

THE ANATOMY OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT:

Implications for Social Work Training in South Africa

Lionel R. Louw

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Implications for Social Work Training in South Africa**



**A Dissertation submitted to the
University of Cape Town
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Degree
M.Soc.Sc.
(in Social Work)**

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by

**Lionel Ronald Low
1983**

Durban, Birmingham,
Cape Town, Atlanta,
Johannesburg, Watts
The earth around
Struggling, fighting,
Dying -- for what?

A world to gain.

Groping, hoping,
Waiting -- for what?

A world to gain.

Dreams kicked asunder,
Why not go under?

There's a world to gain.

But suppose I don't want it,
Why take it?

To remake it.

Langston Hughes

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FOREWORD

Interest in this particular subject grew out of my own personal background and the professional experiences I accumulated since qualifying in 1970 with a first degree (in Social Work) at the University of the Western Cape.

Poverty and relative deprivation characterized my life as a child and young adult. There is, therefore, an experiential component to my grasp of underdevelopment. Furthermore, my professional career started by working with persons resident in a Cape Town City Council sub-economic township. Later I practised in another urban community where the majority of houses were wood and iron structures, where street lighting and water-borne sewerage existed only in a small section of the community, and where crime was an everyday occurrence -- you were almost inevitably either a victim of it or a perpetrator, sometimes both. Later, I was also to witness the deprivation prevalent in many urban communities of one of the most affluent nations on earth, the United States of America. Once back home, supervision of social work students in the field and contact with many colleagues impressed upon me that the concomitants of underdevelopment in the Republic of South Africa are much more widespread than is publicly acknowledged.

With this personal experience as background, I, as a teacher in the Cape Town University School of Social Work, am impressed

/by the ...

by the need for a theoretical analysis of underdevelopment which can be available to practitioners so as to enable them to render more effective service. While drawing in my study upon universal resources, the South African context has remained in the forefront of my mind.

Once upon a time, there were "poor whites" in South Africa. Planned development strategies have all but overcome their problems. In South Africa today, serious deprivation coincides with being Black. Apartheid exercises tremendous influence on the life chances of Blacks and places barriers on their upward mobility on the "development" ladder.

It was far from easy to sharpen and focus on the subject of this study. I felt strongly about apartheid, and deeply about underdevelopment. Should I concentrate on world issues? On South African issues? Or on issues on the "Cape Flats", where I used to live and work? Should mine be a "secondary study", drawing solely upon published sources, or should I also undertake data collection "in the field"?

Of necessity, I have had to study part-time. My full-time occupation as a teacher in the University of Cape Town School of Social Work enjoyed the first call on my attention. I have many community commitments, especially to people on the Cape

/Flats ...

Flats. I have commitments to an association within the profession of social work. Gradually I found that, while all of these were rivals to my research and study, they also provided sources for it. But it became clear that I would not be able to do field research at present -- that would have to be planned for in future.

The eventual outcome has been an attempt to understand "underdevelopment" as a world phenomenon, but also its manifestations on my own doorstep. I have sought to outline how international thinking has changed about development, and why. It is now common-place to speak of involving "the people" in development strategy. What does this imply? Where does Social Work come in? What, in South Africa, can and should social workers do about development? Can their training enable them to contribute more effectively to it? If so, how should present training be modified?

It is to questions such as these that I have addressed myself in the ensuing pages.

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ABSTRACT

This study portrays a social work approach to the study of development. It surveys some issues in national and international strategies for development since World War II. A few telling social indicators (such as expectation of life at birth, infant mortality, gross national product per capita p.a., and adult literacy) are used to illustrate development comparatively.

After a review of the United Nations "Development Decades" and the shift in development strategies these illustrate, two major development models ("capitalist" and "socialist") are discussed. Development issues and processes in five countries, chosen as case studies, are then presented. Next, the position of South Africa is analysed with particular emphasis on its black populations. Finally, the role of the social worker in development strategies is considered, and the adequacy of present-day social work training in South Africa is assessed in the light of the country's development needs. A plea for indigenisation of social work training is registered.

The sources used in the study are secondary. No field data are presented.

INTRODUCTION

Underdevelopment has, in the past two to three decades, become a subject of widespread interest and concern, among governments and among people. It is covered regularly and frequently in the mass media and captured the writer's imagination because of its relevance to South African communities.

Underdevelopment within a community can seldom be tackled by local effort alone: a village is part of a region and nation; a nation is part of a region of nations; nations are parts of an international community. Causative factors and, therefore, probable solutions, are highly complex and encompass many people, institutions, and countries in an international network of interrelatedness.

Most of the writing on the issues of macro-level development emanates from economists. On the other hand, issues concerning micro-level development in villages and regions are addressed more extensively by other social scientists. Community Development as a concept applies to micro-level development.

The writer does not have expertise in the field of economics, but claims some expertise in the human relations dimension to development. Since even economists now recognise the development of people as the critical element in the development process, social workers might have key roles to fulfil, provided that they are able to identify which of their skills

/and ...

and strategies can best be applied in given situations, and how these may be honed to be most effective. People who judge as to what is effective will not only be the social workers themselves, but will include international policy-makers, governments, other professionals, and last but not least, the people themselves.

The writer will discuss certain major criteria for development as used by international bodies to classify the countries of the world. In attempting to deal with the existential reality of underdevelopment, he has tried to identify and trace major international trends in thinking and action with respect to it. Two main development models, capitalist and socialist, are then examined before presenting selected case studies to illustrate some development issues faced by people in five lesser developed countries. In view of his involvement in the training of social workers in South Africa, he discusses the South African context and questions the appropriateness of existing training models.

CHAPTER I

SOME CRITERIA OF DEVELOPMENT

Countries of the world may, via modern communication media, be in close touch with each other, but this has not brought about closer correspondence to each other in the vital factors that govern quality of life. Indeed, the communication media have served greatly to high-light the enormous differences in "development" between the "haves" and the "have-nots", both between countries and between people within the same country. Such enormous differences are increasingly also being seen as dangerous differences. Most development aid given to lesser-developed countries, and particularly the launching of the "United Nations Development Decade", are attempts at redressing the imbalances in development which exist.

"Development" is a relative concept, and includes subjective elements. "Poverty", it has been said, "consists in feeling poor". To introduce objective comparability, certain social indices, as indicators of development, have gained international currency.

The present chapter introduces such indices which are widely recognized as of special significance in measuring differences in the quality of life of the world's peoples. Gross National Product per capita is one of the most important. The infant mortality rate, life expectancy at birth, and the population per qualified physician are health-related indices. Those pertaining to education include adult literacy, and

proportionate ...

proportionate enrolment at different stages of the educational curriculum. The comparative distribution of national expenditure between defence and social services is also dealt with.

The World Bank regularly publishes data on the countries of the world, and its publications are probably the greatest single source of aid to our understanding of both absolute and comparative states of development.

Every effort has been made to standardize concepts, definitions, coverage, timing, and the evaluation of the basic data to ensure the greatest degree of comparability. Since the publication of the first World Development Indicators in 1978, considerable progress has been made, through the use of more uniform definitions and concepts, toward making the data more internationally comparable. 1

Such indicators reveal more clearly the gross imbalances which exist between levels of development. There are 125 countries in the world with a population in excess of 1 000 000. The data which follow in this Chapter apply to these 125 countries. The exclusion of the 33 countries (of which Lesotho and Swaziland are Southern African examples) with populations less than 1 000 000 has perhaps narrowed the range of world differences, at least in total population, but, as the following Tables indicate, the range nevertheless remains very wide. The 125 countries concerned are grouped by the World Bank, according to their economies, as low-income, lower-middle-income, upper middle-income, high-income oil exporters, industrial market, and East European nonmarket countries.

/TABLE 1 ...

TABLE 1: BASIC INDICATORS

Categories of Economies	Number of Countries	Population (millions) mid-1981	G.N.P. per capita in dollars, 1981	Adult Literacy (percent) 1980
Low-income economies	34	2 210,5	270	52
Lower middle-income economies	39	663,7	850	59
Upper middle-income economies	21	464,7	2 490	76
High income oil exporters	4	15,0	13 460	32
Industrial market economies	19	719,5	11 120	99
East European non-market economies	8	380,8	not known	99
TOTALS	125	4 454,2	N/A	N/A

Source: World Development Report 1983

Table 1 shows that 50% of the world's people who live in countries with populations of more than 1 000 000 fall within the category of low-income economies. The G.N.P. figures per capita per annum for these 125 countries suggest that 64,5% of the people live in circumstances of severe poverty, with an income of less than \$851,00. The adult literacy rate refers

/to ...

to the percentage of the population over the age of 15 that can read and write. At only 52% for the low-income countries and 59% for the lower middle-income economies, it means that the 64,5% poorest people in the world are also greatly restricted in their capacity to extend their world view beyond the familiar and the most rudimentary cycles of life. This restriction also imposes limitations upon the responses of such persons to abstract thinking and innovation, and approaches to them have to be adapted to make the communication effective. The literacy rate itself does not express educational attainment beyond the fundamental capacity to read and write, so that, if Table 1 suggests that three-quarters of the world's people are literate, this does not indicate more than the capacity to read and write. What is read, what is written -- indeed, if these literary skills are used at all -- is neither indicated nor implied. The number of people who reach the upper echelons of the educational ladder, and can hence avail themselves of professional training, is severely limited.

Table 2 compares school and higher education enrolment in countries with populations of over 1 000 000 in the years 1960 and 1980. These statistics are important indicators of the formal development of human potential and of indigenous leaders. Adequately trained people are essential if development is to gain momentum and to be sustained. Limitations in the number of indigenous technocrats results in dependence on exogenous expertise

/for ...

for technocratic leadership. Not only is it very costly, but it detracts from the local initiative which is indispensable for sustained local progress.

TABLE 2: EDUCATION

Categories of Economies	Number enrolled in primary school as percentage of age group 6-11 years		Number enrolled in secondary school as percentage of age group 12-17 years		Number enrolled in higher education as percentage of population aged 20-24 years	
	1960	1980	1960	1980	1960	1980
Low-income economies	80	93	18	29	2	4
Lower middle-income economies	66	98	10	33	3	10
Upper middle-income economies	88	104	20	48	4	13
High-income oil exporters	29	83	5	44	1	7
Industrial market economies	114*	102*	64	89	16	36
East European non-market economies	101*	104*	45	92	11	20

* "For countries with universal primary education, the gross enrolment ratios may exceed 100 percent because some pupils are below or above the official primary-school age".

Source: World Development Report 1983

/The spectacular ...

The spectacular 186,2% increase in the number enrolled in primary school amongst high-income oil exporting countries shows the heavy investment of petro-dollars in education. The increase in secondary school and higher education amongst these countries are also unequalled at 780% and 600% respectively. The low-income countries show their highest increases at secondary school and higher education levels (61,1% and 100% respectively). The corresponding increases for the lower middle-income countries are also very impressive at 230% and 233% respectively. These increases probably mean that earlier rapid increases in primary school enrolments are being carried forward to the higher levels. The low-income countries still need to show a substantial increase at primary school level, which increase to date has amounted to only 16,3%. At 48,5% it is considerably higher for the lower middle-income countries. But, in view of the high illiteracy rate for countries in these two categories, these enrolment figures show that much room for improvement still exists. At the top end of the scale, the industrial market economies showed an impressive 125% increase in higher education enrolment which translates into an ever-increasing number of highly-skilled citizens in these countries. The East-European nonmarket countries are making great strides, as shown by a jump in their secondary school and higher education enrolment by 104,4% and 81,8% respectively.

Investment in education is costly and it is only after many years of consistently high investment that the dividends

/impact ...

impact upon the economy and quality of life in a country. Because of education's crucial role, however, and its influence on many other factors in development, no developing country should seek to economise on educational expenditure.

TABLE 3: HEALTH-RELATED INDICATORS

Categories of Economies	Life Expectancy at birth (years)		Infant Mortality Rate		Population per Physician	
	1960	1981	1960	1981	1960	1980
Low-income economies	41	58	165	99	12 222	5 785
Lower middle income economies	46	57	145	95	27 807	7 751
Upper middle income economies	57	65	103	62	2 606	1 689
High-income oil exporters	44	57	173	96	13 285	1 295
Industrial market economies	70	75	30	11	816	554
East European non-market economies	68	72	38	25	683	356

Source: World Development Report 1983

The indicators cited in Table 3 all reflect the standard of living. In other words, the lower a country finds itself on the income category scale, the lower its readings on life expectancy and the higher its readings according to the other

/two ...

two indices. There has been a considerable improvement in the life expectancy and infant mortality rate over the twenty-year period; improvement in the number of physicians available to the populations has been even greater. The statistics, however, are averages for each country. Like all averages, they may thus mask the great inadequacies that remain because of a wide range between upper and lower readings. It may thus well be that improvements are heavily concentrated in the urban areas, and that residents in rural and more remote areas do not have the improved access to the health care services which the statistics in Table 3 imply.

The low-income countries have shown a steady improvement in these health-related indicators. Life expectancy increased by 41,5% while the infant mortality rate and the population per physician dropped by 40% and 52,7% respectively. The lower middle-income, high-income oil exporters, and the East European nonmarket countries showed dramatic drops in the population per physician amounting to 72,1%, 90,3% and 47,9% respectively. The infant mortality rate has shown a steady decline in all the categories of countries which, if coupled with a consistent increase in life expectancy and improving health care services, gives rise to larger populations and higher demand for food.

Other important comparisons to make are between government expenditures on Defence, Education, and Health. The significance of these comparisons lies in the potential for human

/development ...

development which is implicit in the expenditure on Education and Health. When viewed against the background of the already-cited indicators, it is evident that much greater investment is needed in the education and health care of people in the lesser-developed countries if development is to be accelerated.

In many respects, the expenditure on Defence achieves the opposite of expenditure on the other two: human life can be destroyed and the human potential for development thus reduced. Financial resources are limited, particularly in the lesser developed countries. If a government spends a disproportionately large amount on Defence it is almost certain that it then is relatively neglecting other needs such as health, education, agriculture and housing, i.e. what may broadly be called social expenditure. Defence spending of itself does not generate wealth; human development on the other hand has almost unlimited potential for generating prosperity. (It should not be forgotten, however, that defence expenditure may generate employment, as it did in Germany with the advent of Hitler. A measure of industrialization in the country concerned would then however be implied, as is the case in South Africa.) Table 4 compares defence expenditure in the same groups of countries referred to above.

/TABLE 4: ...

TABLE 4: DEFENCE AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURE

Categories of Economies	Government expenditure per capita (1975 dollars), 1980		
	Defence	Education	Health
Low-income economies	7	6	1
Lower middle-income economies	18	16	5
Upper middle-income economies	42	42	17
High-income oil exporters	n o t	a v a i l a b l e	
Industrial market economies	254	111	240
East European nonmarket economies	n o t	a v a i l a b l e	

Source: World Development Report 1983

In World Bank literature, the Republic of South Africa appears as an upper middle-income country. In average terms this cannot be disputed. An examination of the detailed information about the citizens in the country, however, reveals that the majority of people live under circumstances characteristic of those in the low-income economies. The position of South Africa will be examined in detail in Chapter VI. In Chapter II which now follows, international trends since World War II will be discussed to give the context which shaped thinking about development.

TABLE 4: DEFENCE AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURE

Categories of Economies	Government expenditure per capita (1975 dollars), 1980		
	Defence	Education	Health
Low-income economies	7	6	1
Lower middle-income economies	18	16	5
Upper middle-income economies	42	42	17
High-income oil exporters	not available		
Industrial market economies	254	111	240
East European nonmarket economies	not available		

Source: World Development Report 1983

In World Bank literature, the Republic of South Africa appears as an upper middle-income country. In average terms this cannot be disputed. An examination of the detailed information about the citizens in the country, however, reveals that the majority of people live under circumstances characteristic of those in the low-income economies. The position of South Africa will be examined in detail in Chapter VI. In Chapter II which now follows, international trends since World War II will be discussed to give the context which shaped thinking about development.

NOTES

¹World Development Report 1983 (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1983), p. 141.

CHAPTER IIINTERNATIONAL TRENDS SINCE WORLD WAR IIThe United Nations

One of the most significant developments which occurred in the wake of World War II was the establishment of a new international body, the United Nations Organization. It took the place of the previous League of Nations, which had in turn been founded after World War I. The United Nations Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco, U.S.A. and the United Nations Organization (UNO) "officially came into existence on 24 October 1945" ¹ with a membership of 51 states. Today 158 states are members of this international forum where opinions from national states across the world can be offered and where nations can be engaged in debate with one another.

The establishment, subsequent increase in its number of members, and the survival of the United Nations have made it the foremost body in promoting internationalism. Besides considering problems and their probable solutions within a national or regional context, the international perspective has now become indispensable.

One purpose for which the United Nations Organization exists is "to co-operate internationally in solving international

/economic ...

economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms".² The primary vehicle through which these lofty ideals are pursued in practice is the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Its functions includes:³

To make or initiate studies, reports and recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters;

To co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies by means of consultation with them and recommendations to them, and by means of recommendations to the General Assembly and the Members of the United Nations.

Concerns which fall into the parameters of responsibility of ECOSOC are "housing, building and planning; science and technology; development planning; natural resources; crime prevention; and co-ordination of United Nations activities in the economic and social fields".⁴ The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) are, for example, important subsidiary agencies of ECOSOC that facilitate social and economic development both in and among countries.

Also linked to the United Nations Organization are several "specialized agencies" (as they are called) which are autonomous bodies linked to their parent body by special conventions. They were founded at different times and pursue objectives which complement the work undertaken by the United Nations through the Economic and Social Council. The specialized agencies include the International Labour Organization (ILO),

the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).⁶ ECOSOC, and its subsidiary and specialized agencies are, therefore, of critical importance in conducting research, disseminating information, exchanging ideas and undertaking projects within the scope of their respective mandates.⁷ The Brandt Commission which studied international development issues reported: "We have been impressed as a Commission by the extent to which the various parts of the United Nations system and its affiliated organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have become central to the task of world development ... they are increasingly the channels by which, with greater or less effectiveness, the development process is assisted and monitored."⁸

Beyond the popularly-publicised political rhetoric at the United Nations, there are other functions that it serves which have effects of varying degree upon the quality of life of all inhabitants of the earth.

The Retreat from Colonialism

Another dimension in the changing international relations after World War II stems from the process of decolonization. A substantial number of nations gained their political

/independence ...

independence from colonizing countries such as Great Britain, Holland, Portugal and France. Some nations such as Kenya took up arms in the struggle for independence while others such as Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) found this unnecessary. In sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana was the first country to gain independence (from Britain) in March 1957. The most recent was Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) in April 1980.

The Brandt Commission's Report⁹ referred to above, describes the effects of de-colonization in these terms:

Indeed, a new epoch in man's history began when the majority of nations now in existence achieved their political independence in the period following the Second World War. As a result of decolonization in most parts of what came to be called the Third World, long-established power structures crumbled or collapsed, leaving vacuums and giving birth to new political and economic groupings. At the same time we witness the revitalization of old cultures. And the end of false superiority-complexes.

One of the immediate and inescapable consequences of political independence was the full responsibility which indigenous leaders were now in a position to assume for the quality of life of their citizens. These leaders and the international community were obliged to recognize the circumstances which prevailed in most "decolonized" states, and hence, also in other states in similar plight. While the colonizers governed, the well-being of the citizens in the colonies was of concern only in so far as the interests of the colonizing minority were affected:¹⁰

/From ...

From one point of view, the most important effect of colonialism was related to the negative fact that the dependent nation was deprived of effective nationhood and had no government of its own which could feel the urge to take protective and fomenting measures in order to promote the balanced growth of the national economy. Lack of political independence meant the absence of a unifying and integrating purpose for the collectivity -- except, at a later stage, the negative purpose to expel the foreign rulers. The country and the people were laid bare and defenceless to the play of the market forces as redirected only by the interests of the foreign metropolitan power. This by itself thwarted individual initiatives, at the same time as it prevented the formation of a public policy motivated by the common interests of the people.

At independence the concern shifted from the minority to the majority. The circumstances of the majority were characterized, inter alia, by material poverty, low levels of educational attainment, rife preventable diseases, and extremely limited financial, human and physical resources to cope with the nation's problems:¹¹

[Gaining political independence] may be only the first and possibly easiest step forward. Far more important is the wiping out of the conditions which political dependence created or prolonged, such as illiteracy and the short and brutish quality of life for the majority.

Through the gaining of independence, each nation was given an opportunity to rediscover its own values and traditions -- its own "soul" as it is sometimes put. The inherent national worth and well-being of each nation could be asserted, once the dominance of a colonizing government had been removed. One of the observations the author made during a visit to development projects in poverty-stricken Lesotho in 1977, was a spirit of national pride and the symbolic presence of the national flag in some of the remotest parts of the country. A similar

/exhilaration ...

exhilaration was experienced by the author when contributing to the training of graduate Social Work students at the University of Bophuthatswana at Mmabatho in 1981. The students, almost all of whom were employed by the government of Bophuthatswana, had an inspiring belief in the development tasks they were undertaking and showed drive and zeal in their task, plus an almost exaggerated faith in further education as enabling themselves to be more effective "developers".

As former colonies gained their political independence they joined the United Nations. Since each member state is entitled to full participation in the deliberations and activities of that body, and each state is restricted to only one vote, the attainment of full nationhood is further enhanced in the international community, no matter how small or poor a state may be. The international forums, but particularly the United Nations, were used to bring the desperate plight of the majority of the world population to the attention of the world community. The world came to recognize that "if (sic) lasting peace is to be won, the political emancipation of the underdeveloped world must be followed by its social and economic emancipation from bondage to poverty, ignorance, and disease".¹²

The Emergence of Three Worlds

Another very significant feature of the post-World II era is the conceptualization of nations as divided into three "Worlds", the First, Second and Third World. These terms, particularly

/the ...

the last-named, are widely used, not however always with accuracy or full comprehension.

The First World is dominated by the capitalist economic system and its most prominent geographic terrain is North America and Western Europe. Politically and militarily, the countries in this bloc are allied and through regular multi-party elections their citizens participate in democratic procedures for electing their respective governments. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Economic Community are formal expressions of the linkages between countries in this bloc.

The Second World constitutes an economically competing and ideologically opposing bloc of countries embracing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and most other countries in Eastern Europe. The dominant economic system is socialist and the Communist Party is the only political party which is recognized. The control of all aspects of life in these countries is highly centralized and severely censored by the ruling hierarchy. The countries in this bloc are comparably allied and linked by treaty.

In an attempt to be politically independent of both the First and Second Worlds, Yugoslavia took the lead in constituting the newly independent ones into the Non-Aligned Movement or the Third World. "The Third World is characterized by the following set of conditions: First, it tends to be politically

/independent ...

independent of both power centres, the United States-NATO complex and the Soviet Warsaw-Pact group. Second, the bulk of the Third World was in a colonial condition until World War II. Third, it draws its technology from the First World while drawing its ideology from the Second World".¹³ The trend in practice is for the First and Second Worlds to compete in extending their sphere of influence amongst the countries of the Third World. These Third World countries are the ones which are also the lesser developed countries with all the problems attendant upon such state.

It might be said, in parenthesis, that the origin of the term "Third World" country is largely forgotten in the term's current popular use, which is nowadays virtually synonymous with "poor" or "underdeveloped". It is no longer true, if it ever was, that Third-World countries can truly be said to be non-aligned between the other two worlds. Kenya is regarded as a Third World country, but its alignment is to the First World. Angola is, socio-economically Third World, but hardly politically.

In recent years the People's Republic of China has become prominent in the international community.¹⁴ Since China is the most populous country in the world, carrying 22% of the world's population, it is seen as very important in the hierarchy of nations. There is continuous border tension

/between ...

between China and the U.S.S.R. which has put China outside the Second World sphere of influence, in spite of its economy being a socialist one. Through its post-1949 development programmes, China has succeeded in meeting the basic needs of its citizens. This accomplishment is naturally of great interest to Third World countries. China, in modernizing its economy, invited First World countries to make investments. Its position in the world community is one of curious interest to all the three other Worlds.

Most oil producing countries have constituted themselves into a cartel which determines the price of petroleum on world markets. The price of petroleum sky-rocketed in the early 1970's and the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) emerged as yet another powerful but largely independent bloc of countries in the international community. This cartel had a dramatic impact on the international community and its achievements are important to commodity producers in the Third World who are dependent on the First World-dominated market mechanism in determining commodity prices.

Despite the contradictions and exceptions mentioned above, the Third World is a politically-identifiable entity which can muster a majority vote in an international forum like the United Nations. Economically, educationally, and in many other respects it lags far behind the achievements of the other Worlds. It is also in a position where the experiences of the First and Second Worlds can be explored with a view to making innovative applications from either.

NOTES

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⁵Ibid., pp. 36-47.

⁶Ibid., pp. 73-89.

⁷cf. M.A.G. van Meerhaeghe, International Economic Institutions (London: Longmans, 1966), pp. 94-223, where he discusses the functions of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and The Commodity Agreements in detail.

⁸The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues entitled North-South: A Program for Survival, Willy Brandt, chairman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1980), p. 257.

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¹⁰Gunnar Myrdal, "The Economic Impact of Colonialism", in Developing the Underdeveloped Countries, ed. by Alan B. Mountjoy (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 55.

¹¹Keith Buchanan, "Profiles of the Third World", in Developing the Underdeveloped Countries, ed. by Alan B. Mountjoy (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 31. cf. Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979).

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CHAPTER IIICHANGING STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPMENT:
THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT DECADES1945-1969 and the First Development Decade

Despite important war activities in Africa, the Middle East, Burma and the Far East, the major battleground during World War II was undoubtedly Europe, both East and West. The destruction of physical structures and productive capacity was extensive, and there was large-scale social dislocation. Consequently, after the war there was an urgent and desperate need for reconstruction.

The United States of America emerged from the war as the largest industrial country and as one where the physical ravages of war were insignificant. It had the capacity and wealth to aid the reconstruction of Europe and it developed the commitment to this task. "In 1947 the United States initiated the Marshall Plan for the economic recovery of Europe".¹ The emphasis of the plan was on rebuilding the industrial and other sectors of the West-European economy destroyed by the war, regenerating the productive capacity of the countries concerned. Since the Marshall Plan was initiated by the largest capitalist economy, it functioned within that framework.

"In 1949 a conference in Moscow led to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, or CMEA -- also known as Comecon -- comprising Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the

/USSR ...

USSR, with the German Democratic Republic joining in the following year".² The centrally-managed economies, therefore, took steps to become independently engaged in the process of reconstruction in Eastern Europe. Capitalist and socialist economies, it is thus seen, founded institutions to facilitate socio-economic development independently of each other. The dominant country in facilitating development, however, remained the United States of America.

The immediate post-war period and the 1950's witnessed the revitalization of the Western European economy under the direct impact of American assistance. Consequently, the capitalist premise that economic growth was to be measured by expansion in the Gross National Product, underlay international development strategies. This pertained not only to Western Europe but also to the developing countries, particularly as decolonization gathered momentum in the late 1950's and 1960's. Islam and Henault expressed it as follows:

Development seen as economic growth, measured by aggregative instruments such as product or income per capita became the gospel of planners and policymakers in the poor countries during the fifties and early sixties.

Rostow's exposition of the five stages in the process of implementing a growth-oriented approach to development, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1960, is a product of this era. It is not inappropriately sub-titled "A Non-Communist Manifesto"⁴ when the almost paranoid attitude of the internationally-dominant

/Americans ...

Americans towards Communism and Russia at this time is borne in mind. Rostow's five stages are summarized below.

1. **The Traditional Society:** It is characterized by the dominance of subsistence agricultural production and the absence of technological innovation that might increase production.
2. **Preconditions for Take-off:** During this stage scientific and technological innovations are introduced to increase production. The market economy is expanded and commerce begins to widen. It is a transitional stage.
3. **The Take-off:** During this stage the innovations are usually more widely accepted and they are institutionalized. The socio-political structure is also organized to sustain the growth. Investment in heavy industry and infra-structure enjoy priority.
4. **The Drive to Maturity:** During this stage there is further consolidation of the progress achieved and a deliberate diversification of economic activity according to the needs of the particular society.
5. **The Age of High Mass-Consumption:** During this stage the society produces such a surplus of income after the basic needs of people have been met that they can now afford to purchase many durable consumer goods.

The First Development Decade proclaimed by the United Nations in 1960 codified this approach to development. The achievement of a 5 per cent minimum annual growth rate in the Gross National Product of developing countries became the ideal which was pursued relentlessly and with enthusiasm. The underlying hypothesis was that the developing world could and would repeat the patterns of development experienced by the capitalist states, only at a greatly accelerated rate. A central feature of such patterns of development is industrialization, for it was the Industrial Revolution which transformed the productive capacity and the

/structure ...

structure and functioning of society in England during the eighteenth century and subsequently in other industrializing countries. Thus when the conditions in the lesser developed countries become a matter for international strategic concern, the obvious response of the international community was to impose the known strategy for development onto these countries. Economic growth was to be pursued and this implied industrialization.

It was also relatively new for countries in the world to be challenged to act upon the needs of the people in the lesser developed countries. But experience soon began to show that economic growth was not having the desired "trickle-down" or "spread" effects. Paul Streeten⁵, looking back in 1979 on the results of international aid to development, summarized its ineffectiveness in these words:

Judging by economic growth, the development process of the last 25 years was a spectacular, unprecedented, and unexpected success. But judged by poverty reduction, it was much less successful.

The strategists also recognized that manufacturing industry and allied economic activities are dependent on the provision of raw materials, a substantial amount being provided by the lesser developed countries under conditions in which the manufacturers determined the prices. It was also dependent upon the continuous expansion of markets for its manufactured goods. A vast, largely untapped potential market was to be found in the

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lesser developed countries.

The First Development Decade failed to reach its economic growth target of 5% in the aggregate national income of the developing countries. Lisk⁶, writing in 1977, concluded:

It has become increasingly clear that the development strategies of the 1950s and 1960s have not led to significant improvements in the welfare of the masses in the majority of developing countries. In some cases relatively impressive growth performances have been accompanied by increased unemployment and poverty.

Islam and Henault⁷, whose verdict, like Streeten's, came in 1979, concluded:

The capital intensive growth strategy is being rejected as it is considered the product of labour-scarce and resource-abundant growth models of Europe, the United States and Japan. Western experience is being rejected because neither does it offer a labour-rich, resource-poor strategy, nor does it provide an ethical, social or political basis for nation-building.

Schumacher⁸ reacted to the failure of large-scale industrialization in a work that has become very widely known, bearing the provocative title: Small is Beautiful. His emphasis on economic growth caused him to sub-title this contribution to the debate: Economics as if people mattered.

The 1970s and the Second Development Decade:

In the light of the knowledge and experience⁹ gained during its First Development Decade, the United Nations formulated

/proposals ...

proposals for a Second Development Decade. It was approved by a special session of the General Assembly on 24th October 1970.

In adopting the strategy for the Second Development Decade, member states noted that "the level of living of countless millions of people in the developing part of the world is still pitifully low. These people are often still undernourished, uneducated, unemployed and wanting in many other basic amenities of life. While a part of the world lives in great comfort and even affluence, much of the larger part suffers from abject poverty, and ... the disparity is continuing to widen".¹⁰

The ultimate objective of development ... must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits on all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth, and social injustices persist, then development fails in its essential purpose. This calls for a global development strategy based on joint and concentrated action by developing and developed countries in all spheres of economic and social life: in industry and agriculture, in trade and finance, in employment and education, in health and housing, in science and technology. 11

The emphasis was broadened beyond economic growth (as reflected in the Gross National Product) to include such sectors as agriculture, education, employment-creation, and large-scale citizen participation (in both developed and developing worlds). It was recognized that more concerted efforts should be made to improve the conditions of the majority of the population which, it has been shown, could remain relatively unchanged in spite of the

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achievement of economic growth.

The development of the human potential in developing countries has come to the fore in the Second Development Decade as an essential requirement. After reviewing all the economic issues Meier¹² states:

Finally, another major constraint is connected with the need for human resource development. The policy problems relating to the need for social development are now among the most critical of all development problems. It has become increasingly apparent that an improvement in the quality of human life cannot be simply awaited as an ultimate objective of development but must instead be viewed as a necessary instrument of development. There is a need not only to increase the quantity of productive factors, but even more so to improve the quality of human beings as economic agents. If development is growth plus change, and change is social and cultural as well as economic, then the qualitative dimensions of development become extremely significant in terms of human resource development. Without such change, the process of development will not become self-sustaining.

Adelman and Morris¹⁶ as early as the mid-sixties, had, in an article in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, extended their analysis of the development process, to include the inter-relationship between social and political factors and economic growth. Urquidí, writing in 1971, expressed¹⁷ the shift in emphasis in this way:

Although social progress may appear to be an objective or end result of development, it has recently been viewed as an indispensable part of the process of economic growth by which living conditions will be improved. It is increasingly evident that the allocation of resources to welfare -- education, housing, changes in the system of land tenure, health, social security, better social relations -- must be considered an economic investment that raises a

/country's ...

country's capacity to develop and accelerate its achievement of social goals. Social and economic investment are today theoretically and materially inseparable.

Traoré, describing in 1975 "An African Experiment in Grass Roots Development", concluded that the human factor was "the backbone of any social development program".

Paul Harrison¹⁹, predicting the future of the Third World after 1980, makes the essentially similar point in these words:

The new development strategy holds that the reduction of relative poverty and of inequality is essential if absolute poverty is to be quickly eliminated. Social justice does not have to be adjourned to a distant future. Growth and justice are both necessary if sub-human conditions are to be eliminated within any foreseeable timespan.

Sayigh examined the determinants of development in 12 Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa.²⁰ Writing in 1978, he classified the determinants into three categories:²¹

- a. Economic determinants
- b. Political and administrative determinants; and
- c. Socio-cultural determinants.

The inclusion of the last two categories gives recognition to the interrelatedness of a host of factors in determining the level and quality of development of the citizens in the 12 countries. The effects of development strategies on the people and their participation in shaping those strategies feature prominently in his assessment of future prospects. These

/prospects ...

prospects he sees as very promising, provided that due attention is given to the social aspects of the development process.

Another reaction comes in the emergence of the 'social indicators movement' during the last two decades.²² It is a reaction to the sole use of economic indicators for a considerable period of time when reporting on the state of the economy and making forecasts for the future.

Seers²³, after presenting a critique on the meaning of indicators, and referring to the position at the end of the 1960's, makes this observation about the relative position of poor countries:

Still, we must not fall into the familiar trap of criticizing statistics to the point where we deny them any meaning. Despite all its limitations (including the additional one of defining a 'rich' country) the statement that during the first 'development decade' the ratio between the average income of rich countries and poor has increased from about 12:1 to about 15:1 is not entirely lacking in content, either morally or analytically.

The Overseas Development Council's development of the Physical Quality of Life Index is another attempt to transcend purely economic concerns in not only measuring underdevelopment, but in determining priorities in development:²⁴

The index by which nations are scored from zero to 100 is calculated by averaging their scores in three important fields of welfare -- adult-literacy, infant mortality, and life expectancy at age one. The literacy score is simply the percentage of adults who can read and write. The other two items are converted into a 0-100 scale by giving a score of zero to the worst performance found anywhere in 1950 (these were life expectancy of 38 years and infant

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mortality of 229 per 1,000) and a score of 100 to the best expected anywhere in the year 2000 (life expectancy of 77 years, infant mortality of seven per 1,000).

The Disparity Reduction Ratio²⁵ is a more recent index, and a useful accompaniment to the Physical Quality of Life Index.

This is the annual rate at which each country is closing the gap between its current score and the best expected anywhere for the year 2000. For example, between 1960 and 1970 Sri Lanka's PQLI rose from 75 to 80 -- that is, her gap from the top score of 100 dropped from 25 to 20. The fall each year is her disparity reduction ratio (DRR). So Sri Lanka's DRR of 3.5 per cent for the 1960s far out-stripped the growth of her GNP, at 1.5 per cent a year.

John Friedman²⁶ examined the capitalist and bureaucratic socialist models of development and admits that there are limits to which they can pursue economic growth. The reaction to them is a quest for an alternate model which he calls communalist because of its need to rediscover the significance of human relationships. He explores the functioning of a communalist society in greater detail to demonstrate a movement to greater equity and the involvement of people in shaping their own destiny. Even from within a First World context there is the recognition that there needs to be greater involvement by the people themselves in shaping their own destinies.

Paul Harrison²⁷, in his above-mentioned prediction of the future of the Third World, describes the growing emphasis on humanistic values as follows:

The new development strategies were developed primarily as means of eradicating absolute poverty more rapidly,

so that men and women could look forward to a life free from poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance, if not for themselves, then at least for their children or grandchildren. But the new strategies also contain implicit values and goals, which are in keeping with the idea of development not only or primarily of things but the development of humanity and all men and women to their full social, aesthetic and intellectual potential.

The central value implicit in the new strategies is equality, of wealth and of power.

He considers development strategies which focus on people equally essential in the developed countries where unemployment is reaching Depression proportions, and where there is also maldistribution of wealth.

This new thrust in development strategy has become known as Basic Human Needs Approach. According to Streeten²⁸:

Basic needs is concerned with removing mass deprivation. The approach can be defined briefly as one which is designed to improve, first, the income earning opportunities for the poor; second, the public services that reach the poor; third, the flow of goods and services to meet the needs of all members of the household; and fourth, participation of the poor in the ways in which their needs are met.

The basic needs approach spells out in considerable detail human needs in terms of health, food, education, water; transport, simple household goods, as well as non-material needs like participation, cultural identity, and a sense of purpose in life and work, which interact with the material needs.

Green²⁹ outlines in summary form what is envisaged by the Basic Human Needs strategy. It encompasses:

1. Universal effective access to basic personal consumer goods -- food, clothing, housing, household furnishings
2. Universal effective access to basic public (communal)

/services ...

services -- primary and adult education, preventative and simple curative health services, pure water, communications, habitat (environmental sanitation, urban and rural community infra-structure)

3. The physical, human and technological infrastructure and the level and growth of productive forces necessary to secure (directly and indirectly through external trade) the capital and intermediate goods and the surplus necessary to provide the personal and communal basic goods and services
4. Productive employment (including self-employment) yielding enough output and with equitable enough remuneration so that individuals, families and communal units earn (including production for their own use) enough to ensure them adequate access to basic consumption goods and to have a power base from which to insist on participation
5. Mass participation in decision-taking and review and in the strategy formulation and control of leaders as well as in implementation of projects and carrying out of decisions.

Lisk³⁰ summarizes the Basic Human Needs strategy as follows:

The main objective of the basic-needs approach is to satisfy the essential requirements of each country's population within the time horizon of one generation, or by the year 2000. For this purpose two separate but complementary sets of targets are laid down. The first set mainly concerns personal consumption needs such as food, shelter and clothing, while the second relates to basic public services such as health, sanitation, the provision of safe drinking water, education, transport and cultural facilities.

In fact, basic-needs targets are not restricted to the eradication of absolute poverty but extend to the satisfaction of needs over and above the subsistence level as a means of eliminating relative poverty through a continuous process of economic development and social progress. A further [fact] is that the basic-needs approach strongly emphasises effective mass participation in both the formulation and implementation of policy measures as a way of ensuring that its main objective is not lost sight of.

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MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

Main objectives	Target	Dominant lines of policy	Sectoral emphasis
<p>1. Significant improvements in the living conditions of a country's population within one generation.</p> <p>2. Increased output of basic-needs goods and services in the context of accelerated economic growth.</p> <p>3. Promotion of adequately remunerative and socially satisfying employment in support of more equal income distribution.</p>	<p>Initially, the satisfaction of an absolute level of basic needs (i.e. minimum requirements of private and public consumption in the form of specific targets) or a minimum standard of living for all households, and later, in a continuing process, the satisfaction of basic-needs targets above the subsistence level.</p>	<p>Action on all fronts, simultaneously in support of redistribution and growth:</p> <p>1. Changes in the pattern of growth and the use of productive resources: (a) high levels of investment in the production of more labour-intensive basic goods and services; (b) introduction of appropriate technology to bring about increased productivity by the working poor; (c) greater utilisation of local natural resources in production</p> <p>2. Changes in the pattern of redistribution: (a) mobilisation of the unemployed and under-employed through the provision of sufficient employment opportunities; (b) re-orientation of public services in favour of the masses; (c) more equal distribution of ownership of or access to land, capital and education</p> <p>3. Institutional reform: (a) effective mass participation in the decision-making process; (b) increased government support for structural reforms</p> <p>4. Changes in various elements and the pattern of international economic relations in order to facilitate the task of fulfilling national sets of basic needs: (a) structural reform in world trade; (b) reform of world monetary system; (c) increased resource flows in favour of LDCs; (d) relief of debt burden; (e) increased economic co-operation between LDCs.</p>	<p>Country-wide emphasis but focusing mainly on all households below minimum standard of living, irrespective of sector</p>

The World Bank has become increasingly involved in planned international action to meet the basic needs of the citizens of developing countries, as has been documented by Burki³¹. Islam and Henault³², in their 1979 review of the shift in emphasis from "GNP to Basic Needs" already referred to above, conclude by summarizing this shift as follows:

Development has thus shifted from:

Industrialization	--> Agriculture
Urbanization	--> Rural Development
Market determined priorities	--> Politically determined Basic Needs
GNP per capita	--> Welfare of Individual
Capital Intensive	--> Labour Intensive
Topdown Planning	--> Participative-Interactive Planning
Foreign Dependence	--> Self-Reliance
Advanced Technology	--> Appropriate or Intermediate Technology or Inherent Technology
Parallel Development of Sectors	--> Integrated Development of Sectors
Economic Orientation	--> Socio-economic, Political Orientation
Service Oriented Rural Development	--> Production-Welfare Oriented Rural Development

There has been growing realization that developing countries should become more active participants in determining development strategies and policies. Singer³³ expressed it as follows:

True progress, based as it is on human investment, must always be a domestic product, even though it can be nursed, assisted and stimulated from abroad.

/Bondavid ...

Bendavid³⁴, writing from the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, argues strongly in favour of the initiative being taken by developing countries in determining how external assistance should be applied to the development of their people. The Brandt Commission³⁵ expressed a similar view:

Ways in which the poor can be helped to participate in the development effort must be determined by each country in the light of its problems and possibilities.

Farmar³⁶ shows awareness of international interrelatedness but argues that developing countries should take charge of determining development strategy suitable for their circumstances. He says:

For developing countries to allow the economic conditions of the industrial nations to determine and measure their performance is a kind of self-imposed neo-colonialism.

In advancing self-reliance, mass mobilization is essential.

The Brandt Commission's³⁷ view is:

In achieving the main objectives of development, no system lacking in genuine and full participation of the people will be fully satisfactory or truly effective.

Mabogunje³⁸, in a 1980 publication on what he has called the "spatial perspective" on development, examines the role of land use and ownership in the development process. The special interrelatedness between people and resources is his focus. He considers the mobilization of people into a movement for development as

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an indispensable and central element in any strategy or model. Such mobilization is also required to be relevant to the context in which it occurs, i.e. the strategies must be appropriate to the situation in the Third World.

Dasgupta³⁹, in a keynote paper delivered to the XVIIth Congress of the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) held in Nairobi in 1974, identified four principles which are fundamental to the concept of participation in development.

1. Planning should reflect the need of the people in general and of those in the backwaters in particular; the designs of development should accordingly be prepared not by a small coterie of élite but by all.
2. Participation should mean control of the decision-making process and the interchangeability of roles from the top group to the rock-bottom group and vice versa.
3. Participation should not mean horizontal participation by members of the same class or strata but by all people, and especially by those who belong to the class, ethnic group, color, or race which remains submerged in poverty.
4. Decision-making for planning and its priorities is to be determined not by a political vanguard or élite sitting in a far-away place but by the local people everywhere.

Ponsioen⁴⁰, for many years a teacher at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, which focuses on development studies, points to the need for structural change in society if domination by the rich minority is to be ended and the basic needs of the poverty-stricken majority are to be met.

The ...

The Third Development Decade

Despite the achievements of two previous development decades, concern remains about the picture that emerges via the regular publication of indicators of development. The developed world is largely dependent on the raw materials provided by the lesser developed countries and the lesser developed countries also constitute a market for manufactured goods from the developed world. The interdependence of the countries of the world is thus beyond dispute.⁴¹ The nature and content of this interdependent relationship is now at stake. A consistent argument in the Brandt Commission's Report is the moral obligation which should be felt by all nations to redress the gross imbalance in the life circumstances of people in the rich countries as contrasted with the poor countries. The lesser developed countries are now pursuing this matter to effect structural change in the nature of international relations so that greater positive results may be achieved for them.

In a special session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, the call for a New International Economic Order was adopted.⁴² This New Economic Order was to provide for the lesser developed countries a greater share in the wealth of the world through the guaranteed stability of commodity prices and terms of trade less biased in favour of the developed countries. The words of the Brand Commission⁴³, although coming later than UNO's General Assembly call, expressed its gist:

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The commodity sector of developing countries should contribute more to economic development through the greater participation of these countries in the processing, marketing and distribution of their commodities. Action for the stabilization of commodity prices at remunerative levels should be undertaken as a matter of urgency.

Measures to facilitate the participation of developing countries in processing and marketing should include the removal of tariff and other trade barriers against developing countries' processed products, the establishment of fair and equitable international transport rates, the abolition of restrictive business practices, and improved financial arrangements for facilitating processing and marketing.

In recommendations such as these, the need for societal structural change is implicit. Friedman's analysis⁴⁴ illustrated graphically how primary commodities dominated exports from lesser developed countries in 1950 and 1965, constituting 88,2% and 81,3% respectively of the total exports. In developed countries manufactured goods dominated by constituting 58,3% and 70,4% of total exports in 1950 and 1965 respectively. Other graphs he produced illustrate widely fluctuating commodity prices during this period. Stated in simple terms, Friedman's findings depict the lesser developed countries as trading partners that were vulnerable to international trends over which the developed countries held sway. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is one forum where there is dialogue between the suppliers and consumers in the commodities market with the objective of obtaining a fair and stable price for commodities.

The World Employment Conference in 1976⁴⁵ took full cognisance

/of ...

of the fact that a review of development strategy is essential to deal with the life circumstances of the poor.

Parmar⁴⁶ argues that the developing countries, in adopting the strategy of self-reliant development, must essentially also include structural change nationally and internationally to accommodate the aspirations of their people. He states that

... where growth fails to promote social justice, to utilize the economy's most abundant resources, to engender public participation in the development process, to reduce the concentration of economic power, or to assist in the establishment of more egalitarian patterns of international economic relationships, there may be self-reliance in the narrow sense [balancing the budget] but not in the deeper, structural sense.

Lisk⁴⁷ also cautioned that without international structural change the progress in development will be hampered.

The importance of policy at the international level can hardly be overrated. Proponents of the basic-needs approach will therefore support certain changes in international economic relations to help the developing countries meet their national targets. In general, the aim of international reforms should be to achieve a more equitable distribution of the benefits of growth in the world economy. It will be necessary for international agencies and national authorities to co-operate in implementing reforms in international trade and world monetary arrangements and to increase net resource flows to developing countries which are experiencing severe balance of payment difficulties, including some relief of their debt burden.

The mid-1970s, therefore, ushered in an era characterized by (a) much greater participation of developing countries in shaping international development strategy; (b) stronger emphasis on the development of people; (c) concerted efforts to

/introduce ...

introduce structural change into the relationship between the developed and developed and developing countries.⁴⁸ This quest to bring into being a New International Economic Order is the crux of the Third U.N. Development Decade.

The two main development models, capitalism and socialism, will be discussed in Chapter IV.

NOTES

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- ⁴¹Lester R. Brown, World Without Borders (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).
- ⁴²"Official Declarations" in Erb and Kallab, op. cit., pp. 185-202.
- ⁴³Brandt Commission, op. cit., p. 158.
- ⁴⁴Irving S. Friedman, The Developing Countries in the Past Twenty Years, n.p., 1968, Charts 13 to 23.
- ⁴⁵World Employment Conference, "Declaration of Principles", Service for Development, 1 (1978), 599-601.

⁴⁶Farmer, op. cit., p. 6.

⁴⁷Lisk, op. cit., p. 189.

⁴⁸cf. Guy F. Erb, "The Developing World's 'Challenge' in Perspective," in Beyond Dependency, ed. Guy F. Erb and Valeriana Kallab (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 135-156; Mahbub ul Haq, "Negotiating a New Bargain with the Rich Countries," in Ibid., pp. 157-162; and the "Nongovernmental Statements" in Ibid., pp. 203-250.

CHAPTER IVTHE TWO MAIN DEVELOPMENT MODELS:
CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISMCapitalism:

In view of the three separate Worlds which emerged at the end of World War II, it was inevitable that debate would ensue as to whether the lesser developed countries, most of which lay within the "non-aligned" Third World, would adopt predominantly capitalist or predominantly socialist economic systems.

One reaction by an ex-colonial country to its newly-won independence could well have been to adopt an economic system which was the antithesis of that which obtained under colonial rule, particularly if there had been an armed conflict before independence was gained. Examples of this are the two former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola. Both shifted into the Russian sphere of influence and adopted predominantly socialist economic systems. There is an element of promised redemption which makes a different and unknown system attractive.

What are the salient features of each of these systems and what advantages for development does each hold out?

Delan¹ defines capitalism as follows:

Capitalism is any economic system based on private ownership of all factors of production in which owners of capital act as entrepreneurs and coordinate their activity through use of the market.

/He goes ...

He goes on to distinguish between three types of capitalism, according to the role of the government in the economic system.

They are:-

- (a) Classical liberal capitalism² "in which government performs only the limited role of protecting property rights and settling private disputes".
- (b) Anarcho-capitalism³ "under which no state exists and all goods and services -- including defense, police, and court services -- are supplied by private firms"
- (c) State capitalism⁴ "under which government intervenes widely in the market and provides an alternative to the market as a means by which individuals and firms can win control over resources".

Admittedly, there are various forms capitalism can take, but the primary concern in this study is with the private ownership of the factors of production and the consequent accrual of profits to those who are the owners, and hence the general use of the term capitalism may be justified.

Three concepts are considered to be central to a capitalist approach to development. "They are development, modernization, and growth".⁵ Growth is considered by Berger⁶ to centre in an increase in two economically-quantified variables: Gross National Product and Per Capita Output. Such increase is usually accompanied by the introduction of new technology

/designed ...

designed to increase output. Modernization, on the other hand, "refers to the institutional and cultural concomitants of economic growth under the conditions of sophisticated technology".⁷ There are degrees of sophistication of technology which are determined by the milieu in which they are introduced. The introduction of a tractor may be very 'sophisticated technology' in a Third World rural area, whereas a farmer in a First World rural area would have a variety of much more complex implements, commonly accepted in his setting as 'essential'. For him, perhaps, the laboratory production of a new strain of seed with a substantially higher production yield would be the fruit of 'sophisticated technology'. The definition of development entails a value judgement. "Put simply, development means good growth and desirable modernization".⁸

The capitalist approach to development is to facilitate economic growth. In the process, maximization of profit to the owners of the means of production, or entrepreneurs, will enjoy priority. The non-economic concomitants of this growth are of secondary importance. The circle of beneficiaries, it is presupposed, will inevitably widen beyond the entrepreneurs provided the maximization of profit is not endangered. The system perpetuates the accrual of wealth to those who are in a position to invest in the profit-generating enterprise. The benefits to others are incidental. The operation of multinational or transnational corporations is a characteristic feature of the capitalist system. A critical examination of

/their ...

their operation in Brazil illustrates the pursuit of the profit motive as primary.

Frank has been critical of multinational corporations' investment in industries which are non-essential to the dominant needs of the Brazilian population.⁹ The consumer goods which are produced can be afforded by a minority of the population only. The surplus is exported to the countries from where the capital originated. The profit margin on the goods is increased by the considerably lower labour costs in the manufacturing countries. The result is that few Brazilians are affected by the economic growth brought about by industrialization. If the economy cannot maintain the labour force in employment, workers are simply dismissed or factories are closed without any regard to the socio-economic security of the labour force. Adequate attention is not paid to the effect which industrialization has on the Brazilian population or the environment. There is, therefore, a widespread negative response from the Brazilian masses whose life circumstances have remained relatively unchanged.

Mabogunje¹⁰ cites three reasons why "the roles of multinational corporations have not always been compatible with the best interests of underdeveloped countries":

1. These corporations impose restrictions on the terms of trade by dictating where the products from their subsidiaries in developing countries can be marketed.

/There is ...

There is, therefore, no competition or the flexibility to expand the export market to the advantage of the developing countries.

2. The supply of raw material is tied to suppliers within the corporation. Prices are determined without competition and the terms of transfer of raw material are turned to the advantage of the corporations. It is known as transfer pricing.
3. These corporations employ different mechanisms to transfer profits out of developing countries.

Frank is also extremely critical of the repressive measures which the Brazilian and other governments have taken to protect the investments and the unfettered operation of transnational corporations. In this process the military has become much more prominent, even usurping the power of the government through coups d'etat, or by seeing that army officers are appointed to key civilian government posts. He writes:¹¹

The principal contradiction or conflict in this entire process remains that between capital (both international and national), the state, and their various easy or uneasy combinations on the one hand, and labor in its various forms and groups on the other ... It is in the management of this principal conflict and its resolution in favor of capital that the bourgeois and bureaucratic state in almost all Third World countries is called upon to intervene most actively. The state intervenes through the economic, political, forceful, and ideological discipline and repression of labor and the poor in general. It uses its power to cut wages, reduce employment, eliminate social services, crush unions, disorganize and silence political opposition and public opinion, and to repress countless individuals through death, imprisonment, torture, terror, unemployment, and many other measures. These measures are often enforced under emergency rule, martial law, military government and other emerging institutional forms.

Frank adopted a Marxist framework for analyzing the dynamics in

/societies ...

societies he studied. Without passing judgment on any framework for societal analysis the writer takes very seriously the existential reality of perpetual poverty in spite of economic growth in Third-World countries. The 'spread-effect' or the 'trickle-down' has not occurred, or has not occurred sufficiently. The unbridled pursuit of profit certainly further enriches the entrepreneurs, but does not axiomatically develop the people or the countries where the production occurs nor the suppliers of raw materials.

There is a growing awareness of the effects of capitalist enterprises on the environment, on people generally, and the labour force in particular. Labour unions exist as organized bodies to guard the rights and maximize the benefits of workers who are employed by entrepreneurs. Environmental protection groups are vigilant in working towards minimizing the destructive environmental impact of activities in pursuit of maximized profits. The development of social responsibility on the part of entrepreneurs has caused them to invest some capital in activities and programmes to benefit residents, other than through the payment of wages, in countries where this system dominates. The existence of the Ford Foundation in the United States of America and the Urban Foundation in South Africa are examples of such investments.

Through the activity of entrepreneurs, there is expected to be constant economic growth. The concomitant non-economic effects

/are ...

are inevitable and secondary to the maximization of profit. The consequent development may mean 'good growth and desirable modernization' to the entrepreneur, but it does not necessarily follow that it has a similar meaning according to the judgment of residents in countries where this system dominates.

Socialism:

In the words of Dolan¹², socialism means "any number of doctrines that include two tenets: (1) that some major share of nonlabor factors of production ought to be owned in common or by the state; and (2) that justice requires incomes to be distributed at least somewhat more equally than under classical liberal capitalism".

Distinction is made between four types of socialism, as follows:

- (a) Centralized socialism, in which all capital and natural resources are government-owned. "The government sets up some kind of central planning board that coordinates all production according to managerial principles. The board issues plans that have binding force on all individual units where production is actually carried out. In a literal sense, the entire economy is one big firm".¹³
- (b) Market socialism, in which "details of resource allocation are made through market mechanisms rather than through central planning".¹⁴ The central planning board "would set prices for goods and factors of production".¹⁵

/(c) ...

- (c) Participatory socialism, under which "the means of production are owned collectively by the workers of individual firms, who participate democratically in the process of management and share the profits of their firms".¹⁶
- (d) Social democracy, which embraces "an overriding concern for the poor and a belief in equality".¹⁷

The author, Dolan, explains what he means by equality as follows:¹⁸

... we mean more than a simple redistribution of income. We want a wider social equality embracing the distribution of property, the educational system, social class relationships, power and privilege in industry -- indeed, all that is enshrined in the age-old socialist dream of classless society."

He continues with an admission that a "mixed economy is essential to social democracy".¹⁹ "As economic systems, social democracy and state capitalism are not far apart".²⁰

It is important to recognize that, as is the case with capitalism, different types of socialism are possible. For the purposes of this study, however, socialism is taken to mean the collective and state ownership of the factors of production, the belief in a more equitable distribution of wealth, and large-scale central government or state planning of the economy.

Private ownership of the means of production is the antithesis of collective and state ownership. When capitalist and

/socialist ...

socialist approaches are applied to the need for development in the Third World, they turn out to be very different approaches. Modern socialism is a reaction to capitalism. It offers an alternate approach to development. In historical terms it is also a reaction to colonial rule, the colonizers having been First World countries. The reactions to the new kind of 'colonization' that Second World countries engage in, have perhaps still to be seen, though Egypt's partial rejection of Russian aid and influence (after having espoused it) and resistance movements in, for instance, Afghanistan, Angola, and Mozambique may be examples that have already shown themselves.

Socialism would incorporate "key concepts like liberation and especially revolution..."²¹ "The great alternatives in the Third World are commonly posed as development through capitalist growth or liberation through revolutionary socialism".²² Socialism holds forth the promise of circumstances and development being substantially different from former experiences dominated by capitalism. "The important political fact today is that liberation is charged with redemptive expectations that are generally absent in the context of capitalist development policy".²³

As with most attempts to find a balanced view, the answer does not lie in either the thesis or antithesis but in a creative and pragmatic synthesis under circumstances prevailing in a

/particular ...

particular country. "What the nations of the Third World are continually searching for are specific ways in which some sort of 'mixture' between the two giant social structures can be brought about without destroying either the vitality or the integrity of their national development as such. Perhaps the Third World cannot escape the problems of political eclecticism but it has made a powerful and largely successful effort to define itself over and against both the First and Second Worlds." 24

Each country has to determine for itself what is a desirable model which will ensure the participation of its people in the process of development, meet their basic needs, and ensure their progress. This has emerged clearly from the previous chapter's discussion.

In the next chapter the position of five lesser developed countries will be discussed. Each case study will focus on its particular concerns.

NOTES

¹ Edwin G. Dolan, Basic Economics (2nd ed.; Hinsdale, Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1980), p. 682.

² Ibid., p. 682.

³ Ibid., p. 683.

⁴ Ibid., p. 683.

⁵ Jan K. Coetzee, Development Models in the Third World, Societas: A Series of Social Science Monographs, No. 4 (Cape Town: Academica, 1980), p. 12.

⁶ Peter L. Berger, Pyramids of Sacrifice (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 34.

⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

⁹ David Booth, "Andre Gunder Frank: An Introduction and Appreciation"; in Beyond the Sociology of Development, ed. by Ivar Oxaal, Tony Barnett and David Booth (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 50-85; and Philip J. O'Brien, "A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency", in Ibid., pp. 7-27.

¹⁰ Akin L. Mabogunje, The Development Process (London: Hutchinson, 1980), pp. 313-315.

¹¹ Andre G. Frank, Crisis: In the Third World (London: Heinemann, 1981), pp. 246-247.

¹² Dolan, op. cit., p. 684.

¹³ Ibid., p. 684.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 685.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 685.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 686.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 687.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 687-688.

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¹⁹Ibid., pp. 688.

²⁰Ibid., p. 688.

²¹Coetzee, op.cit., p. 13.

²²Berger, op.cit., p. 73.

²³Ibid., p. 73.

²⁴Irving L. Horowitz, Three Worlds of Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 16.

CHAPTER VFIVE SELECTED CASE STUDIES

In this chapter, five countries are presented as "case studies" because they illustrate several important issues in development. These countries are Botswana, Tanzania, the Philippines, Cuba, and Brazil. The reasons for including each are briefly summarized below.

Botswana was chosen because it is one of the world's countries with a population of less than one million, and is thus one of the 33 countries not included in the detailed analysis of the annual World Development Report issued by the World Bank. An example of one of these 33 small countries was, in the writer's opinion, needed in this study, as a sparse population presents certain features in development strategy. Moreover, Botswana is a neighbour of South Africa, and its Tswana-speaking population is hereditarily, culturally, and historically closely linked with an important section of South Africa's multi-cultural population. It is economically and in other ways linked to South Africa.

The other four countries included in the case studies fall within the World Bank's 125 countries for which comparative social statistics are produced annually. One example was chosen from the World Bank's category of low-income countries (Tanzania), two from the lower middle-income category (the Philippines and Cuba), and one from the upper middle-income category (Brazil).

/The ...

The same social indicators are quoted in each of the case studies, so that the data may be used for comparison. In addition, so as to present each case study as uniformly as possible, material on the history and system of government has been included. Each case study ends with a summarizing commentary on its development strategy.

It is not claimed that each country chosen for a case study here is representative, in a statistical sense, of the World Bank categories (population or income) referred to above. On the contrary, the choice was subjective, and made because, in the opinion of the writer, some or other feature of particular interest, or else some or other special development issue, was illustrated. It is hoped that perusal of these case studies will suggest to the reader, in each case, what the grounds for choosing the relevant country might have been.

Botswana:

Botswana is classified by the World Bank as a lower middle-income oil-importing country with a mid-1981 population of less than one million people.¹ It is a land-locked country situated in the Southern African region. It shares borders with South Africa, South West Africa/Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Botswana gained its independence from Britain without armed struggle on September 30, 1966.²

/Table 5 ...

Table 5 contains certain key statistics for the country.

TABLE 5: BASIC INDICATORS FOR BOTSWANA

Population in millions mid-1981	Per Capita G.N.P. in U.S. Dollars, 1981	Adult Literacy % 1978-80	Life Expectancy (in years) at birth, 1981
0,9	1 010	35	57

Source: World Development Report 1983

Another index that should be quoted, though in Botswana's case not from a World Bank source (Botswana being a country with a population less than one million), is the Infant Mortality Rate which for the period 1970-75 averaged 97 per 1000 births.³

Botswana's legislature has a multi-party National Assembly to which 32 of the 36 members are elected on a one-man-one-vote basis with citizens over the age of 21 enjoying suffrage. In addition there is a smaller House of Chiefs which serves an advisory function to the National Assembly on matters pertaining to "tribal interests and chieftaincy."⁴ Through regular elections, the citizens of the country participate in the decision-making processes and thereby have the opportunity to express their views on government policy. The existence of a House of Chiefs gives due credence to traditional leaders, but in a very explicitly subservient rôle. The dominant system of government is one which facilitates modernization.

/The ...

The executive branch of government is headed by an elected President who is ex officio a member of the National Assembly. The Court of Appeal represents the highest body in the judiciary.

The geographic location of Botswana has significant implications for its development. For several years before the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, thousands of refugees from that country fled to Botswana. Botswana was obliged to contribute to the services needed by these refugees. Regular incursions by the security forces of the then Rhodesia required strengthening of the Botswana security system. The armed liberation struggle in former Rhodesia siphoned off resources which could have been applied to the development of the people in Botswana.

Another state with which Botswana shares a border is South Africa which is economically, militarily, and otherwise considerably further developed than any of its neighbours. In many respects it is incomparably far ahead. Consequently it exercises dominance over the region in a manner that will serve its own interests. South Africa has several well-equipped ports, plus a highly-developed infra-structure to support its agriculture and its manufacturing, and mining industries. It has become an indispensable factor in the development of countries in the region due to its provision of many essential goods and services needed in the process of development.

This self-serving regional dominance of South Africa has a

/detrimental ...

detrimental effect on development in Botswana because it circumscribes the nature of the latter's development in order to preserve its own dominance. Botswana's membership of the Southern African Customs Union Agreement generated revenues of approximately \$93 m for it in 1979. "By 1979-80, these payments constituted 41% of the government's revenues of about \$256 m."⁵ But South Africa remains the dominant and controlling partner in this Agreement. The establishment of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (S.A.D.C.C.) in 1979 coordinates and institutionalises the efforts by nine states to enhance their own development and to lessen their dependence on their dominant neighbour, South Africa. South Africa still pursues a political ideology, a development philosophy, and to some extent a theological system which legalises discrimination based on racial classification. It is the bane of the international community and the antithesis of majority rule achieved in the region. The S.A.D.C.C. thus also constitutes a protest against apartheid.

There has been a dramatic increase in Botswana's Per Capita Gross National Product. In 1975 it was reported to be \$330.⁶ The 1981 figure is given as \$1010.⁷ Though the sources are different and the bases for the calculations therefore probably different too, it may be accepted that there has been a dramatic increase, due primarily to the rapid expansion of the mining industry, especially in diamonds. Botswana is expected to rank as the fourth-largest diamond producer in the world by the

/mid-1980's ...

mid-1980's.⁸ The critical concern is the maldistribution of the limited wealth in the country. "In 1977, following a three-year study of 1,800 rural households, Mr. Derek Hudson of the Bank of Botswana claimed that Botswana has one of the most unequal distributions of wealth in the world. The survey revealed that while one percent of the rural populations had incomes of R7,000 per year or more for half of the rural households the figure was less than R630".⁹ "The median rural income in 1974/75 was P630 but the poorest 10 per cent received under R233 while the incomes of the richest 10 per cent were over P2 094."¹⁰ Only 12,3% of the population was urbanised in 1978.¹¹ With the median annual income of circa 88% of the population as low as P630 per annum, it is clear that poverty remains a basic feature of human existence in Botswana.

Almost 50% of the population is below the age of 14 years.¹² A population as "young" as this puts considerable pressure on the economy to provide for the high percentage of unproductive members of the population.

The position of Botswana demonstrates the regional interdependence of lesser developed countries and places emphasis on regional co-operation in the interest of the development and progress of all the countries in the region.

Tanzania:

Tanzania (formerly known as Tanganyika) is an East-African

/country ...

country which has a history of being subject to external rule. As early as the 12th century, traders from India invaded the country to obtain its natural resources. Portuguese traders arrived at the end of the 15th century and by the mid-19th century other Europeans also appeared on the scene, as explorer/traders. When the country entered the 20th century it was under German rule which lasted until the end of World War I. Britain was then mandated by the League of Nations to assume responsibility for the territory. It was only in December 1961 that the country gained independence.

The island of Zanzibar, offshore from mainland Tanzania, served as an Arab trading centre until Portuguese rule during the 16th and 17th centuries. During the early 18th century the Arabs re-possessed Zanzibar until the Anglo-German agreement of 1890 installed the British as its rulers. Britain ruled until independence on 19 December 1963.

In 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed the United Republic of Tanzania.¹³ The colonial experience of Tanzania meant that it had experienced no consistent policy to develop the indigenous people. Exploitation of the natural resources in the interest of the external rulers dominated, though perhaps to a lesser degree while it was administered as a League of Nations mandate or later as a United Nations trust territory. The country was, upon independence, therefore faced with a stupendous task in developing its people. It is a task which will require many years to show results.

/The ...

The achievements in Tanzania have to be evaluated against its historical background if a valid perspective is to be obtained. In this regard the analysis of Szentes¹⁴ is useful. It is a Marxist analysis. He is extremely critical of the theorists who have contributed to the debate on underdevelopment and, of necessity, writes disparagingly of monopoly capitalism and its domination of international trade relations. He promotes elements of the socialist model and state capitalism as more probable solutions in addressing the life circumstances created by underdevelopment. While the writer does not agree with all dimensions of his analysis the one very important element in it which is of cardinal significance to Tanzania is an appreciation for the historical events which put people in many lesser developed countries in a situation of desperate poverty in spite of their long-standing interaction with people from some of the most developed countries.

Tanzania's development policy was enunciated in the Arusha Declaration of 1967.¹⁵

It called for self-reliance, using local resources, gradual de-emphasis of foreign aid, ujamaa (a Swahili word meaning literally brotherhood and implying the socialist ideals of mutual help), common ownership and sharing, popular participation in the process of nation-building, the removal of all distinctions based on class, wealth and status and control by the people of all major sources of wealth and production.

Jane Carroll¹⁶ put it this way:

Since independence in 1961, the main preoccupation of

/the ...

the nation's policy makers has been to lift the majority of the population out of illiteracy, poverty and disease. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 put even greater emphasis on the elimination of those ills, along the path of socialism and self-reliance.

Through the ujamaa process, Tanzanians scattered over large areas were brought into villages. Service-rendering became considerably more convenient and more effective and Village Assemblies could be established as the lowest rung in the hierarchy of government. Though the physical consolidation has been completed it is expected that the social integration in these ujamaa villages will take much longer. There has meanwhile been substantial progress in improving the living standards of the people.

There is no doubt that much has been achieved in education and health and other social fields. About 40 per cent of villages now have a clean running water supply, 92 per cent have a primary school, 35 per cent a dispensary and 74 per cent a shop. 17

The surprising thing about Tanzania is that these broad ideals have been in part implemented. It is calculated that by 1980 primary education in one form or another will be available for all Tanzanians. Nyerere was able to claim recently that, compared to the 1967 figure of 825,000 in primary schools, the comparable figure for 1975 was 1, 532,000 ... In addition there has been some success in improving the lot of the peasant relative to the wage-earner in the towns.

... the Tanzanian experiment cannot be curtly dismissed as only idealist fancy. Tangible achievements do exist. There is a case to be answered. 18

Table 6 below contains data from a World Bank source for Tanzania.

/TABLE 6 ...

TABLE 6 : BASIC INDICATORS FOR TANZANIA

Population in millions mid-1981	Per Capita G.N.P. in U.S. Dollars 1981	Adult Literacy % 1980	Life Expectancy at Birth in years, 1981	Infant Mortality Rate per 1000 births 1981
19.1	280	79	52	101

Source: World Development Report 1983

Tanzania continues to face many problems in shaping the future progress of its people. One consequence of development of people is that new priorities for development emerge. Once basic needs are met, new, more complex, and more sophisticated ones emerge. Inflation, industrialization, mechanization of agriculture, the shortage of technical expertise, and the high cost of energy are some of the problems to be handled in future. But the country has unquestionably made substantial progress since relinquishing the colonized mantle. The cumulative effects of past achievements are expected to have positive results in future. Educational achievement is one example:¹⁹

Critics complain that, like many other Tanzanian targets, the schooling one was over-ambitious and has led to crowded classes, overworked teachers, lower standards, a shortage of textbooks and massive pressure for secondary education that cannot possibly be satisfied. But the advantages of basic literacy spill over into many other areas -- better farming, better health, greater popular involvement in local decision-making, improvements in women's status -- and, in the long run, lower fertility.

Tanzania demonstrates that substantial progress is being

/achieved ...

achieved in meeting the basic needs of its people. It engenders hope for the future.

The Philippines:

The Philippines is a cluster of islands in the Far East that constitute one country, classified by the World Bank in the low middle-income category. The Filipinos were ruled by Spain from 1521 to 1898 when they were occupied by the United States of America. The islands gained independence from the United States in 1946 and maintained the capitalist economic system.²⁰ The basic social indicators, as used in this study, are for the Philippines to be found in Table 7.

TABLE 7: BASIC INDICATORS FOR THE PHILIPPINES

Population in millions mid-1981	Per Capita G.N.P. in U.S. Dollars 1981	Adult Literacy % 1978-80	Life Expectancy at birth in years 1981	Infant Mortality per 1000 1981
49,6	790	75	63	53

Source: World Development Report 1983

With a population of nearly 50,000,000, the Philippines experience considerable pressure on their resources. The government now places heavy emphasis on family planning. Since however 83% of the population are declared adherents of the Roman Catholic Church with its very restrictive attitude to birth control, it

/is ...

is unlikely that government policy will produce rapid effects.

The country had a system of government which permitted the election of a National Assembly and also a President every four years. A watershed in its recent history was the declaration of martial law on 21 September 1972 by President Ferdinand E. Marcos.²¹

The immediate objective of that pronouncement was to deal with problems of law and order in various parts of the country. These problems were speedily brought under control, although not completely solved, within the period under review. However, the associated restructuring of institutions, the creation of a more prosperous economy, and the attainment of a more just society were recognized as tasks requiring larger and more sustained effort.

Development projects have undoubtedly continued during the martial law period.²² These have had dramatic positive effects on the economy in the short term. The lowest rung in the governmental structure, the barangays, were organized in communities across the country especially to facilitate the participation of people in their development:²³

Each barangay is run by a council headed by a captain. The primary functions of the council are to maintain law and order and to participate in community development projects by providing labor and materials. Councils are elected by eligible voters 15 years of age or older. Barangays, like other local units, have some limited powers of taxation but depend heavily on subsidies from the national treasury.

The participation of people in the barangays obviously did not meet their aspirations because the dominating feature of life in

/the ...

the Philippines now is the authoritarian rule of the President, supported by the military establishment. Opposition to the current dictatorship and its attendant corruption in government have become the popular rallying points, as illustrated recently by the reaction of the people to the assassination of an opposition leader, Benigno Aquino.²⁴

Martial law has created an era where increasingly repressive measures have to be taken to maintain it, thus siphoning off resources which could have been used productively in the development process. The violence engendered by the system also siphons off energy which could have been used creatively in the development of the 49,6 million Filipinos.

International trends have shown that participation of the people is essential for development to occur. In the Philippines such participation was promoted at local level. It was denied at the national level. There were positive economic results on the short-term, but the denial of the right to participation was counter-productive on the longer term. The achievements on development projects at local level are being eclipsed by the negative participation in the form of protests against authoritarian martial law. These conditions are expected to prevail until there is a restoration of the participatory right of people in the country. Development is impeded if the participation of the people is absent. Participation in the election of the government is of critical importance because the government

/decides ...

decides on the allocation of resources and the strategies for development that will be pursued.

The irony presented by the Philippines is not confined to that country alone -- the irony namely that a ruler takes unto himself some authoritarian power (or uses that which he already has) because he wishes to see speedier and more effective modernization. To overcome people's traditionalistic resistance, coercion of various kinds is used, gradually building up a repressive totalitarianism that runs counter to the fundamental precondition now believed necessary for optimum development, viz. people's participation. Iran is a case in point, several South American countries are too, and Africa is not without examples of its own.

Cuba:

Cuba is the largest West Indian island that was "discovered" by Christopher Columbus in the 15th century. It was ruled by Spain until 1898 when it was relinquished to the United States after an armed struggle. The United States granted Cuba independence on 20 May 1902.

Cuba remained within the American sphere of influence from its independence until 1959, when it moved out. It adopted a socialist economic system and its move into the Russian sphere of influence was codified in the constitution adopted in 1976.

/Under ...

Under the new Constitution, Cuba is organized along much the same lines as the Soviet Union, with a Party-Government-State structure. The Communist Party, described in the Constitution as the 'highest leading force of the society and state', is headed by a Politburo. Executive power is vested in the Council of Ministers, which heads the Government. Legislative power, to the extent there is any, resides with the National Assembly of People's Power (roughly the equivalent of the U.S.S.R.'s Supreme Soviet), which is headed by a Council of State. 25

This new constitution represents a revolutionary reaction to capitalist exploitation and was originally supported as the means by which the domination of the corrupt Batista regime would be broken: 26

U.S. economic exploitation became the principal target of Cuban nationalists. Despite the positive gains of the U.S. association, such as the eradication of malaria, reorganization of the postal service, customs service and judiciary, establishment of a public school system, building of railroads and roads and development of the sugar industry, anti-Americanism has been the one consistent theme of Cuban history in the 20th century.

In the absence of an effective system to redistribute the wealth, people seek for ways in which they can express their discontent. If they are denied the opportunity to do so through a relatively corrupt-free electoral system, violent insurrection is an attractive alternative. Fidel Castro chose this second alternative and it finally brought him to power in 1959.

Even if allowance is made for exaggerated reporting, which serves propaganda purposes, the impression of spectacular progress in areas which affect the basic standard of living is unavoidable: 27

/... the ...

... the performance of the regime in certain social areas critical to the lives of ordinary people has for some time been very good. Improvement of basic public health measures continued throughout the 1970's. Consequently the rate of infant mortality per 1 000 live births dropped below 20 as the decade closed -- half its level 10 years earlier. Moreover, life expectancy passed 70 years. The stock of medical doctors has increased so much that health personnel have become a standard component of the foreign aid that Cuba extends to many countries. As the 1970's ended, the median educational level of adults had risen to the sixth grade from first/second grade in 1964 -- a spectacular leap in a sixteen year period. Even some indicators of the quality of education, which had been deficient in earlier years, had shown remarkable improvement. For instance, the once high dropout rate for the elementary grades had become negligible, and virtually all elementary school teachers had received their teaching certificates, as compared with only a little over half of the group in the mid-1970's.

Cuba falls into the lower middle-income countries according to the World Bank classification. The basic indicators are to be found in Table 8.

TABLE 8: BASIC INDICATORS FOR CUBA

Population in millions mid 1981	Per Capita G.N.P. in U.S. Dollars, 1981	Adult Literacy % 1978-80	Life Expectancy at birth in years 1981	Infant Mortality Rate per. 1 000 1981
9,7	Not available	95	73	19

Source: World Development Report 1983

The impressive achievements in Cuba legitimately generate keen interest from the Third World and may cause many countries to consider pursuing the same path. Yet as recently as 1980

/thousands ...

thousands of Cubans clamoured to emigrate from Cuba in spite of, and the writer believes because of, these spectacular developments. A corollary to the adoption of the Russian model has been the intensive repression of any dissent from the Communist Party perspective on all facets of life. The people gained in facilities, services, and employment opportunities but they had to make immense sacrifices on the human rights level. Ideological indoctrination saturates the Cuban society and the new ruling élite makes every effort to maintain its control, even if it means expelling people. Saul Alinsky, a radical community worker in the United States, cautioned:²⁸

Let us in the name of radical pragmatism not forget that in our system with all its repressions we can still speak out and denounce the administration, attack its policies, work to build an opposition base. True, there is government harassment, but there still is that relative freedom to fight. I can attack my government, try to organize to change it. That's more than I can do in Moscow, Peking, or Havana ... Just a few of the violent episodes of bombings or a courtroom shootout that we have experienced here would have resulted in a sweeping purge and mass executions in Russia, China or Cuba. Let's keep some perspective.

Alinsky focuses on the intolerance of any dissent shown by totalitarian regimes.²⁹

Cuba demonstrates that, while there is an inherently greater opportunity to create equity amongst the citizens in a country when the socialist economic system is adopted, provision must also be made for people to participate in the process of shaping their destinies. The improvement in the standard of living

/makes ...

makes this right to participation more compelling. The overthrow of the Shah of Iran is a more recent example of people expressing their discontent about being denied such participation in a country where the capitalist economic system dominated, and where remarkable modernizing changes had been achieved.

Brazil:

Brazil, with an Atlantic coastline of 7 242 km., is the largest South American country. It shares borders with all South American countries except Ecuador and Chile. The Amazon River basin occupies two-fifths of Brazil's area.

On 7 September 1822 Brazil declared its independence from Portugal. It was ruled by emperors until 1889. Thereafter the head of state became known as the President with extensive powers vested in the office. A military coup d'etat occurred in 1930 and it put Getulio Vargas into power.³⁰ Since then Brazil's governmental history has alternated between military and civilian rule. At present it is in a transitional phase from a military to a civilian government: elections have already been held for the election of the government, but the consistently powerful Presidency is still in military hands.

Table 9 gives the key statistics for Brazil.

/TABLE 9: ...

TABLE 9: BASIC INDICATORS FOR BRAZIL

Population mid-1981 in millions	Per Capita G.N.P. in U.S. Dollars 1981	Adult Literacy % 1978-80	Life Expectancy at birth in years 1981	Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 1981
120.5	2 220	76	64	75

Source: World Development Report 1983

The World Bank classifies Brazil as an upper middle-income economy. As the above statistics confirm, its position is no longer typical of what is thought of as a poor "Third World" country in the world today.

Brazil adopted the predominantly capitalist model for development. It experienced a boom period, particularly during the period 1957-61. "The most dramatic industrialization feat was the creation in less than five years of a full-fledged industry manufacturing automotive vehicles and parts".³¹ Economic growth was extensive, and Brazil progressed very fast in economic terms. "In total size Brazil is the tenth largest economy of the world".³² It has, however, also fallen prey to skyrocketing inflation, high petroleum prices, and shrinking external markets for its products.

In spite of the economic growth, the "spread effect" did not occur, leaving the lives of the mass of the people largely untouched. A significant indicator of this is that no land reform

/has ...

has occurred to redistribute ownership to a larger number of farmers. Latifundia still flourishes. The education system is one which, until comparatively recently, catered for an élite minority.

Brazil is now so heavily indebted to external creditors that it is one of a few Third-World debtors that could cause the collapse of the international monetary system if it defaults on its repayments.

Besides negotiating a rescheduling of payments, Brazil is a member of a cartel which is now calling for a restructuring of the original terms of the loans granted mainly by U.S. banks. Brazil also has a history of alternating between military and civilian governments, resulting in perennial fundamental policy changes.

The level of development which Brazil has attained is precarious because its value to the majority of citizens is limited. Only 2% of the total disposable household incomes accrue to the lowest 20% of households (i.e. lowest on the income range), while 66,6% of the total disposable household incomes accrue to the highest 20% of households.³⁴

Brazil, as shown in the previous chapter, is a country where there has been considerable economic growth but limited development of its people. The life circumstances of the majority of citizens require a re-consideration of its development strategy.

The position of South Africa will be analysed in Chapter VI.

NOTES

¹World Development Report 1983 (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1983), p. 204.

²George T Kurian, Encyclopedia of the Third World, Vol. I (New York: Facts on File, 1978), p. 171.

³Ibid., p. 179.

⁴Ibid., p. 175.

⁵Countries of the World and their Leaders Yearbook, 1981 (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1981), p. 301; John A. Wiseman, "Botswana: The Achievement of Seretse Khama" The Round Table, 280 (October 1980), 409-414; "Council Supports Aid Programme Recommended by Botswana Mission" U.N. Monthly Chronicle, XIV, (June 1977), 9; Yearbook of the United Nations, Vol. 32 (New York: U.N. Department of Public Information, 1978), pp. 238-239.

⁶Kurian, op. cit., p. 175.

⁷World Development Report 1983, p. 204.

⁸Africa South of the Sahara 1981-82 (11th ed.; London: Europa Publishing Ltd., 1981), pp. 196-197.

⁹Ibid., p. 192. For comparative purposes R1,00=\$1,00.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 197. For comparative purposes, R1,00=R1,00.

¹¹Kurian, op. cit., p. 172.

¹²Ibid., p. 172.

¹³Countries of the World and their Leaders Yearbook, 1981, pp. 1073-1075; Kurian, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 1382-1383.

¹⁴Tamás Szentes, The Political Economy of Underdevelopment (3rd revised and enlarged edition; Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976).

¹⁵Kurian, op. cit., p. 1386.

¹⁶Africa South of the Sahara 1981-82, p. 1035.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 1042.

- ¹⁸ P.F. Nursey-Bray, "Tanzania: The Development Debate", African Affairs, 79 (January 1980), 57.
- ¹⁹ Jeremy Hamand, "Tanzania: Snags in Reaching the Villages", People, 9 (1982), 32.
- ²⁰ Countries of the World and their Leaders Yearbook, 1981, pp. 898-901; Kurian, op. cit., pp. 1188-1194.
- ²¹ Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1973 (New York: United Nations, 1973), p. 209; cf. Andre G. Frank, Crisis in the Third World (London: Heinmann, 1981), pp. 192-193.
- ²² cf. Kurian, op. cit., pp. 1188-1207; Ruth Seitz, "Dams Threaten Ancient Rice Terrace Ecology", People, 8 (1981), 6-7; Irene Cortés, "Fighting for Real Equality", People, 7 (1980), 23-24; Ruth Seitz, "Becoming Somebody in Surigao", People, 8 (1981), 16-17.
- ²³ Kurian, op. cit., p. 1197.
- ²⁴ "Aquino's Assassination: Coping with the Consequences", Time, September 5, 1983.
- ²⁵ Countries of the World and their Leaders Yearbook, 1981, pp. 409-410.
- ²⁶ Kurian, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 376.
- ²⁷ Jorge I. Dominguez, "Cuba in the 1980's", Problems of Communism, 30 (March-April 1981), 57-58; cf. Paul Harrison, "Cuba: Defending the Power of the People", People, 7 (1980), 4-6.
- ²⁸ Saul D. Alinsky, Rules for Radicals (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. xxi.
- ²⁹ "Inside Castro's Prisons", Time, August 15, 1983.
- ³⁰ Countries of the World and their Leaders Yearbook, 1981, pp. 303-304; Kurian, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 183-184.
- ³¹ Stefan H. Robock, Brazil: A Study in Development Progress (London: Lexington Books, 1975), p. 29.
- ³² Ibid., p. 47.
- ³³ Ibid., pp. 145-149; Kurian, op. cit., p. 198-200.
- ³⁴ World Development Report 1983, pp. 202, 212.

SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICASouth African Beginnings

When Bartholomew Diaz sighted the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, the territory now known as "South Africa" was populated, as far as now known, by Bushmen, Hottentots, and Negroid populations later known as "Bantu". (Today the hunter-gatherers known as Bushmen have all but disappeared, as have the pastoral Hottentots as a separately identifiable population, although they are important among the ancestors of today's "Coloured" population. The "Bantu", a word meaning "people", are today chiefly known as "Africans" or simply as "Blacks". Blacks were then agriculturalists and cattle owners.)

In the interests of ongoing trade between Europe and the Far East a refreshment depot was needed along the way. The Cape of Good Hope suited that purpose very well because it was strategically situated. The Dutch East India Company despatched Jan van Riebeeck to the Cape to execute the plan of the Company, determined by it in Holland.

As from April 6, 1652, therefore, the first European-born persons settled in the Cape. They had sailed from the Dutch port of Rotterdam and were mainly of Dutch parentage, although some of German origin seem to have been included. Their purpose was to make fresh supplies available to the crews of the trading vessels of the Dutch East India Company.

/Habitation ...

Habitation of the same land mass by the indigenous people and the European-born settlers made continual contact inevitable. Initially such contact was limited to the Hottentots and Bushmen, with the primary purpose of securing the supplies needed for the seafaring vessels. Inter-marriage and sexual contact with the African-born people also occurred.

During the year 1795 the British captured the Cape from the Dutch. This introduced a different European element into the life here. In 1803 the British administration was replaced by the rule of the Batavian Republic. The second British occupation occurred in 1806.

Up to the second British occupation the frontier had expanded as the "free burghers", i.e. not officials or servants of the Dutch East India Company, continually moved further inland. The search for satisfactory grazing was one motive behind this movement inland, and this motive was primarily responsible for the direction being into the fertile Eastern Cape. There was also the other motive, that of the Europeans of Dutch, German, or French origin seeking independence from the rule of the British administration. This independence could not be sustained for two possible reasons:

- (a) The British extended their influence further into the interior, and
- (b) The movement was retarded by violent conflict with the Black Africans in the Eastern Cape.

/The ...

The salient features of developments up to 1806 are:

1. Occupation of some common land by European-born and African-born people;
2. Constant contact between European-born and African-born people, resulting in subsequent generations of people of mixed descent;
3. Continual extension of the land area under the domination of administrations of European origin;
4. Tension existing between the British-born and non-British-born Europeans, with the latter seeking to escape from the dominance of the former. The Calvinist tradition within the Christian faith reinforced the belief of the people of Dutch origin that they were acting according to a divinely-ordained plan;
5. Tension and conflict between the Europeans and the indigenous people and also slaves imported from the Far East to supplement the local supply of labour;
6. The permanent settlement of the Cape by the British in 1806.

South Africa Between 1806 and 1910

The British administration ushered in a new dispensation which differed from the previous one.

The legal system as it operated in Britain was implemented here. Courts were established in the frontier towns. Settlers were imported into the Eastern Cape in 1820. The relationships with the slaves and the indigenous people were different. The slaves were freed in 1834 and a qualified franchise was extended to all men regardless of colour in 1853.

The Great Trek was underway by 1836 as mainly the people of Dutch descent travelled inland. They settled in the territories

across the Orange and Vaal rivers, and crossed the Drakensberg into Natal. The British, however, annexed Natal in 1843. Only the other two territories, therefore, were left under the jurisdiction of the people of Dutch descent. Two independent republics were formed, and the relationship with all "non-white" people was a master-servant relationship. The Herrenvolk (to use a term that originated a century or so later in Nazi Germany) had to be preserved. Van den Berghe¹ describes the Great Trek's underlying philosophy in these words:

The myth of the Great Trek goes as follows: Like the Chosen People who fled under Moses from Egyptian tyranny, our freedom-loving, God-fearing ancestors could no longer bear to live under British domination at the Cape. They courageously went into the wilderness, faced countless dangers, vanquished the Black heathens with the help of God, and settled into the Promised Land of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. There they attempted, against the combined forces of evil (i.e., the African nations and British imperialism) to lead peaceful and free lives until they succumbed after a heroic fight against British aggression. But the Almighty was once more on the side of His Chosen People, who regained control of the country in 1948.

A different set of circumstances prevailed in the Cape and Natal, compared to the two independent ~~free~~ republics. Constitutionally, the Black people shared the same rights as the white people. The dominant culture, however, was European in origin.

The discovery of successive diamond fields, beginning in 1867, created great interest in the Kimberley area. British and other prospectors were attracted to the area in a relatively short space of time. When gold was discovered on the Reef in 1886 there was an influx of people to that area and rapid expansion occurred, with rail links being in due course laid to the

/present-day ...

present-day Maputo, Cape Town and Durban.

The relative peace and independence of the two republics were disturbed. The potential profitability of these discoveries attracted the attention of the British. The 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War brought victory to the British. The Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in 1902, terminated the war. In 1909 the South Africa Act was passed in Britain and on May 31, 1910, the Union of South Africa was born, uniting in one national state two former British colonies (Cape Colony and Natal) and two former Boer Republics (Transvaal and the Orange Free State).

South Africa since 1910

In 1910 the executive capital of the Union of South Africa became Pretoria, the legislative capital became Cape Town, and the judicial capital became Bloemfontein.

The franchise was a divisive issue during the negotiations before union. The other was the language issue. It was eventually decided, as a compromise between the English-speaking and Afrikaans or Dutch-speaking whites -- for only whites negotiated the settlement -- that the franchise would remain as it had operated in each one of the "Provinces" before union. This meant that white men in all four Provinces could be eligible voters, "Coloured" men in both the Cape and Natal could be eligible voters, and Africans in only the Cape could become

/eligible ...

eligible voters. The "Coloured" men in the Cape could also be candidates for election to Provincial and City Councils, but not to Parliament. Africans lost the Parliamentary vote in 1936 and the "Coloured" people in 1956. English and Afrikaans were entrenched in the constitution as the two official languages.

During the period under review, South Africa participated in two world wars. Rapid industrialization and urbanization occurred. The economy expanded. Industry diversified. South Africa is today the undisputed economic giant of this sub-continent.

Apartheid or Separate Development

The most dominant feature of the post World War II era in South Africa is unquestionably the legislation aimed at ensuring racial segregation or apartheid. This is the ideology propounded by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party² which has governed South Africa from 1948 to the present. Adam³ described the ideology in these words:

Apartheid can best be understood as the systematic attempt to reverse economic integration as much as possible by legislating social barriers in order to channel the inevitable consequences of African economic advancement in the interests of the privileged whites.

The Population Registration Act, (No. 30 of 1950), classified South Africans into race groups. These groups are today known as Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks. The Group Areas Act,

/No. 30 ...

(No. 30 of 1950), introduced more stringent measures in designating where racial group may live and own property. The 1913 Land Act set aside 7% of the South African land area as reserves for Africans. In 1936 this area was increased to 13% of the total South African land area. It means that Africans, or Blacks as they are now known officially, cannot own land outside of these areas. The estimated number of people removed in pursuit of apartheid between 1960 and 1982 is 3 522 900. The number under threat of removal in 1982 is estimated at 1 765 500.⁴

Security legislation was enacted at different times since 1948, empowering the government to keep under surveillance, prosecute, or detain without trial any person(s) opposed to its rule. Unilateral action can also be taken against organizations without recourse to the courts. The government has deliberately and systematically denied Black people (i.e. African, Coloured and Indian) the right to elect the government of the country. In so doing it institutionalized white minority rule over all the inhabitants of South Africa. Population numbers show that the white minority is 16% of the total population (including the 'independent homelands'), as recorded in Tables 10 and 11.

/SIGNIFICANT ...

SIGNIFICANT SOUTH AFRICAN STATISTICS

TABLE 10: POPULATION COMPOSITION

Population group	1980 census
Asians	204 639
Blacks	15 970 019*
Coloureds	2 554 039
Whites	4 453 273
TOTAL	23 771 970

*excluding Venda, Bophuthatswana, Transkei

TABLE 11: ESTIMATED POPULATION SIZE OF THE
'INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS' OF SOUTH AFRICA

'Homeland'	Population
Transkei	2 621 700
Bophuthatswana	1 287 814
Venda	342 759
TOTAL	4 252 273

Source: Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1981

Table 11 suggests that the white minority continues to siphon off the country's wealth to an alarming degree, although the proportions accruing to Blacks and Asians show some growth. The income dominance of the Whites is commensurately declining. The relative position of "Coloureds" has remained virtually unchanged.

/TABLE 12 ...

TABLE 12: PROPORTION OF LABOUR INCOME IN NON-AGRICULTURAL SECTORS ACCRUING TO EACH POPULATION GROUP (PERCENT)

Year	White	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks
1974	64,3	8,0	2,7	25,0
1978	60,5	8,0	3,2	28,4
1979	59,0	8,0	3,3	29,8
1980	59,3	8,3	3,3	29,2

Source: South Africa 1983

Despite the increase in the Black proportion it is still at a dangerously low level in relation to the size of the Black population. Its consequences are reflected in the statistics given further in this chapter.

In its strategy to rule over the African people, the Nationalist government legislated for each ethnic group to occupy its own reserve or Bantustan e.g. Tswanas in Bophuthatswana, Zulus in KwaZulu.⁵ Each Bantustan has its own government which functions as a subsidiary of the South African government until such time as it takes independence. To date Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1978), Venda (1979) and Ciskei (1981) have taken independence from the South African government, becoming politically independent states that are recognized only by South Africa, not the international community.

/The ...

The government's development strategy in the Bantustans is to emphasize economic growth facilitated by their respective Industrial Development Corporations and the government's decentralization incentives. The impact on the people in these homelands has been similar to the international economic growth strategies, i.e. minimal, as Table 13 shows.

TABLE 17 : GROSS NATIONAL INCOME PER CAPITA, 1976, IN RANDBS PER ANNUM FOR EACH ONE OF THE 'HOMELANDS'

'Homeland'	GNP per Capita
Transkei	290,00
Bophuthatswana	425,00
Venda	276,00
Ciskei	271,00
KwaZulu	361,00
Qwaqwa	214,00
Lebowa	285,00
Gazankulu	343,00
Average is 326,00 p.a.	

Comparatively R1,00 = \$1,00

Source: South Africa 1980/81

According to the World Development Report 1983⁶ South Africa is classified as an upper middle-income country with a 1981 G.N.P. per capita income of \$2 770 per annum. The above statistics demonstrate that there has not been any significant

/'spread ...

'spread effect' and that in terms of the income of the majority of the South African population, South Africa is a very poor Third World country. Lamont⁷ and Molteno⁸ both show that there is an inherent structural economic dependence on South Africa. Separate development is designed to defer the political aspirations or the participatory rights of African people from South Africa to scattered Bantustans that can be manipulated to the advantage of the minority government through their economic dependence. The government also exercises legislative control over the number of Africans permitted to reside in the urban areas as an easily accessible reservoir of labour.⁹ Some men are permitted to have their families with them, others are recruited as migrant labourers on an annual contract. The ideology of apartheid has fashioned the ideal that eventually all Africans will be citizens of 'independent homelands' linked to South Africa in a confederation of states.

Under the new dispensation promulgated in the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, (No. 110 of 1983), the "Coloured" and Indian people are not relegated to their respective Bantustans, but are co-opted with the whites in structurally subservient positions. In all respects they are to be structurally confined to a subservient status and separated from the whites.

The educational statistics in Table 14 demonstrate further how the strategy of separate development is designed to perpetuate

/the ...

the poverty-stricken life circumstances of Black people in South Africa.

TABLE 14: PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE IN RANDS PER ANNUM ON SCHOOL PUPILS IN SOUTH AFRICA 1980/81

Population Group	Including Capital Expenditure	Excluding Capital Expenditure
White	1 021,00	915,00
Indian	Not available	513,00
Coloured	286,08	253,18
African	176,20	139,66

Comparatively R1,00 = \$1,00

Source: Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1982

TABLE 15: PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS, 1982

Population Group	Ratio
White	1: 18,2
Indian	1: 24,3
Coloured	1: 37,3
African	1: 39,1

Of the African pupils, 28,2% of the total enrolment in 1981 left school before completing Sub-A, i.e. the first year of primary schooling. Unless they go back to school, or are educated as adults they will be illiterate.

The number who left in a semi-literate state, between Sub-A and Std. 2, amounted to 25,8% of those enrolled.

Source: Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1982

/The ...

The consequences of separate development are also seen in the differences in life expectancy and infant mortality rates of the different racial groups, clearly favouring whites.

TABLE 16 : EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN YEARS

Year	Population Group			
	Asians	Blacks	Coloureds	Whites
<u>Males</u>				
1969-71	59,3	51,2**	48,8	64,5
<u>Females</u>				
1969-71	63,9	58,9**	56,1	72,3

** Estimate for the period 1965-70

Source: South Africa 1983

TABLE 17: INFANT MORTALITY RATE, 1978, PER THOUSAND

Racial Group	Infant Mortality Rate
Asians	25,3
Coloureds	80,6
Whites	14,9

Source: South Africa 1983

A 1970 estimate of the African infant mortality rate gives it as 100-110.¹⁰

/It is ...

It is significant to note that most of the statistics about the people who constitute a majority of the population are no more than estimates!

The Nationalist Government is now couching its separate development strategy also into regional development terms.¹¹ This coincides with the co-option of the private sector into the national economic development strategy. The co-option is signified by the meeting between the Prime Minister and business leaders in the Carlton Conference, Johannesburg 1979, and the Good Hope Conference, Cape Town 1981. This new development thrust is also being manifested in the welfare sphere through the announcement¹² by the head of Social Planning, Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, that a policy review is now being conducted by the Department of Health and Welfare to make the delivery of welfare services conform to community development principles. While an announcement such as this would ordinarily have been greeted with great expectations, in this case grave concern is being caused in some circles. Lund¹³, in reviewing the Nationalist government's development strategy, highlights how a universal concept such as community development is adulterated to conform to the ideology of apartheid. Past experience causes the writer to concur with those who are gravely concerned about the current policy review. Lund's conclusion¹⁴ of 11 years ago is still true:

/While ...

While C.D. (Community Development) in many countries is generally held to be a "good thing" (like participation, or democracy) I think it is fair to say that the only people in South Africa who see it this way are the power élite. Voluntary and freelance social workers and community workers are likely to see it as an obstruction to the course and development of social change.

Separate development as a viable development strategy is a failure on at least three counts.

1. It is founded upon the denial of participation in national decision-making to the majority of the citizens in South Africa. The 1976 and 1980 protests throughout the country and the flashpoints which constantly flare up throughout the country are in the writer's opinion evidence of the failure of this strategy to satisfy the needs and aspirations of the people.
2. Evidence from the international community has shown that a predominance of economic growth only does not necessarily result in the development of the people.
3. The world has abandoned legalized racial segregation. South Africa has entrenched it. Yet South Africa has failed to produce conclusive evidence that its unique contemporary policy of separating people according to racial classification results in development.

It is in this milieu that the writer is engaged in the training of Social Workers. The implications of underdevelopment for social work training will now be examined, particularly as it applies to South Africa.

NOTES

- ¹ Pierre van den Berghe, South Africa: A Study in Conflict (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), p. 28.
- ² The strategic planning on the part of the Afrikaner Broederbond was decisive in determining the victory of 1948, cf. Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom, The Super-Afrikaners (Johannesburg: Jonathon Baf! Publishers, 1978), pp. 35-112.
- ³ Heribert Adam, Modernizing Racial Domination (Los Angeles and Berkley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 8.
- ⁴ Forced Removals in South Africa, Vol. I: General Overview (Cape Town: Surplus People Project, 1983), pp. 6-7. The 5 volumes give a detailed account of removals in South Africa in pursuit of apartheid; John Kane-Berman, "Population Removal, Displacement, and Divestment in South Africa", Social Dynamics, 7 (December 1981), 28-46.
- ⁵ Ethel Walt, editor, South Africa - A Land Divided, (The Black Sash, 1982).
- ⁶ World Development Report, 1983, (New York: Oxford University Press for The World Bank, 1983), pp. 149, 202.
- ⁷ Temi Lamont, "The Developmental Relationship between South Africa and the Black States/Homelands", (paper presented at the 10th Annual Congress of the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa, Maseru, 1979).
- ⁸ Frank Molteno, "The Historical Significance of the Bantustan Strategy", Social Dynamics, 3 (December 1977), 15-33.
- ⁹ D. Dewar, A. Todes and V. Watson, Theories of Urbanization and National Settlement Strategy in South Africa, Working Paper No. 21 (Cape Town: Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town, 1982).
- ¹⁰ South Africa 1980/81, p. 28.
- ¹¹ Background, Objectives and Functioning of the Regional Development Advisory Committees, (Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1983).

¹²Newspaper report, "Beleid vir Welsyn Hersien", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 19 (March 1983), 49.

¹³Frances J. Lund, "Community Development as an Arm of Government Policy", (unpublished dissertation, University of Manchester, 1972), pp. 19-34.

¹⁴Ibid.: p. 34.

CHAPTER VIITHE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK:
A PLEA FOR AN INDIGENOUS MODEL OF TRAINING

Poverty, and the phenomena of deprivation that are associated with it, affect the vast majority of the world's present-day population. Since World War II, the low standards of living of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have come into prominence internationally. Poverty's victims have become vocal and call for action to meet their basic needs and to bring about what they believe to be the required structural change in the societies in which they live, which in turn implies change in international relations. There is an undisputed focus on the life situations of people in the lesser developed countries. Furthermore, their participation in decisions about development processes is considered to be indispensable.

The two essential ingredients in the process of development, both nationally and internationally, appear to be (a) mass mobilization, and (b) introducing concomitant structural change to meet the needs of people in lesser developed countries.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the phase in South African history after World War II has been characterized by the legal entrenchment of racial segregation. This has earned South Africa international isolation and rejection, though this is seldom officially acknowledged. Internally,

/the ...

the life circumstances of the majority of South Africans are similar to those of people in lesser developed countries. Strategies are being applied in the lesser developed countries to improve standards of living; some achieve success. Surely similar strategies might be applied in changing the life circumstances of the majority of South Africans?

The social work profession is one of the helping professions which can make a contribution to the process of development. That social workers themselves, and others, believe this is illustrated by the themes chosen, for instance over the past decade, for the biennial international gatherings of two major international bodies in the social work field, i.e. the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW).¹

The writer, being himself a social work educator, has special interest in examining how the existence of the conditions of underdevelopment impinges upon the curricula of social work training institutions, especially in South Africa.

In South Africa Social Work is statutorily defined as follows:²

any act, activity or method directed at diagnosing, eliminating, preventing or treating social malfunctioning or problematic functioning in man, or at promoting social stability in man, and includes any process which is calculated to promote the efficient performance or application of such act, activity or method.

/Pincus ...

Pincus and Minahan³ define it by saying:-

Social work is concerned with the interactions between people and their social environment which affect the ability of people to accomplish their life tasks, alleviate distress, and realize their aspirations and values. The purpose of social work therefore is to (1) enhance the problem-solving and coping capacities of people, (2) link people with systems that provide them with resources, services and opportunities, (3) promote the effective and humane operation of these systems, and (4) contribute to the development and improvement of social policy.

In practice social work employs three direct methods, viz. casework, group work, and community work, and two enabling methods, viz. administration and research.⁴

These definitions are accepted as adequate in the present context to give a description of what social work is. ~~How~~ adequately, however, does the profession contribute to the process of development in the lesser developed countries or communities?

Midgley⁵ examined this issue very recently and claims to have disclosed a discomfiting state of affairs. Most of the training institutions for social workers in the Third World were established since World War II. The curricula, literature, and professionalization conformed to the American pattern for training social workers.⁶

Internationally, social work education expanded rapidly after the Second World War when many professional schools of social work were established in the newly independent developing countries.

/Although ...

Although schools of social work in developing countries differ from each other and from schools of social work in the West, these differences are not substantial. As American standards, theories and methods have been adopted, these differences have become less marked and, as many critics have shown, the content of social work education in the Third World is very similar to that in the United States.

The dominant pattern is one suitable to First World conditions: to highly-developed, resource-rich, mainly urbanized, highly competitive, consumer-oriented communities. The circumstances of Third World people are not taken into account. In analysing the curricula of 22 schools of social work in Africa, Latin America and Asia, Midgley concluded:⁷

... this study provide(s) little evidence that schools of social work in the Third World have modified their curricula substantially in recent years to provide a professional education in social work which is appropriate to developing countries. The training which students of social work in the Third World receive is dominated by theories and methods which have been imported from the United States; this teaching and the field work placements which accompany it are designed primarily to train professional social workers for casework practice and few schools have experimented with new and more relevant forms of social work intervention.

Helm's⁸ review of social work training twenty years ago shows that in South Africa the training conforms to the American and British models. It is university-based, has an urban bias, and, in accordance with the national education policy, is weighted heavily in favour of students classified as white under the Population Registration Act, (No. 30 of 1950). The writer's participation since 1976 in the work of the South

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African Joint Universities Committee on Social Work confirms that the dominant training model in South Africa is still the American one and that the majority of students still come from the First World constituencies of the population.

Professional social work qualifications in the United States are earned at graduate level, but in South Africa they are earned at undergraduate level. Notwithstanding, the model of the training itself, and the literature used to support it in South Africa, are mainly American in origin.

The casework method, which focuses on individual and family work, remains the method which enjoys priority attention in South African training and practice.⁹ The introduction of post-graduate courses in psychiatric and medical social work illustrates the dominance of the casework or clinical work method. There is a close affinity between the work done by graduate clinical social workers and clinical psychologists. In the training of clinical social workers at the University of Cape Town some training sessions are held jointly with clinical psychology students. The standards in clinical social work training achieved at the University of Cape Town School of Social Work are comparable to those of First World countries, as evidenced by the acceptability of its products to practise there, the comments by visiting staff members from such First World countries, and the interchange which U.C.T. staff has had with staff in First World Universities.

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At issue, however, is the impact of social workers on the life circumstances of the majority of the South African population who live under Third World conditions. Koehn¹⁰ legitimately cautions that:

Without an incisive understanding of the society in which he or she is operating, and without clear goals relating to the type of social order for which he or she is working, the social worker cannot be effective: At best, the efforts are ineffectual; at worst, damaging and manipulative.

It is upon the same assumption (i.e. of the inadequacy of past training -- and consequently practice -- models) that Lund and Van Harte¹¹ conducted their exploratory study into the shift to community work as a more appropriate model in the South African context. During the last decade South African training institutions have expanded their curricula to give prominence to community work ~~to both theory and practice~~. A comparable expansion of direct services occurred in the welfare organizations.¹² This is a highly significant expansion, first because it holds the potential for using the skills of social workers in the process of mobilization around issues which are of critical importance to the citizens of South Africa. Second, this expansion is significant because it holds the potential for adopting a more pragmatic approach to the training of social workers in South Africa. Midgley¹³ delineated four ingredients which a pragmatic approach should contain.

1. The existing forms of social work practice need not necessarily be abandoned, but they must be adapted to the context. He argues in favour of maintaining the universal features of social work intervention in conformity with the conditions which prevail in

/the ...

the particular situation.

2. Greater emphasis should be placed on the acquisition of practical skills which the context demands than on theoretical knowledge which may be peripheral to meeting the most urgent needs of the citizens.
3. "Thirdly, pragmatic social work in the Third World must be concerned with the most pressing social problems of developing countries". The situation will dictate what those problems are and thereby determine the skills that are demanded to deal with them. It will not only vary from locality to locality, but also from time to time, thus maintaining a dynamism in the role which social workers can play in the process of development.
4. A pragmatic approach essentially means indigenisation. "[It] means appropriateness; professional social work roles must be appropriate to the needs of different countries and social work education must be appropriate to the demands of social work practice."

"The indigenisation of social work practice must be accompanied by the indigenisation of social work education; schools of social work must devise curricula which will prepare students adequately for professional practice, however this is defined in their own countries.

Indigenisation in South Africa is extremely haphazard¹⁴ because the Nationalist government has entrenched racial segregation, the latest instrument being the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, (No. 110 of 1983). It has entrenched societal positions of superiority for those classified white and inferiority for the Black people, i.e. Coloureds, Indians and Africans, and it is intolerant¹⁵ of anyone who threatens white domination.

Le Roux¹⁶ has shown that apartheid is structurally designed to maintain South Africa's conditions of underdevelopment.

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Social service-delivery is not as effective and efficient as it ought to be because apartheid means that different State departments, and consequently different bureaucratic requirements and benefits, exist for the affairs of different racial groups. The existence of apartheid frequently prevents social workers from treating the causes of problems; they are legally restricted to treating symptoms. The immediate need therefore is for social workers to be involved in action to remove apartheid.

Apartheid in university education has been entrenched through the Extension of Universities Education Act, (No. 45 of 1959), directly affecting the training of social workers.

Herman Stein¹⁷ has stated appropriately:

Where there are oppressive elements in the system which social work is helping to maintain, social work's values prescribe a struggle against such elements, at least to test the limits of the official constraints.

The University of Cape Town School of Social Work has a long-standing practice of 'testing the limits of official constraints'. It has scored notable success in the admission of both undergraduate and graduate students and in the appointment of staff irrespective of race. Few other training institutions have taken steps along the same lines. An immediate and natural consequence of having a student body and staff of different legal racial classification is that it constitutes an existential challenge to apartheid.

In adopting a pragmatic approach, training institutions for social
/workers ...

workers in South Africa should give due recognition to the rights and needs of Black people, as a constituency requiring priority attention. The same moral responsibility towards the South for which the Brandt Commission argued internationally applies to the national affairs of South Africa: amelioration of the conditions of underdevelopment must receive priority attention, and apartheid is a major contributor to the perpetuation of these conditions.

Indigenisation also requires an explicit official commitment to it on the part of the opinion-formers in the social work profession. An investigation into the social work profession¹⁸ completed in 1975 resulted in, amongst others, the Social and Associated Workers Act, (No. 110 of 1978). It confirmed the professional status of social work (first recognized by law in terms of the National Welfare Act of 1965 which the 1978 legislation superseded) through the establishment of a statutory professional Council and it continued the legal requirement that social workers be registered before being permitted to practice. The priority in this legislation is to protect the profession; secondarily, to protect the consumer of social work services.¹⁹ Indigenisation is not taken seriously. However, the Act does concern training. The above-mentioned Council is empowered inter alia to regulate curricula. It has not done so as yet, but has announced its intention to. Thus indigenisation could be effected under present legislation, but it is not essentially in keeping with the spirit of the legislation.

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the content of

As a preliminary step to regulating/social work training, the statutory Council has let it be known that a curriculum study is in progress at present.²⁰ The writer is not very optimistic about it resulting in indigenisation of the curriculum. He considers it useful as an instrument to document the current position in the country with respect to curricula and the opinions of practitioners about the skills required in the field, but is uncertain about the commitment to indigenisation which would be the logical next phase.

Over a two-year period the corps of social workers employed by the government of the 'independent homeland' of Bophuthatswana more than doubled.²¹ This is a major step forward in meeting human needs in this region. But it does not within itself signify indigenisation. Without exception, the social workers concerned are products of South African training institutions modelled on American lines. Discussions with Bophuthatswana social workers soon elicit the acknowledgement that they recognize how inappropriate their training has been for the tasks that lie before them.

A pragmatic approach to the training of social workers in South Africa will necessitate a thorough examination of the pressing problems of the majority of citizens. In pursuance of that examination, national social policy should require training institutions to devise curricula that will equip trainees to respond effectively to those needs. Such an approach need not necessarily exclude the current international interchangeability of

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trainees, but the national moral obligation is to make the training appropriate to Southern African needs.

Social work practice would have to become one of many contributory elements in a national development strategy, which in turn should be part of international development trends. Social workers at local level will be required to contribute to much wider community development²² effort. At regional and other levels the demands will almost certainly be as contributors to social policy and planning. The training institutions, therefore, face a particular need to train social workers to become social policymakers and planners, if training patterns are to be indigenised and not merely American transplants into the South African context.

A pragmatic approach on the part of training institutions in South Africa will necessitate sustained contact with social work practitioners, key people, and pivotal institutions in the community and society. There should be on-going dialogue between faculty and the field; a deliberate demystification of the élitism associated with universities. Midgley gives substance to his critique of the American model by citing two examples of successful contextual departures from it in Sierra Leone and the Philippines.²³

South Africa can become yet another example of a contextual departure from the dominant national and international model

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when more persons who are or have been victims of the life circumstances associated with underdevelopment become active participants in shaping policy in this country.

The University of the Western Cape has made an institutional commitment to indigenise its functions. Within that Weltanschauung the Social Work Department launched a study²⁴ to gather the opinions of practitioners in assisting it in the process of indigenising its curriculum. The Weltanschauung of the institution and its staff that emerged give the writer cause for optimism.

The pioneering work of the University of Cape Town School of Social Work in this respect needs to be carried even further by accelerating the pace at which indigenisation occurs. The envisaged (as from 1985) graduate course in Social Policy and Social Administration is in keeping with other pioneering ventures of the School²⁵ and could meet a vital need if it is indigenised and does not turn out to be another American transplant into the South African context. Exploration of the indigenisation theme should be encouraged through on-going research to determine progress towards it throughout the country.

Finally the writer recognizes a parallelism between the approaches to development and the trends in social work training, sequentially outlined below.

/POST ...

POST WORLD WAR IIDEVELOPMENT TRENDS

1. Need for addressing under-development gains prominence.
2. Domination of American model of economic growth.
3. Basic needs of majority of people not met.
4. Strategies taken into review.
5. Contextual pragmatism incorporating basic needs of people considered most promising.

SOCIAL WORK TRENDS

- Need for social workers' skills reflected by substantial increase in the number of schools of social work.
- Domination of American training model.
- Basic needs of majority of people not met.
- Training patterns subject to scrutiny.
- Contextual pragmatism incorporating basic needs of people considered most promising.

NOTES

¹ Some of the themes of I.C.S.W. were:

- 1974 - Development and Participation
- 1980 - Social Development in Times of Economic Uncertainty
- 1982 - Action for Social Progress: The Responsibilities of Governmental and Voluntary Organisations

Some of the themes of I.A.S.S.W. were:

- 1976 - Social Realities and the Social Work Response: The Role of Schools of Social Work
- 1978 - Discovery and Development in Social Work Education
- 1980 - Social Conflicts and Social Work Education
- 1982 - Trends in Social Welfare. The Statutory, Voluntary and Informal Response. Challenge to Education, Training and Practice.

² Republic of South Africa Statutes: Social and Associated Workers' Act, No. 110 of 1978.

³ Allen Pincus and Anne Minahan, Social Work Practice: Model and Practice (Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1973), p.9.

⁴ Homero Ferrinho, Towards a Theory of Community Development (Cape Town: Juta & Company, 1980), pp. 92-99.

⁵ James Midgley, Professional Imperialism: Social Work in the Third World (London: Heinemann, 1981).

⁶ Ibid., p. 39 and p. 76.

⁷ Ibid., p. 84.

⁸ Brunhilde Helm, Thirty Years of Social Work Training in South Africa (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Board of Sociological Research, 1964).

⁹ cf. Brunhilde Helm, "Is the Newly-Qualified Social Worker Equipped for His Task?" (Paper read at the Conference of Teachers of Social Work, Kimberley, May 1975).

¹⁰ Renée Koonin, "Youth in Communities: Training for Citizen Roles" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981), p. 54.

¹¹ F.J. Lund and E.L. van Harte, Community Work for Development and Change (Bellville: Institute for Social Development, University of the Western Cape, 1980); cf. also Eric Atmore, "Social Work and Politics in South Africa", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 17 (June, 1981), 95-98; and Peter Templeton, "Creative Social Work", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 18 (June, 1982), 100-103.

¹² cf. Mary Fitzgerald, Urban Community Development in South Africa, (Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1980); Jacqui Fouche and Neil Snape, "Paper on the findings of a Literature Search of Applied Social Research on the Residents of the Cafda Zone Cape Town", Cape Town, 1980. (Mimeographed); P.J.M. Hancock, "Some Initial Thoughts on a Community Work Programme for Cape Flats Distress Association", Cape Town, 1980. (Mimeographed); Brunhilde Helm, "Citizen Participation in Community Development: Its Problems in an Apartheid Society", in Society in Southern Africa, ed. by Brunhilde Helm (Association for Sociology in Southern Africa, 1977), pp. 115-121; Gerrit J. Kotze, "Gemeenskapswerk op Plase in Wes-Kaapland", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 19 (June 1983), 83-91; Lionel R. Louw, "Social Work in the Western Cape", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 18 (August 1982), 192-195; Lionel R. Louw, "The Role of the Community in Combatting Poverty" (paper presented at the Dutch Reformed Mission Church Congress on Poverty, Belhar, 29-30 September 1982); Francie Lund, Community Self Survey in Lamontville (Durban: Centre for Applied Social Sciences University of Natal, 1982); Mamelodi: Progress in Crime Prevention Community Work (Cape Town: NICRO, 1981); "Papers presented at the Symposium on Community Work held to mark the inauguration of the Society for Social Workers of South Africa", Durban, May 1980; Sillabusse vir die Eenjarige Kursus vir Welsynsassistente used by the now Department of Education and Training in South West Africa; Irene Swil, Community Work Theory and Case Studies (Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1982); Edna L. van Harte, ed., The Involvement of U.W.C. Students in Community Work (Bellville: Institute for Social Development, University of the Western Cape, 1977).

¹³ Midgley, op. cit., pp. 168-174; cf. L. Botha, "Opleiding van Maatskaplike Werkers in 'n Veranderende Samelewing", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 17 (March 1981), 28-34; Brunhilde Helm, "Social Work and Social Reality: A South African Perspective", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 18 (March 1982), 13-20.

¹⁴ Brunhilde Helm, "Citizen Participation in Community Development: Its Problems in an Apartheid Society", in Society in Southern Africa, pp. 121-126; Koonin, op. cit., pp. 61-75; Brian K. Taylor, "The Challenge for Community Workers in Divided South Africa", Community Development Journal, 12 (April 1977), 96-107; Marjorie Hope Young, "Social Work Under Apartheid", Social Work, 25 (July 1980), 309-313.

¹⁵ A range of security legislation exists to intimidate opponents of the government, cf. Muriel Horrell, Race Relations as Regulated by Law in South Africa, 1948-1979, (Johannesburg: S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1982), pp. 201-243.

¹⁶ Pieter le Roux, "Maatskaplike Strukture, Menswaardigheid en die Verskynsel van Armoede in die Suid-Afrika-konteks", Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 19 (March 1983), 27-37.

¹⁷ Herman D. Stein, "Social Work's Developmental and Change Functions: Their Roots in Practice", Social Service Review, 50 (March 1976), 2.

¹⁸Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Separate Legislation for the Social Work Profession, A.J. Auret, chairman (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1976).

¹⁹cf. Paul Wilding, Professional Power and Social Welfare (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).

²⁰Under the guidance of Prof. I.J.J. van Rooyen, Head of the Department of Social Work in the University of Pretoria and also the President of the Council for Social and Associated Workers. The questionnaire does not necessarily point to a serious quest to indigenise the curriculum, although thoughtful analysis could yield results which could be beneficial to indigenisation of the curriculum.

²¹Information received through Professor Helm acting as a consultant to the Bophuthatswana Department of Health and Welfare.

²²Community Development embraces more than the social welfare concerns of social work. It can incorporate any or all other dimensions of community life such as education, job-creation, health care. cf. William Biddle and Loureide Biddle, The Community Development Process (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 76-120; Community Development and National Development (New York: United Nations, 1963), pp. 3-16; Allan D. Edwards and Dorothy G. Jones, Community and Community Development (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 137-164; 225-174; Ferrinho, op. cit., pp. 21-42; Hayden Roberts, Community Development: Learning and Action (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 25-44; 175-177.

²³Midgley, op. cit., pp. 157-167.

²⁴Beyond the analysis of the data, considerably more work needs to be done to indigenise. The institutional motivation for the study creates an ethos of optimism.

²⁵It initiated Psychiatric Social Work training as a graduate specialist field; it initiated grassroots level community work in many communities in Cape Town and offered graduate specialist training in Community Social Work which in some respects is the forerunner of the 1985 programme.

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