Impressions of the New
SOUTH AFRICA
February / March 1996

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This report may be quoted, copied and circulated freely. Acknowledgement will be appreciated. Organisations making copies may wish to consider giving a donation to Turning Point 2000.
Introduction

We arrived in Cape Town on 16th February and left Johannesburg on 10th March. We travelled from Cape Town via Durban to Johannesburg mainly by car, with many stops on the way. We were struck by the beauty of many parts of the country. It was unusually cool during our stay. On our arrival we heard reports of heavy rainfall and flooding, and we later saw some of the results in the area of the Kruger National Park.

We met and had discussions with a wide range of people, including: residents and community activists in black and coloured townships and informal settlements (squatter camps) in Cape Town and Johannesburg; business people in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg; university groups in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg; Members of Parliament in Cape Town; community and environmental groups in the Boland (at McGregor) and on the Garden Route (at Nature’s Valley); and non-governmental organisations concerned with micro-businesses in the Boland (at Montagu), rural support services (based in East London), and integrated rural development (based outside Durban). People everywhere were very welcoming and eager for contact with the outside world.

Thanks to an original contact through the Gaia Foundation, the Network for Human Scale Development (NHSD) arranged for James to give talks, seminars, workshops and media interviews, and co-ordinated our programme - see Appendix 1. We are very grateful to John Clarke, National Co-ordinator of NHSD; to Andrew Shackleton who organised the programme details, and Laura Isaacs who made our travel arrangements in South Africa; to Kenry Meyer who guided us round Marconi Beam and Mitchells Plain in Cape Town and round Robertson, Montagu and McGregor in the Boland; and to Philip Visser and Margaret Heath in Johannesburg. Some of the organisations involved are at Appendix 2.

We stayed in Cape Town with Margaret Legum (of PACE - Preparation for Adaptation to Changing Environments - and a strong supporter of the New Economics) and Colin Legum (the well-known writer on African affairs). We are very grateful to them, not only for their hospitality and the range of people they enabled us to meet, but for the help and advice they had given us when we were originally planning our visit. In Johannesburg we stayed with Heather Couzyn (author of “The Cosmic Microbe; A Positive Vision For The Future”). Again, we are most grateful for all she did for us, including introducing us to people concerned with tax reform, the planning and organisation of new communities, and the contribution that digital information and communication systems can make to development in South Africa.
We are grateful to many other people, some of whom are mentioned in Appendices 1 and 2, for the arrangements they made for us and the help they gave us along the way.

Our main regret is that we had too little time and too full a programme to contact many others we had intended to meet, whose names had been given to us by friends. Another time, we hope.

Our Starting Point

Before we went, we knew that South Africa would present a microcosm of the world as a whole. We would find Third World and First World living side by side - the racial, economic and social differences between them reflecting with peculiar clarity the global South/North divide. Like so many people all over the world, we had been thrilled by the almost miraculous political transition achieved so far from apartheid to democratic government, and the statesmanship of Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk. We had read the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) published in 1994 by the African National Congress (ANC), now the majority partner in the coalition government. We had noted that the RDP's central objective was "to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, and in particular the most poor and marginalised sections of our communities. This objective should be realised through a process of empowerment which gives the poor control over their lives and increases their ability to mobilise sufficient development resources, including from the democratic government where necessary. The RDP reflects a commitment to grass-roots, bottom-up development which is owned and driven by communities and their representative organisations".

Against that background we wondered whether, following its outstandingly successful re-entry into the world community, South Africa might help to show the way to the new people-centred and ecologically sustainable path of progress which the world so badly needs. Could South Africa give a lead to the growing numbers of people in the Third World and elsewhere who now reject a notion of progress based on the conventional top-down, trickle-down, exploitative and environmentally damaging drive for globalised economic growth?

At the same time, we knew that many of South Africa's problems remained. In the political sphere, they included the succession to the present coalition government and the negotiation of a permanent constitution in place of the present transitional one. In terms of law and order, they included the future of Kwazulu-Natal and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, the
outcomes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the continuing
disaffectation of the far-right Afrikaner movement, and rising levels of violent
crime. In terms of political economy, they included the growing urgency of
convincing the majority population that something was actually being done to
improve their livelihoods, their housing and their hopes for the future. And we
realised how much courage and confidence the new South African government
would need, to challenge the conventional wisdom and the vested interests in
trickle-down, export-led growth, of the Group of Seven, the World Bank, and
other powerful players in the world economy.

Finally, one of us had last been in South Africa thirty six years before, and the
other never before. We recognised that a three-week visit would allow us only to
get some first impressions of the present situation and future possibilities.

Those personal impressions are what we summarise here. They are not
particularly new or unexpected. But we believe that their implications for
government, business and finance, and the third sector (including non-
governmental organisations and citizens' groups) will be worth following up.

People-Centred Development

South Africa's estimated population is 44 million, of whom about 75% are black,
13% white, 9% coloured and 3% Asian. The overall growth rate is estimated at
2.4%. The black population is growing relatively faster than the rest. 54% of the
total is under age 24.1

Of the roughly 14.3 million "economically active" people, 43% are thought to be
unemployed - mainly black and coloured. It is estimated that an annual economic
growth rate of 5% is needed to absorb new entrants to the labour market, and of
8% to 10% to reduce unemployment significantly. Meanwhile, the cold wind of
global competition as South Africa re-enters the world economy is confronting
firms in some industries - e.g. textiles, footwear, tyres - with closure, and forcing
business in general to "downsize". Like many other countries, South Africa faces
the prospect of jobless growth.

Against that background, a clear impression from visits to black and coloured
townships and informal settlements in Cape Town and Johannesburg is that
conventional economic policies cannot conceivably create enough jobs to provide
livelihoods for the residents of these communities - or for the urban population of
the country as a whole. Other approaches will be needed.

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1. These and the following statistics are taken from SA 95/96:
First, more emphasis is needed on Rural Development throughout the country, enabling people to provide livelihoods for themselves and their families there instead of flocking to the cities and towns. We were told that, according to a recent survey, 20% of urban families might be prepared to relocate to rural areas if there were better prospects there. Improved education, telecommunications and public transport services in rural areas might raise that figure higher in the future.

This raises questions of land availability, land tenure and land reform. The traveller through the country sees plenty of unused land. But we learned that much of the good land is degraded, or occupied (often underused) by white landowners. We could not go into this further. But one possibility to be examined is the extension of site value taxation to rural land. (Local site-value taxes already exist, at comparatively low rates, in all but two - Cape Town and Port Elizabeth - of the top 48 towns and cities in South Africa, and their South African advocates make a strong case for relying more heavily on them nationwide.)

A second approach is to do with Housing. The figures suggest a nationwide shortage of about 1.5 million houses. Anyone would be shocked to see the conditions in which people live in crowded shacks of corrugated iron and sacking among pools of standing water in Marconi Beam (where many of the shacks had recently been burned down) and other squatter camps. But we were equally shocked by the contractor-built housing we saw elsewhere - "letterbox houses" so small, divided into internal compartments so cramped, that the children had to sleep in bunks over the cooking stove and there was no room for the family to sit down together for a meal. The lady of one such house told us that her next door neighbours had to carry their bed outside each morning, in order to make space to live in. By contrast, one of the self-built shacks we went into at least provided a decent-sized living space for the family. And many occupants of contractor-built houses find it hard to pay the rent or mortgage.

The conclusion is clear. The nationwide housing programme will have to be based largely on self-build. Enough adequate houses will be built only if public funds are used to help unemployed and other residents of local communities to build their own houses, rather than to pay contractors to build them with labour brought in from outside.

This broadens into a third approach - enabling local communities to develop their own Local Socio-Economies. That will involve a range of practical measures. These include systematic initiatives to substitute local production of goods and services for those now bought in from outside, to increase the circulation of income within the locality instead of allowing it to leak straight out, to invest a greater proportion of local savings locally, and to establish local
markets and local community businesses and other micro-enterprises. Introducing new forms of local purchasing power, including local currencies and LETSystems, would help. So would using social welfare payments as a means to enable people to take up useful local activity.

These approaches are well understood by people around the world who are involved in people-centred, "new economic" projects and ideas, and we will not discuss them further here. But two problems common elsewhere were particularly evident.

On the one hand, there is the prevailing attitude of many leading people in government, business, finance and the professions. Even if they are aware of the need for local socio-economic development, it is a secondary, marginal matter for them. They are personally much more interested in the big league. They have seen the new South Africa take its place among world leaders at cricket and rugby. Now that the global playing field has opened up in their fields too, it is there and in conventional business and economic success - e.g. in growing opportunities for building contractors and improved labour market statistics - that their ambitions lie, rather than in measures to help millions of poor people to provide themselves with better housing and livelihoods.

At the same time, the prevailing perception of the poor millions - shared by many poor people around the world, but sharpened by the legacy of apartheid in South Africa - is that future prosperity and progress for them depends on their achieving the kinds of lifestyle, business development and economic progress they see as typical of white people. They, and especially the more energetic and ambitious among them, are unwilling to be fobbed off with what they see as micky mouse alternatives. (A small incident on one of our visits to a township illustrated this. Someone suggested that, in order to limit the number of vehicles we would take, another (black) member of the party might take a train from our eventual destination back to the city centre. This offended him greatly. Trains were for poor people with no alternative. He had had enough of trains in the past.)
Environmentally Sustainable Development

While we were in South Africa, we heard that the proposed extraction of minerals by Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) from the dunes and wetlands of the St. Lucia National Park on the Indian Ocean coast in Northern Kwazulu-Natal had been turned down. Rejoicing among environmentalists all round!

But our overall impression is that the issues raised by environmentally sustainable development are not yet widely appreciated in South Africa. Pollution from dirty coal-fired power stations and dirty diesel trucks on the roads, and land scarred by mining, are among the most obvious manifestations of this. But the problem runs much deeper.

The idea that a basic conflict exists between environment and economy is still very widespread. We found comparatively little recognition that the conflict is almost always between some people and others - usually between, on the one hand, those who will gain from environmentally damaging developments, including especially those who will benefit from the profits and jobs created by them in the short term, and on the other hand those, including future generations, whose environments and resources will be damaged and exploited, but who will not enjoy a share of the profits and jobs.

The perception of conflict between environment and economy, which has also existed in other countries, has been strengthened in South Africa by apartheid. Hitherto, conservation there has largely meant wildlife conservation, often carried out and supported by white people with apparently little regard for any damage it might cause to local livelihoods. That may now be changing, as recognition grows both of the importance of wildlife conservation to the tourist industry and of the claims of local people to share in that industry’s earnings. But the idea persists that environmental protection conflicts with the interests of local black communities.

This makes it easier for developers to claim that their projects are in the interests of local people, whatever “white environmentalists” may say, even when those projects will damage the local environment, and the profits and jobs they create will mostly go to outsiders. We heard, for example, of fears that in five or ten years’ time the Garden Route - the 150-mile stretch of largely unspoilt beaches, lagoons, indigenous forests, nature reserves and quiet resorts on the Indian Ocean coast between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth - might become another Costa del Sol, covered with golf courses and high rise apartment blocks, depriving the local people of land and water - destroying the local environment and existing eco-tourism resources for the benefit, not just of outside visitors, but
of outside shareholders, managers and employees. The lessons of top-down, externally driven development in other countries - e.g. the £6 billion investment of taxpayers' money in the Canary Wharf redevelopment of London's Docklands without noticeably improving the livelihoods, housing or quality of life of local people there - have still to be appreciated. Meanwhile, a top priority for South African environmentalists must be to make common cause and form coalitions with people of all races in local communities, in support of genuinely local, eco-sensitive development.

We also got the impression that many people in the business community have not yet recognised that sustainable development is now firmly on the global agenda, following the Rio Earth Summit in 1992; or that South African government and business will be increasingly expected to take Agenda 21 seriously. On a specific point, we noticed an apparent lack of interest in South Africa's obvious potential to develop solar energy, both for use within the country and in order to export solar technologies to the growing global market for them. We were given various explanations. Most focused on the monopoly position and subsidies and tax breaks enjoyed by Eskom, the parastatal utility which supplies 95% of the electricity used in South Africa - mainly generated by coal-fired power stations. Others concerned supposedly damaging environmental side effects of solar technologies and the fact that, as things are now, they would have to be imported since no manufacturing capacity for them yet exists in South Africa. We were not able to go further into this. But we are sure that South African economic planners and business strategists should examine afresh the potential for developing solar power and the present obstacles to doing so.

Parliament, Government and NGOs

Parliament, government and citizens' movements in South Africa are experiencing profound change and uncertainty.

Factors affecting the operations of Parliament and government include the following. The present constitution is transitional; a Constitutional Commission is due to report shortly with recommendations for a final constitution. Many members of both the National Assembly (in which the ANC has 252 seats out of 400) and the Senate (60 ANC seats out of 90) had no previous experience in Parliament or government. Under the transitional constitution, powers are being devolved to nine new provinces as well as to local government. The responsibility of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) - to mobilise government, private enterprise and all other resources of the economy -
inevitably cuts across the responsibilities of many other government departments. All government departments and services, which were split under apartheid into separate compartments dealing with black, white and coloured people, are being integrated. In short, a total upheaval is taking place in parliamentary and governmental structures and operations.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and citizens' groups have also had to reorientate themselves. Until quite recently many of them were focused on resisting apartheid and trying to ameliorate its effects. Funding organisations in other countries supported them generously in those tasks. But now, not only have many NGOs had to shift to a more developmental role, and to change their objectives, modes of operation and relationship to government. They have also found their outside sources of finance shrinking. Funding organisations abroad are giving higher priority to channelling financial support through the new democratic government, and especially the RDP. We were told that, for its part, the RDP had tried to insist on being the channel for all overseas funding to NGOs.

The changing structures and operations of government have affected the activities of NGOs in various other ways. For example, we heard that some were held up by the need to wait until the RDP had its network of local offices in place. From another, however, we heard that the RDP had successfully persuaded a number of Departments to contribute funds from their budgets to an integrated programme of local development which that NGO was managing in part of Northern Province.

South African NGOs and citizens' organisations clearly have to show that they support the new democratic structures of government. But it may be equally important for Parliament, government departments, the political parties and trade unions to accept the need for an independent NGO sector. There is nobody else to represent citizen interests against the powerful voices of business, the political and bureaucratic cadres, and the trade unions - the trade unions' primary role being, as everywhere, to represent the interests of the minority of citizens in jobs. Even at grass-roots level, as we saw, the best-intentioned people running a government health clinic can seem alien to the residents of a squatter camp.

For NGOs and citizens' organisations we draw two main conclusions for the future. First, whatever their particular focus of activity, they should see themselves as part of a broad citizens' movement, prepared to co-operate in support of people-centred, eco-sensitive development when occasion arises. Second, although local, grass-roots development will continue to be the primary concern of many NGOs, they should also build a capacity to press for changes in
government policies or business practices which inhibit successful grass-roots development.

Race Relations

Although political and legal apartheid has been scrapped, de facto divisions between races are still evident. For example, it was only after learning that Alison was not South African, that a previously uncommunicative black businesswoman immediately began to enthuse to her about her business plans; the clientele in the Drakensberg resorts and Kruger Park camps were almost all white, and the non-managerial staff almost all black; and so on. On the other hand, the black business and professional people we saw in hotels and restaurants would not have been there a few years ago. As more people find themselves working inter-racially in public services, business, and the third sector, the divide will no doubt continue to break down.

The anxieties that many white people feel, in spite of their almost universal respect and admiration for Nelson Mandela, are seen most obviously in the security precautions they take in their residential areas in the cities. But, apart from fears of continually rising violent crime, we also heard that anxieties about declining educational standards, shrinking employment opportunities for themselves and their children (owing to affirmative action in favour of other races), a growing burden of taxes and utility charges (as increasing numbers of residents in townships and squatter camps refuse to pay them), and the possibility of a general decline of standards in government and public services, are leading quite a few white professional people to leave or seriously consider leaving South Africa.

In Conclusion

One specific point is clear to us. Multi-ethnic NGOs, citizens' organisations and community groups have a crucial role to play in developing the new South Africa, as they did in bringing it to birth. People and organisations elsewhere in the world should support and help South African citizens of all races to pioneer a range of approaches to people-centred, ecologically sustainable development. Overseas aid to the government and inward business investment will not be enough. Unless they are balanced by support for independent citizens, they could actually help to take South Africa in the wrong direction.

More generally, our visit confirmed for us that a people-centred, environmentally sustainable development path, built on the ANC's Reconstruction and
Development Programme, is what South Africa needs; and we still think there is a chance that post-apartheid South Africa could help to lead the world along that new path.

But we are clearer now about the obstacles. We don’t accept Breyten Breytenbach’s verdict on “the New Sarth Africa - no money, no leeway, margins mopped up by the centre, more broadly based hegemony but same mechanisms and same sadness”, but we see what he meant. After our return to the UK, we heard it suggested that South Africa may never be more than another Brazil. We find that also too pessimistic; but not wholly implausible.

Colin Legum concluded in a recent report that “despite the lack of progress in meeting the urgent needs of the great majority of Africans, there is much to be hopeful about the future of the New South Africa”. We are happy to let him have the last word.

February

Friday 16  Arrive Cape Town airport. Met by John Clarke and Margaret Heath of Network for Human Scale Development (NHSD). Afternoon: Cape Times interview at Kalk Bay. Discuss with Steve Rogers a Johannesburg tax conference planned for March.

Saturday 17  Morning meeting with John Clarke and NHSD board members Busi Gcaba, Christina Henda, Kenry Meyer and Hilton Tito. Then, excursion with Margaret and Colin Legum and family to Boschendal, Franschoek and Stellenbosch (wine country), and the Victoria and Albert Waterfront in Cape Town.

Sunday 18  Lunch party at the Legums. Guests invited by them (from universities, etc., in Cape Town) and by NHSD - to talk about our visit and questions of current concern in South Africa.

Monday 19  Morning: presentation at Stellenbosch University Business School on “The New Economics: Implications for Business”, with the Strategic Management Society. Breakfast and informal discussion with participants. Then meet Philip Spies (Institute for Futures Research, Stellenbosch University), with Aart de Lange. Then, with Kenry Meyer and others, to Marconi Beam informal settlement (squatter camp) and Guguletu and Mitchells Plain townships. Evening: drive to the Boland with Kenry Meyer and Andrew Shackleton (NHSD). Overnight in Robertson.

Tuesday 20  Morning: tour of Robertson, including housing, creche, school. Afternoon: discussion at microbusiness training centre in Montagu. Evening: talk on “Local Economic Self-Reliance: Realising the People-Centred Vision of the RDP” with community representatives at McGregor. Late drive back to Kalk Bay.


Thursday 22  Morning workshop on “Faith and Economics” at Faculty of Religion and Theology, University of the Western Cape. Lunchtime seminar with SADEP (the Unit for Southern African Development Education and Policy Research). Evening: public meeting (platform shared with Joel Bolnick, People’s Dialogue) at University of Cape Town.

Friday 23  6.20am: TV interview on “Good Morning South Africa”. Then, one-day workshop on “Local Regeneration: Self-Reliance in the
Townships” at Tsoga Environmental Resource Centre in Langa township. Drive to Swellendam. Overnight there.

Saturday 24  Drive along the Garden Route, via Mossel Bay, Wilderness, Knysna (Leisure Island) and Plettenberg Bay, to Nature’s Valley. Evening meeting with Save The Garden Route Campaign (Jenny Lawrence). Overnight at Nature’s Valley.

Sunday 25  Morning at Nature’s Valley. Then drive via Tsitsikamma to Port Elizabeth. Overnight there.

Monday 26  Morning seminar at Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kevin Wakeford) on “Future Trends in the Business Environment”. Informal lunch at University of Port Elizabeth with Prof. Gavin Bradshaw (Director, Institute for the Study and Resolution of Conflict) and Politics Department colleagues. Drive to Grahamstown.


Wednesday 28  Drive to East London via King William’s Town. Afternoon seminar with Rural Support Services (Pier Mukheivir). Fly to Durban. Overnight there.

Thursday 29  Business breakfast on “Social and Environmental Audits: Threats or Opportunities for Business?” (Alistair Chadwick). Then to Pietermaritzburg. Lunch at University of Natal. Then discussion with Prof. Klaus Nurnberger (School of Theology), and interview with *Natal Witness*. Then seminar on “Environment and Economics” with Masters students in the School of Environment and Development (Duncan Reavey), and informal supper with Masters students. Overnight in Pietermaritzburg.

March

Friday 1  Workshop with Valley Trust (between Durban and Pietermaritzburg) on “Environment and Economics”. Then drive to Natal Drakensberg. Overnight there.

Saturday 2  Natal Drakensberg.

Sunday 3  Drive to Johannesburg.

Monday 4  Business breakfast on “Is there a Sane Alternative for Future Wealth Creation?” (Philip Visser and Margaret Heath). Then, with Cian McLellan of Market Society, visit Katlehonge township to talk with residents about local community development.

Tuesday 5  Half day workshop - “Think Tank Challenge on the New Economics”. Then visit to Alexandra township with Violaine Junod and Rev. Elizabeth Carmichael.
Wednesday 6  Talks with Heather Couzyn and: Antony Trowbridge (community development, architecture, planning); Stephen Meintjes and Michael Jacques (land-rent taxation); and Andre Spier (the role of digital communications in reconstruction and development). Then flight to Nelspruit and drive to Hazyview.

Thursday 7  
Friday 8  Kruger National Park.
Saturday 9  
SOME ORGANISATIONS

Network for Human Scale Development, PO Box 34678, Groote Schuur, 7937 Cape Town; John Clarke. Development education and training. Inspired by Chilean barefoot economist Manfred Max-Neef’s theory of human needs, adapted by African development educator Anne Hope.

PACE (Preparation for Adaptation to Changing Environments), Kob Cottage, Harris Road, Kalk Bay, 7975 Cape Town / 28 Augustus Close, Brentford Dock, Middlesex TW8 8QE; Margaret Legum.

SADEP (South African Development Education and Policy Research), School of Government, University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Belville, 7535 Cape Town; Viviene Taylor and Anne Hope.

TSOGA Environmental Resource Centre, PO Box 38796, Pinelands, 7430 Cape Town; Nomtha Dilima. Community based organisation, promoting a new perspective which demystifies the concept of environment in disadvantaged communities.

People’s Dialogue, 88 Station Road, Observatory, 7925 Cape Town; Joel Bolnick. Self-reliant community development / housing.

Environmental Monitoring Group, PO Box 123, Observatory, 7935 Cape Town; Roben Penney.

Save the Garden Route Campaign, PO Box 45, The Crags, 6602 Western Cape; Jenny Lawrence. Aiming for an eco-sensitive development strategy for the Garden Route.

Umthathi Training Project, Spoornet Station Building, Lower High Street, Grahamstown 6140; Irene Walker. Community-based skills training, including home food growing.

Rural Support Services, 5 St. Michael’s Road, Belgravia, East London 5201; Pier Mukheivir. Professional support for local communities: agricultural development, infrastructure.

Valley Trust, PO Box 33, Bothas Hill, 3660 KwaZulu-Natal; Alistair Chadwick. Training and development: appropriate technology, nutrition education, community sustainability, primary health care.

Development Bank of Southern Africa (Capacity Building Support Division), PO Box 1234, 1685 Halfway House, Johannesburg; Johan C. van Zyl.

Gaia Foundation, 18 Well Walk, London NW3 1LD; Ed Posey and Liz Hosken.
Since 1975 TURNING POINT 2000 has aimed to encourage a new direction of progress for the 21st century, enabling (for people) and conserving (for the Earth). It supports moves in this direction, reports related activities and ideas, and bring out potential links and synergies between them. It belongs to a growing, informal network of like-minded people in many parts of the world.

The TURNING POINT 2000 newsletter comes out twice a year. Occasional seminars are held.

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[PS. Jan 2014. TURNING POINT 2000 came to an end in 2000 - JR & AP.]