

From the London End

South Africa—What Next?

DR MALAN has been celebrating his victory at the polls in a whirlwind tour of the country with celebrations, parades and leader-worshipping jam bores. Though his victory was won on a minority of the votes cast while the mass of the people are voteless, yet Dr Malan could say without any hesitation that the *people* of South Africa may now decide whether they wish to remain in the Commonwealth or not. More than that he believes that his main role for the immediate future would be to put the sovereignty of parliament beyond dispute. He has already begun wooing members of the opposition to support him in what he calls this "high endeavour". But much more important are what he and his party are going to do to assure "white supremacy" for the "next thousand years".

It must therefore be clear that the Nationalist Party, now that its power has been strengthened and its control on instruments of force and coercion made more complete, would do anything to the South Africa Act of 1910. do anything with its non-European population, do anything with the courts of justice' and march along to the fulfilment of its philosophy—Fascism. South Africa has reached the stage of Germany in the era 1933 to 1936. There can be little doubt about this. Already the bogey of Communism has become the main argument (or putting down every extra-parliamentary opposition. The racialistic content of fascism has been given full vent by the extermination tactics adopted against such minorities as the Indians. Equally, the Nationalists are attempting the well-worn practice of decrying "certain financiers and capitalists" in order that they may direct the attack against the Jews also.

What place in history can one give to this tragic development when in almost every other country, the era of enlightenment has begun and new efforts are being made towards solving the problem of poverty and plenty? In its immediate geographical context, there can be no doubt that what is happening in South Africa today is but a reaction in a somewhat violent form to the upsurge of the African

people—to the realisation that they too have a right to a place in the sun. Like what is happening in Kenya, it is a reaction to what has come to be called "Gold-Coastism"—African responsibility for his own affairs. In this sense the Nationalists in South Africa, and the British in Kenya, and elsewhere, have come to represent the most retrograde and ugliest aspect of African development. As long as "white supremacy" remains the aim of the white man in Africa, Britain's and South Africa's stand can appear in no better light.

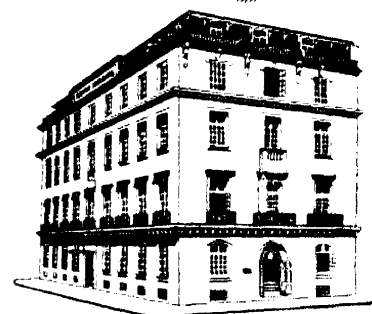
The outcome of the general elections in South Africa reveals that there are a number of forces at work, each going its own way but all combining in bringing about the inevitable crisis in race and social relations. The economy of the Union takes the form of an inverted pyramid. At its base is the gold mining industry employing over 360,000 workers at wage rates which have since 1886 established the foundations of the present labour structure of the country. That structure is of "cheap labour" worked on a migratory pattern. The African enters the gold mining industry for a fixed period of 9 months at a fixed wage scale equivalent to an annual income of £56. On the expiry of that period, he is sent back to the African Reserves" where he once again joins his family and re-starts tilling his plot of land which had been lying unattended during these months and had virtually become waste land by then. For the mining industry therefore there is no settled working population. And the mining industry, as powerful in politics as it has been in the economic field, has all along opposed any other system of labour recruitment. It is from the migratory system that the mining industry has been able to find cheap labour.

Next come the industries concerned with manufacturing. In the 1920's and 30's, whatever there was of manufacturing was only to meet the demands of the mining industry. Since the last war, however, an industrial revolution has taken place in South Africa. New industries, heavy and light, have sprung up with amazing speed and there

can be little doubt that the volume of capital investment in this period has been unprecedented. But it is precisely this sector of the economy that has found the cheap labour system unsuitable—the local market remains too small as a consequence and race laws promulgated at the behest of the gold mines preclude the employment of Africans as skilled workers. Labour shortage for secondary industry has therefore become a serious problem.

Finally, there is agriculture at the very top of the inverted pyramid. It is conducted without science or sense. The white farmers with large estates employ thousands of African labourers as the main instrument of their farming technique, and at wages that are invariably paid in kind, amounting to an average of about £25 per annum. This sector of the economy which

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is so heavily represented in the Nationalist Party is decidedly against industrialisation and strongly in favour of the cheap labour system.

To the white people totalling two and half million, as against twelve million non-Europeans, the *status quo* assures the high standard of living they have been enjoying, and the higher paid positions and opportunity of wielding power. They are therefore content to support that, political party which would assure them of the continuance of the *status quo*. Both white political parties are committed to the maintenance of "white supremacy", but the Nationalists have been more sure of themselves. They have a programme which makes "baaskap" and "apartheid"—white man's rule and racial segregation—fundamental elements in their philosophy of fascism. In this they have the support of the gold mining industry and of the white farmers, and hence are able to represent a coherent force capable of giving the white man the assurances he wants.

For the non-whites the object of everything that is political, economic and social in South Africa—there is no alternative except to organise themselves and to struggle against the scheme of things which oppresses them so much. Since the time they achieved unity within their ranks and under the influence of the more subtle and experienced Indian leaders, the militancy of the people has risen to new heights and following their Defiance against Unjust Laws Campaign, they now stand prepared for new offensives, in the wake of the approaching storm portended by the victory of Dr Malan's Nationalist Party.

These are the conflicting forces in South Africa today. That there is a crisis in the offing, there can be no doubt. That it may involve violence, bloodshed and horror, in view of the vehemence with which Dr Malan hopes to fulfill his role, is a serious possibility. While there can be no question about the justice of the cause of the non-white peoples and the inevitability of their victory, theirs is a struggle which will be long and hard, involving, as it will, losses of lives and great sacrifice. Dr Malan's victory is nothing less than the defeat of reason. Any effort to bring back South Africa to reason and democracy cannot but earn the sympathy and support of the whole wide world.

Community Development — Some Techniques and Processes

Robert C Jones

The author has worked on Community Development in Ecuador and was a Member of the recent UN Mission on Community Development for the Carribeans. The views expressed in this article, however, are entirely his own.—*Ed.*

RESIDENTS of isolated rural communities everywhere are becoming aware of their seemingly unfavourable level of living as compared with that appearing to prevail in more highly developed areas and are becoming restless as a result. There is need to create such ferment along constructive lines.

Because so little attention has usually been given in the past to the affairs of small communities by both national and international agencies, there is a great need to study at first hand the efforts which have been made at improvement in such localities so that information regarding techniques and procedures utilised may be effectively exchanged.

It is impossible, on the basis of immediately available data, to make a comparative evaluation of community organisation and development programmes in any area. No systematic evaluation has been carried out and such reports as exist not only inadequately cover details, but have usually been prepared for promotional purposes. There are relatively few intensive studies of communities of the type in which the majority of the people live, much less indications as to what they think and feel or what they would like to have out of life.

While a few case studies of community development programmes in underdeveloped areas exist, they are almost all uncritical in character and enumerate activities rather than describe and analyze methods and techniques utilized. For the purpose of abstracting basic principles and understanding processes, projects which have failed to accomplish the ends for which they were initially organized may be as valuable as those which have been considered to be very successful.

EXTENDING GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

Even though efforts are being made to extend the services of technical governmental agencies more adequately to rural areas and the advantage of obtaining the co-operation of local leaders in doing

so is increasingly being recognized, information as to the structure and function of local government is rarely readily at hand, much less is it known to what extent local officials participate in the affairs of the communities in which they live and work.

Leaders anxious to improve conditions under which they are living are to be found practically everywhere. They frequently need encouragement and/or help from outside. Such persons also frequently want to know how other communities have confronted problems so that they may profit from the experience of others.

Social welfare agencies which extend their services beyond the borders of urban concentrations of population usually recognize that in rural areas locality groupings themselves are or can become the most effectively functioning entities through which economic and social improvement can be accomplished.

Technical agencies and services, on the other hand, frequently use special interest groups which they themselves have created in many cases, and through this practice segment communities rather than strengthen them through unitedly developing programmes in which all local residents can at least to some extent participate. This presents the problem as to what the relationship between the two types of services should be and raises the question as to whether it is necessary in all cases to have both. If technical experts were given the proper kind of orientation in the professional schools, might they not themselves co-ordinate their services and direct their attention more intelligently towards the masses of the people?

There is a definite distinction between activities on the part of outsiders intended to benefit people and action which spontaneously develops as a result of the people's own aspirations and recognition of needs.

Where neighbours have joined hands in accomplishing an undertaking which is important to most