Chapter Five deals with the legislative constraints for the green movement; Chapter Six with the co-operation between State and capital; Chapter Seven discusses the lack of theoretical cohesion of the green movement; Chapter Eight examines the role of the international connection in local environmental struggles; Chapter Nine discusses the environmental lobby; Chapter Ten

raises the issue of the liberal's disregard for local environmental knowledge. Chapter Eleven explores the ideological position of the liberals *vis-a-vis* the green movement. Chapter Twelve explores the relationship between Ian Player (or Madolo, as he has become to be known) and the late Magqubu Ntombela as a case study to demonstrate the concerns of this thesis, namely, that Whites would like to dominate the environmental agenda and tend to use Black knowledgeable people as peripheral to the environmental debate. The last part will draw conclusions and wind up the argument. Chapter Two follows with an exploration of the changing paradigm of the liberals.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS AND CHALLENGES OF THE LIBERAL DISCOURSE.

A. ORIGINS OF THE LIBERAL DISCOURSE

Liberalism, emanating as a derogatory term, presented a threat to the 19th century statesmen and their established post-Napoleon Europe. It managed to ensconce itself in the minds of ordinary citizenry. However, after such ensconcing as a dominating concept against the background of the conservatism of the 19th century, its adherents view challenges to it such as socialism, communism and welfarism as threats. In short, and in defiance of their origins, liberals take a derogatory view of any, and mostly every, view not consistent with theirs. In the same way that they view societal challenges and ideological inconsistencies which socialism challenges within it as of foreign imposition, it too was viewed, especially in England, as a foreign imposition. Its failure to introspect its inconsistencies is both a revelation of historical ignorance and lack of ideological rigidity, for they forget their own history.

Starting as an argument against the lopsided distribution of power, which benefited first the Church and then the Monarch and the Government, it was enmeshed in a contradiction in that liberals also want to take power and apportion it to themselves. Their argument is that "every man invested with power is apt to abuse it and to carry his authority as far as it will go...To prevent this abuse, it is necessary that power should be kept in check" (Manning 1976:15-16). No other observation could consolidate the argument of the thesis

more, for it wishes to argue that they (the liberals) have ensconced power to control the environmental movement in their own hands, and the argument is trying to “keep this power in check” and even to go further by taking it away from them.

Manning (1976:16) emphasizes this observation by stating that at every level in society, “the liberty of each is thus relative to that of others and has to be adjusted to that of others, it must always be regulated.” Sandel (198:229) states that “politics is the activity of attending to the general management of a collection of people who, in respect of their common recognition of a manner attending to its arrangements, compose a single community.”

That the beginning of the liberal discourse in the world had English and European origins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is not doubted, but what is usually ignored is that it resulted from a convergence of religious, social and political tendencies that were peculiar to their political era and environment. In as much as it developed in an era not compatible with its ideas, it can be reasonably argued that the changing times, that is the twentieth and the twenty first centuries, have surpassed its usefulness as a concept and idea of political self-expression. It is as incompatible to this era as it was compatible to the 18th and the 19th centuries – two different epochs, each one defined and characterized by its specific social conditions

Reiterating this point of its irrelevance in this century, Arblaster (1984:347) states that “liberalism, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was, at its best, a liberating force. It crusaded against cruelty, superstition, intolerance and arbitrary government. Liberals fought - and some died - for the rights of men (though not women) and of

nations. But its dynamism did not survive its nineteenth century ascendancy. It ran out of ideas and energy. Attempts to revive it through radical reorientation failed. By the mid-twentieth century it had become defensive and conservative, out of touch with, and usually hostile to, the radical and revolutionary movements of the day, often synonymous with anti-communism, albeit of intellectually elaborate and sophisticated kind." In the case of South African liberalism, van den Berghe (1979:57) states that "[it] began as marginal to white politics, but as a strong ideological current in opposition politics. In the last decade or two, it has become increasingly irrelevant to both."

2.1 The Religious Dimension

The individualistic strands of liberalism were fostered and reinforced by the upheavals of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation that followed it. The Protestant ethos, as opposed to the Catholic one, was that it removed the intermediaries between God and Man by arguing that man could directly link with God. This was against the Catholic institutionalism which obtained, and it emphasized the ascendancy of the individual over group. The upheavals of this period started by breaking the monolith which existed in religious unity, breaking the big church in order to give rise to the smaller entities, themselves paving way for the individualistic tendencies characteristic of liberalism. Sadly, these divisions which were supposed to pave the way for individualism, did not escape the feeling of togetherness but created problems which exist even today, such as the divisions in Germany between the Catholic south and west and the Protestant north and central (Welcome To The Federal Republic Of West Germany - Travel Brochure, 1987:10). The problems in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland are also examples of this.

It is true that Luther's challenge of Rome's avarice was supported by some Catholics although they disagreed with his *modus operandi*. Indeed, More and Erasmus who took the argument for religious toleration after him, published articles and treatises which disagreed with Rome's insistence on religious hegemony and the subjugation of the individual to the authority of the church. Locke took the argument further by arguing that the Church can be nothing other than the "voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord in order to the public worship of God in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls" (Manning 1976:41).

The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation by Loyola and Pope Paul III which aimed to destroy it, could not have occurred outside the paradigm of individualism; the first because it intended to do just that (as explained above), but the second because it could not fight Reformation unless it used its very tools. Most of Loyola's work was not to counter the Revolution by restoring the Church's control over the individual but to relax it, thereby allowing Catholics to stay within the Catholic Church even though that meant relaxing some of its orthodoxies. So individualism was strengthened. So although not intended, individualism which had hitherto been the preserve of knights, monks and burghers, was extended to include the ordinary individuals.

Related to this development was the blurring of the differences between lord and the common man and the decimation of nobilities in general, giving birth to new groups of people who benefited from collective activity. From the existing monarchies, there arose bureaucrats, merchants, scholars, military adventurers and scientists. The nation states

evolved legal, commercial and interpersonal relations such as increased commercialism in the form of monetary circulation, masters and the artificers. Political changes were not long in coming to the scene, with their attendant exploitation, oppression, intervention and suppressions. It is these last political developments which were found objectionable, thereby shifting the liberal paradigm around issues of constitutionality and the querying of the nation states' inadequacies in terms of their protection of the individuals.

2.2 The English Origins and its strands

As a loaded and generic term, it would be convenient to split liberalism into small chunks. Classical liberalism had English origins, starting mainly from efforts to secure religious rights and toleration, constitutional and political rights. Much of its development in England took pace between the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the Reform Act of 1867.

2.2 1 The Political Strand.

The first phase of this classical liberalism was political, being spurred on by literature such as the Digger and the Leveller tracts, the pamphlets of John Lillburne, James Harrington's "Commonwealth of Oceans" and Milton's "Areopagitica". These writings formed the intellectual basis for the Glorious Revolution of 1688 - the first revolution in history. The gains of the Revolution did not portray a positive side, for they did not encourage the freedom of the individual but called for the protection of the individuals from the government and the prerogatives of the Crown. What was emphasised after the Revolution was the rule of law and the trifurcal separation of powers and, the recognition of the important civil liberties. The liberty of the press came in much later in 1695.

Ideas of freedom found cohesive expressions in the formation of a political party, namely the Liberal Party in England. Formed in about 1830, the party, a coalition between the Radicals and the Whigs, stood for reform on constitutional lines, and supported things such as causes of free trade, popular education, extensive franchise and state insurance at various times. Beset with inconsistencies explained elsewhere in the argument, the party had mixed fortunes in British politics, primarily losing centre stage to the Labour Party. Its support for the Labour administration during their second period of administration was on condition that the Labour Party should divorce itself from socialist tendencies. This illustrates the ever-conflicting views between liberalism and socialism.

2.2.2 The Economic Strand.

It was Adam Smith³⁰ who introduced the second tangent of classical liberal discourse - economic liberty - calling for self-regulating market free from monopoly or political intervention and in the social sphere, voluntarism and collaboration for mutual benefit. The *laissez faire* doctrine and the practical organization of the economy fortified the liberal discourse by broadening and democratising the values of liberalism, including mercantile, commercial and labouring classes. What was also encouraged were forms of social and economic substitutes for more compulsive and bureaucratic techniques of regulation.

³⁰

It is worth noting that Adam Smith's mention of the invisible hand in the economy has never been clearly elucidated. The trajectory of this thesis is that Smith did realize that in the process of wealth accumulation, some issues, such as the environment, were going to be compromised.

2.2 3 The Utilitarian Strand.

The third tangent, utilitarianism, was augmented largely by Jeremy Bentham and J.S. Mill, who argued that both strands of liberalism (the political and the economic) could be synthesised and married by applying the concepts of utility and the markets to politics and tasks of constitutionalism.

Classical liberalism then existed because of the fusion of the three tangents mentioned, each developing in its own time and space and having different appeals to different groups, but by 1846, when the Corn Law was repealed, liberalism had gained support among the Whigs, the Bright and Cobden³¹ liberals, utilitarians, middle class and working class adherents, culminating in the formation of a political party. Ironically, it was this omnibus status which led to cracks becoming evident within the part, and to liberalism as a whole.

2.3 The American Contribution

Numerous changes to classical liberalism led to the paradigms' many misfortunes. It was, however, as an exported concept that it lost its classical meaning. The English version of liberalism differed from its European or American versions. The two themes of liberalism; non-interference and enfranchisement could not be located; in the United States

³¹

Although liberal in outlook, Bright and Cobden were not benevolent towards trade unions, but they used the trade unions in the 1860's only because the working class could be used to achieve political changes. Echoing the double speak of the liberal paradigm, Cobden stated that "to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets, the supposed concentration of economic selfishness, is simply to fulfil the command of the

enfranchisement was missing while in Europe, non-interference was missing. Also in the US there was no government and church conservatism because immigration to the US was driven by conservatism in Europe. So while in England liberalism was a reaction to conservatism, the American version took a different tract. Liberalism in the US was thus "received" from English colonial tradition and figured in the American Revolution, in the Constitutional Convention and in the politics and jurisprudence of a developing nation.

Complementary to this was that the American version was mixed with other issues which strengthened American democracy, with the maximum liberal paradigm being used optimally by Jefferson³² and Jackson. The American Declaration of Independence, the American Federal Constitution, the Federalist Papers and the Civil Rights Act stemmed from liberal roots. Unlike in Europe, in America the rise of Social Darwinism and the jurisprudence which was based on natural rights and the way that these found location into the creeds of non-interference and liberty³³, were not seen as such, but more as ideological arguments than utopia. Self-conscious liberalism in the United States only emerged in the second phase of its development.

It should, however, not be forgotten that as was the case in Europe, liberalism in the US did not fight for equality, and the relationships of inequalities existing in the country still put, in spite of contrary self-praising, White Americans at an advantage. The often-

Creator, who provides for all the wants of His creatures through each other's help."

³²

Although Jefferson's immense contribution to liberalism is true, it should not be forgotten that he used the phrase "our black brethren" to refer to fellow beings consigned to slavery, including those he owned himself. Liberals continue to profess this fellowship, affirming it, affirming that in character and potential, blacks and whites are full and complete equals. Hence the inclination to empathize; to murmur, when seeing that so many blacks endure, that there but for the incident of birth, go "I" (Hacker, 1992:53)

³³

peddled liberal argument about the US Civil War was that it aimed to create equality between races. The fact is African Americans are still in the relationship of servitude in relation to Whites because the Civil War was not sparked by the continuation or discontinuation of slavery. What ignited the Civil War was the question of self-determination - whether the Southern states had the right to self-determination and secession. That the slaves were freed in the process of the war between Whites was incidental to, and not resultant of, the war.

2.5 Continental Europe's Contribution

The continental European view of liberalism was hampered by being sectarian and divided, putting paid to hopes of a political party as its vehicle. Causing such divisions were the lack of commercial development (because the Industrial Revolution reached that part of the world later than in England), wars, the low strengths of the state and the higher levels of authority as compared to England. The divisions led to different creeds and doctrinaires in social philosophy but lacked the cohesive support base.

The task of securing and protecting the rule of law, as was the case in England, was hampered by the views of the European liberals who saw the task of the liberal promotion as an end in itself - creating a liberal philosophy which Guido Rugger in 1925 labelled "guaranis". The actual guarantees which Rugger alluded to, were nothing but the safeguarding of ancient liberties and privileges which had existed in oligarchic settings and reactionary tendencies that discounted any possibility of common liberty and general

The author tends to agree with Adler (1990:72) that proponents of liberty are not necessarily proponents of equality. In as much as the liberal discourse has argued for liberty, it shies away from equality.

good. Liberalism in Europe had aristocratic trappings, this being emphasized by the July Monarchy in France, and the 1848 revolts in Germany. Aristocracy imposed its own system of control, negating the ideological base which had given it its rise.

Commenting on the failure of the liberals to extend their liberal base after the 1348 revolution, Ramm (1967:191) states that "the claim of men's support for a new Germany based on liberal principles was weakened when those who made it showed that they aimed, not at Germany freedom, unity and power, but at German power by the sacrifice of Czech, Polish or Danish freedom and unity. It may well, of course, have been impossible to have reconciled conflicting national claims on a liberal basis."

The *philosophes* in France and liberals in Germany adopted the goals of individualism, and in this way liberty was widened. So, too, was the rational code of laws. However, these were not associated with political liberty or popular participation and tended to favour enlightened despotism to the detriment of particularity and historic liberties of constitutionalism. This method of liberalism was overtaken by the reform of the civil and administrative institutions. As such, the liberal tradition was divided within itself, some favouring the liberal spirit based on "general will" and others "the people." Foremost among those who favoured the latter were *Maisson* and *Rousseau*. These divisions and confusions assisted the illiberal goals of *Louis Napoleon* in France and *Bismarck* in Germany.

Referring to the seamless co-operation between liberalism and conservatism, *Craig* (1978: 10) states that "both liberalism and conservatism were profoundly affected by the issues posed by the (Indemnity) bill. The bulk of the Liberal Party now gave up the attempt to

reconcile the demands of freedom and the requirements of power.”

The latter, aware of his indispensability to the unification process of Germany was wont to threaten the *Bundestag* with resignation if he did not have his way. It was as a result of those threats that the Prussian parliament approved a military budget it had previously rejected. In general, Bismarck relied more on his association with Kaiser William 1 than the elected representatives of Prussia.

Emerging traces of classical liberalism found it difficult to prosper and to be consolidated because they came too late. When these traces emerged, nationalism, democracy, republicanism and socialism were already gaining popularity, rendering liberalism a misnomer and a misfitting ideological construction under the social and political circumstances which prevailed then.

As time progressed, the negative connotations of liberalism which expressed themselves in England gave way to a positive connotation, the formation and the accomplishment of self-appointed goals. New methods were adopted. By encouraging liberalism as a programme of political and economic organization, as it happened in France and Germany, the aristocrats had attained their rights, but the perennial question, still plaguing the liberal discourse to this day, was whether such rights should be extended to peasants and workers. This was the critique of liberalism which came from the Marxist socialists, Conservatives and Catholic Social theorists, Tory Democracy appeals in England, Louis Napoleon's imperialism in France and Monarchical Socialists in Germany. In France some were questioning the type of liberalism that served only the bourgeoisie of the French Second Republic which defied social consciousness.

As time progressed liberal bases were challenged by the growth of modern corporations and industrial technology, which all gave rise to market power inequalities. One man's freedom became another man's suppression and oppression. Economic freedom which the liberals had called for since Adam Smith, brought with it child labour, slum housing, poisoned meat, bad gin and in the face of such appalling conditions of inequalities, liberals split into two schools. One school called for the abolition of malpractices over and above those which were perpetuated by the state (i.e. by the liberals themselves) while others turned the means of liberalism to ends themselves. Liberalism started to gradually plunge into a conservative ideology.

Castigating the social conditions which existed as a result of the profit motive of his time and in his critique of the missionary work among Africans, Charles Dickens wrote moving stories such as *Oliver Twist* and *David Copperfield* among others. Slater (1970:214) has stated that Dickens, "disliked African missionary work (because, it was) in large part due to his belief that Exeter Hall Evangelicalism used the needs of some of the heathen Africans to protect itself from recognition of the needs of the heathen poor at their doorstep."

Pure liberalism based on the free-market economy accentuates this domestic entity of freedom to an international open world market. Apart from the controversies resident in the free-market economy at a domestic level, its international equivalent, the open world economy is an anachronism which the underdevelopment theorists such as Prebisch, Frank and Barans, depicted a long time ago. The basic pillars of this open world economy, such as comparative advantage, free flow of goods, capital and labour, do not exist. If there is

any semblance of connection between the free-market and the international world economy, it is in the way that free-marketers, incidentally liberals, accrue wealth through an intentional unequal distribution of resources, by deliberately inflating prices and by destroying surplus production so as to keep the price balance. Even if, for hypothetical reasons, the world resources were equally distributed, the advantage which the North has had through slavery, imperialism, and colonialism would still shift the balance in their favour. The international economy is, in spite of its catching phrase, closed. The free market system is characterized by being unfree. Both the national and the international dimensions of economic freedom target optimum production, optimum production brings with it maximum exploitation of labour and resources. The ideological terrain from which liberals operate the environmental group is destructive to the environment. It is like stating the obvious disconnections - that the wolf is an excellent shepherd.

After the defeat of Germany in the Second World War (1939-1945), liberalism shifted from criticizing Fascism and started criticizing Communism which was then seen as a danger to the world. Other than the strength of their own arguments, liberals were pushed into this criticizing position by the weakness of socialism, such as its authoritarianism. In the absence of free speech, liberals found discrepancies and one question which may be raised is: What would have been the reactions of the liberals to socialism if there had been freedom of speech, freedom of movement and representation?

Commenting on the passage of time and its effects on the original postulations of liberalism, Arblaster (1984:343) states that "the individualistic position is neither original nor sophisticated, but simply reiterates points made originally by Bentham and Mills as if nothing had been said in the interim to cast any doubt on these propositions."

In conclusion, it may be argued that liberalism, as a challenge to the conservatism of England and mainland Europe was correct, but it acted without competition from nationalism and socialism. It was the only tool for criticizing what was considered to be an unfair power distribution. If time is the greatest alterer, it must be accepted that liberalism has not answered the questions and the anxieties of 20th century mankind³⁴ and will not answer those of the 21st century. It should, on its own volition, recuse itself from the ideological competition that it has thrust itself. Once it does that, solutions to the 21st problems, such as the shrinking globe, the demise of the individualism of the state and the demise of the individual who sustains the state, may be clearer. As the state's borders become porous and more blurred, individuals, through technological advances, are becoming international persons. As an ideological tool, liberalism is insufficient to answer the questions of an international person.

What has been argued in this part of the chapter has been the state and the origins of liberalism. Inevitably, in this argument I have also raised some of the problems and criticisms. Such criticisms do not discount the need of a chapter which follows, which, unlike this one tackles criticisms directly.

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Mankind is used in the collective sense and should be taken to include all sexes and in consistence with the non-sexist nature of the South African constitution. It does not discriminate between the so-called gays and straights, heterosexuals and homosexuals.

B. CHALLENGES TO THE LIBERAL PARADIGM

2.6 The lack of direction of liberalism

It is surprising that the level of progress of liberalism is seen by liberals themselves and not by Marxists. This is occasioned by the fact that liberalism as an ideology “chops and cuts”, and thus has no finality on matters of ideological importance. Progress can only be evaluated if there are goals set and there being no ideological goal set by liberalism, it can be reasonably argued that it cannot be measured and evaluated.

2.7 The freedom of choice myth.

To dislodge a dominating theoretical/ideological paradigm, in effect, means its replacement by one's own which is informed by his/her morals. By attacking the immorality of other discourses, the aim is to found new ones. What appears in the liberal argument as a freedom of choice, is couched in terms, morals and tendencies that reflect restrictive boundaries. In other words, the original liberal argument was that it was correct to have religious freedom, but as long as it was against Catholicism. A value judgement was thus made in making that value, the choice of the individual was restricted in so far as Catholicism was viewed as the enemy. It was because of this weakness that it was easy for Counter-reformists' to redraw people back to the Catholic fold because those who had left the Church, had left it because of certain aspects of Catholicism with which they did not agree, not the whole Catholicism *per se*. Such restrictive constraints and illusory freedoms within which the liberal rights can be enjoyed were demonstrated by

Henry Ford when asked about the colour of his Model-T cars. He stated that "it could be any colour you like, so long as its black."³⁵

2.8 Challenges from Marxists

Marxists see all forms of rapacious capitalism, a bed-mate of liberalism, as proceeding from the laws of profit and expansion. The environment, the subject of this thesis, is not seen as a limit or constraint, but rather as something for capitalist development and technology to change. Discounting this profit motive, Gaus (1983:238-239) argues that "if the economy dominates life, and the economic order relies chiefly upon the profit motive as distinguished from the motive of professional excellence, i.e. craftsmanship, and from the functional motive of giving a far return for what is received - there is a danger that a part of life, which should be subordinate at most co-ordinate with other interests and values, may become supreme. It is as true now as when the words were uttered *that life is more than meat. And when wealth is made a chief if not the sole interest, some of the precious and finer things in life - love, justice, knowledge, beauty - are liable to be displaced.*"

The Marxist conception of socialism emerged out of the contradiction within liberal democracy between private power and public powerlessness. Socialism's overriding strength was its extension of democratic principles to all spheres of society: the political,

35

The development of colours this century may include different "black" colours, thereby denoting that Ford did give consent to a freedom of choice. The researcher is of the opinion that in the 1920s there was no development of many colours and Ford implied that he needed just one black colour. At any rate, Ford was notorious for not allowing freedom to his workers, as was the case when he was against the rights of workers to form trade unions which had been authorized as part of Roosevelt's New Deal.

economic, social, gender and more recently the environment. During this time, liberalism became an immutable force - having no answers to the problems of the day, least of all poverty, for in wealth accumulation which they preached, there was an intrinsic wealth deprivation. No progress would be made in terms of gender equality, for it started by calling for gender segregated rights in the form of equality for men (the gender distinction is deliberate) - no direction on the ozone layer, for it is in its destruction that the comfort of the liberals is ensured.

2.9 The failure of post-Liberalism

Efforts to resuscitate the concept by "other means" as raised by Schmitter (1995:19) when he argues for post-Liberalism, are caught up in the original contradictions. Within this post liberal paradigm that Schmitter is trying to argue for, are the failures to explain these characteristics which are said to be central to liberalism. These characteristics are individualism, voluntarism, nationalism, inequalities and democracy. Each of them has raised a whole range of feeling for or against - and no new look liberalism can be entertained with these central tenets of liberals still intact.

2.10 The American "labelling" system

The American labelling system which seeks to look at the possibility of a "liberal; socialist" and a "left liberal" is equally inadequate, for it tends to explain a concept by plunging it into other concepts which are oxymoronic to it. A liberal cannot be a socialist, for these are locked up in a theoretical and ideological contest. A liberal who is on the left is also a contradiction in terms. The argument is that once you use a qualifier

for a concept, its original meaning has been adulterated and indeed altered.

The conflict which those perceived as communists, and with the contradictions resident within the liberal argument showed itself in the United States with the McCarthyism period. It was here that liberalism, as a social ideology showed that it was not a benign concept. Arblaster (1984:313) states that “both the theory and practice of liberalism have their darker aspects. But it is hard to think of another occasion on which professed liberals have so abjectly betrayed their own principles as that moment of obsession with communism, between 1945 and 1960, which turned at least some of them into advocates and apologists for political inquisition and persecution.”

2.11 The equality of goods

Since the liberal paradigm prides itself on the protection and the promotion of what is good, it would be correct to argue that as people are different social beings, and as societies prescribe what is good and what is not, no universal good could be claimed. That being so, it would be wrong to claim that liberalism has a particular good which is opposed to other goods, for such an assumption will deviate from the very tenets of liberalism, the tenet of individual rights as a specific one in this regard. Although it does pride itself on a universalistic rationality, van den Berge (1979:63) stated that “it confronted the logic of apartheid which, once it created a social system around its premises, developed a perverse rationality of its own.”

Mulhall and Swift (1992:22), in their argument about the controversial nature of what is good or not, state that “the fact that people disagree in their conception of the good, in

their views what makes life worthy or valuable, and are unable to provide other conclusive arguments for their own point of view, is often taken as evidence for the claim that there is no rational way of judging who is right.”

In the South African context, such conceptions of good differed considerably, not between the different ideological premises of those who supported apartheid and those who resisted it, but among the liberals themselves. During the times of the Native Representative Councils in the 1930s, liberals split on the issue of the effectiveness of the NRC as the vehicle for African representation. In effect, those liberals who were viewing themselves as ideal representatives of Africans favoured a positive view of the NRC, while those who were not, opposed it as inadequate.

2.13 Conclusion

While liberalism may have been a perfect tool for challenging the religious, economic and political order that existed in Europe and the United States, as the middle-class gained ascendancy, it also displayed the same control which the middle-class had criticised from the church leaders, the feudal lords and the nobility. The same contradictions that had existed, on inequality between the middle class and these classes, began to surface between the middle-class and the working class. The principle of equality which the middle class had called for suddenly became an equality among the middle class. The liberals who now constituted the political dominant class was challenged and the whole liberal ideology began to wither under attack from other ideologies, such as Marxism, which became the ideological vehicle for workers' struggles. In South Africa, the inclusion of Black representatives into the political power structures in the form of the

meaningless Native Representative Councils was not adequate, as some liberal representatives of Blacks in this council did not understand the conditions under which Blacks lives, and neither did they appreciate their political aspirations.

The next chapter deals with the reasons for the slow decay of liberalism in South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

HOW LIBERALISM GAINED ROOTS AND WITHERED IN

SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

Let it be mentioned here that the South African version of liberalism could not be approximated to that of England which was a "virtually unique amongst ideologies in that it addressed to all men regardless of race, class, religion, nationality and language." (Manning 1976:140) In South Africa, it used these tenets which made it strong in England to turn itself into a weak ideology. The very foundations of conquest, colonialism, imperialism and apartheid were contrary to it, for all these dissected races, destroyed the very religion they used to enter the continent, blurred nationality and bastardised language and fornicated with culture.

Arguing for these differences between South African liberalism and liberalism elsewhere, especially in the West, Nolutshungu (1983:18) states that "there simply does not exist, in all this, a satisfactory account of political change, much less a theory of it can be applied to areas other than the few. Economically advanced, liberal democracy of the West - and progress - are crucial to the theory of ideology and of loyal opposition."

Manning's arguments that such errors are traced to their earlier liberal authors who did not have the benefit of recent experience is wrong in that while it may be argued that they did make mistakes without the benefit of foresight, the current liberals makes the same, or even worse mistakes, with the benefit of hindsight. It could be agreed that Manning's observations that the liberals would persist in supporting a policy, which once was progressive, but which is, in modern circumstances, positively harmful, gets to the root of the problem. However, in the African context, there is still a blurred vision of what the liberals see as progressive and progressive to them is still couched in terms of the superiority of one race and religion over others.

3.2 The creation of a buffer class

The South African metamorphosis of the liberal paradigm gained roots in the Cape Colony, itself a derivation from its Victorian roots. It was in these beginnings that it evinced the very inconsistencies in terms of its characteristic of equality. Liberals in the Cape wanted to co-opt a few Africans, thereby creating an intermediary class of African educators and political leaders who would pontificate to other Africans the same ideas that they, the Whites, had inculcated. This created class's main purpose was to act as a buffer between the White minority who were franchised and the African majority which was disenfranchised. This was an old trick of the liberal and capitalist thinking.

The fact that liberalism emerged as an external construct, finding roots first in the Cape Colony where there was a concentration of British authority and power and then to areas where British conquest followed, counted against the communitarianism which existed among the peoples of indigenous origins. In trying to enforce it as a universal concept,

both from its derivation and its intended growth (Cape to Cairo), it was going to destroy the cultural particularism which glued the African societies together. Clearly then liberalism did not apply universally and cross culturally, and in the African setting, with many diverse cultures and tribal affiliations, different values were imbedded and diverse social forms and institutions were put in place. Yet, although there were diverse cultures from which liberalism could advance its ideology of choice and individualism - it wanted to destroy and replace them with Eurocentric ones. Instead of promoting liberalism, liberals abetted, and then benefited from the political control they indefatigably fought for. Van den Berghe (1979:63) states that to nearly all Whites, the benefits of apartheid greatly overshadowed the marginal inconveniences (such as military service).

In this effort of co-optation, Cape liberals almost succeeded because in the 1860s and 1870s there was an alliance between the Cape White merchant class and the eastern Cape African peasantry. In the contradictions mentioned elsewhere in this argument, the alliance could not last long because it assumed racialistic characteristics when the Glen Grey Bill of 1974 provided for local councils in the Glen Grey district and when [Cape Premier Cecil] Rhodes passed these, he aimed to avoid "labour troubles". Out of these Bills arose also the question of class, a persistent thorn in the liberal paradigm which cannot be wished away and which Marxism has a way of acknowledging and solving.

Worden (1994:69) has observed the ambiguity which characterized the Cape version of liberalism. The incorporation of "small men" he states, included Black (coloured and African peasant farmers) whose votes could be relied upon to support commercial development but it excluded the proletarianized labourers. It was this class-based analysis of Cape liberalism which is also used to account for its demise.

3.3 The shifting economic balance

Even before 1894, the mining revolution in South Africa challenged the experiment by altering the power of the Cape Colony in relation to the Boer Republics that had the precious metals. As economic power shifted from the Cape so too did political power and the liberals were involved in a struggle that would make them equal to the Afrikaners who were denying them power and rights in the Transvaal and they forgot about spreading liberalism throughout South Africa. In their quest for equality with the Afrikaners, liberals jettisoned their value of universal equality and only fought for their equality with the Afrikaners. When this was achieved through conquest the other race groups were neglected. To the Chinese who came to work in the Rand Mines, the attitude of the liberals was condescending because they feared that the Chinese were going to take away skilled jobs. Liberalism slid down to being a self-aggrandising ideology.

What happened after the discoveries of gold and diamonds were efforts by the English liberals to undermine the equality of the Boers by calling for Britain's annexations of the diamond and gold producing fields. This was where the weakness of the liberals shone through, where war in search of economic domination as was the case in the Anglo-Boer War³⁶, not equality, confounds all arguments of equality, individuality and economic

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Revisionist and radical historians have argued that reference to the two wars as Anglo-Boer Wars clouds the fact that in South Africa, where Blacks have numerical preponderance, no two foreigners can engage in war without it affecting the local inhabitants. These historians tend to refer to the two wars as South African Wars. The researcher understands their arguments, but wishes to stick to the Anglo-Boer label in order to highlight its beneficiary results. It is true that Africans, having worked and lost their lives in the concentration camps, lost the peace. The Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in 1902, was lenient on the defeated

freedom, all tenets of liberalism. The right of the Afrikaners to conduct free trade was therefore undermined by the very people who had preached liberalism. The English, including those who had preached liberalism, were all in agreement that the diamond fields should be annexed, or those who did still believed in liberal principles did not raise their voices against the annexation which undermined economic freedom.

3.4 Religious inequalities

The other tenet on which there was supposed to be a development of the liberal religious freedom, crumbled when Africans realized inequalities within the church, especially the American Board Mission, and formed secessionist African churches. The first of these secessions took place at Doornfontein in 1917 (Rich 1984:11). The split from the church was a replay of the origins of liberalism, but as bad students of their own history, liberals revelled in the splits by making no efforts to heal them. On the contrary, they continued to worship in White churches, thereby consolidating the very separate development they were claiming to be fighting against.

Liberals undermined religious equality and assisted the project of using religion as a tool for the political domination of one (White) race group over others. White missionaries and white congregants became hegemonous. They interpreted scriptures in the way that supported and sustained their control. The contradiction of liberals - that of appreciating religious expression of Africans differed from European or American conceptions, did

Boer and what followed was Britain's gradual granting of independence to the Boers, culminating in the 1910 Union of South African Act. See also Sunday Times, 13 August 1995, about the discovery of documents in the Boer War Museum in Bloemfontein about Africans who died in the concentration camps in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal.

much to destroy it. Liberals, from missionaries to well meaning individuals, led to the creation of African secessionist and independent churches. As it was the case in all situations of settler colonialism, religious equality and tolerance, original to liberalism, was replaced by the urge to control. Control and domination were antagonistic to the notion of liberalism. In fact liberalism meant freedom of the individual from all forms of control. Liberalism thus suffered the same fate that caused its birth in Europe - that of religious freedom and equality.

3.5 Liberals and capital

African industrial actions in the 1920's especially in the Transvaal brought to the fore schisms which extend between the liberals and African leaders and emphasized the perennial problem of liberalism's flirtation with capitalism. According to liberals, African strikes were not necessary, while they had turned a blind eye to the White mineworkers' strikes earlier in 1914 and in 1922³⁷. In the case of the latter upheavals, there were no efforts to discredit White workers who were calling for a socialist White state while efforts by Africans who only wanted to be the loyal British subjects, never mind being socialists were checked and criticised. Liberals wanted to change African thought so that it would dovetail with and complement theirs.

3.6 Liberals and the stifling of the freedom of the press

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In January 1922, 25 000 White miners went on strike. Because the miners later took up arms, the strike became known as the Rand Rebellion. The Smuts government sent in the army and the strike was effectively crushed. By the end of the strike, 153 White miners had been killed and 500 wounded. Five thousand strikers had been arrested, of whom only four were later hanged for treason. Hundred's of white miners were subsequently laid off. Those who did return had to be satisfied with lower wages and deskilling of

The vehicle of African thought, *Abantu Botho*, which had increasingly taken an anti-capitalist Garveyist inclination after Selope Thema's visit to London, was seen as a target to be neutralised, not at first by the state, but by the liberals on whose creeds rests (or is supposed to rest) the freedom of the press. Liberals spearheaded the rise of *Umteteleli*, which neutralised *Abantu Botho* and African nationalism by not only being more advanced (technologically) but by also being too poor in interpreting African thoughts and desires and finally by poaching *Bantu Botho* journalists with lucrative deals. If there were doubts as to how African thought should be controlled, and how hollow the argument of the free press as preached by the liberals was and still is, it was in the systematic and wilful destruction of African thought (Rich 1984). Aspersions to the liberal paradigm were self-inflicted for it could not function honestly if it also wanted to proclaim itself as the apportioner of right and discreditor of wrong and because it was caught up in a dilemma of working against the system that also granted liberals privileges as Whites.

3.7 Liberalism and education

So the nature of liberal growth in South Africa stayed within the dominant apartheid ideology, with the English universities opening up their doors to some Blacks but making sure that the student body structures reflected White opinions, more specifically, British opinions. Afrikaner universities remained closed to African students and their (African) challenge to the establishment as such took the form of consolidating African students' opinions within English universities and African "bush colleges". The spread of Black consciousness took place in predominantly English universities, especially the Natal

University Medical School. The tug of war between, and the debate within the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) regarding their relationship with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was at the height of this development.

In effect, liberalism was synonymous with the privileged *elite*. Hacker (1992:58) is unremitting in his attack on liberals, and confirms this elitism raised elsewhere in this argument, when he states that "this has, however, stirred charges of elitism, often with racial overtones since the major decisions in health, education, and similar services tend to be made by white men and women with civil service tenure and graduate degrees. Although these individuals have respectable credentials, questions have been raised about how much they truly know about the lives and aspirations of the people they are supposed to be assisting."

3.8 The limits of the liberals' self-satisfaction

South Africa still experiences this liberalism. For many White liberals, having a Black friend is seen as a seal of approval by Black people in general. In order to show that they have bridged the racial divide, they frequently allude to black friends, black workmates, and when possible, black neighbours. If there is a single black family in an apartment complex means, the liberals would be quick to talk about their area as an "integrated" area. Hence, also the members of black schoolmates If their children bring their Black schoolmates home, even if these friends are in a private school, liberal parents see this as an affirmation of their choice of integrated classes.

Status, too, works towards the encouragement and consolidation of the *elite*. The

tendency among White liberals to be seen in the company of Africans takes class consideration as this association is mostly between these White liberals and well-to-do Blacks. White liberals do not recognise their ordinary Africans but a Black lawyer's daughter/son will make an ideal choice for a friend. Thus when Africans of higher standing may have unlimited access to the White household, the African maid and gardener will continue to use her *kaya* and outside toilet. The African gardener will still take his jam sandwich and tea on the kitchen *stoep* while his African counterpart will be served caviar in the household's table. To the liberal, a middle-class African is the trophy of ideological success. One aim of the liberal discourse is to create a middle-class, mirrored in a White liberal's image in terms of access to amenities, but never on the same par with his White counterpart in terms of independence and license. So while it may be a good PR exercise for a liberal to pump rather than shake a Black middle-class's hand as a sign of acceptance, the balance of forces still favour the liberal.

Arguing for the Black Consciousness's³⁸ severance of ties with liberals, Alexander (1991: 251) argues that "liberalism is a greater danger in the long run to the struggle of the oppressed than Fascism, for the very reason that it seems to speak with the tongue of the people...only if these links are severed will Black Consciousness become an independent movement, a refuge of the oppressed."

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The author takes the view that Black Consciousness was for facilitative purposes towards non-racialism. It was not intended as an end in itself. In that respect it is as relevant as it was then if we view non-racialism as spanning a wider orbit than the two elections - the national in 1994 and the local in 1995.

3.9 Liberalism averting racial conflict

Although the liberal tradition existed in South Africa, it gained prominence after the 1960 bannings of the liberation movements. So what happened was that in 1960, effectively all Black resistance was killed, and the stage was left open for Whites of liberal opinion to make presentations for Blacks, in a way that had not happened before in the past, unaccompanied by Black opinion.

The volatile race relations in South Africa motivated the liberals more than any ideological attachment. At best, their main aim had been to prevent racial conflict which had the potential of obliterating those who were numerically disadvantaged, and it was thus no surprise that most of the liberal arguments were articulated by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). That is why Rich (1984:119) raised the issue that, "the more white people see that non-white people support the Liberal Party, the more hope they will feel that racial disaster is not our inevitable end." It is an indictment on the SAIRR that as the race conflict seems to be averted, and all efforts are being made by the Government of National Unity (GNU) to discourage it, the role of the SAIRR is being blurred. To the SAIRR race relations took the hue of the government - Black vs White - and as the political conflict in KwaZulu-Natal continues, the SAIRR is conspicuous by its muted silence.

It is clear therefore, that liberalism, by preventing the eventual military conflict between the oppressive White State and the oppressed Black masses, prolonged this suppression by pontificating non-violent means of engaging the state. On the contrary, those who professed to be liberal within the all-White Parliament might have disagreed on certain

issues, but on whether state forces should attack the liberation forces beyond territorial borders, there was mutual agreement. This was a contradiction between liberty and equality the liberation forces were fighting for and superiority which the liberals consorted with the state to uphold. Rather than being premised on ideological foundations, liberalism aimed to protect the White race from the revolutionary onslaught, ministering to Africans the best form of reacting to their oppression - as long as that would not rock the boat and upset the apple-cart on which they, the liberals, were riding. Van den Berghe (1979:61) states that “[f]urther, said the liberals, racism and apartheid were not only morally bankrupt. They also threatened the long-range interests of the Whites; they jeopardised White survival in Southern African by fostering racial hatred against Whites, and by provoking the inevitable revolution that would overthrow them not only as political overlords, but even as a people with a right to live in the area. The point of no return for compromise and adaptation to the winds of change was quickly approaching, warned the liberals with anguished urgency in the 1950s and the early 1960s”. van Rensburg, in the New African, The Radical Review (1963:22) questions the paternalism of liberals and warns that “it is time to admit that liberals can, at most, be only very junior partners in working for the transfer of power to the majority. It is time to accept African nationalist leadership, in principle (leaving it to Africans to decide which African nationalists shall lead them). The Liberals should accept the goal of African unity and be forthrightly Socialist. They should avoid action which appears as competition with the banned African movements (such as attempts at large scale African recruitment). They should abandon any pretensions they may themselves have to forming a government.”

In his critique of South African liberalism, Rich (1984:123) argues that “liberal political discourse from Union was increasingly defined by the alternative ideological concept of

White settler segregationism, which became the chief political weapon by which the nascent White state sought to protect itself from the spectre of black proletarianization and urbanisation.”

The radicalisation of political movements after the end of the Second World War, such as the establishment of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), brought challenges to the liberalism which had given rise to the Joint Councils. The 1946 mine strikes by African workers, the biggest up to that time by the African mine workers, created a space for radicalisation. As the liberals pondered their association with African movements, the Malanite arguments for separate development confused them even more. The change of tactics driven by the Congress Youth League changed the ball game for liberals, who had steadfastly refused to be associated with the Congress of Democrats whom they considered too radical. The boycotts, civil disobedience and strikes as proposed by the Congress Youth League (CYL) divided the liberals even further. From these developments it may be argued that the formation of the Liberal Party in South Africa in 1953 was not occasioned by any ideological coherence but was aimed at preventing the disintegration of the liberals.

The weakness was in its formation. To postpone the liberation of Blacks, the Liberal Party for instance openly proclaimed that “it stands between Black and White nationalism” (New African, 1963:22) and was siding with the State. Black Nationalism in Africa was and still is no anathema. What was anathema was White nationalism. By standing between legitimate Black nationalism and illegitimate White nationalism in effect meant protecting the illegitimate White State.

Playing into the racial fears which were the cornerstone of National Party politicking, some elements of the Liberal Party, notably Molteno in the Cape, viewed the recruitment of people of colour into the Liberal Party with distaste (Paton, 1988:135). Molteno, together with Ballinger, the national leader of the Liberal Party, shared the view that these new elements within the party were radicalizing it, as if radicalization against racial tyranny and state brutality was misplaced. This serves to attest to the earlier assertion in this argument that liberals could not ignore the benefits of the apartheid system. In fact their arguments that "deracialisation of South African society was in everybody's long-term interests, while correct in the nineteenth century and perhaps as late as the Second World War, increasingly ceased to be realistic and credible in the last two or three decades. The madness inherent in apartheid leaves no room for compromise or adaptation. Apartheid can be bolstered only by coercion or violence, else it must collapse utterly" (van den Berghe 1979:63).

The formation of the Liberal Party had been put in abeyance until after the 1953 elections. There had been hopes among the liberals that the United Party was going to win the elections. This belief had, in spite of the fact that the United Party had lost Hofmeyr, its stalwart, who would have been a draw-card and also the fact that the National Party had added six seats to its base through the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union, continued to prevail. The formation of the Liberal Party then was to salvage the little that was left of the United Party. Rich (1984:117) states that "it was already beginning to be recognised that White liberals could not hope to reserve the general political direction that the South African political system was taking."

Liberalism lacked mass appeal. At its height, it had 7000 members, including 3 000,

mostly university-educated Whites. A couple of hundred Whites espoused positions to the left of the Liberal Party, and substantially larger numbers of Whites flirted with the Progressive Party to the right of the "universal franchise" liberals, but even by a wider definition of liberalism that would include the Progressive Party, its appeal was limited to at most five percent of the White population (van den Berghe, 1979:56).

3.10 The Liberals and the Congress of the People

The Liberal Party's invitation to the Congress of the People in 1955 brought schisms within its ranks, but underlying the dissatisfaction of the Transvaal region was that they felt the Congress of the People was going to be dominated by the Congress of Democrats to whom they were vehemently opposed. For the Natal region this presented a problem because they had just been joined by Jordan Ngubane - an anti-Communist, like them. The dislike which the Liberals had for the Congress of Democrats was arising from the fear that the Congress of Democrats were going to find each other with Africans. If the Congress of Democrats and Africans found each other, their combined radical stance, would mean that the White State, which distributed the benefits to Whites, including the liberals, would be given a shorter life span.

There were no denials to the effect that the Liberal Party members were harassed by the state. This is illustrated by Paton's (1988:116-121) accounts of his Liberal Party experience. What should be remembered, however, is that liberals did not suffer the same fate as that of the African people they were trying to "save." As argued by Jordan (quoted in Rich (1984:90), this selective treatment was clear from the early days. Writing in The Democrat, Jordan stated that "the fascist attack from Afrikaner nationalists might

not immediately threaten the position of the liberals in the same way that it did the leftist progressives but any collapse of the latter would immediately expose the Liberals to serious fascist onslaughts.”³⁹ This selective treatment then didn't deviate from apartheid's construction - that Whites should at all costs, benefit from the system:

Building on the transfer of political power which did not lead to racial clashes as many had envisaged (and thus achieving the aims of liberalism), Sunday Times (23 July 1995) sings praises to the liberals for having rejected violence. According to the paper, “they (liberals) alone rejected violence both as a means of oppression and as a means of liberation.” They look at the negotiations process as a vindication of their position. This is misplaced in two ways. Firstly, it fails to recognise how the revolutionary war assisted in twisting the government's arms towards the table, and how the apartheid government was failing to sustain its counter-revolutionary war in financial terms. It also fails to realize that war always ends in negotiations. Secondly, it fails to appreciate the cultural patterns of Africans who are more inclined to forgive. The second reason plays into the very weaknesses of the liberal paradigm: that, by apportioning what is right and wrong, any right that accrues from others, is “confiscated” by the liberals as having accrued from their own ministrations and constructions. Indeed, there was no mechanism which the liberals used to facilitate a peaceful transition other than the African people who wished to forgive. The trajectory of peace in the environment debate is not an intrusion. Indeed, one of the coalitions forged by social movements is the one that sees connections between environmental protection and the maintenance of peace. If the green group is against

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I have raised this argument elsewhere and I have specifically made the example of the Black Sash.

military expenditure, it is effectively campaigning for peace.

Between power to the Africans and rights for all, liberals emphasize rights without touching on how power has to be distributed - thinking that the granting of rights equals power. Analysing the issue of Whites in South Africa, Mamdani (1992:316) argued that "the South African settler minority would prefer an American solution that would shift the focus from collective right of self-determination to the individual right of non-discrimination. Instead of linking power and rights, this would displace the question of power by that of rights."

The liberals contributed to the oppression of the African which came after 1948. They had failed to extend the franchise to all the Africans in the Cape, and the little that there was in the Cape was not extended to the Northern provinces - the Transvaal and Orange Free State. When the oppressive apartheid machinery came into being in 1948, it became easy for the state to disenfranchise the few in the Cape and extend the no-existence of this franchise in the Northern provinces. Rich (1984:127) argues that when Verwoerd became Minister of Native Affairs and his Secretary, Einselen, they relied on anthropological information which had been written by liberal thinkers. In a way then the liberals contributed to something which they claimed they did not like.

Taking a softer, yet stern, view of liberalism, Nolutshungu (1983:19) argues that it is "not that liberal theory is, in a general sense, inadequate as a guide to the solution of the problems in hand, or that it is doomed to failure outside its generative context (which may, I suspect, be true) but simply that it does not have a serious concern with problems of extensive political change - except for its affirmations about the scope of reform and

effective representation, and hence the redundancy of revolt within the liberal constitutional state. It is not, therefore, difficult to understand why liberal thought on South Africa, derivative as it is, has been so weak.”

The ideological confusion of the liberals in South Africa saw them mixing and forming alliances with different other ideological groups. They did not have a cohesive economic policy, but they were sure that they were not going to attack capitalism. Apart from being liberals, they had other characteristics as well, and their commitments in other fields compromised their positions as liberals. There were those who were Christian missionaries and at the same time were liberals, and in terms of the co-operation between Christian missionaries and their attachment to the state that deprived people of their rights, its Christian teaching and liberalism were contradictory positions. Others were liberals and African nationalists, democrats as well as liberals. There were those who favoured co-operation with the African National Congress but rejected its co-operation with the Communists. There were others who favoured the Pan African Congress because it was not attached to communists. In effect then, liberalism in South Africa, without a cohesive economic theory, ended up being more of humanist, philanthropic and paternalistic wagon than a serious challenge to the state. It became a vehicle for which Whites could wash their souls on the brutalities they visited on their Black countrymen, and as long as Whites belonged to this or that Liberal Party, they gained the patronage of the state with an inconsequential political home which absolved them from their political sins. Arguing for its recusal from the political landscape, the New African (1963:22) asked whether a “significant contribution can a handful of White Liberals make to improve race relations when the majority of Whites are dedicated to racial oppression. And can the Liberal Party really gain and retain a large African following?”

3.11 Paternalism

These paternalistic tendencies arose from misanthropic ones - long growing from the environmentalism (of the originality of people) within the liberal circles. This environmentalism denied that Blacks could, did, and do live with their environment. In a warped concoction of the basics of science, liberals view it mainly as that of only the Western kind. In the gadgetocracy of the micro-wave, the atom and the chip, Africans are deemed to be not scientifically endowed as if science is the preserve of albinocratic origins. As they used sophisticated and computerized predictions of weather, liberals see the weather through meteorological eyes as if no equal, or better weather prediction can be done without these. For them, no weather predictions could be made by pure reference to the stars, the moon and the sun. The forecaster of weather is a White graduate of meteorology and there is no space in this universe for a grandfather who still gazes at the sun and tells you tomorrow's weather. Shiva (1993:11) traces three myths of this scientific conceitedness. She states that "first, that wealth comes from the dominant western technology and that the poor have no technology. This myth ensures the promotion and technology that dispenses of labour, and waste, requires and replaces the renewable with the-non-renewable. Second, that Man is creator. This myth erodes values of nature and society to replace them with values of efficiency and mass production. This myth disguises the racial, gender and class content of Western technology. Third, and more importantly, it conceals the fact that technology is an invisible means of re-writing rights." In her work in India, she has noted that "one has just to work a few days with these communities to realize that they are not poor because they do not have technology. They have very sophisticated technologies. They're poor because a new technology introduced in the name of modernisation takes up all they have" (Hallowes, 1993:38).

3.12 Liberals caught between two nationalisms

When the Liberal Party was formed in 1953, it was as a reaction to the rapacious Afrikaner nationalism and the challenging African nationalism. At the same time liberalism was being shifted from the scene by the growing isolation of South Africa by international organisations. Liberalism in South Africa, which had indefatigably tried to nurture African political thinking towards Westernization, was robbed of Western connections. As the state progressed with its repressive policies, especially the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, this isolation grew and liberals in South Africa were further isolated. Pontificating to South Africans, especially Africans, to be replicas of the West, could not hold if the West did not see itself as attached to South Africa. The chance to evolve a truly South African liberal discourse was lost and it was lost further when liberals clung to Western notions in spite of the split.

During the Second World War, and with the signing of the Atlantic Charter specifically, there arose a certain level of optimism regarding the improvement of relations within and between the races in South Africa. In order to gain African support for the war effort, this was an optimism which Jan Smuts created and nurtured, only to do an about turn after the end of the war. Such an about turn did anger Africans who had waited in eager anticipation for the end of the war when Smuts stated the equality and self-determination envisaged in the Atlantic Charter was meant for White races only. However, it did not engender him to his White counterparts, because by the time he reneged on his wartime promise, he had already lost their trust, coupled of course with the rise of Malan's republican fervour. Smuts' party loss of the 1948 general elections which saw Malan

taking over power, created an Afrikaner state while on the wings there was a rise of African nationalism. Liberalism as a discourse was then caught between these two contending nationalisms and was subsumed by them and gradually lost its meaning.

Most often referred to as the strength of liberalism is that it was objected to by the Afrikaner nationalists who took power in 1948. It is true that to the Afrikaner nationalist policy-makers, the fight was not only for survival of Afrikanerdom but for that of the White man, "now pitted against the evil forces of communism and liberalism which the "sickly West" had unloosed on the world" (Wilson and Thompson, 1975:374). However, there are many angles from which one would discount the above assertion.

Firstly, the animosity between the Afrikaners and the English was deep seated, and since Malan's plank was anti-British, it followed that anything British/English, including the liberals who were viewed by Afrikaner nationalists as having played a prominent role in their suppression, suffered after the victory of the rampant Afrikaner nationalism.

Secondly, the equation of communism with liberalism as objects of ridicule, did not, even to the gullible Afrikaner, represent an equal and similar threat - they were both seen as threats, albeit at different levels. They thus could not be posited on the same pedestal. Wilson and Thompson (1975:523) have argued that the policies of colonial powers were cited as evidence of a "sickly liberalism" which failed to distinguish the real threat, namely, the spread of communist influence. One may thus argue that liberalism was ridiculed for what it **did not do** towards the protection of the White State, not for what it **could do** to towards its destruction [My emphasis].

Thirdly, the liberals themselves, who eschewed any socialist/ communist/ radical tendencies - or even association with them, vindicated this position. Their distaste for the Congress of Democrats stemmed from the perceptions that the Congress of Democrats was inspired by socialism. So rather than co-operate with Whites who wanted to change the political landscape, the Liberal Party, in so far as it eschewed the Congress of Democrats, consorted with the State that wanted to hold on to power by all means possible.

Fourthly, the open arms with which Afrikanerdom wanted to embrace Whites but not liberals, proves that Whites were seen as (the author does not mean they are but were merely seen by Afrikaners) indivisible. There was this acceptance and acknowledgement by Afrikaner thinkers that the State sponsored benefits which would accrue to Whites would also accrue, and be accepted even by those Whites who claimed to be opposed to the State.

Lastly, Afrikaner nationalists, as much afraid as they were to share power, believed that the noble and idealistic notions of equality, religious freedom etc. as enshrined in classical liberalism - and their objective conditions where they were overwhelmed by Blacks, at both numerical and ideological levels, was a threat. Any castigation and opprobrium they reserved for liberals was not against liberals *per se*, but against ideas which liberals themselves paid lip service to. That is why it was easy for Afrikaners to consolidate the Apartheid State, for those who claimed to oppose them were beneficiaries of the states distribution of patronage. Wilson and Thompson (1975:422) have observed that "many English speakers remained sceptical of the practicability or justice of this doctrine [of apartheid] but lacked the will to face the implications of a common society. As a result in

the mid-1930's, there was a tendency to climb on to the Afrikaner Nationalist bandwagon when the tide of African nationalism elsewhere in Africa began to lap to the borders of the republic." Liberalism was thus a feel good philosophy, changing tract as soon as there were material interests at stake.

This is also clear from the periodical breaks of the Apartheid State's reaction to liberalism. In the consolidation of the Afrikaner state up to 1948, and after that, any *gevaar: rooi, swart, liberalisme*, could be used as a means to scare the electorate into false party allegiance. When the state was consolidated and Black reaction was somehow muted and posing no or less threat, liberalism was allowed to function or ignored as inconsequential to the balance of power between the forces of repression and those of resistance. After 1960, when the liberation movements mounted attacks against the state, liberalism was attacked. Wilson and Thompson (1975:414) observed that "action was concentrated mainly on radical left-wing organisations and persons, the focus of attention moved rightwards and in the mid-60's it was liberalism as such which was under fire."

Liberalism - because of its lack of ideological rigidity, could, and was, used by reforming states that did not want to relinquish power to the people. Hence it was easy for the intentions of the South African Party to be termed liberal when it allowed African trade unions, or when the United Party passed the 1936 Native Representative Council (NRC)⁴⁰

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The NRC, formed in terms of Hertzog's "native bills" in 1936 was typical of the liberals' position in terms of African representation. It had powers to recommend, and was loaded in terms representation, with chief native commissioners, who were state appointees, and *ipso facto*, sympathetic to it. The 12 elected representatives to the NRC were elected only by the Black *elite*. Meeting once year to express an opinion on all proposed Native legislation, the infrequency of their meetings were a far cry from that of the White parliament which made laws for longer periods. At any rate, the recommendations and opinions of the NRC could not shift the existing segregation machinery and in so far as they worked within it they sustained. It

or when the National Party created homelands or when it passed the 1983 Tricameral constitution. Any action on the part of the oppressing state that shifted an inch from its position is termed liberal even if it reverts to its previous and original position by slight of hand.

3.13 The beginning of an end

When the Liberal Party folded in 1968, it was without fanfare and razzmatazz. Paton observed that they went down with dignity. It is surprising, and indeed characteristic of it, that liberalism, worked to satisfy the needs of London, and not the people in South Africa for whom it claimed to work. Commenting on the dissolution of the Liberal Party, Paton rejoiced in the fact that it was the London newspaper⁴¹ which carried the story in bold headlines (Paton, 1988:278).

The failure of the Liberal Party and other parties of the liberal genre such as the Democratic Party, to make inroads into the Black support base was the nature of the Apartheid State. To Blacks the apartheid state was seen as favouring capital, and in turn capital played a part for the state ideology in terms of job reservation, the civilised labour policy and lower wages. The contradiction of the Liberal Party was that it also represented the interests of English capital. Blacks attacked apartheid from all angles such as strikes, civil disobedience and stayaways, methods which parties of the liberal hue

was no wonder then that some elements within the African National Congress referred to the NRC as a toy telephone. Wilson and Thompson (1975:452) referred to it as an "intercalary" structure.

could not identify with, less they lost support from their English capital supporters. Indeed, one group of the African National Congress and its Youth League attacked liberalism as a "petty bourgeois reformism in defence of the interests of English capitalism" (van den Berghe 1979:57).

The numerous Whites to whom this liberalism was bequeathed proved to be having much propensity for disintegration than its successor. The breakaway and factions became the order of the day until what could be seen to have some sort of permanence was the Democratic Party. However, this permanence looks to be short-lived because the past cannot be extricated from the party. It is still dominated by Whites, fighting for White values.

When the 1994 election approached, the Democratic Party, purporting to be the vehicle for liberalism, fared badly, winning seats that did not allow it to have a seat in the Government of National Unity (GNU) Cabinet. Efforts to attract Africans after decades of ignoring them, was predictably, concentrated in the rich suburbs - liberals targeting their own domestic workers and a handful of Coloureds. When the GNU started working, the party prided itself as the busiest in Parliament by counting the number of questions it fielded. In the 1995 local elections held in most provinces, it was decimated as a national force, consoling itself for winning town councils it had previously lost to the National Party. It continued to be viewed as a rich man's party.

3.14 Liberals on liberals

With the Democratic Party in disarray, liberalism became “privatized”, removed from the body politic, and occasionally being enunciated by Ken Owen, Editor of Sunday Times in his leaders. Apart from Owen, the liberal flag was kept wavering at half mast by notable people such as Helen Suzman in her autobiography, *In No Uncertain Terms* and Jill Wentzel's *The Liberal Slideaway*. Apart from these accounts, it was mainly motivated by Letters to the Editors to some newspapers. At best those who still called themselves liberals clutched at every opportunity to search for a liberal value in media, electronic and print. Like all the other political parties, the Democratic Party involved itself in the public attack on the ANC, with the vehemence that they did not attack the National Party. This consolidated the opinion that the Democratic Party was anti-Black. In spite of the political realities of the day - that no political party can hope to survive in an Africa that is preponderantly African in population while it is White - the Democratic Party did not self introspect. What it did was to blame the electorate of voting along racial lines, without realising that they as a party were partly responsible for that perception.

In their hour of need, suggestions to revive it, which might have struck a cord in the politics of 1940's created more confusion and convinced people that liberals could consort with the devil himself in order to survive. The two books mentioned in the preceding paragraph did bring the liberal debate to the fore, but in so doing, they created a quagmire and helped to verify the fears that nationalists and socialists had of the liberals. For instance, Suzman's book, by the constraints and the nature of autobiographical writing, there was no wrong in the cause in which she engaged. In other words, like all books of

an autobiographical nature, she was, in her own words, a saint.⁴²

Wentzel's book is interesting for the reasons that she gives for the demise of the liberal paradigm. Citing White guilt as one of the reasons, she argues that many liberals did not want to criticize Black excesses because they (liberals) were guilty of living in much more comfortable situations than their Black compatriots. As such, she argues, they could not resist the mass mobilization of the 1980s. She also goes to lengths describing how White liberals understood Black sufferings. Her book suffers from the same sentiments and goals that the liberals wanted to achieve and could be attacked from various angles. First, it was not incidental that liberal Whites lived in comfort - it was resultant of their efforts and causative of their aim to continue to control public debate to suit their goals of a comfortable life. A comfortable life was the objective of liberalism. Laurie Nathan, in Mail and Guardian (26 April to 2 May 1996), states that "the truth of the matter is that Whites, almost without exception, benefited from that [apartheid] system. Only a tiny minority opposed apartheid, and then mostly in conditions of relative safety and comfort." Secondly, the argument that they understood how Blacks suffered does not tell us how much they empathised with Blacks. It was good to sympathise, but to empathise, because it would mean engaging the state in a radical manner dictated to by those with whom they empathised, was not the goal of liberalism. At best the whole argument of the book is to discredit the revolutionary anarchy which could not be contained in the 1980's. On that score, the aim of the book is to serve their interests, because that is what they were trying to avoid throughout their lives. Revolutionary fervour prevailed in the 1980s not because

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The thesis does not wish to make a judgement on the sainthood of people. That is too tall a call. What it is trying to raise is that autobiographies are limited in their objectivity.

the liberals were less assertive - they still contributed voluminous research, treatises and debates and controlled institutions of higher education - but it prevailed in spite of their assertion. Her lament is understandable, for it is a lament of an influence lost. When the revolutionary fervour caught up, that was the end of the liberal argument.

But the demise of liberalism had been predicted as early as 1943 by Marquard's *The Black Man's Burden*. Himself a liberal founder member of National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and a member of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), he was bold enough to apply a Marxist analysis to the liberal argument. He stated that it was "apparent that limits of reformism have been reached, and that any further improvement in the living conditions of the non-European proletariat will have to be achieved along the lines of industrial action rather than by liberal influence" (Rich 1984:90).

Wentzel's second reason for the slide away is that there was pressure to conform to revolutionary excesses. She further lists excesses such as violence, forced donations and forced attendance at funerals. That, in my opinion, was liberalism's greatest weakness. It failed, and deliberately so, to understand the logic of a revolutionary warfare. Excesses are inherent in a revolution, from the revolutionary forces and from the counter-revolutionary ones. Such excesses gain even more justification if the illegitimate regime has excesses of its own, such as the South African regime. The acceptance of the illegitimacy of the South African albinocracy could have been reason enough for the liberals to understand the revolutionary excesses of the liberation forces, more so if the excesses of the state were conducted through the use of elements within the oppressed majority.

In arguing her second cause of the slide away, she quotes a letter, "This Grisly Circus of Death" depicting funerals as theatrics, she lays bare the poverty of liberal thinking that all funerals, cardiac failure, high blood pressure, cancer, should be treated in the same vein as a political killing. These were political funerals, victims often killed by state agents in balaclavas. Political funerals were a mourning and a celebration, a death and a rebirth. From it new cadres would pick up the spear and it was, as is still today, for a person with a remote controlled gate and a 2km driveway to understand it. It is becoming clear that those liberals who attended black funerals did so for selfish reasons. They went there for what their presence would gain them.

3.15 Lack of historical analysis

Both books then missed the point of African radicalism in the 1980s. None of them raises the long struggle of the African people, stretching from the day the first White man came to these shores. The radicalization of African politics was based on the practicability and indeed possibility of softening a radical stance towards moderation, while the opposite would be difficult to hold true. An ideologically radical position is easier to tone down when the objectives have been achieved. Radicalism has a time span - it stops after winning. It is created by the enemy - and liberals did not like to bring in a historical analysis⁴³ of the South African struggle, preferring to live for the future, and as true to

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Some liberals disregard history because it is the main emphasis of the Marxist debate which they detest for its ability and success in analysing classes. States with liberal/capitalist inclinations tend to use Marxism as a "legitimizing ideology, but neither the collapse of those regimes, nor their failure to live up to the normative ideals of Marxism are, in and of themselves, proofs of the bankruptcy of Marxism as a tradition of social-scientific practice. Indeed there is a great irony in the claim that the demise of Communist regimes based on

their nature, and as argued elsewhere in this thesis, they were interested in preventing a revolution that might happen in the future and wipe the White man from the face of Africa. Pepper (1986:173) states "the most fundamental errors of the environmental movement generally are seen by Marxists to be its idealism (as opposed to a materialist stance and therefore its a-historicism). Environmentalists fail to recognise the social and historical nature of resources and ecological problems. They ignore the importance of the mode of production in conditioning our perception to nature and society, and they therefore present environmental dilemmas in terms of fixed unchanging natural limits upon human action."

Such an ahistoric departure does not tally with the liberal's continued control of the green movement and is at variance with what they wish to dominate. Green issues and indeed all ecological entities are so because of their history, in other words they are so revered, and sometimes worshipped by liberals, because they are what they are, or were when they were created. Their value largely derives from their naturalness.

Because liberalism eschewed an historical analysis, African social strata and economic life were treated only as anthropological studies. In the absence of the historical⁴⁴ African, it

command economies implies that the demise of Marxism. The core ideas of classical Marxism as developed in the late nineteenth century would lead one to predict that attempts at revolutionary ruptures with capitalism in backward, non-industrialized countries which ultimately fail to accomplish their positive objectives. Orthodox historical materialism insisted that socialism only becomes possible when capitalism has exhausted its capacity for development of the forces of production - when it is a fetter on the future development of society's productive capacity" (Wright 1993:15-16).

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The historical tangent is succinctly explained by Wright (1993:16) where in his three nodes of Marxism, when he states that "[i]n its most ambitious form this is the overall epochal trajectory of human history. In its most ambitious form, it is the trajectory of capitalist development, from its origins within pro-capitalist feudal societies through its dynamic development and towards its eventual demise. In both cases Marxism attempts to theorise inherent tendencies of historical change to follow a particular trajectory with a specific kind of directionality."

could thus be claimed that a man with no history was not one that could have independence. As Africans, they were not as developed as the nations of Europe, they were still tribes, therefore economic, social and political rights could not be extended to them in the same way that they were extended to European nationals. In order for an African to graduate to the status of being granted rights, he had to commit cultural, social, political and historical suicide. His sense of being could only be realised if he attached himself to a White culture. Margaret Legum (Mail and Guardian, 15 March to 21 March 1996) acknowledges that “[m]ost South Africans, including Black people, women of all races and Afrikaners - find this model about racism coherent and a good basis for action. They understand it from their own experience what it is to internalise concepts of inferiority about themselves, because the ruling group held those theories and controlled the culture in which everyone lived.” It is in her argument that she fails to reveal the extent to which Africans in her categorization lost most of their culture in relation to the other groups mentioned in the argument. It is an old liberal argument: that when the leading role towards the amelioration of Black people's plight is discussed, liberals put themselves in the forefront, and when the issue of the African suffering in trying to solve their problem, liberals are quick to point out that they also suffered. When Africans point out to decimated bodies and destroyed social lives, liberals' sufferings stop at a teargas smoke which they inhaled at a particular African activist's funeral. This threads a fine line of liberal thought: that we all suffered and deviates from realism, that in the context of that suffering, which was aimed at Blacks, it was Blacks who suffered twice: first, because they were the intended victims, and secondly, because some of the Whites who wanted to help Blacks out of their suffering could not empathise but only sympathized with their situation.

To her credit, Legum (*Mail and Guardian*, 15 March to 21 March 1996) makes the following admission, which in my view should bolster the arguments of this thesis: "My intellectual and emotional judgement was clouded by my concept of them (Blacks) as poor things. I was terribly hurt when my quizzing of black people, ("only being friendly") while sharing nothing of myself, was experienced as patronising. I never took serious warnings about the danger of entering Black areas, because my image of black people excluded anything but gratitude to me" (*Mail and Guardian*, 15 March to 21 March 1996).

The thesis's call for more radical methods is motivated more by the fact that it is the only language Whites understand. Radicalism is borne out of frustration with the negotiating process and this will be understood by any good student of South African political history. The thesis accepts that removing control from one to the other is not an easy thing - no group passes control unless reaction to his rule cannot be contained. The radicalism which the thesis calls for is not to the level of eco-terrorism as practised by some members say of the Earth First! Neither is the radicalism saying we should save the animals and destroy man. I have raised the issue elsewhere in the thesis that man and nature are interlocked - the environment is for his survival, and Nature's survival depends on man. It is the radicalism of the creation of a balance. It is the radicalism that says we cannot afford unemployment simply because we want to save some frogs which inhabit a diamondiferous or coaliferous area. It is a radicalism that says frogs can be moved elsewhere but coaliferous areas are fixed to a particular space. Moderation, synonymous with liberalism as discussed throughout this thesis, is responsible for the mess from which we are trying to come out. It cannot therefore be the tool for solving it. At any rate, radicalism is a means to an end, and not an end in itself. It is therefore just so that our

insane society can be normalised.

Radicalism must also be understood to be, like all other terms, a term whose beauty is in the eye of the beholder. In other words it can be deliberately pushed to its most extreme by an opponent. The main aim is to show the supporters of one's objectives and ideology that the person to whom they have resigned their role as independent citizens - a Sovereign, to use the Medieval term- is dependable because his stand cannot be attacked by the most extreme of ideological constructions. In this way the Sovereign commands continued support and his authority is sustained. The main aim of pushing the opponents' ideological position to its extreme is to claim for yourself a higher status by being able to withstand it. It was therefore not surprising to hear of an apartheid supporter referring to any of his opponent as a Communist even if there was acknowledgement that the opponent was a Nationalist. Even those who were Socialist did not escape this label. It is in the creation of fear that unjust rule is perpetuated. In the same context of propaganda, radicalism was viewed, and made to be viewed, as synonymous with violence as if non-violent movements could not be radical in the discharge and promotion of their cause. On another level those who opposed apartheid under the banner of nationalism, were referred to as communists. This is important because it leads us to see how the propaganda campaign made liberals to be preoccupied with the hypertrophy of central authority, which is central to communism control. But nationalists, who formed a large part of the anti-apartheid struggle were certainly not communists. This divide has not been healed, and liberals, who could have found each other with nationalists decided, to run into, or be nearer to the gates of, the apartheid *laager*.

From the above arguments it is clear that at both levels of liberalism, pure and

compensatory, the intervention or non-intervention and levels and extent of such interventions by the state authorities is confusing. This gets added meaning when we realise that liberals of whatever hue, have predetermined ideas of what should be left to the decision of the individual. Pure liberals called for negative freedom, the absence of which would lead to anarchy. Those of the compensatory school were prepared to forego some of their freedoms. The last group never came up with what they were prepared to forego. In fact the two schools were hybridized and as such it became easy for the whole liberal school to be decimated by stronger ideological forces. The differences between them in terms of independence (for the compensatory school) and licence (for the pure school) became blurred in a South Africa that gave Whites both licence and independence - each complementing the other. So liberals of both hues were able to say that "They may", denoting their independence, but they could quickly say "They can" denoting their licence.

Thus the equality which was preached by liberals of both hues in a state which favoured Whites on a racial basis perpetuated the same inequality they purported to be destroying. For political acceptability among the African masses they could speak of equality, but as individuals they still benefited from the inequalities which existed. Some did serve in the army as they considered this to be their duty to the state. In a contradictory position then, they managed to prop up the system through military means, perpetuated the system by attending racially exclusive schools, and floated the Rand by being members of big business. The list is endless.

A reader's letter in Mail and Guardian (1 March to 7 March 1996) states that "English speaking liberal norms have held sway in South Africa for so long as the epitome of

operate under the guise of superior morality which makes them the most obnoxious of all racists.” Even if we were to accept ourselves as natural (the pun is deliberate) beings, and admit to some momentary mental lapses by conceding Pepper’s paradox (1986:187),⁴⁵ South Africa’s political dilemma (and the basis of this thesis) is that the “both” or “either” answers dwell within the racist paradigm of Black vs White. This is no coincidence but an accident of history.

That then is the state of liberalism in South Africa. It is an ideology they could not be exercised in manner it had originally been intended because it took advantage of the racial divisions that existed. To the extent that it tried to challenge the State’s policies, it gave the same state the respectability of being a democratic State, when it was not. The argument will now shift to examining the green movement and its control by the liberals.

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Pepper’s paradox is based on the popular perception that Greens are usually radical agents of social change and essentially progressive while appearing as politically “above” conventional politics. The historical and materialistic analyses in the thesis are based on the fact that South African Greens are conservative, middle class, reactionary and bourgeois. What is deliberately not answered in this thesis is the question of which one is the most correct analysis of the Greens.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHITE ELITIST LEADERSHIP AND ENVIRONMENTAL

AWARENESS

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to display how a few Whites have succeeded in elevating and sustaining themselves in the leadership of the green movement. In this instance, they are assisted by the existing contradictions of environment related issues such as the definition of needs, the myth about food crisis, the myth about poverty and the myth of community participation. These myths taken as truths, lead to the liberals failure to consult the communities which are affected.

4.2 The unavailability of class analysis

It must be mentioned from the beginning that South Africa's political landscape cannot be analysed without referring to class. The recruitment and membership of the green movement in South Africa cannot therefore escape the Marxist class analysis. The added complication in this political landscape is that usually, class is intertwined with race. Any study of South Africa's political and social movements, however much racially inclusive in its constitution, will of necessity refer to race and class. In the environment groups for instance, few White activists stand to lose by the implementation of the programmes they advocate. A few who are farmers are not "threatened by the prospect of land reform. A

few artisans and petty clerks are threatened with job displacement by qualified blacks. Many intellectuals and professionals are relatively secure in their academic jobs, their higher education and their expertise" (van den Berghe 1979:64).

One of the major flaws inhibiting the green movement's effective interest aggregation is its structure and composition. Almost the whole contingent of green activists are White and in the dynamics of South African politics are invariably informed by the past, this smacks of White elitism. Intended or not, the composition is such that any would-be green activist from other race groups finds it difficult to penetrate this white wall. The often-resorted to counter-argument to this assertion is that it is the level of intellectual and economic development of individuals which heightens their awareness for green issues. Apartheid structures having made sure that the better educated and thus the better "informed" about green issues are Whites, liberals argue, it follows that it is White middle-class liberals who are better positioned to aggregate the interests of the environmental community. Abrahamse (1993:1) states that "concern for environmental issues in South Africa has been considered to be the province of the white middle-class who attained the standard and quality of life to have the luxury and time to turn their minds to "Green" issues. So we have had the appalling situation where people are more concerned about the clubbing of seals than the massacre of people on the trains; more able to relate to saving the rhino than the high black infant mortality rates in the Bantustans; more concerned about a home for the 'spotted eagle' than those in squatter camps struggling to find a place to live; more willing to pay extra for ozone-friendly underarm spray than to recognise apartheid causes of the high air pollution levels in the townships."

What the environmental groups need are leaders with vision who can lead only with the

support of the people. If we cannot get this leadership corps, those that lead should be replaced with better leaders. This call comes from the basic failures of the leadership structure. This leadership has failed to influence environmental policy as envisaged by Miller (1996:695), in his seven examples of involvement. Where they were supposed to (1) vote for candidates and ballot measures, liberal leaders became strange bed partners of an undemocratic system, often reaping what they could get out of it, and criticizing it so as not to shake its basic structures. Where they were supposed to (2) contribute money and times to candidates seeking office, they did so but only to candidates who would support their business interests which are antithetical to environmental protection. Where they were supposed to (3) lobby, write, or call elected representatives, asking them to pass or oppose certain laws, establish certain policies, and fund certain programs, they funded programmes that were so uncritical to the environmental legislation change as to support the Save the Whale campaign or the Save the Rhino campaign and forgot the hundreds of Africans to whom these campaigns are as meaningless as the liberal paradigm itself. Where they were supposed to (4) educate and persuade, they educated themselves so as to continue their domination of the environmental movement. Where they were supposed to (5) expose fraud, waste, and illegal activities in government (whistle-blowing), they became part of fraud through their silence and protected the White governments (through their silence) with whom they shared a pigmentation. Where they were supposed to (6) file lawsuits, they tried to mock argue in a parliament where they had no numerical superiority. And finally, where they were supposed to (7) participate in grassroots activities, they eschewed it because the grassroots was composed and dominated by people with whom they did not share pigmentation (Miller 1996:695).

The convenient argument which is often used is that the environment is a middle class⁴⁶ issue because "it is only when people have high incomes that they can afford the luxury of worrying about the quality of life." Lowe and Goyder (1983:25) state that '[w]ith greater prosperity, people are freed from their immediate material needs and are able to attend more to the non-material aspects of their lives. With a sense of material security, they are able to shift their attention from the accumulation of wealth to its enjoyment.'" This, in an African situation, and in the structural disparities between Black and White in South Africa, is pure utopia. Jacobs (1991:16) has argued that the "fact that poor people cannot afford to buy a good quality of life does not mean that they do not want it. The argument is a good example of the fallacy that demands registered in the market are full expression of consumers' desires...market demand is based on consumers income, but consumers' desires clearly don't always match the resources they have for meeting them." In an opposing view flip, Lowe and Goyder (1983:25) state that "it is ironical that environmental values tend to be espoused by those for whom economic prosperity has furnished the means to choose and fully appreciate their surroundings. This illuminates the central tension running throughout the environmental movement from its beginnings to the present day, between resistance to unwelcome change, often of a defensive and sometimes elitist character, and the assertion of human values, including a concern for social well-being, in opposition to crass materialism and unhuman technology."

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Lowe and Goyder (1983:10) state that "the relation between formal groups and the attentive public in terms of social composition is complex. A major criticism of the environmental groups is that their members are predominantly middle-or upper middle-class, and that their values are unrepresentative of lower class interests. The late Anthony Crossland, Labour Secretary for the Environment between 1974 and 1976, commented: "To say that we must attend meticulously to the environmental case does not mean we must go to the other extreme and wholly neglect the economic case.... part of the conservationist lobby would do precisely this. Their approach is hostile to growth and indifferent to the needs of ordinary people. It has

Clearly, the liberal counter-argument of better education = better environmental awareness is a misconception. It argues that other race groups and particularly Africans should follow an arbitrarily determined mental and intellectual development in order to have an idea of what environmental issues are about. Lowe and Goyder (1983:12) have observed that "most studies of environmental concern do report a negative correlation with age and a positive correlation with level of education, but these relationships are not particularly strong. Thus, although young adults and college-educated people are especially likely to identify themselves with the environmental movement, support is not lacking amongst the low-education groups and older people. Moreover, the income and occupation bias amongst members of environmental groups is not reflected in the public support for the movement." Literature is replete with refutations of this unilinear Rostow-like progression modelled along Western notions that deviously overlook the objective contexts. Let there be no mistake: White middle class liberals are largely involved in environmental issues for egoistic reasons while for a large part of the South African population, green issues mean life and death. White middle class liberals live in posh and leafy suburbs which by the zoning procedures of the past and the skewed allocation of resources are at a lesser or no environmental risks. It is therefore a contradiction to have a green movement led by people who "think" about the environment and not those who "live" it, however much we may appreciate Gramsci's theory of an organic intellectual.

Antithetical to equality, it fails to commit class suicide and on the contrary dogmatically shares the idea and the maintenance of class divisions. It is against political and

manifest class bias and reflects a set of middle- and upper middle-class value judgements [for which] the status quo is the sole consideration."

revolutionary rupture and favours controlled evolutionary progression; it is against breaking, and favours bending. These contradictions put it in an invidious position in a South Africa that wants to break with, and not bend, the past. They continued as they did in the past and as they were categorised by Nolutshungu (1983:3) “they eschewed prediction and theory, emphasizing the moral aspects of apartheid and the need for protests and opposition. They are often the butt of much of the ‘realist’ criticism and sarcasm. Although explicit political preferences are seldom voiced, reformists share a scepticism and an antipathy to any systematic armed challenge to the regime, and a definite preference (so far as the liberals are concerned), for those movements that are focussed on ‘deracialisation’ rather than on liberation and social transformation, and for Blacks willing to “use” the political institutions set up by the government for them in the tribal reserves or Bantustan.”

A letter to Mail and Guardian (10 March 1996) states that “the confidence derived from centuries of control over the economies and the cultures of others has given the English-speaking world the resources and the opportunities to reach and monopolise the moral and intellectual high ground. So profound has been their control that they have succeeded in pursuing others that to question the superiority of their culture, language, religion and others norms is simply the mark of the philistine; and that the preservation of what they have created is synonymous with the preservation of high standard *per se*.”

There has never been a better admission of this skewed view of needs as that which was offered by Colonel Jack Vincent of the Natal Parks Board when he stated that “It will take years, if not a generation or two, before millions of Africans regard wildlife as anything but the next meal” (Mail and Guardian, November 7 to 13 1997). It would be immoral of

this researcher to allow such a sweeping statement to take hold but the veracity of it, whether established or not by the Colonel through any means scientific, serves to highlight the different views of conservation which the Blacks and Whites had, and in so far as it does this, justifies the thesis of this nature.

In the way that they control human values, it is easy for them to control by mystification, environmental values as well. Capitalists first cite the development of technology and the division of labour as necessary, but in the process they ignore the links that exist between cause and effects of the depletion of resources. In the same way that they assault Maslow's hierarchy of needs as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, to make us forget these cause and effects, they drive us towards giving priority to our own physiological and psychological needs. Hidden agendas conspire to show us that there exists no relationship between cause and effect. For example our awareness is reduced through incessant advertising, or we are made to be responsible for the poverty of society, or the poor are seen as accountable for their own poverty. The second mystification is the failure of capital to inform the public of the "externalities" (environmental costs that are not involved in the market price of products). The third mystification is that little or no information is given by capitalists on the intergenerational equity in their policy discussions. Redclift (1984:22) argues that capitalists live "for the day that they have maximised profits to the full, the future use of resources is at best valued less, or at worst discounted altogether." Citing the South African case in particular, Abrahamse (1993:2) states that "the economic system we have inherited is based on massive externalities. The way growth has been achieved has been to off-load costs - to externalise them - onto somebody else. And because of the lack of black political power and rights, the black population has been where most, if not all, the off-loading has been done."

4.3 “Needs” as a manipulable concept

Attached to this monopolization of the environment is an arbitrarily decided concept of needs. It is overlooked that basic needs mean different things to different people. In a situation of domination, it becomes easy for the dominating group/s to apportion what basic needs are, and these needs go together with what they perceive as their basic needs. It therefore does not cross their minds that a basic need of an *elite* and rich White may be to view the flight of birds, while the basic need of a poor African rural person, in relation to that bird, is to catch them for evening food. Maslow’s hierarchy of needs may have been a carefully analysed thesis. But he did not reckon with the way that domination works. While it may be true that material needs such as physiological security and physical safety are prioritized in his hierarchy of needs, it does not explain the different starting points of different sectors of a given society. A society like South Africa starts from irreversibly staggered starting blocs, and as such there will be no level of equality where Maslow needs spread through society will be the same. It is in this concept that Maslow’s needs, fail to capture the essence of human value, and more so fail to capture the differences in material wealth in a post-apartheid South Africa. His “self actualization” needs are reserved for a limited few, and it is a few that wants to soldier its presence to the driving seats of apportioning values in steel.

On the question of needs, Pepper (1986:155) asserts that it is the “new wants” which create problems and may eventually lead to the contradictions of capitalism. He argues that “many environmentalists as well as Marxists would say that this market enlargement, through creating “new wants” and opening up new territories, has led to the contradiction

of overproduction of material goods existing alongside unmet social needs. Overproduction results from an inherent contradiction of capitalism because labourers cannot consume as much as they produce, since they always produce amounts with an exchange value in excess of what they are paid for their work.

The questions of needs should be clarified because some of them are rather debatable, such as private cars, cigarettes, tobacco and alcohol, radio, electrical and other durables, cosmetics and toiletries, roads, 'defence' over-consumption of fuel and light, and of food" (Pepper 1986:169).

4.4 The myth of the food crisis

The domination of the liberals in the green debate is displayed even further by the way that they set the agenda for the food crisis. According to the capitalists and liberals, with food-producing resources in so much of the world stretched to the limit, there's simply not enough food to go around. Unfortunately, some people have to go hungry. In response to this myth, Lappe and Collins (1988:7) argue that "the world today produces enough grain alone to provide every human being on the planet with 3,600 calories a day. That's enough to make most people fat! And this estimate does not even count the many other commonly eaten foods - vegetables, beans, nuts, root crops, fruits, grass-fed meats, and fish."

Consistent with domination, dominators tend to be elocutors of what is good and bad. In the context of the environment, the liberals are quick to pontificate about how the issues of poverty and food shortages cannot be solved in the way that most people feel - that is in

a way that strikes a balance with the environment. Their view is that pressure to feed the world's hungry is destroying the very resources needed to grow food. According to them, to feed the hungry, we are pushing crop and livestock production onto marginal, erosion-prone lands, clearing age-old rain forests, and poisoning the environment with pesticides. Clearly, we cannot both feed the hungry and protect the environment. This assertion is as mythical as the one raised earlier. In the desire to enjoy the aesthetics of the environment, the aim to preserve nature in spite of the hungry is clear. However, this assertion does not take into account that the two, environment and food are intertwined. The provision of food, theirs as well is through the environment. It would be through the environment that food for the poor can also be provided, in a way that is far better than the destructive methods of the market forces they (liberals) also control.

This usurpation of the green movement forces many to "submit to comprehensive regulation by an *elite* of environmental experts if our planet is to be saved. The real crisis, however, appears to lie with these self-proclaimed saviours. They view the present world order - which places power in the hands of the individuals - as foolhardy" (Lazzari 1993:219). Yet they place the environmental control in their own hands. They issue apocalyptic warnings, which, when failing to appear in a given time, create a credibility crisis for themselves and helps to strengthen the resolve of the very people they are trying to oppose. When they predict that the world will be no more in ten years, they eat their words and shift dates through some scientific manipulation, to cover-up for their miscalculations. The dubious nature of these apocalyptic warnings is captured by Pepper (1986:175) when he states that 150 years ago industrialisation was causing severe environmental problems, yet no predictions of doom and ecological collapse were made then: "The ecological movement has only come into being since the districts which the

which the bourgeoisie inhabited and their living conditions have been exposed to those environmental burdens which industrialisation brings.” According to Pepper (1986:219) therefore apocalyptic warnings are also a form of control. He states “the preoccupation with environmental collapse is a phenomenon belonging entirely to the superstructure - that is, no real political reform of the material economic base is advocated to avert it, neither is it seen as a manifestation of that base. And the concern about social and ecological collapse is really an expression of the decadence of a bourgeois society which sees its own collapse as the end of the world and wants to preserve the past rather than welcoming a future social change. The bourgeoisie environmentalist’s future is really a return to the past, because he wants to get rid of what he created, that is, the industrialisation to which he owes his power.”

4.5 The myth of poverty

The myth of poverty, generated by liberals themselves, is that the poor are too poor to help themselves. Therefore a systematic continuation of domination is perpetuated. Chambers (1988:3) has argued that “contrary to popular prejudice, there is a mounting evidence that when poor people have secure rights and adequate stocks of assets to deal with contingencies, they tend to take a long view, holding on tenaciously to land, protecting and savings trees and seeking to provide for their children. In this respect, their time perspective is longer than that of commercial interests concerned with early profits from capital, or of conventional development projects concerned with internal rates of return. Secure tenure and rights to resources and adequate livelihood are prerequisites for good husbandry and sustainable management. Moreover, sustainable livelihood security is a precondition for a stable human population in the long term, for only when livelihoods

are secure does it become rational for people to limit family size. Enabling poor people to gain secure and sustainable livelihoods in resources-poor and forest areas is, thus, the surest protection for the environment. The poor people are not the problem, they are the solution." This puts paid to another myth as listed by Lappe and Collins (1988:85) that "if the initiative for change must come from the poor, then the situation truly is hopeless. Beaten down and ignorant of the real forces oppressing them, poor people are conditioned into a state of passivity. They can hardly be expected to bring about change."

They tend to view the environment as pets. These apocalyptic warnings stretch the imagination and deliberately fail to realise that the environment was as made for man (the gender is all-inclusive) as much man (the gender is inclusive) was made for it. It is therefore not surprising to find the greatest sympathy and protest when one fish is pulled out of its habitat, or when one tree is cut or when a field is planted but none comes when a sizeable number of people die because of malnutrition. Malnutrition is seen as being visited by the individual on himself (with the argument such as he should have saved his money for rainy days) rather than by the environment. They are quick to chain themselves to the pay loaders that will remove the forest so that man can live, but they will never chain themselves to the drought victims. They will never contribute to a disaster fund. They have deliberately shifted the environmental debate from striking a balance between nature and man, to sacrificing man for the sake of nature. On that level, the green debate has become as impersonal as business - the former because of the reason stated above, the latter because its main aim is to exploit man. Such Don Quixotic inclinations overlook the fact that man and nature are mutually exclusive, each in a particular space, but at the same time. Citing the impersonality of business, Abrahamse (1993:2) states that "business takes no responsibility for workers once they leave the factory or farm, pay little or no health or

housing costs, ensure that the toxins and pollutants they produce do not effect their own living situation and work actively at keeping information about toxic substances away from workers and unions.”

That there are Africans who are members of the liberal school is accepted but they are not in the leadership positions, certainly not of the environmental groups. The membership of people other than Whites in liberal circles can be traced back to its formation. There are two problems with their membership. Firstly, they are mostly urbanised middle class people and secondly “they were at the centre-right of African opinion. Coloureds and Indians were at the centre of those groups’ opinions. This indeed was the middle ground, but it was a tenuous one and as such it became “untenable as the conflict unfolds, and remains so until it has run its course (at which time it often becomes irrelevant to the new changed situation)” (van den Berghe, 1979:59).

This has been the terminal illness of the liberal paradigm: that while it rejected the apartheid construction, it was selective in its rejection by consorting with those elements, such as education, which benefits it. As argued by Swilling (*Theoria*, May 1992), “although apartheid was not democratic, it privatized authoritarianism that leaves civil society to the vagrancies of the market and the power of the shareholders.” Liberals exploited that privatization to the fullest.

In spite of the sloganeering facade to the contrary, the delineation of the green struggles did nothing to dispel the myth of a White versus Black South Africa. The domination of the green movement by liberal Whites tended to reinforce this unpalatable divide. And in as much as Whites (green activists) challenged Whites (state rulers), they closed the space

for non-racialism and at most created the impression that that White state was democratic, for it allowed opposition, without appreciating that it was tame opposition. In that way the apartheid state deflated one of its other important weakness: that apart from depriving Blacks of rights, it was also repressive even to those Whites whose interests it claimed to protect and to whom it would return after a few years for votes, in the clear knowledge that if they voted for it, they would perpetuate its political control, if they voted against it, they would grant it political legitimacy by endorsing apartheid's particular version of democracy, and if they abstained, they would still be granted the right to continue ruling. For however much my earlier postulation stated the existence of the Black/White divide, it cannot be denied that there were Whites who fought and were enemies of the state because they wanted to rock the boat and upset the apple-cart in spite of the fact the state organs were created to benefit them. Liberals were confused and dubious participants in upsetting the apple-cart.

In this the tactic of the State and the anti-Green movement worked very well. For division and conquering does not reside outside the tactics of the anti environmental movement, which is to a large extent supported by government and states. To the extent that anything in South Africa that was anti- establishment was considered a political offence one could argue that the existence of a combined Black and White green movement was hindered by the Black and White division. While Whites who care for the environment were given political rights served to undermine this potential force of the green movement. Main stream organisations which belonged to Whites were not only pampered with being given political rights but also through State subsidies which were not given to other race groups.

It should be submitted that the mobilization and conscientization of other race groups towards the green fold has been pathologically weak. Mobilization and conscientization are organisation and occupational axioms. Any failure to be competent or to attempt these aspects can only be considered to be deliberate. This emphasizes the point of conscious domination. If any, it has co-opted people of colour peripherally and on an ad-hoc basis, i.e only if their presence and their participation will give more venom to their (the liberals') struggles - a kind of Rent-A-Crowd mindset. It is in this deliberate peripheralization of others that liberals see themselves as the actual liberators. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka cuts through the liberals peripheralization of other role players by stating that "[m]embers of the Twelfth Language Group think of themselves as the real liberators and that everybody is assisting them to liberate humanity. They think they are the ones who have been doing real work of leading and bringing about liberation" (Mail and Guardian, 15 March to 21 March 1995).

The argument wishes to state that this elitism is a contradictory position, for it purports that green activism is reserved for Whites who "understand" the issues better, given their level of education. It is in that contradiction that the green movement has signed its death warrant. If any White and elitist movement or organisation wishes to while address national and international issues without including Africans who command an unbridgeable numerical preponderance, then that movement is bound to fail. If it does not close shop in the transitional period, it is unlikely to survive the post-transition period.

4.6 The liberal's lack of consultation

In the absence of a commanding Black membership, the green movement fails to consult the general public on issues for solidarity actions. Even if they were willing to consult the general organs of civil society, they would be limited by their non-association with the political struggles of the past. The struggle against apartheid was, in spite of the idealistic non-racialism of its slogan, waged largely on racial grounds: the Black majority against a White minority.⁴⁷ I take a few Whites who have a good record of anti-apartheid activism to break the suspicion and there are only a handful of these. The little demonstrations that are held are by a handful of loyal activists, who were not well informed about the importance of the ecological issues in which they are involved. Thamsanqa Sokutu at the Earthlife Conference in Pietermaritzburg, argued that "for environmentalism to move away from perceived as a white middle-class issue, environmental organisations must be mass based. Environmental issues must be relevant to the people on the ground. People are not going to respect those who hold placards, calling for no Plutonium shipments, when they shy away from holding placards calling for healthy living conditions" (New Ground, Summer '92/93 p 34). For instance, in the St Lucia debate, the collective of 120 environmental groups "has acknowledged that it has "failed to incorporate the concerns of these people in their protests against the strip mining option at St Lucia" (Weekly Mail, 19 to 25 April 1993)⁴⁸ and Guardian (22 March to 28 March 1996). Representatives from

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The author is aware that he is oscillating between Black/White and non-racialism. While he agrees that the former is undesirable, it can also be argued that it is positivist and realistic. The latter is desirable but it is still normative and idealistic.

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The attendance of environmental conferences by Africans such as Sokutu and Sihlangu, may appear to be

some environmental organisations that ran the campaign to save St Lucia from mining admit that they found it difficult to recruit support from rural communities who have a stake in the future of the eastern shores. They admit that “the only solution is action now with local communities coming into new eco-tourism lodges around the estuary as full partners. We need to show in a concrete way that they cannot benefit more from mining than they would have from tourism.”

This lack of consultation over green issues is testimony to the central argument of this thesis. The divergent needs of, and expectation, from the environmentalists and the communities could not be harmonized and it was largely due to the nature of the Government of National Unity that finality to the debacle was reached. The Minister of Land Affairs, Mr Derek Hanekom⁴⁹, appointed the LAPC, which re-looked into the matter while at the same time soliciting the views of those who had not been consulted before. It is true that the green groups are reaping the advantages of Cabinet’s decision that mining will not be allowed in the St Lucia Bay, the central question of ownership, which the liberal environmentalists had overlooked will resurface. According to Daily News (8 March 1996) as soon as Cabinet rejected mining in favour of eco-tourism, land

dispelling the main arguments of this paper, but it must be noted that the points they also raise do not deviate from the premise of this thesis.

By the end of 1995m the Minister of land Affairs, Mr Derek Hanekom, had requested the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre (LAPC) to canvass opinions of those groups that had until then not had an effective voice in the debate so that Cabinet can take these views into account before taking a decision for or against mining (Mail and Guardian 22 December 1995 to 4 January 1996). The LAPC released its report favouring eco-tourism. In the opinion of the researcher, the report was couched in politically relevant terms such as mentioning that eco-tourism has a calming effect on people. According to the report, it provides tranquility to groups of township youths at a time when many are traumatised by violence Sunday Tribune, 7 January 1996. In the opinion of the researcher the LAPC did not have an overall view of the problem, but wanted to be politically correct in so far as the so-called marginalised and traumatised youth are symptomatic of the repressive structures of the old state and problematic to

claims, one from Chief Phineas Mkhwanazi and the other from a member of the community, came were lodged.

The question of land ownership as presumed on a liberal pedestal assumes the confines of a privately owned land. Land restitution therefore becomes entangled in this thesis's dilemma. Implementation of land reform programmes ram against the dominating ideological buffer. Tying this up with ahistorically, land occupation history gets hidden under the academic aprons and proscriptions. Such a history becomes archivaly irretrievable. The aim of the liberal is to claim that which is being conserved and therefore which Africans are denied access to or restitution of, is pristine and not touched by human hands and should therefore be taken as irrestitutable. When proof is obtained that there had been previous land occupation, the fact is not easily accepted.⁵⁰ Mail and Guardian (22 March to 28 March 1996) has revealed the extent of the lack of consultation with the community from both the Cabinet side and the environmental groups' side. According to the paper, a few residents who joined two community meetings stated that "the government's announcements was no different to the old apartheid decrees despite cabinet claims that *amakhosi* from the region discussed and agreed with the move." One community member states: "[w]e don't know if we would have benefited from mining. We do not know if we would benefit from tourism and conservation. All we know is that nobody has spoken to us. Now that we have applied to get our land back, they are telling us what to do with it" (Mail and Guardian, 22 March to 28 March 1996).

the new one/ The report also argued that women would benefit, although it did not explain how this would be done. On 16 March 1996, Cabinet decided in favour of eco-tourism.

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One verification exercise which was carried out in St Lucia by members of the Land Claims Commission came up with interesting findings. While previously the conservation authorities had denied that people had ever lived there, the verification exercise came up with proof that there had been human occupation and one

This, in the opinion of the author, will put the green movement in a fix, because while the liberals who control it support ownership, their aesthetic inclinations will of necessity not support the return of the land to their original owners, with the argument that the owners will not be able to look after this World Heritage Site. Racism will rear its head, for insidiously they will be saying if the land were owned by Africans, it will not be saved. Indeed even before the Land Claims Court has decided on the issue, and even before the matter was gazetted, there are peddled rumours that Chief Mkhwanazi has already agreed to grant mining rights to RBM in the event of his claim being successful (Daily News, 8 March 1996).

If we were to examine this elitism *vis-a-vis* the recently attained democracy, it may be argued that the two are incompatible. The hope of transferring the liberalist traditions of the green movement to the broader democracy are dispelled by Schmitter (1995:15) when he states that: "liberalism, either as a conception of political liberty or as a doctrine about economic policy, may have coincided in some countries with the rise of democracy but has never been immutably or unambiguously linked to its practice - least of all once democracy was extended to include mass publics, popularly elected executives, specialised interest associations, and boisterous social movements."

The environment, by being overarching, cannot be seen in the context of Budde's (1991) three ideal types of citizens: the parochial citizen who has little or no awareness of politics or his or her relation to it, the subject citizen is conscious of the output of politics but has little influence on it and the participant citizen who is oriented to both political inputs and

outputs. If this were to be used, one would take the dominating liberals as participant citizens while the rest are parochial citizens. This would be a mistake, for when there is drought, these ideal types of citizens are equally affected and the categorizations collapse.

4.7 The liberals' aesthetic view of the environment

Also pertinent to the growing divide is the way we approach environmental affairs. As clearly pointed out by ex-AZAPO Vice President, Gomolemo Mokae, "Whites see beauty in the flight of birds and grace in the movement of animals. Blacks see a possible source of food"⁵¹ (Cock and Koch, 1991:30). Farieda Khan, cited in Cock and Koch (1991:37), has observed "the negative environmental perceptions of many Black people, ranging from apathy to hostility Hayward (1990:8) also raises the issue of hostility when he states that "man's hostility to nature, both "internal" and "external" is rooted in the hostility among human beings themselves, especially in the competitiveness of the economic system which distorts the value of humans and nature" (Hayward 1990:8). Cock and Koch (1991:2) are also against the authoritarian conservation approach to the environmental issues and states that "infant mortality rates in "homelands" do not seem to have the same fashionable appeal as the conservation of the Black Rhino." Huntley, Siegfried and Sunter (1989:13) in analysing malnutrition and related effects in Africa, argue that "malnutrition and related afflictions account for over five million deaths annually in Africa. This is equivalent to 45 jumbo jet crashes everyday with no survivors

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The Mail and Guardian (22 March to 28 March, 1995) has highlighted the food components of the St Lucia area. It states that "another one of the elders provided a list of indigenous fruit species that supplement people's diets: *umvuthwamini* (or small brown berry), *amahlala* (monkey apples), *ambunga* (a large yellow fruit), *amabhunzi* (that divided into parts like an orange only that it is much sweeter) and *izindoni* (berries that go black when they are ready to be eaten).

and with more than 50% of the victims under 15 years of age. Forty five "Helderbergs" or "Lockerbies" a day, every day - *and not a tear shed.*" [My Italics]. Unless we all have one view of ecology, as the necessity for human survival, then our strategies to fight green battles will be unable to yield better results.

Regarding the relationship of the Bank and the IMF with South Africa Cronin (1994:32), albeit in a non-environmental caveat, calls their structural adjustment policies as civilized barbarism. He states that "if there is the barbarism of enclave fascism, of tribal warlordism and ethnic cleansing, there is also the barbarism of the New World order. It is, of course, a more "civilised" barbarism. Its victims tend not to die in mortar fire or from land-mines. But it is a barbarism that claims more lives - 25-million died of hunger in the Third World last year (1993). That hunger was basically caused by debt strangulation. 25 million dead is the equivalent in deaths of a Hiroshima atom bomb dropped every single day of last year."

It is also the weakness of the green movement to have people who are not intrinsically involved in green issues being in the forefront. I concur that nothing is unconstitutional about this level of moonlighting. It is raised here simply because it does not benefit the environmental struggle. Some of these activists hold lucrative day jobs and environmental issues are seen as a "filler". Some get involved only because environmental issues inform their full time professions. For instance a lawyer will become involved because he represents a client who has been affected. I wish to argue that unless there are vibrant, fully committed green activists, all the efforts will not come to fruition. We need not look

further for the answer to why State and Capital⁵² is so successful in winning hands down against environmental groups that to examine the movement's innate weaknesses.

In this vein Dobson (1990:20) argues that there are two types of ecologisms - the private and the public. He states that the advocates of the two speak different tones to different people. The private ecologist will highlight the intrinsic value of the environment ahead of the human instrumental arguments in terms of priority while the public will appeal to the enlightened self-interest and talk about nature's intrinsic value once the objective of self-interest has been achieved. The contradiction is for all to see. Politically, ecologism must subscribe to a particular set of reasons for the care of the environment whilst being confronted by a culture that creates lack of confidence in it. In this way politically, ecology is forced to produce another set of subordinate culture in public. The overall characteristic then is that ecology must have a public face which hides what it really is - and yet what it really is, is its public face.

4.8 Divisions within the liberals

This is not to say the weakness is occasioned by the Black/White divide only, but is also within the supposedly monolithic liberal White grouping that divisions exist. The schism between what I would call, for the purpose of this argument, the "levels" and the "non-level" contingents.⁵³ The first one is that which accepts industrialisation and its resultant

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The relationship between State and Capital is discussed separately in Chapter Six.

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Lazzari (1993:231) has distinguished between eco-warriors and wise-use movement, the latter being

environmental destruction but only if it is kept to agreed upon levels. The second group, naturalist in orientation, discounts such industrialisation and thus rejects any level. Jacobs (1991:40) has noted "that some firms can make profits while benefiting (or not harming the environment) does not mean that all firms are likely to. As we have seen, firms do not have to be malicious to act in a damaging way. They merely have to respond rationally to economic signals. In many industries, these signals still encourage environmentally harmful activities. The fact that they do not in others may reduce the problem but does not eliminate it....A "good" factory may reduce its own toxic emissions by half, for example, but if other "bad" ones are increasing them by the same amount, the overall environmental impact is unchanged." Moss and Obery (1992:262) concur that "green groups in South Africa have split and fought among themselves over issues of principle. There is also the grave danger of a split between union members and green activists when it comes to choices over whether a dirty industry should be closed down or jobs saved." The levels group, inadvertently perhaps, panders to the whims of the Wise-Use movement⁵⁴ whose agenda is to destroy the environmental movement. Such a schism is easily exploited by state and capital. The sooner the rift is healed, the better.

There might be a misconception that this liberal attitude is a sole preserve of those who are said to be "fighting" the State's control of the environment. Some of the state institutions which these environmental groups are fighting are themselves controlled by

moderate and the former being radical.

The wise -use movement is a powerful coalition of right-wing organisations whose agenda includes the cheap, unregulated exploitation of natural resources and the destruction of the environmental movement. It includes a pot pourri of interest groups such as ranchers, pro gun lobbies, hunters, miners, loggers, trappers, off road vehicle users industries and corporate fronts. It includes at least two Southern African conservation

people who are liberals - and in the process of their battle for control, both relegate the masses to the periphery. A case in point was the attitude of the National Parks Board (NPB) when it outrightly dismissed the application for a prospecting permit by the Madimbo Mining Company - this in spite of a forum have been established to facilitate negotiations with rural people. Argued an elder from the rural area:” You should tell these people who like wildlife that they should come here and speak to us before they make statements about how our land should be used. And when they come, they should remember that we suffered greatly when our villages were destroyed and our homes were burnt so that Kruger could be made bigger..... Now that we have a chance to get some wealth from that land, we are being told to put even more animals there. It will be very difficult to convince our people that wildlife is better than mining - and it will be even more so if we are not spoken to properly” (Mail and Guardian, December 22, 1995 to January 4, 1996).

The contradiction of the liberal environmentalists is that they are caught in a divided interest warp. Some of these liberals, as bosses of industry, tend to promote the profit motive more than the environment. If they were to protect the environment, it is basically because they wish to feast on its aesthetic beauty. At both interests the culture of domination and dispossession plays itself over and over. Industrialisation, in a situation of inequality, benefits more those who are dominant. Protection of the environment, used for aesthetic satisfaction, satisfies those who have the financial resources to afford such aesthetic beauty. It is therefore no wonder that even if the liberals encourage the aesthetic notion of the environment, their aim is to exclude the communities around these areas and

groups (Mail and Guardian, November 14 to 29, 1997). In some writings the conflict between the Wise- Use movement and the environmental groups is referred to as the Green Brown Clash (Miller, 1996:699).

set the stage for visitors from afar.

4.9 The myth of community participation

In order to achieve their continued domination, liberals have managed to divide people into opposing camps. In the case of the environment, a negligible number from the surrounding communities is employed in these camps, thus creating a class that they can refer to as being the evidence of the communities' involvement in the running of the games or parks. Their mere presence, however minimal the role they play, offers liberals a cushion from the rest of the communities which are neglected. Never will the liberals admit that they are dividing the oppressed for their own benefit. The victims will always be cited as the benefactors of their own dispossession and subjugation. If the environment is being protected by the liberals, they will not state that they are doing it for the appreciation of the flight of birds or the grace of the impala. It will be, they will state, because they want to help the depressed communities. One of the arguments used by capitalists is that if the environment is destroyed, it is for the good cause of creating industries that will benefit the depressed communities with employment⁵⁵. These industrial capitalists do not mention that in those industries, they will continue to call the shots in terms of the wages the employees will earn, and more often that not these wages do not compensate the depressed communities for the loss of their environment. The case of St Lucia also comes into focus. The liberal capitalists have exonerated themselves from

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In terms of how industrialists defend their right to exploit the environment, Doyle and McEachern (1998:138-139) argue that "linked to arguments about enhanced utility and the virtues of growth are claims about investment and employment. If environmental regulations are imposed, then business can respond by claiming that both investment and employment will fall. Employment is used to justify whatever business is doing, since increased employment is a social good and unemployment is a social

blame in the destruction of the Dukuduku Forest, yet one viewpoint is that ordinary people “look around and see people over the river in St Lucia have cut down trees to build their big homes. Farmers up the road have cut the forest to grow eucalyptus...They have destroyed the forest. Now they say we are destroying it. Yet we stay here because we like trees. We like to live among them because we can grow bananas here, we can grow two kinds of *madumbes*, paw-paws, cabbages and the wild trees give us all kinds of fruits. So why should we destroy it?” Mail and Guardian (22 March to 28 March 1996).

The market strategies for parks and reserves exclude the immediate communities. Rural in their locations, the parks and the reserves cater for the whims of the urban bourgeois. The intention is to perpetuate the rural-urban division, thereby creating the ideal conditions for control and domination. Urbanites do not share the close association with the land on which the reserves are located, while their rural counterparts would make better use of the land from which they were once forcibly removed. Urbanites come to rest in reserves, rural people live there.⁵⁶

Citing this deliberate division, Freire (1992:142) states that “dividing in order to preserve the status quo, then, is necessarily a fundamental objective of the theory of anti-dialogical action. In addition, the dominators try to preserve themselves as saviours of the men they dehumanise and divide. This messianism, however, cannot conceal their true intentions: to save themselves. They want to save their riches, their power, their way of life: the

bad.”

Migrant labour as a South African phenomenon has not been taken into consideration in this argument. The reason is that most of the urbanites who visit these reserves are White while the migrancy of labour affects African labourers. In their urban setting, migrant labours do not visit the arks and the reserves. In their rural setting, they become the victims

things which that enable them to subjugate others. Their mistake is that men *cannot* save themselves (no matter how one understands “salvation”), either as individuals or as an oppressor class. Salvation can be achieved only *with* others. To the extent, however, that the *elites* oppress, they cannot be *with* the oppressed; for being *against* them is the essence of oppression.”

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted how the myths feed into the existing power relations and serve the interests of the White elitist leadership to extend their control over green issues. For the majority of people who are closer to the environment living with their environment is part of their lives, while for the minority who live mostly in cities, the environment should be saved for its aesthetic beauty. However, in order to be seen as taking the local community’s concerns seriously, these few elitist leaders cite communication participation even if such “participation” was confined to informing the local communities rather than involving them from the planning to the execution stage.

CHAPTER FIVE

LEGISLATIVE CONSTRAINTS

5.1 Introduction

Although the previous chapter has highlighted the way the elitist leadership exploits existing myths to extend their control over the green movement, it can also be argued that even if there was no such exploitation, and the green leaders were well-meaning, legislation could also have been a hindrance to their efforts. The legislation discussed here emanates from the previous state's desperation to be seen as a western state, and thereby following the environmentally destructive production methods of the western states. Internally, the state tried to flirt with commercial agriculture as a powerful political interest group. The state however faced a contradiction, because as a White state, it could not alienate a white controlled movement, and the thesis argues that this was the space the green movement should have exploited, were it really interested in serving the green cause. The judicial process is discussed as a delaying tactic, pitting the weak complainants against powerful companies. The co-operation between the State and capital, in their exploitation of the environment is also discussed.

5.2 The state as the replica of the West

The apartheid machinery existed somewhat on a dual industrialization categorization. There has always been a feeling that because South Africa was white dominated, her institutions should be modelled around Western principles. Rather than seeing herself as

part of Africa, she sees herself as an ideological/cultural extension. The poverty of this argument is that we have never been close to the West. The struggle to reach that stage has led to the danger of a rat race battle to be equal to them. As they improve their environmental legislation, we seem to be preoccupied with emulating the state that they have abandoned. It is because of this then that we are busy trying to emulate the trickle-down effect of environmental legislation, the top-down approach, while they have evolved a community based bottom-up approach, and their general environmental legislation has been improved to such an extent that companies which degrade the environment in their operations are finding it difficult to operate.

Second, while the need of an internationalist environmental policy should not be underestimated, the truth of the matter is that trying to be an internationalist without consolidating the immediate and local environmental concerns is a contradictory position.

For South Africa to try and forget that she is an African country, with her concerns firmly rooted in the African context rather than in the American or European model, is a mistake. Jacobs (1991:16) states that "it is actually inaccurate to say that pressure groups are middle class. This is mostly so in rich countries, but in the South the environmental movement is mainly a movement of the poor, whose environments are the most degraded."

Poor people are caught in a triangular trap: the government claims to be speaking for all people, but mostly would like to improve the conditions of the poor (and they fail to state that their primary objective is to stay in power for as long as possible, even if that means they pronounce they are addressing the conditions for the poor; capital creates job opportunities for the poor, and thus hides its intention of profit-making; the environmentalists claim they are saving the environment so that it will benefit the poor and hide their actual interest). If there were so many who like the poor, then there would

be no poor people on earth.

In all these three interests, the poor are structurally and intentionally left out of speaking for themselves. It is double-speak to talk of a locally vibrant environment while at the same time consorting with the metropolises of the North which are the primary culprits in the denudation of our environment through lopsided economic relations, acid rains, CFCs etc. Commenting on the North versus South debate, Abrahamse (1993:5) states that "now that the North has guzzled up the world's resources and polluted the air, the seas and the soil, and has grown fat on this no-cost behaviour, now that the North is replete, now they want the South, who never benefited from this exploitation and abuse and in fact grew thin because of it, to tighten its belt" (Original emphasis). In the development debate in South Africa there is a wrong interpretation of the modernisation approach, which reflects the underdevelopment result to which it is inextricably attached. It would appear that the same is being done by the South African environmental front. The green groups, by being silent, are indirectly encouraging this wrong modernization concept.

It is *fait accompli* that the state, like most states, is proscriptive in its legislation against green struggle aggregation. In the Apartheid State, the regime was on the whole, having an overarching legislation which was capital-friendly at the expense of the environment. All environmental concerns are taken as anti-development and anti-economic growth.⁵⁷

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Porritt (1990:117) notes that few words have caused more confusion or consternation in the development of green politics than growth. Some utter this simple word with unconcealed distaste, as if the foulest imprecation had just passed their lips. Others invest it with magical, indeed holy powers, as if the mere repetition of the word might be sufficient to ward off all political mishaps. Since the mid-sixties, some have seen the pursuit of economic growth as the root of all evil; others as an automatic passport to heaven on Earth.

Anti- economic growth is taken as unpatriotic. It would appear that there is very little that the green activists could do to challenge these questionable equations. The thesis wishes to disagree.

5.3 The state's flirtation with commercial agriculture

In agricultural industry there has never been efforts by the state to curtail the use of pesticides through legislation. On the contrary the state marginalised subsistence farmers by satisfying the needs of the industrial farmer. At various times, when the agricultural farmers were down, the state would supply the very soil destructive fertilizers. For consolidating a support base, the old government overlooked the longevity of the soil. Nitrates and phosphates were used with impunity, and these in river run-off killed fish when the eutrophication gave oxygen to algae than to fish (Miller:1996:484). Insecticides and fungicides affect the river animals directly. Because the agricultural industry is capital incentive, there are little efforts from the green movement to advocate for better usage of our soil and water resources. On the contrary, liberal green activists, mistaking our type of agricultural industry as consistent with the aims of liberal economy, quickly come to the defence of big owners of land. According to the liberals, "no matter how much we believe in the goal of greater fairness we face a dilemma. Since only the big owners have the know how-to make the land produce, redistributing control over resources would undercut production. Reforms that take land away from the producers will lower food output and therefore hurt the hungry people they are supposed to help" (Lappe and Collins 1988:60). Highlighting the interconnectedness between the land and the environment, Lazzari (1993:207) states that "Greens on the other hand, will see industrialized farming as just another blighted example of a way of life which has

produced a long series of environmental single issues, such as acid rain, global warming and holes in the ozone layer. None of these issues, they say, can be treated either in isolation from each other, or from the political and economic system which has given rise to them...”

The role and the domination of Whites in the agricultural sector is always present. Commercial agriculture is dominated by Whites, and between choosing a safer environment and race, green activists lack objectivity and choose the maxim that blood is thicker than water. They do not criticize White farmers for their environmentally unfriendly farming methods. No concerted efforts were made to encourage subsistence farming because of its minimal destruction of the environment simply because for Whites, their immediate gardens were the shelves of the hyper-stores, and for the White-controlled hyper-stores, their supply line of food produce was dependent on the state-support for the commercial farmer.

The White commercial farmers have been vociferous in their opposition to land reform. Together with clamouring for property rights, they are now arguing that land reform will degrade the land as if their farming has not. It is worth noting that at the forefront of this campaign against land reform is an erstwhile former Progressive Federal Party (PFP) parliamentarian., Graham McIntosh. As noted by Saliem Fakir (1995:26), natural resource manager at the Land and Agricultural Policy Centre (LAPC) “their sentiments of land degradation arising from land reform is bias against small scale farmers. Commercial farming on marginal land relied on over-application of chemicals.”⁵⁸

5.4 The liberals' failure to exploit the states velvet glove approach to White opponents

While the composition as argued above is a hindrance in terms of mass membership and mass action in the struggle for the environment, it had an attendant strong point. By being White and elitist, it could have played a major role in challenging the state without fear of prosecution, which would be a luxury for black activists, however moderate their challenges to the state. As white and liberal and with the state wishing to curry favour with them, a lot of progress would have been made by taking advantage of this loophole. Indeed history is full of examples where the incarceration of White activists for the same offence as that of Blacks has been low or non-existent. Take the example of the bellicose utterances of the Far Right⁵⁹ and its paramilitary posture where the response of the Apartheid State was to bend over backwards. If a Black group had acted in that fashion, one shudders to think what punishment the apartheid state would have meted out.

One looks with a comparative eye at the struggles of the White centred groups such as the Black Sash and the relative success they have achieved on the human rights front without being detained and compares that with Black activists who have faced long incarcerations. For Whites, issues are split: there are political, educational and environmental issues. For

The affinity which exists between commercial agriculture and the state is clear from the contravention of chemically polluting farmers. According to the Graham McIntosh, President of the Natal Agricultural Union and former PFP MP, out of 10 000 contraventions identified in the decade from 1970-80 only 37 farmers were charged, - 35 were convicted. Pro-active conservation extension resolved 8728 cases.

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That the argument is posited on the opposite of the political spectrum than the example given is noted. It is simply aimed at highlighting the laxity of incarceration if the offenders were White. Neither does the next

them the environmental struggles were divorced from politics because they had some political rights. Educational issues could not be linked to environmental issues, and environmental issues could not be linked to political rights because Whites already enjoyed some political rights. Among Blacks, any action which challenged the state, led to incarceration. Lazzari (1993:228) has raised the issue of the harassment of radical environmentalists. He states that "in recent years attacks on them and others have grown in number and have taken on new forms, giving rise to the sense that it is open season for social dissenters. Jobless, penniless activists are sued to keep them from opposing developments, abuses of animals or other ecological havoc. "Good corporate citizens", draft "actions plans" that include restricting environmental activists free speech rights. Companies hire private investigators to set up citizens for crimes. The FBI infiltrates the radical environmental movement in an effort to entrap its "leaders". A pipe bomb nearly kills two activists, and within hours they are named as the sole suspects by the authorities." Mail and Guardian (12 April to 18 April 1996) states that the Unabomber suspect, T Kaczynski was at all influenced by radical environmentalism and the FBI is investigating whether he attended a environmental meeting which took place about 100km from his remote mountain cabin." Such tactics did not deviate from the apartheid state apparatus. The only problem, which is raised by this thesis as well, is that environmental issues were separated from political ones as if the return of land and the equitable sharing of resources resided in another paradigm. If an activist was calling for the end of apartheid, his/her call was not seen as including the return of land, the end of environmental degradation, the upliftment of the rural areas and the end of the homeland system.

sentence say that Black right wing groups would be arrested (for the past state established, consorted and funded them) but the author wishes to state that had they been left wing, they would have been arrested.

The co-operation between the State apparatus and capital is also evident in the role that is played by corporations in intimidating environmental activists when they file the strategic lawsuits against public participation (SLAPPs). Although these corporations are aware that their lawsuits do not always hold in courts, they nevertheless use them to dry up the financial resources of the environmental groups. Miller (1996:695) states that "about 90% of SLAPPs (which range from \$100 000 to \$100 million, but average \$9million per suit) that go to court are thrown out by judges who recognize them for what they are. But those hit with SLAPPs must spend considerable money on lawyers and typically spend 1-3 years defending themselves."

The delay and decay tactic has worked largely because big companies can set up legal roadblocks to forestall change and tire reformers out. They tire out their adversaries by using the paralysis-by-analysis tactics. Little attention is paid to the advice and recommendations of the scientific findings which are not pursuant of the profit motive. Then call for more research (which is usually needed but can also be used for a course for inaction) Miller: 1996:701).

The point of departure of this thesis is that man and nature are interlocked in an environmental discourse. The point I am trying to make here is that the green groups should have used the space to push for more environmental bargains from the regime. Indeed they have been able to push for the interests of their own well-being.

It is true, that while there were efforts to sympathise with Blacks, White liberals who control the environment failed to commit this class suicide and forego the pleasures and

the rights that were guaranteed to them by apartheid administrations. What was needed was for the White environmental leaders to use these rights to push for more environmental issues. Perhaps these issues could have emphasised their liberal values, but it would have been easier if they had taken the issues to their liberal possessions, and, if true to the liberal tradition, be willing to make it a possession of many. But as argued elsewhere they obviated this, apportioning to themselves those benefits they liked, and criticising those that they did not like. (Abrahamse, 1993:1), on the benefits of the white liberals got from the apartheid system, states that “the situation arises from the very narrow definition taken on by these 'green' groups. No doubt this was not accidental, because to have a broader view would sooner or later bring these groups into conflicts with the very system of apartheid and its legacy. Primarily these groups were not set up to change the *status quo*.”

5.5 The myth of apocalypse

The green movement, being comprised intellectuals/academics⁶⁰ alarms the population and jumps the level of involving it. It “jumps too quickly from warnings of environmental crisis to philosophical conclusions, with the result that they ended up oscillating between catastrophism and utopianism” (Hayward 1990:2). In other words, the intermediate phase of the modus operandus to change the situation is neglected when in reality it is this area that which warrants our attention, not for the sentimental reasons of the anti-apartheid

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MP Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, in entering the fray between Barney Pitjana and Dennis Davis, highlighting the membership of liberals as composed of intellectuals and academics states that “if the government should contemplate anything to this 1.73% group - especially if it does not extend its income capacity - it will summon its army of pens and microphones to shoot down the idea.” (Mail and Guardian, 15 March to 21 March 1996).

history but because it is in this intermediate stage that the battle lines of the environment should be drawn. The message is environmental struggle should not tell Black people what will happen to them if XYZ environmental disaster takes place but should involve them in deciding and formulating policies to prevent such catastrophes⁶¹. Philosophical postulations are correct only in so far as they base interest and struggle on a theoretical pedestal, but pre-occupation with them to the total exclusion of the practical aspect does not give the environment groups the space they need to wage their struggles. It is in this inclusive involvement that there will evolve a credible strategy against anti-environmentalism. The struggle will then be removed from casual conversations in country clubs and side talks in bars or fire side chats at house meetings and be located within the main stream.

5.6 The shortcomings of the Environmental Conservation Act of 1989

There are environmental groups which hailed the Environmental Conservation Act (ECA) of 1989⁶² as a reward for their relentless efforts. Being conceited and complacent is the first step towards losing a struggle. Because the Act first appeared as progressive and reformist, the danger was that the green movement felt they had won the battle. If any doubted the honesty of the regime, the announcement of the state's involvement in nuclear

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Here it is not envisaged the very liberal efforts of neo-liberals, who co-opt more blacks as administrators, and then use them as spokesperson for official positions. This will be as cosmetic as the liberal paradigm itself.

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Although the Act is in the process of being changed, and there have been deviations from it especially by the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, much of it still operates. The strains within the GNU are still there, with the Minister of Environmental Affairs charting a different line, not divorced from the past practices.

production was supposed to end the gullibility. There was no reason to hail the announcement, for even the very States that the announcement aimed to curry favour with did not think the apartheid's state's chest was clean. Noted Coll and Taylor: "because South Africa's nuclear programme was secret and unmonitored for so long and managed with idiosyncratic accounting systems, it is impossible to prove with certainty that every bit of weapons-grade material produced by Pretoria over the period is now accounted for" (Guardian Mail, March 26 to April 1, 1993).

According to this Act, management advisory committees would be established to advise the Minister with regard to the control and management of protected areas. The Act also empowered the Minister to declare any area within the Republic of South Africa, inclusive of territorial waters, as special nature reserves. In the control of the environmental pollution the Act prohibited littering, called for the removal of litter and enforced the application for permits for persons who wanted to operate disposal sites. Among the things which made the environmental groups happy were the heavy penalties through which offenders would be punished.

History should have taught them that the apartheid regime had mastered the skill of deceit. It is in the supposedly progressive environmental legislation that the worst environmental abuses are going to be experienced in the same way that in the political arena it was during the period of enlightenment that the country experienced worst levels of state sponsored violence, revelations of which are beginning to unfold. Anti-environmental groups have not discounted violence and in so far as the decayed Apartheid State also used violence, one can put it at the same level as the anti-environmental movement. As a tactic anti environmental movements threaten green activists with phone calls, either threatening

their lives or their families', trying to have them fired, or killing their pets or cutting their phone lines, or slashing their tyres, or sabotaging their cars or assaulting them (including rape)... (Miller 1996:700). These are all tactics that were known to the apartheid agents.

It does not need an expert on South Africa's legal system to see that the 1989 Environmental Conservation Act was a piece of paper with which South Africa was trying to elevate her status in the international community, a battle in which she had always been engaged in, and lost, since 1948. If the West passed environmental protection law, South Africa did likewise, even though those were incompatible with South Africa's specific conditions.

5.7 The judicial process as a delaying tactic

The judicial process in South Africa as stipulated by the ECA, is deliberately long and cumbersome for the individual who more often than not is a victim of the anti-environmental action of the large multi-national or conglomerate, both of whom are powerful contenders, used to fighting boardroom battles and relying on deliberate delaying tactics aimed at bankrupting their antagonists. In the war of transition, one usually sees the natural alliance between state and capital coming into play as the state enters the fray to assist the multinational by appointing the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)⁶³, delaying tactics, as if no regulations exist, which deplete the financial resource of the complainant. If the committee has not come up with the results in the

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Mail and Guardian (December 15 to 21 1995), states that another strategy (of big capital) is "to neutralize objectors by co-opting them into this process. As in the case of the Saldanah Project EIA, comments are

expected period, another commission is established to find the cause of the delay. In the case of a coalition between environmental groups and the Unions, the same tactic is used to sow distrust between the partners. During the delay, the defendant may be engaging in conduct that is more destructive to the environment and by the time the case is settled, the original charge, and not the later destructions will then form the bases of evidence presented before the court. This would be solved by the court issuing a temporary injunction, but South African courts are notorious for not issuing these injunctions. The case of St Lucia is a fine example of this. The battle started in 1972 when the first prospecting permit was granted (Sunday Tribune, 7 January 1996). At the beginning of 1996, the issue had not been finalised, although a report in favour of eco-tourism had already been submitted.

A clear example of the deliberate delaying tactic could also be found in the Thor Chemicals debacle. Although the company is in Cato Ridge in South Africa, it took a British lawyer, Richard Meeran⁶⁴, to succeed in laying the mercury poison claims against the parent company in Britain. The problem with the South African judicial system is that firstly the Workmans' Compensation Act precludes environmental problems as a judicial issue, and considers it as an in-house settlement problem. Another problem is that these court processes take long and the financial burden on the victims of the environmental degradation is all the more difficult because South African workers are underpaid (SAfm PM Live, 27 February 1996). The Thor Chemicals case is a landmark one because it is

called for, duly noted and then relegated to an appendix in the final report."

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The outcome of the case was that the twenty former workers at Thor Chemicals accepted an out of court settlement offer of R9.4 million from the company's head office in Britain. (EJFN Autumn 1996, Page 9)

poised to help ensure that British companies operating in South Africa and other developing countries are forced to apply the same strict health and safety standards, which apply in their home country, to subsidiary operations in the Third World.

In the case of the Thor Chemicals, the terms of reference given to Professor Dennis Davis, as spelt out in the gazette (Gazette No 5476 dated 24 January 1995) were so restrictive that interested parties such as the Environmental Justice Network Forum (EJFN) and Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) made representation to the Commission about what they considered to be the excessively restrictive terms of reference. The outcome of these presentations, after a considerable amount of time was expended and after further unexplained delays, the terms of reference were extended.

The original gazette had not included workers and the environment, targeting only the history and background of the acquisition of spent mercury catalyst stockpile by Thor Chemicals as well as additional mercury and to report on the further utilisation and disposal thereof.

The amending gazette (Gazette No 16949 dated 2 February 1996) a year later stated that "after the completion of a report on the matters contained in the foregoing paragraphs, to investigate the regulation and enforcement relating to monitoring and control of mercury processing and to recommend steps which would contribute to the minimization of risk and to the protection of workers and the environment."

Another flaw of the ECA is that it, like most Acts in South Africa's judicial system, requires the complainant to prove beyond reasonable doubt. The resources at the hands of

the individual are limited. Proving beyond reasonable doubt may be too costly for the individual and thus makes it easier for the companies to defend themselves from the vast financial resources, access to best lawyers and experts, state subsidies and ability to buy out opposition. If we take the example of river pollution for instance proving that it is company A, among the many others, that releases its harmful effluent into a river and not the others is a costly scientific exercise. This is a war of attrition which capital always wins.

Even if the individual did have resources at his/her disposal, the judicial system, in the absence of a Constitutional Court, was such that the apartheid constitution could not be challenged in a court of law. However liberal the judge, and however pro-environmental he was, he worked within the prescribed parameters of the Act. Also in the deliberations on the case, justice was hindered by the refusal of the offending company to divulge information which it deemed to be against the secret acts which shall be mentioned below.

The lesson for environmentalist is not to run for the judicial decision but to stick with the masses for it is there that true justice evolves. It is in popular mass actions that regulations are changed, not by some strategies hatched in private conversations. Arblaster (1984:347) categorising liberalism, argues that the "harshness of [liberalism's] economics, its blind attachment to private properties, its typical bourgeois fear of "the masses" and of democracy itself. The character of liberalism is, in other words, far more complex, mixed and ambiguous than most liberals are willing to recognise; and its legacy to us is simply less beneficial than is often supposed."

The repressive judicial system left complainants with one avenue, the interdict route. But

that too was not as powerful a legal tool as litigation. The "*stand loci*"⁶⁵ requirement of the South African judicial system poses problems for challenging the state. In most cases people who are affected by environmental disasters are too poor to withstand the judicial requirements of the courts. The Act thus encourages people to keep quiet about environmental disasters unless we are affected. An Environmental Court supplied with *pro deo* counsel and people friendly rather than capital/state-friendly should sit to deliberate on environmental cases because the civil court and the Constitutional Courts are charged with duties which relegate the environmental issues to the periphery.

South African environmental groups have been shy to use the class action suits, partly because of the central problem, of being sectarian, which would mean the inclusion of a large number of citizens which would have invariably included the most affected Africans. This is at the heart of the problem, that while these avenues could have been used, the wish and the desire to preserve the environmental leadership as a Whites only affair, has been detrimental to the very protection of the environment that the liberal groups have been trying to save.

This is not to say that environmental lawsuits are not intrinsically difficult. For instance to file a damage would require individuals to prove that the harm is clearly unique or different enough to be distinguished from that of the general public. In a situation of where we do not have individual control over the externalities, it is problematic to argue that one environmental disaster has affected you as an individual more than it has done the

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In this principle, the complainant must prove that he or she and not somebody else has been aggrieved by a particular action.

other. The environmental case cannot be judged in terms of a road accident, where it is an individual who is affected more than the general public. Furthermore, since the effects of environmental degradation are cumulative, it would be folly to foreclose future cases by pretending that only one person, in a total of billions who will be directly affected, suffered more.

The ECA is shoddy also by being enmeshed in a number of secret Acts which end up confusing it and its prime purpose. Many laws that are in direct opposition to the ECA govern the environment. The suppression of information regarding mineral resources, the Protection of Information Act, the Nuclear Information Act and the Hazardous Substances Act all militate against the effective functioning of the ECA. The SANDF, in spite of the political changes, is still the largest landowner in the country and its involvement in environmental abuses is protected by the secret nature of the military, which it appears is also shared by the new politico-military leaders. Abrahamse (1993:4) states that apart from parks and nature reserves the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) is one of the largest landholders in South Africa. This essentially means that large tracts of land are used for the business of death and destruction, with accompanying environmentally degrading results, not for the benefit of the people of this country." These abuses arise because of weapons testing, and alleged illegal ivory trading, among others.

The militarization has permeated other areas of society. Abrahamse (1993:4) states that "many conservation areas in South Africa have taken on a characteristics of military exclusion zones, where parks boards officials have enormous power and licence to arrest, shoot and kill those that they see as intruders and poachers. In fact not long ago

conservation areas are closely linked with military activities as many of them fell along the country's borders. From time to time, allegations are still made of 'third force' training bases in these parks and nature reserves."

Under the Environmental Conservation Act, the Minister has wide powers to regulate development and he is empowered to prevent environmental abuses before they start. The operational word of his powers to prevent environmental abuse is "in his opinion". That lays enormous powers on the Minister. The issue of development is a widely contested terrain and it is ridiculous for one man to be overlord. Many questions arise as to how it should be achieved, whom it should benefit, how it (development) is to be measured. If the Minister's "in his opinion" notion is accepted we might as well as forget saving the environment for almost always the opinion of the minister is informed by his association with capital.

What has this to do with the green groups? There are plenty of lessons for the green groups. The first one is that the whole legal system of the country is loaded against environmental interest aggregation. The state is overlord and while it gives a facade of protecting the environment, the dollars which accrue from economic growth are an incentive to act to the contrary. Investments by foreign companies are seen as part of the approval for political transformation. But it will be in the period of foreign investment that the government may turn lethargic. In the euphoria of being internationally accepted, the environmental credentials of investing companies may be overlooked simply because they will be providing the much needed jobs. The two, environmental protection and the creation of jobs are not incompatible. That is to say, one should not be at the expense of the other. What the investors are apt to do, and as clearly captured by Pepper (1986:171-

172) who states that the object of it for the entrepreneur is to maximise the benefits of investment by making sure that as much of the profits as possible return to the investor - that is, by internalising them. Conversely, if costs can be externalised to society, then the investor pays at a lower proportion. Hence, under capitalism it is good to practice not to recycle, at the firm's own cost, residues from production, or to remove pollutants from industrial or agricultural wastes. If these can be 'democratically spread, as lead in air, acid in rain, or chemicals in the sea, then all bear the cost, rather than the producer.

If we understand politics to be an allocation of resources, the environment should be understood to be the indispensable object of that allocation. The allocation and redistribution of land is an environmental question, the building of townships, the mushrooming of informal settlements, road construction - all impact on the environment. Over three hundred years this allocation has been to the benefit of one group and it has not been without destruction to the environment. Now that there are efforts towards distributive equity the chances of the environmental denudation are as much as the demographic inequalities between those who benefited in the past and those who are to benefit now. Bendix (1988:105) in a industrial relations caveat, notes that "as the workforce on average becomes younger, it could be expected that less emphasis may be placed on job security and more on personal development and that unions will have militant supporters. Women, too, have become more vociferous in their demands and are particularly sensitive to discriminatory practices.....The more rapid the change and more heterogeneous the membership of a union becomes, the more difficult it becomes for the bargaining process to accommodate the various issues." This, in the current demographic changes is as equally relevant. To challenge the environmental issues without challenging the broader base within which environmental legislation is made, is splitting hairs.

If we move from the premise that because state policy has been to the advantage of Whites, in whatever constructive and destructive forms; if we agree that the whole apartheid system was wrong (something which the past rulers belatedly confessed), then the Green movement had to push the matter to its logical conclusion by arguing that structures of apartheid had to be brought down. This is fair syllogism: the apartheid laws are made on that apartheid basis - therefore in order to have fair environmental laws, the apartheid system must be destroyed. And the liberal paradigm in which the environmental struggle was posited discounted this syllogism.

By nature therefore, all green movements had to be against the state in general. The point I am trying to make is that, as stated elsewhere, the environmental issues are inextricably linked to the political inequalities of the past. Therefore there couldn't and there still can't be a situation of an apolitical environmental struggle. The two are mutually inclusive. All the environmental lobbyists should, by nature, be politically aware but the inverse is not always true and in the specific context of South Africa, this has never been true.

Highlighting the case of politicized green activists elsewhere, Lazzari (1993:226) notes that "their actions clearly state their contempt for at least some aspect of the current system. Some activists bring politically sophisticated critical skills to their struggles, employing powerful analytical tools to identify class conflict, power *elites*, and the like as a means of better understanding their opponents' strengths and weaknesses."

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter it has been argued that the legislation under which the green activists had to work were restrictive and had existed for a long time. So when in 1989 the Apartheid State gazetted new legislation, the Environmental Conservation Act, there were some jubilation in some conservation and environmental circles without a thorough examination of how far the Act had gone to address the environmental issues of the day.

Part of the failure of the environmental groups to engage the act in a meaningful way was that it was based on the principle that only those who were directly affected as individuals had to approach the court. In other words no class suits could be applied for under the Act – when the nature of the environment interest aggregation is that it should be a community issue. The judicial process itself was cumbersome, aimed deliberately aimed at frustrating the efforts of small groups in their fight against conglomerates.

CHAPTER SIX

STATE AND CAPITAL

6.1 Introduction

There are quite a number of issues to raise which show that whatever green movements wish to achieve will be thwarted by the close relationship which exists between the state and capital. I wish to emphasize the closeness was occasioned by the government's policies. The Government of National Unity by being a transitional structure was forced to continue this relationship because it had to expand its foreign investment profile so as to relieve unemployment. It is no coincidence that such an alliance continues to exist. The state is against the dominant philosophy of deep ecology because in principle, this philosophy seeks to eradicate dominance and promote equality. Both the state and capital work from the premise that dominance is correct to preserve inequalities. The state dominates those it rules and capital dominates labour. The paradox of these dominations is that both dominating partners rely on those they dominate for their continued existence, the state through elections and capital on exploitable labour. It is true that there are efforts from the new government to eradicate this, but it will be on the question of levels rather than the total eradication of inequities, largely because these inequities are inherent in any political system and largely, too, because of the inequalities that the GNU inherited. Lazzari (1993:210) when raising the connection between state and capital, states that "our society is dominated by giant impersonal corporations that exercise arbitrary power over people and nature, and by a government that has corporate interests primarily at heart."

This relationship is seen by Pepper (1986:173) as reactionary and conservative. He states "so the environmentalist ideology is deeply conservative, since it advocates measures which strengthen the social 'order' and 'stability' and negates the importance of the class struggle and the need for revolution. In fact, the environmental movement is a defensive one, in which middle classes and capitalist entrepreneurs are attempting to protect their interests, which are increasingly threatened by the inherent contradictions of capitalism."

There has been no better example of this protection of selfish interests than when in the German elections of September 27 1998. In this election the Social Democratic Party won 40,9% of the vote in the federal elections and there were possibilities that a coalition with the Greens (who won 6,7%) was in the offing. This would give the so-called Red Green Coalition 345 seats in the Bundestag, an absolute majority of 10 seats (Natal Witness, 29 September 1998). Calculating their interests ahead of the electoral will, German bankers and industrialists were quick to call for the Chancellor-elect, Mr Gerhard Schroeder of the SDP to opt for a "grand alliance" rather than an alliance with the Greens⁶⁶, meaning that Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU), defeated at the polls, should still be part of government because it was in synch with the concerns of industry. So rather than go the democratic way, industrialists would have the party that has lost the election back in power than have the Greens as part of government (Daily News, 28 September 1998).

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There are indeed differences between the policy proposals of the Greens and of the SDP. While the Greens would like to close down all nuclear power stations, the SDP concedes but insists that it may take decades to realize this goal and may as compromise close down one as a condition for the formation of a coalition. While the Greens proposals threaten jobs such as the call for the tripling of the price of petrol over ten years, the SDP would not like to take decisions that threaten jobs. The Greens would like to redistribute work, based on shorter hours and less overtime, the trade union wing of the SDP may object to this. Both parties agree on the a revised German citizenship laws (Mail and Guardian, October 2 to 8 1998).

Journalist and historian Gwen Dyer, writing in Natal Witness (9 September 1998) was more scathing when he stated that: “In fact, they’ll (the SDP) will probably do less (than the CDU), because the new German government is bound to be semi-paralysed by its internal divisions. The SDP may have gone all centrist but the Greens espouse policies like removing all nuclear weapons from Germany, letting Turkey into the European Union, banning genetically modified foods and legalising soft drugs.”

He (Dyer) goes further to state: “ They won’t win many arguments but its going to be a very bumpy partnership. Which means that the largest country in the European Union is getting a new and inherently weak government just three months before 200 million Europeans abandon their traditional marks, francs, liras, pesetas and guilders in favour of the ‘euro’ .”

6.2 Company taxes and the state’s dependence on them

A large part of state revenue accrues from capital and the whole South African economy relies on the mining industry. The co-operation between the mines and the state is in the annals of both the Boer’s struggles against British domination and the anti-apartheid struggles. The caricature of Smuts after the 1922 Rand strikes as a puppet of the mine conglomerates is an example of the Boers dissatisfaction with this closeness, and the Carlton Conferences between P.W Botha and the corporate giants was also another example of how the state wished to curry favours with capital. It is with these in mind that one can justifiably argue that as much of the environmental problems are caused by the state (through commission and omission) and capital through the pursuit of profit

maximization, that one may forgive the green movement's failures. However, the challenge against should have had a new complexion if, as I have argued above, the green movement had incorporated those on whom state and capital depend, the masses and the workers.

The Carlton Conferences organised by Botha to cement the relationship between state and capital in furtherance of his Total Onslaught strategy was attended by some business people who also champion the liberal cause, either as members or as financial supporters. In pursuance of capital growth, these liberals could find one another with Botha's programme of subjugating the sub-continent, while on the other hand they were proclaiming to be against the repressive measures of the political system.

Some members of this group have easily found themselves in favour with the new government, entrenching themselves as captains of industry under the name of the Benhurst group. In both the pre- and the post apartheid eras, Capital influences the State and by the simple law of mutuality, the State benefits Capital.

Citing one example of the relationship between the State and capital, Mail and Guardian (October 2 to 8 1998) gives the example of the Keep South African Beautiful, a defunct waste management and environmental awareness organisation. It states that the organisation was formed by the Packaging industry for South Africa in the 1970s. It was accused of being a front for the packaging industry and of doing its "dirty work". The report on the organisation drawn by Chris Mullins, a development consultant, states that throughout the 1980s it (the organization) was perceived as a White-pro-Nationalist organisation with close relationships with the apartheid government ministers.

To illustrate the point made elsewhere in the thesis about the distance that exists between these organisations and the communities, Mail and Guardian (2 October to 8 October, 1998) further states that “Keep South Africa Beautiful told the department (of Public Works) that we had access to 22 communities - this was not true. In 10 days we had to rush to find community structures, and some staff didn’t even know what (community structures) were.”

6.3 The indivisibility of the economic and the political domains

This revealed one of the weaknesses of liberalism - that the two domains, political and economic, could be divisible. In so far as they were pursuing economic goals, and in so far as the state was “freeing” the economic side of its subjugation of the African people, both internally and externally, the liberals could be bed-mates with the State. But on the absence of political rights for Blacks, they showed signs of being against the State and its apartheid machinery. The economic realm, occupied the highest echelon, and any reformation on the part of the state in the political domain was welcome by the liberals, however much further from emancipation it fell. It was therefore no wonder that some liberals were praising the efforts of the balkanisation of the country into the homelands by Verwoerd or the tricameral system by Botha.

Liberalism, because it had gained acceptance and growth predating capitalism, is taken to have been the main cause of ushering in capitalism - hence the hesitance by liberals to support political and economic systems which deviate from capitalist principles. Sadly it is the inconsistencies within capitalism which the liberals at best deliberately overlook and

at worst defend, which drags it to a fake ideological construction. The invidious position of each of those is that the other affects it. Since the capitalist system has never intended to create resource equity and equitable sharing, it is clear that liberalism, which is parasitic to it (the capitalist system), will always be viewed with the hostility that is reserved for the capitalist system. Mutually corrosive, more so in the face of other ideological constructions such as socialism, liberalism and capitalism, liberals are the subjects of venomous attacks.

Even if one were to accept that there were instances where the two complemented and augmented each other in the positive way, capitalism as an ideology and economic system has destroyed the very corner-stone of liberalism - equality. The other cornerstone of liberalism, free trade, has problems of proscriptions in this "free" trade. The mere fact that certain qualifications which people must satisfy before being granted the right to trade, point to the absence of freedom in trade.

6.4 The irrelevance of ideology in the denigration of the environment

Liberals exculpate themselves from environmental degradation, yet the economic policies they espouse do not veer off environmental degradation. In assaulting an opposing ideological component of socialism, liberal economists and capitalists point out to the environmental degradation of the erstwhile socialist countries as far worse than the ones in their own backyards. Centrist state control of the means of production is equated with environmental degradation when in the actual fact both systems and/or a combination of both causes harm to the environment. Coupled with ownership of properties, is the liberals' desire to promote market forces at all costs. They argue that if governments got

out of the way, the free market could work to alleviate hunger. This, in the current market economy does not work. Jacobs (1991:24) argues that "ownership is not very important. As experience has shown, a nationalised or co-operatively owned firms is as capable of causing environmental damage as one in private hands. This is because what matters with respect to the environment is the mechanism by which resources are allocated and this has no necessary bearing on ownership. Different types of companies can co-exist with a variety of mechanisms, from relatively free markets to centrally administered (planned) systems. Certainly, socially owned firms can (and frequently do) operate in markets, just as privately owned ones can be monopolies."

In as much as there was Chernobyl, there was also Bhopal. In as much as there was Challenger blast, there was also Makassa AECI. Lappe and Collins (1988:69) state that "unfortunately, such a market-is good-government is bad formula can never help to address the causes of hunger. Such thinking misleads us into believing that a society can opt for one or the other, when in fact every economy on earth combines the market and government allocating resources and distributing goods." They (Lappe and Collins 1988:69) go on to give examples and state that "even the division between so-called capitalist and socialist societies is hardly clear cut. In West Germany's "capitalist" economy, government expenditures are a significantly bigger share of the gross national product than in Spain's more "socialist" one.....South Korea and Taiwan, the favourites of free-market purists like Milton Friedman, owe much of their striking growth records to numerous government interventions, not least of which have been government-imposed land reforms and support for key industries."

In the St Lucia debate, it is also transparent from the company's report that it expected the

state to play its part. The report released by the company's experts does not say it suggests mining. It would appear that deliberations have been made that the company is going to be allowed to mine, otherwise the elaborate preparatory steps would not have been taken. In principle, the government gave the company the right to mine in 1989. This proves that the company and the state, "wash each other's hands."⁶⁷ There are however, signs that the government is taking stronger action. Although Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Kader Asmal has given the temporary permit to the Grootvlei Mine to continue mining, two observations are worth mentioning (Mail and Guardian, 24 May 1996 to 30 May 1996; SABC TV1, 24 May 1996). First, at last the government is taking action. Secondly, the protest by both the mine and the National Union of Mineworkers about the loss of jobs and profits puts the environmental debate back on the agenda. Previously it was easy for government to force its decisions which were destructive to the environment in favour of business. The change now is that at least, both affected partners, labour and industry can sit and discuss their differences regarding the environment.

6.5 The smokescreen of environmental reform

The sudden change of heart of capital should not be seen in isolation to the change of heart of the state on the political front. The reformist approach of the government, as many political analysts are aware, was not so much to hand over power to the majority, in as much as it was to hold on to power by devious means. It was intended to incorporate Black leadership in a re-sprayed jalopy apartheid automobile. That the project is failing is

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This is a direct translation from a Zulu proverb - *izandla ziyagezana*- and it is used here to mean the relationship of reciprocity between the state and capital.

not as a result of the making of the apartheid rulers. On the capital front there were incrementalist actions as well; eye-catching decorations of aerosol container cans to the effects that they are "ozone friendly" without concomitant efforts to replace what they destroy. The aim of capital is still the same - maximization of profit by confusing the green movement while still exacting profits. Suddenly Husquarvana is dishing out free stickers calling on us to prevent forest fires, and the reason being if there are no forests, their giant electrical saws are not going to be bought and many other free stickers purporting to be pro-environment are not worth their glue. Pepper (1986:176) sees through this when he states the "environmental concern can be exploited as a means of nourishing a lucrative environmental protection industry. This is a 'whole industrial complex for manufacturing and installing pollution control systems, made up essentially of those firms whose activity is at the source of the worst pollution!'"

Plant and Plant (1991:49) argue that "as official environmentalism becomes increasingly "safe" and non-confrontational, and as the movement shies further from consideration of the underlying causes of environmental destruction, would-be environmental power-brokers become increasingly obligated apologists for the system that both confers status and takes it away." They (Plant and Plant, 1991:40) further state that as the corporate world makes its onslaught against environmental groups, "the real danger is that "buying green" will be seen as the ultimate solution to the environmental crisis. Consumers, finally satisfied that they can "do something," may seek no further than their shopping trolleys to help the planet," when in the actual fact they would be destroying it more.

Lazzari (1993:212) warns that "though companies, large and small gave eagerly embraced environmental virtue to help sell their products, the "green" market place is, at the

moment, a hodgepodge of unsupported claims, misleading labels, and self-serving public relations posturing, with a dash of truthfulness here and there.” He further argues (1994:212) that “manufacturers got the message, and fast. The Marketing Intelligence Service, which tracks new product introductions, reports that the percentage of new packaged products making some kind of green claim more than doubled between 1989 and 1990, rising from 4.5 percent to 11.4 percent of the total.”

6.6 Linguistic piracy

An increasing amount of “Rand-speak” (business language) is usurping the very terminology that should be used by the environmental groups against it. Apart from “ozone-friendly”, “green corporatism” is making inroads into territories previously unthought of to create the impression that the two, green and corporatism are mutually inclusive. Suddenly even the word environment has been made generic - to be used to qualify and justify - aspects which are injurious to it. That is why one often hears of the “business environment”, the “built environment” as if these polarities are synonymous. This linguistic piracy requires vigilance. Lazzari (1993:212) has observed that “industries were hastily setting up various “institutes” and “councils” to establish green credentials of their products or materials. The worse a product’s environmental reputation, it seemed, the more elaborate and costly its quest for greenness. The Society of the Plastics Industry, for instance, didn’t even dare put the word “plastic” in the title of its new environmental group, the Council for Solid Waste Solutions.”

Environmentalist groups have not come to the rescue of those underprivileged people who do not understand the actual terminology which the corporations dispense from their

capitalist dictionaries as if they are from Mother Earth herself. Liberals understand the differences between such words as "recyclable, recycling, degradable, biodegradable, ozone friendly, compostable, tie-ins, environmental friendly"(Lazzari 1993: 213-215). Yet, in their true nature, they are satisfied if they, and only they make a choice on the hyper-store shelves between these labels, and would not care a hoot if the next customer purchases even a product labelled environmentally dangerous. The individualistic notion that "I am safe", destroys the whole control mechanism and serves to highlight the argument that they are interested in the flight of birds and the grace of animals.

Even if for a moment one were to agree that they have the right to safeguard their own, health, such purchasing does not make them safe, for, as Lazzari (1993:217) observes, "the greatest environmental damage comes from bigger problems - destructive agricultural practices, the maldistribution of the world's resources, wasteful energy and transportation systems. In pursuance of the overarching effects of environmental destruction, a new form of environmental damage, called life- cycle analysis, attempts to measure the full impact of any given product, from its beginnings as raw materials through the entire process of manufacturing, distribution, consumption and ultimately, disposal." This is acknowledgement that the environment will always be affected. It is the life-cycle analysis which show clearly that our reactions to the destruction of the environment should be eclectic, integrating those strategies which will best serve the interests of its preservation.

6.7 Debt for nature swaps

Another growing trend of corporations and states is the debt-for-nature swap⁶⁸, in which industrialised countries use the resources of an owing country as collateral for financial aid and assistance. According to this type of agreement, a certain amount of foreign debt is cancelled in exchange for local currency investment that will improve natural resource management or protect certain areas in the debtor country from harmful development. Although the motive in this type of agreement appear noble, the problem is that such agreements work in an international order which has already given dominant countries enormous power over debtor nations.

So, in order to escape poverty, some Third World countries are willing to sacrifice their environmental riches, and under this type of relationship, the inequalities resident in the international economic order are accentuated and concretized to the point of irreversibility. As liberals, at least the compensatory ones argue, these inequalities are necessary so that they will serve as motivation for those who do not have the initiative to work harder. In so far as they accept the inequalities and the international economic order (departing from the premise of the domestic one of free enterprise), it is no wonder that some environmentalists find it easy to do an ideological back-flip, and join the very

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Giving an example of this debt-for-nature swap, Crump (1993:72) illustrates with the issue of Bolivia. Bolivia agreed to exchange \$650 000 of its \$4 billion external debt for an agreement to preserve 1.5 million hectares of rainforest and a 122,000 hectares of wildlife reserve. Ecuador, Zambia, Costa Rica and Peru have also followed suit. The author does not wish to argue for or against the good intentions of the debt-for-nature swaps but wishes to raise the point that at any rate, the system continues to prejudice the Third World states because they hold them in bondage to external groups or concerns. In other words as the policies of the international economy stemmed from exogenous constructions, it is doubtful as to whether the solutions to

corporations that they opposed, as environmental advisers. In the process they end up serving the very cause they opposed.

6.8 Financial donations to environmental groups by environmentally destructive companies

On the other hand, environmental groups are neutralised, through financial donations by the very companies they are fighting against, or by companies which destroy the environment. Cockburn (1993:51) gives an American example: "World Wildlife recently received \$2.5 million in donations from Eastman Kodak, whose chief executive officer, Kay Whitmore, is co-founder of USA NAFTA, the big corporate lobby for the treaty. The \$2.5 million is the largest single gift World Wildlife (known as Woof Woof by Beltway public interest folk) has ever received. Other donors include such NAFTA boosters as Hewlett-Packard and Waste Management, both in the \$100,000 - \$250,000 range; also Du Pont and Phillip Morris (whose chairman emeritus, Joseph Cullmann III, sit on World Wildlife's board, a body joined recently by none other than Whitmore of Eastman Kodak), each in the \$50,000 - \$100,000 range." There are many other examples.

Miller (1996:697) states that "all of the 10 largest U.S. mainstream environmental organisations - the "Group of 10" - rely heavily on corporate donations, and many of them have corporate executives as board members, trustees, or council members.

Proponents of corporate involvement argue that it is a way to raise much needed funds and to influence industry; opponents believe that it is a way for corporations to unduly influence environmental organisations. Regardless of the relative merits of these

that international domination to the total exclusion of the locally affected states can be found.

arguments, the net effect has been to cause some internal divisiveness within these environmental organisations and to drive a wedge between them and many grass roots activists.”

6.9 Corporations footing the election bills of politicians

Politicians tend to favour capitalists who fund their election campaigns and keep them in office. As [ex-British Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher was wont to state, the environmentalists were “the enemy within” (Vig and Kraft 1990:267). She made sure that the British government would fight vigorously in the European community for the least restrictive limits on the production of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and emissions of sulphur (a leading cause of acid rain in Europe and the radiation of food). In the United States, the Reaganomics also dealt a severe blow to the environmental movement. Both Reagan and Thatcher felt that the environment battle had been fought and won. In the United States, Reagan worked systematically to roll back the gains of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). His strategy was to appoint anti-environmentalists to run the agency. Thatcher, elected Prime Minister in 1979, never mentioned the environment as an issue until 1988.

Although there are encouraging signs from [United States Secretary of State] Warren Christopher's recent pro-environment speeches, one must not be deceived into believing that politicians who operate in a political climate and are serviced by and rely on financial support from big companies for their campaigns, have had a sudden change of heart. Commenting on his shuttle diplomacy between in the Middle East, Christopher kept “running into political or security problems that had a large environmental content.”

While his staff may argue that Christopher has converted to the green religion, one must not forget that he raised the issue of the Middle East environmental problems only because they interfered with his shuttle diplomacy. Although he stated the fact that Russia's poorly stored waste poses a threat to human life for centuries to come, it is clear that his greatest fear is the possibility of the co-operation between Syria and Russia in nuclear technology, something which will balance the Middle eastern equation against Israel, the United States proxy in the Middle East debate. In this case, as stated in the introduction of the thesis, Christopher was using the environment politically, and not using politics environmentally. The environment was mentioned only because it invaded his political space. It is no wonder then that the Friends of the Earth president Brent Blackwelder did not appear convinced of the sudden change of heart (Mail and Guardian, 26 April to 2 May 1996).

In South Africa, [ex-Minister of Environmental Affairs, Mr Gert] Kotze` dismissed a petition of over 200 000 signatures by stating that "most people did not know what they were signing" and argued that "time is money". He saw people who were supporting the green movement as "fanatics who do not want to listen to reason" (Cock and Koch 1991:4-5). Ian Player in his column, Voices from the Wilderness (Daily News, 15 March 1996) states that the petition of 400 000 was rejected by Minister Kotze because he claimed they were signed by children and communists. Then the Minister lost them. The equation of children with communists by the minister underscored the way which ideology tends to invade our sphere of reasoning. While the ideological standpoint of the Minister made it necessary for him to attack communists, the inclusion of children as unaware of the environmental demands and realities overlooked the fact that South Africa as youthful society according to population census, needs to be more environmentally aware about

their environment. At any rate, those who are not children are bound by the necessities of continuity and survival to safeguard the environment for future generations. It would be instructive to take the example of the native Americans who encourage changes in the land if "only it can be ascertained that this will not adversely affect the seventh generation" (Connor 1993:3). Timberlake and Thomas (1990), have highlighted the way that the environment has marginalised the children. The marginalisation of children in the economic set-up of the world was best captured by [ex- Tanzanian President] Nyerere in 1986 when he asked whether Tanzania should starve her children to pay international debts. The unequivocal yes from the debtors showed the extent to which the world cares about children (Mail and Guardian, 20 to 26 June 1997).

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the closer co-operation that exists between the State and Capital. This manifests itself in the manner in which the State depends on company's taxes. This blurs the separation of the state and capital. The chapter further argues that even if the ideologies on which the State and capital are premised, when it comes to the extraction of environmental resources, these ideological differences become blurred. If there are any other reforms that are envisaged by the State, they do not disturb how capital monopolizes it. In order for the capitalists to be seen as friendly to the environment, they have used the very language that the green groups use, but only to mean a different thing. In order to continue their plundering of resources, international companies owed by the developing countries swap their debt for nature –which allows the developing countries to pay their loans through giving up a part of their environment. These companies have also got some environmental groups into their pocket by funding

their campaigns and also by footing the election campaigns of politicians who will support their environmental practices in legislatures.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LACK OF COGENT AND COHESIVE THEORY

7.1 Introduction

The liberals controlling the green movement in South Africa have lacked any theoretical grounding, often criticizing the ideological grounding of those who want to destroy the Apartheid State. In spite of this assertion, liberals have claimed a theoretical grounding, but this has shown that what they claim to hold is the sweep and tenor of human history. The Sowetan (19 June 1997) agrees with the researcher's assertions when it states that "for the black radical tradition, white liberals have more of an attitude problem than a coherent political philosophy. When they are taken seriously at a political level, they are identified with capitalism. The theoretical background they claimed to have had premises which occasionally became explicit.

7.2 The numerical decline of Whites

One of those explicit premises has been the realization that White domination was coming to an end. Birth rates prove the point that Whites will be numerically insignificant in the future and these birth rates dictate that the numerical advantage will be to the people of colour. It is true that the world has military might which is ensuring that White races control the world, but their control lacks morality. Hence the desire of liberals to place themselves in the new era so that the future will note that they were in the midst of a few

White persons who foresaw what was coming and were prepared to accept their diminishing status.

7.3 The connection between liberals and capital

The existence of tame green groups in South Africa was and is counterproductive to the struggle for equality. In this context equality goes beyond the right to make a cross next to your favourite politician's face, to an equitable distribution of resources and social and moral adjustments. Within the White political front, the existence of defeatable political opposition granted a semblance of democracy and political legitimacy. The failure to provide strong resistance to the capital-state alliance should have caused the green movement either to recuse themselves from the battle they have been unwilling to win or to be more inclusive in their membership. It is in this respect that the absence of a cogent theory to the struggle for a cleaner environment comes to the fore.

A number of green groups are joined by their common allegiance to save the beauty of the environment. Beyond the beauty, there is nothing else. If one were to ascertain the real reasons for the saving of St Lucia for instance, the response which would come from members of the Zululand Environmental Alliance (ZEAL) and the Campaign to Save St Lucia was for aesthetic and scientific reasons. In other words, they did not have an ideological belongingness which would still glue them together even after the Battle of St Lucia is won or lost. In the next round of their battle, the 120 groups which form ZEAL may be reduced or increased. The paradox is that if they are reduced, they will lose the advantage of numbers, but the converse, that if they increase their numbers, still offers no guarantee for theoretical cohesion and cogency because their interests may be divergent.

Indeed, before the end of 1997, there were changes in the tones of the state regarding the vision of the group. The first indications came when Jacob Zuma, the African National Congress leader in KwaZulu-Natal who said at the launch of the Coastal Management Policy Programme at the end of September that if tourism did not soon become a major force in job creation in the area, the option of mining will be re-examined. The next to fire a salvo was the national Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Pallo Jordan when he announced that the proposal to make St Lucia Bay a World Heritage Site had been delayed (Mail and Guardian, Nov 14 to 20 November 1997).

7.4 Racial Innuendos

If there was anything that tried to connect liberalism to the environment, it was the academic environmentalist explanations of racial diversity. Based on their knowledge of the influence of environment on the physical appearance of men, they postulated that Blacks were from a particularly adverse environment, and as such it provided them (liberals) with a chance to pontificate to them as to how they (Blacks) would attain human fulfilment in a more favourable environment, and they (liberals) were arbiters of that environmental setting. This laid the religious, ideological and academic basis for the enslavement of Africans. On the other level, when the period of enslavement halted under its own inconsistencies, (certainly not because White enslavers were suddenly kind-hearted), colonization led to Whites come to the shores of Africa with the same belief that they, because they were from a favourable environment, would import it so as to chart a cause for the human fulfilment of Africans. Sadly, this could not be done without destroying African values as if there were no values in Africa, and if there was a realization that there were any, they were considered to be of less significance and

contrary to the human fulfilment as envisaged by Whites. It was in this devaluation and destruction that the liberals rode, and their failure to find wide acceptance among African circles was clear. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (Mail and Guardian, 15 March to 21 March 1995) arguing about the values of the liberals, states that “[t]his esteemed group - made up of Anglophone liberals, who are mostly ‘peace time heroes’ and were only prepared to bleed ink through their pens at the height of the struggle - see themselves as the custodians of what we should accept as the standards and values of this society.”

Before any theoretical formulation of the environment is posited, one has to ask whether ecology can be placed within social political theory. The aim of any social/political theory is to sustain human life. All human life which is studied with the background of a social theory. When ecological disasters occur, human life is endangered. Because of the connection between the two, social theory and human life, it can be argued that social theory should also include the study and the understanding of ecology. Lazzari (1993:210), in arguing for the inclusion of politics within the green movement, states that, “in realizing the dimensions of our crisis, it is imperative that those seeking social change stop for a moment and recollect what it means to be political. Politics is first of all a question of consciousness, not simply of specific actions. Any action undertaken with an appropriate political consciousness, no matter how small or ambitious, gets at the roots of our crisis. But action that is taken without a sense of political consciousness, no matter how exciting or seemingly successful, tends simply to replenish the status quo.”

Being liberal, green activists argue that modern society is unlike ancient ones, e.g. Rome and Athens, where the concept of democracy derived from citizenship. Their point of departure is that as society is heterogeneous, individual rights are necessary. In the South

African context this divide has been obvious. Whites have been granted rights both as a group and as individuals. Blacks have been denied those rights as a group⁶⁹. In warning against the liberty of the individual, Sandel (1984:32) states that "the extent of man's, or people's, liberty to choose to live as they desire must be weighed against the claims of many other values, of which equality, or justice, or happiness, or security or public order are perhaps the most obvious examples." Therefore both in its empirical and historical imports, freedom should be within the concept of society which is the medium of individuation. Individual rights suppose a form of "alienation, anomic tendency, privatized and thus lacking in moral substance" (Cohen and Arato, 1992:10). Cohen and Arato (1992:10) further criticize liberalism because its arguments are based on atomistic abstract and diffused concept of the (self) individual as the subject of rights. In this situation political identity, ethical life and agency become impoverished.

Together with these observations it can further be argued that on empirical grounds, individuals do not see themselves as separated from the communities in which they live and as individuals are enmeshed in the historical and social contexts which socialises them into communities. There is as such no universal norm, but norms are dictated by the communities and outside these groups, individuals have no moral judgement. This is more important in Africa where rights which individuals have are derived only if they come from and spread common good.

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The word Black is used here in its progressive sense. The argument acknowledges that within the Black grouping rights and privileges were not made equal. It is understood however that whether singly as component parts of Black people or as a group, White rights exceeded all. Buthelezi's (in Pirjana et al.) accounts of the problems which beset the leadership of the Black Consciousness movement regarding this issue are noted and appreciated.

7.5 Property rights and the green movement

The preoccupation with individual rights such as property rights is occasioned by nothing other than the fact that in an alien country, the confiscators of land relegate communal rights to individual rights to legitimise their confiscation. Any challenge against this confiscation is considered illegal, the legal apparatus being formulated precisely to buttress the confiscators. Discounting a liberal revolution, van den Berghe (1979:65) states that "a liberal revolution in South Africa would relieve the white intellectual of the moral burden imposed by racially ascribed privilege without appreciably endangering his class position in his own or his children's lifetime. Objectively, this is the best bargain which any white man can strike anywhere in the Africa of the 1970s."

When Smith (1991:passim) argued that a market economy premised on private properties will increase the aggregate wealth of society, liberals emphasised the right of the individual to his properties. No mechanism was set out by Smith as to how private property would benefit society. When Smith's relied on the "private interests and passions" of an individual, leading to the employment of his capital to produce the greatest value, he made a moral judgement. Morality is subjective and applied as and when the individual sees fit. Capitalists, can therefore hoard what Smith saw as the properties of society. Capitalist calculations continued to protect the individuals' rights by trying to make his possessions as those of the society, pronouncing such things as the GNP and GDP, and not personal and private incomes. Little do the GNP calculations tell us about the individual's income. And the employment of the per capita calculations suggests that all individuals have an equal income (Gaus, 1983: 235-236). Lappe and

Collins (1988:69), analysing the market state that "the lesson is unmistakable: the first shortcoming of the market is that it does not respond to individual preferences - or even needs. It responds to money."

Because liberals see the exercise of individual rights as paramount, they do not view the ecology on a communitarian⁷⁰/democratic basis. The ecological battle is viewed as a fight for an individual's rights to enjoy the aesthetics of the environment and the right to relax, while for Blacks this right is intertwined with the right to life and the right to survive.

To survive is a communal effort. The communal management of resources to sustain generation and generations of the community is the logic of survival. It therefore follows that the individual rights-oriented approach lacks morality and is not geared towards the survival of generations to come. The latter postulate (of Blacks) is the one rooted in the socialist paradigm. Higgins (1993:73) states that "the ideal of equality is really a subset of freedom and community. The freedom of each is the condition for the freedom for of all, as Marx puts it."

Freedom, in the socialist sense, is unachievable while any social group enjoys privileged access to the amenities of modern life - a high standard of housing, nutrition, medical and child care, education and culture. The aspiration of social democracy in the broadest sense is to break down the barriers of privilege and guarantee access for all to these amenities.

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Communitarianism holds that individuals are shaped by society. The proponents of a communitarian ideology do not agree that the choice and self-interest of the individual should predominate. It is believed that man's first duty is towards the society from which he emanates, the individual's interests should always be subordinate to those of society as a whole. Consequently the communitarianist will regard it as the duty also of a government to attempt to shape and control society (Bendix, 1988:140-141).

Connor (1993:2) has noted that "access to land, however, is not a private benefit without responsibilities. Dwellers on the land have the duty of caring for and cultivating it so as to uphold the well-being of their own local community and the wider society, the crops they plant, the animals they tend, the houses they build, the industries they construct, the gatherings they hold, should all sustain and develop the land and its people. Holding and working land is a trust, not an absolute right. While John Locke was right in stressing the importance of properties, most especially land, he failed to recognize that human living takes place within a society, and so all holding of properties and occupation of land by human beings both derive from and contributes to social living. Put simply, a parcel of land is not mine just because I say so; other people with similar understanding of properties have to agree on how I can hold it and what I can use it for. Properties presupposes and is limited by community."

Discussing the misinterpretation of the Cartesian "I" as a primary datum in Western society instead of "we" Pepper (1986:163) argues that "questions of human relationships become translated by people into the problem of "the other", of " other people", rather than problems to which "I" contribute.

Unless the green activists attempt to extricate themselves from individualistic tendencies characteristic of liberal rights approach and consider the environment more as the rights of the whole society whose decision should be majoritarian, they will make little headway in winning support in South Africa. Elocutors of freedom that they are, they fail to find a connection between the freedom they so vehemently espouse (free market etc.) when they have to accord it to the poor. They ingeniously try to hold off challenges to both freedom and their understanding of the environment by stating that the two, freedom and hunger

are incompatible. Lappe and Collins (1988:115) state those societies (according to liberal myth) "that eliminate hunger also end up eliminating the freedom of its citizens. A trade-off between freedom and ending hunger is distasteful, but it appears to be the fact of life. People may just have to choose one or the other." Clearly this is a myth, for freedom also means freedom from hunger.

The liberal paradigm is still ambivalent to communitarian tendencies which are evident even among those who argue that they are liberals. For how does one reconcile individuality with the concept of patriotism? Loving your country does not mean loving yourself, since you are not alone in that country, neither does it mean an affection for trees, for in the dynamic of that function, human beings and animals are invariably involved in an interactive relationship. Gaus (1983:90-101) raises other important issues which cannot be enjoyed outside the presence or association with other individuals, such as neighbourliness, fraternity, family and community.

The distribution of resources in South Africa was decided on political basis. Such distribution was not different from the authoritarian approach "embedded in access to power and resources in society"(Cock and Koch 1991:1). Abrahamse (1993:2) states that environmental issues are deeply political in that they are primarily concerned with issues such as access to power access to information and access and control of resources in society. Many people/ communities/groups are engaged in a range of on-the-ground political struggles that arise from environmental concerns." Albie Sach's argument that "just as apartheid penetrates through to every aspect of South African life, so must the struggle against apartheid be all pervasive; it is first and foremost a battle for political rights but it is also about the quality of life in South Africa. It is not just playing with

metaphors to say we are fighting to free the land, the sky, the waters as well as the people. Apartheid not only degrades inhabitants of our country, it degrades the earth, the air and the streams" (Cock and Koch 1991:17).

Albie Sach's observation finds resonance in Pepper's (1984:234) argument when he states that eco-socialism defines "the environment and environmental issues widely, to include the concerns of most people. They are urban based so their environmental problems include street violence, vehicle pollution and accidents, inner city decay, lack of social services, loss of community and access to the countryside, health and safety at work and most important, unemployment and poverty." As one or other person is affected by one or many of the above, the broadness of the environmental struggles should not be under-emphasised.

The view of those who see ecology not being threatened because the environment, they claim, can be fixed to its original or near original position after it has been destroyed should be dispelled. In the matter of ecology, the dualism of nature and society is blurred in that society relies on nature to survive and nature relies on society to survive. The two are mutually non-antagonistic. *Ipsa facto*, social theory should accommodate the concerns of nature. In South Africa, this duality and mutual inclusiveness takes an accentuated role because of the nature of apartheid. Hayward succinctly asserts that "in so far as environment is not "nature out there", but the environment of human society, a task for social thought is to grasp social practices (symbolic and productive) in relation to their conditions of production"(Hayward 1990:2).

7.6 The socialists' perception of the environment

Although socialists tended to think of ecology as the ideology of the middle-class, the internationalist element is gradually realising that environmentalism should be accommodated with the socialist discourse, because the environment has been elevated by its growing centrist management, to a resource that belongs to the international community. The first argument is that the environment and ecology, unlike humans who demarcate land to create sovereignty, do not lend themselves to borders restrictions, and even if this was the case, it, as controlled by humans would now have shifted towards the human-driven blurring of sovereignty and the disappearance of the state as an sovereign entity. The arguments arising from socialist discourse is that these resources are being plundered by international capital for profit and as such they as socialists should engage capital in international fora. This is understandable from agreements such as the Ramsar Agreement of 1971, which oblige South Africa to protect the wetlands, especially the St Lucia, for the international community (Leadership SA 1989, Vol. 8 No 10:115). It is with this argument in mind that any ecological theory should be posited along socialist lines.

The level of environmental activity in South Africa should go beyond adherence to the Ramsar Convention⁷¹ and to argue for the inclusion of all other ecosystems in forms of international agreements. A failure in the selective internationalisation of one eco-system

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According to Crump (1993:262) the wetlands are the only ecosystem that are protected by a specific

over the other plays to the very arguments of aesthetics.

It is here that it should be argued that Mayekiso's (1992) differentiation of civil society (including the green movement) to bourgeoisie⁷² and working class, and his call for the civil society to be under the working class, should be examined (African Communist, 2nd Quarter, 1992:33). While I agree with his categorisation, I am against his assertion that the working class should wrestle control of civil society from other classes. The enormity of green politics, and its straddle over a wide spectrum of society, makes it all the more important for the working class to develop organically into the green movement and to other organs of civil society which have been exclusive. By his own admission, the bourgeoisie civil society organs are more developed. The author is not arguing that the working class organs of civil society are underdeveloped but it is within our acknowledgement of the devastations of past state policies that structures which exist should not be destroyed before there are suitable and solid replacements. If there is a failure to do this, this organic development is the viable option.

Contingent with the idea of the environment is scarcity. Scarcity has been occasioned by unfair distribution of resources such that others had abundance. Ecology, as I have argued, belongs to all, spanning beyond our territorial borders. To privatise it may be

international convention. However this convention does not cover all the wetlands, covering only 200,000 sq km compared to the global total of 8,5 million square km.

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The bourgeoisie organs of civil society, such as Birdwatchers, do not enter this debate for bird watching in a sea of poverty and where development and empowerment are central, ends being a false sense of achievement perpetuated by wealth reduction when large sections of our societies battle for wealth accumulation at best, and mere survival at worst. Ornithological appreciation is best left there, as an enjoyment of nature, rather than man's use of it for his survival. Weekly Mail has published a Directory of Environmental Groups and it is interesting to note a number of those who are for appreciating nature only. The list includes many that are disparate in their aims and obscure in their methods.

aimed at satisfying the much-heralded self-regulatory mechanisms of the market forces. That the market force paradigm is rampant and triumphant in the context of the demise of the Soviet Union is not denied. What is refuted is that they are the "be-all" and "end-all" and are a panacea for the declining environment, particularly given the fact that they are the primary destroyers of the environment. It is in central control that the ecology can be saved. The market force paradigm thrived not because it was flawless, but because its antagonist was weak. Higgins (1993:76) has noted that "a major part of socialism's moral victory against capitalism has been the mission to overcome the alienated, divisive and competition of individualism that denies human need for community and subverts coordinated, purposive human action in pursuit of socio-economic betterment. But many earlier socialists have distorted the ideal and into an imposed collectivism, a drab denial of freedom. As against this, social democracy sees community as voluntary co-operation, a living process that democratic interaction generates."

With the demise of the Soviet Union, a new enemy, the green menace, has been created. Using the old tactic of diverting people's attentions away from the actual problems, Greens because they share the similarity with the socialists constructs in appealing to a larger section of the people have been rubbished. To an uncommitted environmentalist, such rubbishing does not change the ball game, all it does is to strengthen the very capitalist orientations in which South African green activists are immersed. The demise of the Soviet Union does offer challenge to fill the void it created simply because, in an uncharacteristic ideological premise, they disliked the Soviet Union, and by extension consorted with a prevailing ideological paradigm which was not kind to the environment.

The *elite* still does not want to extricate itself from the property relations of the West.

Whilst agreeing that ecology has been denuded by unenvironmental action of the market forces, they still cling to the notion that the destroyer (the market force) can also be the builder. Plant and Plant (1991:63) argue "if it had been the purpose of human activity on Earth to bring the planet to the edge of ruin, no more efficient mechanism could have been invented than the market economy." Mwangi (1992:2) has stated that "natural resource management and environmental protection are inextricably linked to economic interests. If we do not reorient the latter, the former will continue to be undermined. The consequences will be dire, for the environment, for the people and in the final analysis, the economy too."

The world uses wrong criteria to measure whether a polity is democratic or not. If there is stability and continuity, a spectre of democracy is presumed to exist. In reality it is not so. In essence, the *elite* dominated model of democracy is subsumed in polemical broadness and narrowness: it is broad because there are regular elections and narrow because those regular elections are procedure base to such an extent that the concept of free will is compromised. In essence then such a model denudes the concept of democracy of its original meaning by replacing the principle of citizenship with 'realist' democracy which by its nature lacks political equality, discursive processes of public will and public opinion in decision making.

Emotional rejection of positing the ecology within the theoretical framework of socialism is sure to raise spectres of Stalinism and all that has been portrayed as devilish about any economic system that challenges capitalism. Simply because the Soviet Union had scant disregard for the environment (e.g. Chernobyl), the impression is created that capitalism has done a lot to save it. That is a simplistic view. Porritt cited in Cock and Koch

1991:225) states: "capitalism can only survive through a permanent expansion which in turn means accelerating contraction of our life support system." Porritt in the same text, further argues that "capitalism as we know it, simply cannot provide the preconditions for the ecologically sane, human economy."

Huntley *et al.* (1989:14) view Greens as contradicting themselves by demanding socialism and a clean environment at the same time as it is motivated not by environmental realities but by ideological value judgement, informed by the fact that as socialism declines and capitalism grows, we are finding more, not less, denudation of the environment. It is not surprising that one of the writers is a representative of the giant conglomerate and multi-national, and any opportunity to scorn socialist postulates resided in the actual aim of ensconcing capitalism at all costs. Their other argument, that nuclear energy is desirable and that free enterprise system was the only viable one, says much of their aim to pursue capitalist interests at all costs, and at any price, even if it clouds correct environmental judgements.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that because the White population is declining, the need for Blacks to be in the forefront of the environmental struggles is all the greater. It was also argued that because liberals claimed to have knowledge of the influence of the environment on man, they want to decide how Blacks would attain human fulfilment in a favourable environment. This knowledge laid the foundation for the ideological, religious and political domination of Blacks.

The chapter also raised the concern that because liberalism highlights the importance of property rights their relation to the environment is based on this principle. The comparison between this approach and the socialist approach to the environment was also discussed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTION

8.1 Introduction

There is a growing pathological misconception in academia that the international community has a lot to offer us in terms of how we should conduct of our affairs. The environment issues have not been spared this line of thinking. This thesis would be short-sighted, in my view, if I do not agree that the international community is indispensable to us on the sense that we belong to the international community. Of that there can be no doubt.

The Thor issue⁷³ for example reached the spotlight only because the matter had been highlighted to the international community. The closure of the firm by the Department of Water Affairs for three weeks "due to heavy rains might have meant a tactical carving in by the government, but with the end of the rains, which had been given as an ostensible reason in the first place, the company was given a new licence to import toxic mercury waste" (Cock and Koch 1992:83).

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The author acknowledges that the international community has a role to play. The work of the Industrial Health Unit at the University of Natal played a very important role in diagnosing the Thor Chemical workers for mercury poisoning. However, Mark Crozier (NU Focus 1993:20) states that "the unit, the only one of its kind in [KwaZulu]-Natal, is well known abroad and forms part of an information network system linking it to similar units and centres in North and South America, the East, Australasia and Europe." The argument in Chapter Five is that international connections are desirable but only if they are aimed at strengthening the local base. The author would have liked

Having agreed on the connection between the international and the national, it must be stated however that environmental theories should not be transmitted to South Africa "voetstoots" to such an extent that the arrival of the international experts undermine the contribution of the locals. It is consistent with this feeling that I viewed the arrival of international experts, Dr John Sinclair (Daily News, 2 April 1992) and the green peace activist who was to assist us fight against the Japanese plutonium carrier because they have the experience.

8.2 Undermining local needs and concerns

I have no fault with the two learned person's intellect and knowledge. However, I take umbrage if the local environmental groups highlight the international component of the struggle against the environmental proliferation to the total exclusion of the local and very strong, but dormant component. My point of departure is that the international lobby is required only to assist the efforts of the locals and not to sabotage them.

The country is at this stage of political development largely because of the role that has been played by mass action. It is agreed that the international pressure played a role in the political metamorphosis of this country. It is however in the trenches that the battle was fought and won. On the contrary the green movement has failed to tap into this resource in its struggle, which makes the previous point of elitism all the more important.

Elitism is carried even further for the import of experts on ecology are perceived to be White. Would it not be prudent to push the point of a non-racial and multi-racial

environmental lobby by inviting an Amazon Indian⁷⁴ who is also in the trenches of the green battle? So even in expanding their knowledge and information, liberals cannot escape their Achilles heel. There are plenty of lessons to learn from African ecologists, yet nothing is being done to attract them to fortify the battle, both in practical and theoretical terms.

8.3 Third World countries made dumping and hunting grounds

Another debilitating international connection resides within the present needs of the country to industrialise and provide jobs. With the hype of international acceptance and the wooing of investors, foresight of the environmental denudation by investing companies should not be lost. South Africa may become attractive as a dumping ground for waste because international law as in developed countries cost the company dearly. As evidenced in the 1980s, the transport of such wastes became a booming business, and some considered Africa to be a dumping ground for industrial left-overs. Many of the receiving nations did not know about the dumping but there are also those who accept such dumping because it will bring in the much required foreign exchange.

The strategies aimed at making the nature reserves and parks attractive pander to the whims of the international markets. In order to satisfy the exotic tastes of the foreign

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At a seminar the author attended at The Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, in 1992, a Lakota Tribesman who was a Faculty Member of the Academy raised the issue that reference to them as Red Indians or Native Americans was derogatory, and they would like to be referred to according to their tribes. While some of his arguments were subject to controversy's such as his failure to respond to the question whether he was happy with the Christopher Columbus Day which was being celebrated on the same day as his address, his attitude towards what he, and his people would like to be called is respected. The author apologizes for using it for

tourists, more efforts are made to marginalize the local communities as if the two are mutually exclusive. This replays the old notion, that animals and plants are viewed as objects of appreciation rather than an element of life - to which extent both the animals and plants and men are equal partners. It becomes a contradiction therefore if one human being is considered more equal than others in terms of his access to the environment.

With this pandering to the whims of the international market, comes also the issue of hunting licences. Almost always, the foreign tourist, who wants to hone his shooting skill, will obtain the hunting licence while a local person, who needs the food and who has lived with the environment in the absence of restrictive legislation, will be charged for poaching. The rhino will be killed for its horn which will be sold to foreigners. The elephants will be slaughtered by to sell ivory to foreigners, yet the practices of the Parks and Tourism Boards, motivated by the profit motive, will still grant him a higher status than the local person.

South Africa, has by choice applied for membership of international organisations and the United Nations is one of them. It will be in the interest of South Africans as a whole to oppose the plans of the UN to keep the so-called Third World countries as "forever wild" nature reserves to prevent what we are falsely warned is global warming. It is incumbent upon countries to utilize their natural resources to survive, therefore the banning of the primitive slash and burn practices in the Third World is part of the international strategy to subjugate the Third World. It is the industrialised countries, rather than the Third World ones, which use sophisticated lumbering methods in Third World countries. Even if Third World countries were to adopt more sophisticated lumbering methods, in the

current international order, these sophisticated lumbering machines would be purchased from the West at bloated market values, based on the inequalities in the international economic order. Porritt (1990:116) has observed that "Western-style economics now dominates practically every corner of the Earth, with odd exception like Albania, which has little to offer the rest of the world by way of an alternative. Eastern Europe is going West as fast as possible, and even the most remote Third World country has long since been drawn into the toils and snares of today's world economic order. But what is starting is the conceptual bankruptcy at the heart of this all conquering economic order, and the frailty of the foundations on which it is built. So accustomed have we become to today's prevailing orthodoxy, and so successfully has it colonised every other facet of our lives, that one hears scarcely a peep of protest at its inherent idiocy from within the system. Even when the whole pack of cards looks as if it's about to come tumbling down (another crash on the Stock Market; threats of a major debtor country defaulting on its loans; dire predictions of the world economy going into recession), it's inadequate skills of building the house of cards that are criticised, not the terrible weakness of the process itself."

8.4 Predetermined underdevelopment in the Third World countries

Lazzari (1993) warns that "the real consequence of such action is to prevent Third World countries from becoming developed. The UN and the Environmental Party plan effectively blocks them from following the developed nations through demographic transition to prosperity and near-zero population growth rates.... The plan is self-fulfilling prophesy. Underdeveloped nations will remain underdeveloped, and will retain low economic growth, high population rates, poverty and concomitant environmental degradation." If we take this to the domestic level, the protestations by the city dwellers

that rural areas are overpopulated, therefore they need better family control fails to understand this bigger argument. While Third World countries as argued by Lazzari above, will never reach the status of the so-called First World countries, it is equally true that in Africa, and in South Africa, rural areas will never reach the status of the cities and towns. The structural forms of control are made for exactly that purpose.

This form of control has led to the incorporation of the countryside into the system of production of values and goods for trading, capital subordinated the whole land to itself and to its urban centres of power assimilation.

The World Bank cannot escape the criticism of the international community. Although it has become fashionable for the Bank to portray itself as environmentally friendly, its very existence and loan structures go against this grain. In its Progress Report (Fiscal 1991:111-126), the Bank lists Environmental components attached to its projects in all its projects throughout the world. The projects are aimed at elevating the Third World economies towards a Western level, and as we agree that Western standards and business requirements are destructive to the environment, it is equally true that the projects themselves, in spite of their environmental conditionalities, are destructive to the environment.

8.5 Racial oppression in South African

In South Africa the idea of population explosion will take very long to be accepted, for it was also used as a tool of oppression, and reactions to it elevated the South African problem to a demographic struggle as well. One of the tools of oppression is to remove

the blame from the oppressor and shift it to the oppressed. I have raised the argument of slavery elsewhere, where slave trading was seen as a civilizing influence - indirectly blaming the people who were enslaved for being uncivilized. In the South African situation, apartheid apologists were quick to point out that blacks were multiplying in large numbers such that they couldn't sustain themselves. The apartheid's inequalities were blamed on its victims, and Blacks were not portrayed as lacking resources because of apartheid, but because of the woes of uncontrolled birth rates which they visited on themselves. Yet these apologists turned a blind eye, or even encouraged, higher White birth rates as if their numbers did not tilt the population scales towards explosion. This demographic struggle has continued to hold in a democratic South Africa, where Home Affairs authorities and the police services turn a blind eye to White illegal immigrants, but are quick to act if these come from African countries.

American journalist, Jim Peron, in The Sowetan (12 April 1996) argues that "the problem [of population explosion] is not one of too many people but a lack of political and economic freedom. He goes on to trace the origins of the myth of overpopulation to the first International Congress on Eugenics in 1912, whose main purpose was the "prevention of the population of the unfit." At Congress, much concern was voiced about how the unfit, who were usually not whites - reproduce. Eugenicists in the United States persuaded many states governments to pass laws forcing the sterilisation of 'unfit people'. The term of overpopulation, according to Peron, is used to describe countries inhabited by 'non-whites' only. Rich people are never called 'teeming masses, no matter how many of them there are per square kilometre. The danger of the application of this perception as related to the thesis is that "in the guise of concern and in the name of environmentalism, white leftists can advocate coercive population control of blacks in Africa or Asians in

Thailand.” Finally, Peron's thesis rejects the perception that a high birth rate causes hunger and poverty. It is caused by economic policies and governments that continue to follow 'outmoded concepts' of socialist planning and state control. Population reduction reflects s genocidal tendencies and are dealt with elsewhere in the thesis.

In the same vein Pepper (1986:169) states that “the problem about focusing discussions on whether or not we change the population numbers lies in their unacceptable ideological content. Whenever a theory of overpopulation seizes hold in a society dominated by an *elite*, then the non-*elite* invariably experience some form of political, economic and social repression.”

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that in the environmental debate the needs of local populations are undermined in favour of international ones. At the same as this happens the Third World and developing countries serve as dumping ground for the West's products. As South Africa joins the international organisations, it is incumbent upon her to engage the industrialised countries on environmental issues affecting the Third World and developing countries. The chapter has also argued that the underdevelopment of the Third World is pre-determined as it is in the economic interest of the developed states to do so.

CHAPTER NINE

LOBBYING AND THE GREEN MOVEMENT

9.1 Introduction

Originating in the United States government in about 1830, lobbying has been defined by Sills (1968:442) as the "stimulation and transmission of a communication, by someone other than a citizen acting on his own behalf, directed to a governmental decision maker with the hope of influencing his decision." Although in South Africa this has not gained currency as in the US, it is encouraging, and will be within the earlier suggestion of influencing government policy, that green activists should seriously consider it.

9.2 The media and the Green lobby in South Africa

In the media, there has been dismal coverage of environmental issues. In South Africa, only a few newspapers have environmental columns with Weekly Mail topping the list. Not that there are no magazines to highlight environmental issues but they play into the primary argument of this paper. Supportive of the authoritarian conservation approach, they are glossy, pander to the wishes of the middle class and are out of the prize range of ordinary South Africans. Low cost publications do not last long in the magazine competition and are largely assisted by foreign donations. An example of the low cost and independent environment magazine is the New Ground which was forced to close because of the dwindling foreign donations base. Observing the extent of the animosity

between business and the media in the United States, Lazzari (1993: 220) asserts that businessmen would do well to heed the warning that they have a few enough friends in the media these days. According to him "television almost never portrays business as a socially useful activity." Richard Meeren (SAfm PM Live, 27 February 1996) has argued that "media interest has highlighted safety standards in Britain, and with companies hating adverse publicity, are quick to find solutions which restores their image." Crozier (1993:21) states "that a couple of companies have approached the [Industrial Health Unit] centre and asked help in designing a model occupational health care programme." In the South African economic quintuple cake, the roles of the press almost coincide, with one environmentally degrading company controlling the press, in a weird concoction of South African economy, which should be fighting against it. For establishment and capitalist newspapers, attacking one of your sister, or subsidiary companies becomes the most difficult job. It is the liberals who control these economic institutions and it should be from this premise that they could use their muscle of control in these sectors of society to highlight green issues.

The Green groups and the press are linked by their common desire to sell their products - the green groups providing the newspapers with the easy to use disaster packages, and the newspapers willing to sell these disasters to the public. Sadly, the South African liberal discourse did not take this into consideration, for its only disaster was a Black government take-over. Save for a few brave journalists, newspapers sold to a large White clientele also did not enjoy articles about the political transformation. Environmental groups never brought themselves to understand Black views through Black newspapers. Never did they raise the environmental questions for the simple reason that a liberal discourse thrives in the absence of information that destroys the paradigm - but also because the

environmental debate stretches beyond the mere green issues - it goes to the root of political control, the very interest which they wanted to protect.

Using one of the tactics of the anti-environmental movements, big companies who have diversified in environmental destructive businesses buy up newspapers, magazines, book publishers, and radio and TV stations and companies. In newspapers they cannot but they get reporters to run articles that favour anti-environmentalism and sow seeds about the claims of the environmental movement. In South Africa, journals such as the New Ground have ceased to exist because of the restructuring of business.

Green groups elsewhere have managed to portray themselves as Davids facing Goliaths. Playing into the human frailty of liking the underdog and the small men, they have managed to position themselves in a better launching pad than their opponents. Indeed the use of terminology such as "mining barons", "oil magnates", "Randlords", has positioned business in a difficult position. Yet the liberal dilemma in South Africa has been such that such attacks (not physical ones) could not be launched because the liberals had their feet in both camps, enjoying the status of being beneficiaries of the state and also enjoying the privilege of better pay by the same Randlords as against those who were the most affected.

9.3 The influence of funding in the green lobby

Admittedly, "when confronting a large company, a state corporation or a major group, environmental groups can never match their opponents in terms of financial resources, and it is quite beyond their means to engage in the sort of slick lobbying which some

private interests do, with their public relations firm, glossy propaganda, renowned consultants and lavish entertainment for MP's and journalists" (Lowe and Goyder 1983:58). Public policy in a representative society usually evades receipt of such lavish patronage by companies. This is especially true in a government that is open to transparency. So any fear that the green activists will not win the lobbying when faced with big companies should be dismissed. In the case of the St Lucia debate, the environmental lobby won favour with Cabinet although "Rio Tinto Zinc is the biggest mining company in the world, with practically unlimited funds available to present its case" (Daily News, 15 March 1996).

The suggestion that green groups should explore the means in which they will use the media to their advantage, should not give them *carte blanche* to regulate and propound values that will continue the *status quo*. Lowe and Goyder (1983:31) alert us to the "emphasis on the relationship between the characteristics of particular issues and values and preoccupations of certain 'gate-keepers' such as politicians, newspaper editors and interest group leaders, who are able to assert a measure of control over the generation and circulation of issues." Extrapolating on this issue, they quote Anthony Downs who has "suggested that there is a systematic 'issue attention cycle at work in society, whereby successive social problems leap into prominence, remain there for a while and then gradually fade from view. The cycle begins when, perhaps through a dramatic event, a piece of investigative journalism, or the revelations of a crusading individual, the general public is suddenly made aware of a particular problem which may well have been festering unnoticed for a considerable time."

9.4 Domination of environmental issues by liberals

Much about environmental domination has been argued, but liberal domination extends beyond the environmental domain. With the green activists at the helm, efforts should be made to spread throughout the spectrums that they dominate, from media, to corporations, to law, courts, medicine etc. etc. Efforts should be made by liberals to open career paths for Africans in disciplines that will save the environment.

As it is argued elsewhere in this thesis, the environmental question is not only confined to saving the environment, but is based on the premise that the environment = distribution of resources = politics. It is impossible to expect all newspapers to highlight environmental issues, but without their knowledge they are involved in environmental affairs. Rather than waiting for a newspaper to establish an environmental column with a fully-fledged environmental columnist, use of other journalists to highlight environmental affairs can be made. For instance, the clashes between the free State farmers and Lesotho might be billed as the clashes of sovereignty or a political conflict but the drought in Lesotho is an environmental issue, the Highlands Water Scheme may be an economic event but it is more of an environmental issue for it alludes to water shortages.

Although liberalism is a rights oriented ideology, it fails to acknowledge that mass participation is one of those rights. It will be only when masses feel that they are part of the process that joint responsibility and co-ownership of the environment will come about.

Although they are aware that in aggregating one's interests, individualism cannot yield results, for results in interest aggregation come from numbers, liberals still speak derogatively of mass participation. Marches are portrayed in liberal newspapers as unruly.

True to their profit-making motive, they are quick to point out to the devaluation of the Rand as soon as mass actions are contemplated. Cohen and Uphoff (1980:221) refer to this co-ownership as project assimilation.

9.5 The need for mass participation

Contingent with my earlier argument of involving the masses, effective lobbying could be made through the now famous bush telegraph, a communications which proved more reliable than the apartheid states propaganda machine. The merits or the demerits of this type of communication should not be underestimated but it can only be effected through the co-operation of the mass based movements. Mass movements also evince a core of voluntary flexi-working hours jobs and this is the resource which the green activists should tap into instead of complaining of shoestring budgets.

The idea of mass participation should not only be for increased pressure. It should be extended to mass benefits in economic terms, in which case there would be employment and higher cash returns for the masses. There should be social benefits such as schools, community centres, water supply, roads and transport. It will be from these benefits that there will arise emotional benefits such as self-confidence, self-discovery, self-recognition and self-confidence (Cohen and Uphoff, 1981:22). These emotional gains will in turn reinforce the green movement and increase the economic and social values. It will be a dialectical situation.

The most pertinent point, and also contingent with lobbying, is the language of communication. At the Earthlife's conference in Pietermaritzburg the call by Kate

Sihlangu that the absence of translation was an inhibiting factor was hitting the nail on the head. As she argued, the impression was created that it is only in English that environmental interest can be aggregated. As I have argued elsewhere and as it is obvious from South Africa's demographic distribution, most South Africans are Africans and they are not conversant with English (New Ground Summer 92/93:34).

Although the parliamentary lobbying system has not gained roots in the South African parliament as it has in the United States (Mail and Guardian 4 August 1995 -10 August 1995) there have been a few individuals who have already made an impact. Less they pipped to the post again by the corporations (The Chamber of Mines already has a parliamentary lobbyist) it would be worthwhile for the green movement to follow the same pattern.

Financial resources have been regarded as the cause for the green movement to lobby for their interests. Sadly, the maximization of profit in destructive environmental practices is to acquire these finances. But the crucial problem of the green groups as discussed elsewhere in this thesis is that the inclusion of a larger membership in the green fold will reduce the financial restrictions which stop the green groups from lobbying. Voluntarism could assist the green groups in having person power for lobbying effectively. In this instance, the inclusion of more people may give volunteers in the green movement who will be available not for some idealistic inclinations, but because they are hard pressed by environmental imperatives that they should survive. This is a more important partnership than the one that is volunteering for idealistic reasons. Idealistic volunteers are problematic because they eschew procedure and protocol. On the veneer of being radical, idealistic environmentalist take anything that is procedural as anathema, and protocol is

relegated to non-existence although such procedure and protocol may be of benefit to the longevity of the group. Idealistic volunteers tend to jump and hop from one group to the other and in each of the subsequent groups that they join they are given higher status because they have gained the necessary experience. So it is not unheard of that an idealistic volunteer may jump from the Save the Whale Campaign to Save the Rhino as soon as s/he has satisfied his/her idealistic sojourn. On the other hand, some green groups may have hierarchical structures, such as national, provincial and local officers that discourage individual innovation. So although environmental problems are experienced at a local level, these problems are sometimes addressed by the national office which does not have an on the ground analysis. In this instance environmentalists are shut off from participating fully, and lobbying is therefore dealt a hard blow.

The buying of experts for lobbying also drains financial resources. This could be easily solved by an open membership and experts may be drawn in from the new members. But before this is achieved, the green groups must dislodge the existing mindset that being an expert is university certificated. There must be acceptance that within the larger population there are experts who, based on their natural instincts and their necessity to survive, have acquired skills beyond those that are academic. The expertise of Magqubu Ntombela and the Treeman of Pietermaritzburg comes to mind.

Parliamentary agents also need huge financial backing. But that also displays the absence of democratic means of political participation. In a truly democratic setting (I am not saying South Africa is one), parliamentary influence should stem from the local groups. It does the environmental groups little or no good, if they want to influence opinion at the higher level while they disregard the local level which forms the basic and crucial point of

democratic participation. Friedmann (1993:55) has stated that “democratic principles, by contrast, emphasize proximity and seasonality - sensitivity to pace and time. This means the use and development of technologies and markets to facilitate local enterprises in every possible link of agrofood chains. What is increasingly clear is that healthy food and environmentally sound agriculture must be rooted in local economies. These must respond to the capacities of people who dwell there.” It is pertinent here to state that the extent to which the environmental groups focussed on the parliamentary level to highlight their concerns about St Lucia, flew in the face of local mobilization. The statements by D'Oliviera (Daily News, 8 March 1996) and Mail and Guardian (22 March to 28 March 1996) clearly show that although Cabinet has improved eco-tourism in the St Lucia debate, failure to consult local communities have shown that the issue is by no means over.

The behaviour does not veer off the norm and the benefits of tourism will never reach the local communities. Mail and Guardian (November 14 to 20) states: “While the sword of exploitation still hangs menacingly over the head of St Lucia, development of the promised ecotourist Utopia has been painfully slow. According to the South African tourism Board, KwaZulu-Natal attracts almost 75% of the country's local and international holiday makers, but little significant job-creation has taken place in what is arguably the poorest sector of the economy. The reasons are varied and complex: land claims, stifling bureaucracy, lack of political will to address problems and a Byzantine maze of ancient legislation.”

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that liberals have not been able to understand the connection between the green movement and the media. Because of their failure to use put pressure on the media to report on environmental issues, only a few brave journalists report on them. The chapter also calls for the green activists not to be intimidated by the big companies when they square up on environmental issues and gives an example of one case when politicians have supported the stand of the environmental pressure groups rather than the conglomerate. The chapter calls for mass participation.

CHAPTER TEN

USE OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND HUMAN RESOURCES

10.1 Introduction

One weakness of liberalism, at least in its positive level, is that it is concerned with the deep-rooted institutional structures of the community which prevents people from doing things. It cannot therefore play a role in an Africa and a South Africa where it is basically the very control by community structures which apportion to an individual his right, what Cohen and Arato refer to as communitarianism. Putting the individual at a pedestal higher than his community, liberalism could not confine Africans to individual exclusiveness. On the contrary it was liberalism's failure to recognize the importance of the community that in certain struggles the communities were not represented even in issues which affected them directly.

10.2 Marginalisation of local knowledge

There are numerous initiatives by African people which have gone unnoticed simply because they are "unscientific". In the western sense, something is scientific only if it comes from the West. It is scientific only if it is documented. The oral tradition of the Africans, the passing down of knowledge from generation to generation is overlooked. Yet it is in this type of communication that has evolved one of the best environmental protection systems of the Tembe people in Maputa and Kosi Bay. It is in this context that

aesthetic and sustainable use of resources come into sharp focus. Civilizations have co-existed with their environments and have never sought to bend nature to its humanistic wills. In the case of both Australia and America, the attitudes that the original inhabitants took towards the land they knew so well showed no evidence that it had been somehow contaminated by their touch in the way that it might have been by the hand of the more domineering subsequent settlers.

The growth of the *nyangas* to the extent that they are now issued with official documents and the possibility of them being legalised in South Africa is an encouraging step. The issue is that aligned to the protection of the environment yet excluded from decision-making, the *izinyanga* and the *izangoma* have to a large extent been relied upon many Africans as dispensers of herbs, diviners and healers. Yet their prestige in the medicinal domain, which is more environmentally based than the Western ones, has been overlooked and has not been translated into environmental terms. Terminology has been structured to an extent that it subtly states that *izinyanga* are involved in herbs, and herbs are seen as second best. Doctors used medicines and medicines are portrayed as having a higher success rate. Correlation between herbs and medicines are ingeniously discouraged, as if medicines are not from another planet, or if in this planet they are from some extraterrestrial source which is the preserve of Whites.

10.3 Denigration of indigenous modes of living

A cultural shift which subjugates and denigrates African mode of life should also be discouraged. What I have in mind is the conscious efforts by business to coax Africans towards an environmentally unfriendly fuel creation methods such as coal and electricity,

when the collection of cow dung would serve an equal and less costly exercise.

It can be argued that in spite of ideas to the contrary, many Africans have managed to live with their environment in a manner not dangerous to it. The sheer necessity of survival has ensured that co-existence between man and environment has carried on for years. The trickle-down effect of knowledge which the liberals expect to happen from them to the majority of the Africans is wishful thinking. The bottom up approach⁷⁵ will benefit them more.

African ecologists whose lives have been dedicated to the environment have been shunned. "The Treeman" of Pietermaritzburg with his ambitious project of Trees For Africa has largely been unnoticed by companies in South Africa. The skills of Magqubu Ntombela⁷⁶ are reported only when he escorts White tourists through the pristine forests of KwaZulu/Natal. Soweto's NEAC's Mr Clean, graces the television screens only when Soweto needs cleaning. No input is expected from them. The aim is not to display Soweto's environmental awareness but to show what the ugly spectre of what Black rule would bring. Magqubu Ntombela is seen only as facilitating the aesthetic enjoyment of White tourists, some kind of a Joystick for a convoluted Nintendo-like view of the environment. It is not the cleaning aspect which is shown, but the dirty aspect, whose aim was to polarize the citizens, with those on the clean side fighting against their status

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The argument as to who is top or bottom between Africans and Whites is itself a debatable issue, debated among Africanist circles. It is loaded with value judgements and it shall for the purposes of brevity of the paper, not be entertained here.

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The author's curiosity about Magqubu Ntombela was aroused by Dr Ian Player's Wildlife Columns "Voices

being demoted to the dirty one. Herbalist Sosobala Mbatha's riches⁷⁷, stemming from his herbal healing is down-played. Cleaning campaigns of White school children are given more exposure.

To display the connection between politics and ecology a number of People's parks and Freedom Squares mushroomed in the townships in the late eighties, bearing illustrious names such as Steve Biko Park and Tambo Freedom Square. These innovations would be discouraged or physically destroyed by political forces opposed to their political connotations.

10.4 The divisive role of apartheid

The structure of control of the green areas did not escape the very tenets of apartheid: divide and rule. So although there may be efforts to involve local populations as equal partners in game reserves or parks, it cannot be extended to a national level - with one area or province still thinking in terms of its own existence- as if that existence benefited it in the past. Such divisions lead to focalized solutions rather than viewing problems in totality. So what happens in one area is the involvement of the community as a separate entity, not as an integral element of its whole - a South African community. Even this national totality is a part of the sub-regional one, and should not be seen in isolation. The

From *The Wilderness* in "Natal Mercury" and "Daily News". His passing away was a loss to the ecological fraternity.

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In the week ending January 13 1996, Sosobala Mbatha of Nquthu, bought a Dakota DC worth R2,2 million, becoming the first ever African to purchase a second plane. His first one, a six-seater was bought in 1991 but was sold two years ago (Sunday Tribune, 14 January 1996).

sub-region is part of the continental totality etc. etc. This focalization discourages such things as solidarity actions. The Saldanah Bay controversy, because the bay is on the other part of the country, has been systematically delinked from the St Lucia Bay controversy. So in cases where the solution of one should have been taken as a reference point for a national solution, when one problem arises, it creates dimensions and debates of its own. Raising the issue of the focalization of the environmental problems, Freire (1993:138) states that "by intensifying the focalized way of life of the oppressed (especially in rural areas), hamper the oppressed from perceiving reality critically and keep them isolated from the problems of the oppressed in other areas."

10.5 Religious influences on environmental perceptions

On the religious level, liberal environmentalists usually take an anti-God stance, even though some general Judeo-Christian or other religious principles are acknowledged. They worship Creation but not the Creator. For Africans there is a religious connection between the environment, specifically between the ancestors. At either the subterranean or spiritual level, it is through the environment that living man communicates with the ancestors and ask for blessings. For instance to "bring back" a relative who passed away in a far away land a special branch of tree is used to bring him back. This anti-God stance has the potential to repel Africans from joining the Green movement, because a large number of them are religious.

This connection between religion and the environment is also mentioned by Connely and Graham (1999:12), when they argue about the connection between religion (in this case

Christianity⁷⁸) and the environment. On the moral tradition of stewardship (of man over nature), they argue that this principle “includes responsibility for the whole Earth; solidarity of all people; the need; the need to take a long-term view. As such they offer a critique of existing capitalist relocations and are congruent with local principles of sustainable development. Of course this tradition is anthropocentric, and it has rarely been used to justify radical environmental thought and action (although much protest concerning cruelty to animals could be traced to its influence). But it should not be overlooked as a source of environmental concern. At the very least it resonates as a source of environmental concern. At the very least, it resonates with the sense that certain things should not be done, despite their undeniable human benefits, and that wanton acts of despoliation or cruelty or overexploitation of natural resources should be avoided and as exceeding the legitimate role that mankind has been granted in relation to the natural order.”

10.6 The need for communication on environment issues

A system of communication and consultation should exist between the two groups, liberals and African conservationists, such that the latter are not only trail seekers for tourists but make meaningful contributions to environmental legislation and action. It is disturbing that although the local communities contributed to Cabinet decision to favour eco-tourism in St Lucia, the Chairman and founder member of the Campaign for St Lucia, Mr Olaf D'Oliviera continues to think it is their group only that will be in the steering wheel. He

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The Bible connects man to nature through Genesis, 1:28, in which man was commanded to “be beautiful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over

states that "Even if RBM was supporting the land claims with the hope of later being granted mining rights by successful claimants, they're too late. We are pushing ahead with plans to have St Lucia registered as a World Heritage Site, and to ratify the Ramsar Convention which protects internationally important wetlands" (Daily News, 8 March 1996). The researcher does not dispute that such a path should be followed, but if the "We" in D'Oliviera's statement refers to them as White conservationists, they are as exclusive as they were before and the registration of St Lucia as a World Heritage Site without proper consultation will lead to problems. Two issues show that in spite of the communities' complaint about being not consulted, the wagon was already moving. Firstly, Mr Oliviera was already attending the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance (Ramsar) in Brisbane. Secondly, the Wetlands Bill, had already been introduced by ANC Senator Stefan Grove (Sunday Tribune, 24 March 1996).

Clive Poultney of Durban, writing in Mail and Guardian (12 April to 18 April 1996) states that "if Ramsar and Wetland Bills are not supported by programmes which start to deliver, the Campaign to Save St Lucia is going to get hammered like they hammered Richards Bay Minerals. Rural people have had their fill of conservation Bills which, in many instances, have led to their being displaced and dispossessed." He suggests that "Ramsar will be rejected if not accompanied by the delivery of tangible benefits. Pontificating on how a Wetlands Bill is going to protect those wetlands will probably have the opposite effect at local level and alienate people."

The tactic employed by Richards Bay Minerals was not hard to place for it is in the very textbook of anti Environmental movements. In this tactic they produced their own

scientist who argued that the forests could be rehabilitated thereby throwing into confusion the scientific findings of the anti-mining lobby. Not only was this a scientist in the actual sense of the word, but also was a conservationist of stature who, in the opinion of the researcher switched his allegiance. In this theory doubt is cast on consensus science and more trust is placed on frontier science. However, where frontier science does not hold, it is also dismissed with equal gusto as preliminary findings. This, needless to say, casts doubts on all scientific findings.

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that there is need for environmental activists to use indigenous knowledge as local population know more about their environment than outsiders. With the realisation by the current State that there is need to improve the indigenous knowledge systems, one area which should not be marginalized is the knowledge that exists around environmental issues. Together with this should be a realisation that the indigenous methods of living are also part of the environment and should therefore not be marginalized. The chapter also calls for the unification between what happens at a national level and what happens at a local one. This will require that environmental issues should be communicated to as many sections of the population as possible.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN REDS AND GREENS⁷⁹

11.1 Introduction

The strategy which was used by the State is in no way different from that used by colonizing countries in the run up to the granting of independence. The strategy to legalise previously banned political parties was a calculated attempt to marginalise the social movements (Mamdani 1992:313). The real aim was that the various social movements would be absorbed into the political party and efforts would then be made to destabilise the political party, crippling with it the elements of organs of civil society which had been absorbed by it. This strategy is clear from the revelations of the Third Force activities by the past regime, well after it had claimed to have unbanned political parties (Weekly Mail, 7 July to 13 July 1995). It needs the vigilance of a social movement to align itself with a recognised political party to guarantee their survival but this should not be taken to mean that their autonomy must be compromised. Although much of the absorption debate was raised by Nzimande (African Communist) and might have been given some respect in the anti-apartheid struggle, the alliance option augurs well for the maintenance of democracy in the post political struggle period.

11.2 The Greens and democratic transformation in South Africa

Arguing for this democracy, Mail and Guardian (December 22, 1994 to 4 January 1995) stated that "the green movement, along with organised labour's insistence on having a say in the formulation of economic policy, have forged a deep-seated style of democracy that goes way beyond the formal mechanisms of Parliament and national elections."

The green groups have not pushed hard enough for the close co-operation between themselves and the worker's alliances. It should be proposed that there is much to gain from an alliance of this sort. Gorz (1994:72) referring to the socialist inclination of the workers, states that "[T]he important point, then, is that for workers in the modern sectors, criticism of capitalism and a socialist sensibility are not to be derived from their working lives or their class consciousness but, rather, from the discovery they make as citizens, parents, consumers, residents of a neighbourhood or town, of capitalist development dispossessing them of their - social and natural - lifeworld. Thus it is neither their occupational capacities nor their identification with their jobs which will shape their resistance to that dispossession, but their lives and experiences outside work."

The failure of the green movement to bring Africans into the fold is a push factor for more mobilization. This exacerbates the feeling that, as explained elsewhere, the environment is for Whites. Other than joining in droves, most Africans will be antagonistic. Union organiser Mabuyakhulu's broadside question in connection with the St Lucia question, questioned whether it was because there was a threat to the survival of a

favourite holiday resort for whites that so many Whites spoke out against the mining option. None of the environmental organisations has consulted us about the issue and some of our members are wondering if these groups think it is more important to save insects and animals while we sacrifice wages" (Weekly Mail, 1993, p 21). This is a situation that the green activists must try to avoid if they want to sustain themselves as an interest organisation.

Those who want to continue their domination of an organ often argue that co-operation compromises the independence of an organ of civil society because it is in the autonomy of an organ that democracy functions to its ultimate success. Here I wish to agree with Mayekiso (1992) that co-operation with other organs of civil society or even with the state is part of the function of an organ of civil society, and this is permissible only if it is going to benefit civil society. It is considered impractical to be in dialogue with the state or whatever target of interest group and not grasp the opportunity of co-operation if such co-operation leads to the realization of the goals of civil society.

Gorz (1994:36), arguing for close co-operation between Greens and reds, states that, "collaboration with the trade unions remains the central axis of this alliance. But it must also include all those who, by their daily experience or their involvement in the new social movements, have become convinced of the need for fundamental reforms." Arguing his point further he states that the new social movements in Germany, "will become the bearers of socialist transformation when they ally themselves not only with the 'modern worker', but also with the contemporary equivalent of the disenfranchised, oppressed and immiserated proletariat - that is, with the post-industrial proletariat of the unemployed, occasionally employed, short-term or part-time workers, who neither can nor want to

identify themselves with their job or their places in the production process.”

Manning (1976: 140) argues that “a tradition of liberal writing does not possess, and is not in need of, the kind of coherence which an academic explanation requires. It may readily embrace incompatible principles and programmes. It is not an a-temporal understanding based on unalterable logic or evidence. It is an ongoing evaluation of changing circumstances which may be said to admit a schism only when its adherents divide into camps engaged in a protracted dispute. This portends an eclectic ideology, subject to changes and accommodation which are miraculously eschewed by the South African version of liberals.”

If these liberals support their very origins, that their ideological rigidity is compromised by operation in obtaining circumstances and evolving the liberal paradigm within that context, they should admit that a shift of the paradigm is needed. In order to protect the “independence of ordinary man against any powerful body, such as the state, for example, organised labour is taken as vital” (Peterson, 1993:187). That is where the problem lies, where they feel that labour is antagonistic to their interests and as I have argued elsewhere in the argument, benefits through co-operation would accrue to both.

11.3 The elitist class of the green movement in South Africa

Caught between white elitism and the fact that the green organisations are working in isolation from the mainstream of society, their victories have been minimal. The mainstream of society is African and working class. The working class is formed into labour federations which, as has been stated, have mastered the skill of negotiations. It is

not preposterous to claim that the workers' alliances at a single union level or federation level have demonstrated the highest level of interest co-operation in the country.

The poverty of the pontificating liberal and the need for co-operation between itself and workers was raised way back in 1947, by Solly Sachs, cited in Trek (June 1947) when he argued that, " is high time that the liberals in South Africa descended from their lofty pedestal of abstract theory and illusions and came down to earth and faced the problem in a realistic and concrete manner. Liberalism in America and in other countries, even in England a hundred years ago, made progress only by a correct examination of the workers' needs and aspirations and by the closest co-operation with the workers' mass organisation. Liberalism in South Africa is doomed, unless and until it learns to understand the workers' problems and finds a concrete base of co-operation with the masses of workers, European and Non-European."

By seeking the support of the unions, both stand to benefit tremendously. Tested in the terrain of anti-State struggles, the worker's movements are potential allies to anti-capitalist interest. The green groups could do with the organisational muscle and mobilization techniques and skills of the Reds. For the Reds, the highlighting of green issues at factory floor will assist the safety of members.

It is also in the shop floor that some of the environmental abuses are abundant. Cases of workers being directly affected are many. On most occasions workers have not been aware of the hazardous conditions under which they work and the dangers of the substances which they use. Setting up rudimentary intelligence-gathering network within the shop-floor is not an unfair proposal. It does not need hacking company computers but

such rudimentary steps as workers' willingness to be medically tested for contamination by factory substances.

In the Saldanah Bay conflict for instance, one wonders why the green movement has not harnessed the support of the National Union of Mines (membership estimated at 270 000) a stake-holder and best organised in the country, with the skills honed by bargaining with the Chamber of Mines, one of the toughest bargainers in the country. The involvement of National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) would not only affect Saldanah project, but would reverberate throughout the mining industry. Anything in South Africa that resonates through the mining industry affects the economy and what affects the economy affects capital and the state.

11.4 The Reds conceptualisation of development

It is no secret that the developmental terminology doing rounds in South African political circles was borrowed largely from the labour movement. Accountability, transparency, participation, empowerment almost derive from a uniquely South African development-speak. If there had been enough co-operations between the Reds and the Greens a simultaneous entry of such vocabulary as "terricide", "eco-terrorism", "eco-catastrophe" (Vig and Kraft, 1990) could have been made more accessible to the general public through continued usage - this would have consolidated the Red/Green paradigm.

It has been argued above that any ecological theory should have a strong socialist content. The co-operation which is proposed between the Greens and the Reds therefore might be concretized by the very fact that Reds are socialist in their inclinations and the co-

operation would not only put the Greens at a maximum level of co-operation and transparency in the community, but also give them the socialist theoretical inclination within which their interests could be best served.

Because Reds are populist in nature (witness the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) strong populism and the debate about the "two hats") and because workers are also community members, co-operation would assist the green movement on two fronts; namely the workers as members of the working class and as members of the community.

de Tocqueville's fascination with the US type of democracy (Mayer and Lerner, 1966) as being the preferable because it was procedural than the French's "outcome oriented" democracy, (or the difference between "the-means-justify-the-end (American) and the end-justifies-the-means (French) debate in terms of the two democracies) should not be a hindrance for the green movement to seek co-operation with the Reds. The South African labour movement has over the years evolved the skill to conflate the two de Tocqueville's notions of democracy to such effect that the state dares not take labour lightly. It is perhaps within this context that the new state comes out openly in support of labour against business. As it has been argued above, the green movement should stop viewing civil society and the fight for democratic rights as political (the "taboo-phobic" extension of politics aimed at making it an exclusive). Like the Reds, they should not divorce themselves from their social and economic relations, otherwise they will be agreeing with the state they are trying to challenge in the environmental arena.

11.5 The need for the green movement to co-operate with the Reds

What must be patently clear is that the thesis does not call for the dissolution of the environmental groups in favour of political ideology, for that would be injurious to the autonomous existence of the organs of civil society. What is cause for concern here is that by continuing to be dissociated from the political mainstream, they will be marginalised. Their co-operation with the Reds is such that they will be able to live in future. It is obvious even to the politically uninitiated that this co-operation will be strongly resisted by the state and capital for in the current political scenario South Africa, as the colonizing countries have done elsewhere in Africa, is trying to sow a wedge between civil society and the liberation movements so as to emasculate the former⁸⁰.

Involvement in green issues has been the order of the day for the Red movement. They have, however, not been enunciating their concerns in environmental terms. The past few years has seen Red movements articulating green issues more clearly. This is seen with Andrew Mlangeni's address to the NEAC that even the call of "Mayibuye i Afrika" is environmental because it calls not only for political rights but for the right to distribute resources which are by and large environmental (New Ground, 1991:12). The ANC's role in calling into being the Coalition Against Plutonium Shipments is a sign of growing awareness of safety in factories, and this includes environmental safety as the workers

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The South African civil society debate is currently in a state of flux. It is characterised by two observations. Firstly, the incorporation of social movement activists into the state machinery thereby emasculating the social movement through deliberate leadership reduction tactics. Secondly, the social movements themselves evince signs of being collapsible to political authority, partly because of the popularity of the present government leaders. This should, however, be seen only in the context of the current euphoria of freedom to

become more responsive to forge co-operation between themselves and organs of civil society.

The fear that the space of civil society will shrink to the benefit of political society (Cohen and Arato, 1992:57) is misguided. Again Mayekiso should come to our rescue when he asserts that civics in South Africa should co-operate with society for what they will get out of it (African Communist, 1992:37). In other words the relationship should evolve dialectically⁷⁵ and organically. The success of the co-operation should give rise to another problem which will have to be debated and contested. That is the virtue of a true civil society. Swilling (1992:79) states that "voluntary associations must be horizontally linked. If the inherent localism of voluntary associations or fronts whose primary purpose should be the strengthening of local organisations."

This horizontal link has been obvious from the shifting involvement of the trade unions, away from traditional labour issues to other issues that involve workers outside the factory floor. This gained roots in South Africa in the early 80's and the residual effect of those "extra labour interventions" by unions has necessitated a co-operation between the (political) African National Congress and the labour federation (COSATU). The horizontal alliance of the green movement for which this thesis argues will also be assisted by this horizontal development of the trade unions. As Gorz (1994:72) argues, "if the trade unions want to remain relevant, then at the very least a public debate on such

vote, with many clashes between the state and civil society in the offing.

This departs from Marx's Dialectical Materialism, itself an inspiration from Hegel's theory of dialectical change. According to Hegel, every force or idea (thesis) will breed its opponent (antithesis) and the two will blend to form a new force (synthesis). What Marx added to it was that as all societies are based on a particular economic base, their laws, politics and government will reflect that economic base.

conflict of interest should be organised at a local level; otherwise new movements, which offer the workers the possibility of voicing their various interests, will be more relevant to them than the trade unions. Up to now, trade union immobility has frequently given workers cause to set up citizen's initiatives; they are discouraged by the difficulties they encounter when they try to organise such debates within the trade union." It should be on the basis of this frustration of the workers that the green movement should find alliances, which as the argument has stated elsewhere will thus benefit both parties.

Not that such co-operation cannot be achieved. Towards the end of 1995, co-operation, co-ordinated by the Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF) had started to surface, with an alliance of some 180 civic, labour and green groups when they stopped a ship with tons of highly dangerous cupric arsenate. This action did not only stop the ship, but also led to the commission of inquiry to examine why private consultants could authorise such a shipment (Mail and Guardian, December 22 - January 22, 1996).

11.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued for the continued co-operation between the green movement and the workers' movements as both of them can gain from each other. It is argued that when there are environmental problems, workers who form the constituency of the trade unions are also affected. This would however need that liberals who lead the green movement should step down from their lofty pedestal and identify with the working class.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The thesis has highlighted the weaknesses of the liberal argument in so far as the environment is concerned. It first traced the origins of the liberal argument and then its transfer to South Africa. The American version of liberalism was also briefly discussed. Central to this tracing was the argument that it (liberalism) was not ideal for South Africa. While its British and European origins might have been justified, in a South Africa that was ravaged by apartheid it tended to take the side of those who dominated. Its introduction in South Africa was also traced but the central idea in the South African debate on liberalism is that protestations on liberal grounds, against what was an undemocratic state, was limited by the fact that the liberals also benefited from the skewed racial relations. The shoddiness of the liberals was highlighted as stemming from the fact that they had the best of both worlds, challenging apartheid and segregation while at the same time gaining from it. Largely English, liberalism tended to challenge the Afrikaner rulers as a race group, and in contestations that are dominated by race, ideology tends to be secondary. Indeed liberalism pontificated to Blacks as to how they should challenge the state. In the process then liberalism became a stop gap measure, trying to topple Afrikaner nationalism while trying its utmost best, and at times colluding with the very Afrikaner nationalists to stop African nationalism.

The thesis has also raised the problems which face the South Africa green movement, apart from their own ideological poverty as liberals. The major one is that it does not

want to be inclusive in its membership. It is viewed as a preserve of the White middle class liberals. Because the liberal's involvement in green issues is for ego-tripping among other things, I have suggested that more Black people who are directly affected by the green issues on a daily basis, should play a prominent role.

It has also be raised that there should be an ideological shift for the green movement, and this ideological shift cannot come about if the liberals still perceive the green issues as their and their alone. They should not only see the environment as an aesthetic entity but also as a means of survival. For a large number of Africans, the environment is a means of survival, and there will always be a discrepancy in relation to the environment if our inclinations towards it arise from different goals.

The thesis is also against the distance the green movement keeps from the labour movement. I suggested that the labour movement has the bargaining skills and the numerical strength to bolster the flagging the green activists who pathetically, in dismal numbers, held placards in front of companies. I have suggested also that this movement will assist the green movement in finding their way to the community because the reds are closer to the masses. I have also argued that the "progressive" environmental laws which the state has passed are a smoke screen for a further denudation of the environment.

Although there are legislative constraints, the thesis argued for a greater interest aggregation in the dismantling of such constraints. The thesis also highlighted hopes for an environmentally friendly policy making, and this stems from the changing political circumstances. It was also highlighted that the non-existence of stringent environmental measures stem from the fact that liberals, are controlling the legislative mechanisms and

as such will always legislate in a manner that is not injurious to the means of production which they still control. Basically then liberals have become wealthy, and in a situation of wealth there is also a systematic mechanism to protect it, and liberals have protected this wealth.

The state and capital were discussed as being two sides of the same coin, each assisting each other. Capital maximises profits while destroying the environment and the state and state officials depend on the rich industrialists for the coffers and for supporting their election campaigns. The thesis called for a greater vigilance on the part of the environmentalists.

The thesis also called for the maximum use of local knowledge and in this case quoted the expertise of *izinyanga*. It raised the issue that even if there were knowledgeable Africans who could contribute handsomely to the environmental debate, these are shunned in favour of those who have gone through universities, as if knowledge is the monopoly of university educated people. By and large these graduates and experts come from the white middle class, and the monopoly then for generating knowledge about the green movement resides with those who also dominate the political process.

Liberals who control the print and electronic media were given a special role to play to lobby for environmental awareness. The integration of reporting issues should not be the preserve of an environmental journalist but should involve journalists from the different sections of the newspaper, because at the end of the day all these have a connection with the environment.

Closer co-operation was called for between the labour unions and the green movements was also suggested because at the end of the day, environmental degradation is a threat to the survival of both. The snag, however, is that these do not have a mutual liking for each other, with the environmental groups being led by liberals who are also captains of industry.

The thesis calls for the involvement of eminent local environmentalists and the integration between the international and the local advice to benefit the ecological struggles.

In the final analysis the thesis has raised problems such as the centrality of the environment in the allocation of resources. The political transformation process was given as having failed to equate the economic inequalities, and in the compromises that are made by ruling classes on their way out, the thesis raised the concern that political power was forsaken for a continued control of the economy and this economy resided in the environment of the land. The failure to control the environment was also mentioned as detrimental to the delivery of the RDP projects and failure to deliver on it, has the potential danger of raising the same arguments about dispossession as they were raised during the anti-apartheid struggle.

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