international foundation for development alternatives
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IFDA DOSSIER ?, JANUARY 1979

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secretariat: 2, place du marché, ch - 1260 nylon, switzerland; telephone 41 (22) 61 82 82; telex 28840 ifda ch; cable lipad, geneva
bank: swiss credit bank, ch - 1211 geneva 11, switzerland, account no 254208
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IFDA Dossier 3 was sent to the printer while No.2 was being mailed. Thus it does not include any of the 'interactions' or contributions requested from readers in the Introductory Note to the November issue. It may, however, be useful to repeat that papers prepared in the context of the Third System Project are seen as "building blocks" for the United Nations Development Strategy for the 80s and Beyond and are, strictly speaking, discussion papers. Readers are invited to react to them and also to communicate to IFDA any views, ideas or material they consider relevant. To contribute meaningfully to broadening and deepening the development discussion, the IFDA Dossier should become a permanent "seminar by correspondence".

As it happened, "building blocks" ready for submission constitute the first elements of a "cluster" on participatory development. Some, it will be seen, are more descriptive than analytical or critical. IFDA's role is to promote and stimulate dialogues. 'Objectivity' and 'consensus views' may emerge from the exchange itself rather than from particular contributions. Authors are free to express themselves as they see fit. It is for readers to provide comments and suggest alternative approaches and views. The IFDA Dossier should be that of its readers.

Papers appear in their original language, English or French. Future issues will also include contributions in Spanish. In all cases, a short summary in the two other languages is provided. At a later stage, it is expected that documents found of particular interest may be translated and appear in some English, French or Spanish publications.

Reference to "technical annexes" is made in two 'building blocks' included in this issue. These may be obtained from the authors, with whom direct discussion is invited.
FOOTNOTES

Readers will find hereunder some references to recent publications of interest:


Björn Hettne, Current Issues in Development Theory, SAREC Report R5, 1978 (Swedish Agency for Research Co-operation with Developing Countries.)


Geoffrey Barraclough, "Waiting for the New Order" and "The Struggle for the Third World", The New York Review of Books (Vol.XXV, no.16, 26.10.78 and no.17, 09.11.78)


Yohannes Noggo, Agrarian Reform and Class Struggle in Ethiopia (African Environment, Occasional papers series; ENDA, P.O. Box 3370, Dakar, Senegal)

Marc Nerfin, "Hacia Otro Desarrollo", Socialismo y Participación (No.4, Setiembre 1978)(Apartado 1, Lima 4, Perú).

To remind


IFDA Dossier 2, November 1978: List of on-going projects; 'Building Blocks' by Ignacy Sachs, Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, François Le Guay and Reginald Herbold Green; 'Interactions' by Leelananda de Silva, Reginald Herbold Green and Chakravarthi Raghavan.

(Both issues are available free of charge from IFDA.)
Abstract: Four case studies are summarized in which oppressed people have successfully assumed control over their own destinies and development strategies. Lessons from experience are drawn, at the national and macro-economic level, from Guinea-Bissau where the popular liberation movement has grown into the national government without losing close contact with its constituency; from the Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka which has started as a modest development organization of poor people, based on indigenous social and cultural values, and which has grown into a popular movement of one million people (of 14 million total population) in some 2000 villages*; from the SEWA (self-employed women's association) in Ahmedabad, India, where oppressed street vendors, artisans, junksmiths and garment-makers have founded their own bank (which now has 1000 shareholders and 10000 depositors) to circumvent usurious lending practices and to gain access to capital at their own terms; and from a Quechua community in central Bolivia where handicrafts producers cooperatives have successfully maintained self-reliance and cultural identity through conscious choice of appropriate technology at their own terms. Lessons in development as a form of Liberation are drawn from the social praxis of each of these examples.

* This issue also includes a paper by the president of the Sarvodaya Movement
DÉVELOPPEMENT COMME LIBÉRATION: LECONS DE QUATRE EXPÉRIENCES

Résumé

Ce document résume quatre monographies montrant comment des groupes opprimés ont, avec succès, pris le contrôle de leur destin et de leur stratégie de développement. Des leçons sont tirées de l'expérience, au niveau national et macro-économique, de la Guinée-Bissau où le mouvement de libération populaire s'est développé au point de devenir le gouvernement national sans perdre contact avec sa base; du mouvement Sarvodaya au Sri Lanka qui a démarré comme une modeste organisation de développement des pauvres à partir des valeurs sociales et culturelles endogènes, et qui s'est développé en un mouvement populaire regroupant un million de personnes (sur une population totale de 14 millions), dans quelques 2000 villages*; de SEWA (association de femmes auto-employées) à Ahmedabad, Inde, où des vendeuses ambulantes, des artisans, des couturières ont fondé leur propre banque, qui a maintenant 1000 actionnaires et 10000 déposants, pour résister aux usuriers et accéder au crédit à leurs propres conditions; et d'une communauté Quechua, en Bolivie centrale, où des coopératives artisanales ont maintenu avec succès leur autonomie et leur identité culturelle, en choisissant consciemment des techniques appropriées. Quelques conclusions sur le développement comme libération sont tirées de la pratique sociale illustrée par chacun de ces exemples.

DESARROLLO COMO FORMA DE LIBERACIÓN: LECCIONES BASADAS EN CUATRO CASOS ESPECÍFICOS

Resumen

En los cuatro casos que se resumen los oprimidos lograron ellos mismos controlar sus destinos y siguen con éxito estrategias de desarrollo propias. Al nivel nacional y macro-económico se extraen lecciones de las experiencias de: Guinea-Bissau donde el movimiento popular de liberación del período colonial llegó a formar el actual gobierno del país sin perder contacto con el pueblo; Movimiento Sarvodaya* de Sri Lanka, que empezó como una modesta organización que buscaba promover el desarrollo de los pobres tomando como base de su acción los valores sociales y culturales endógenos, y que tiene hoy más de un millón de adeptos (de una población de 14 millones) en 2000 aldeas; SEWA (asociación de mujeres trabajando por cuenta propia) de Ahmedabad, India. Esta es una asociación de vendedoras ambulantes, artesanos, modestas costureras, que fundaron su propio banco (el que actualmente cuenta 1000 accionistas y 10.000 depositantes) para evitar las prácticas de usura de que eran las víctimas y obtener crédito a mejores términos; Una comunidad Quechua en el centro de Bolivia donde los artesanos se organizaron en cooperativas y lograron controlar ellos mismos sus comercios y mantener su identidad cultural ya que son ellos mismos que eligen la tecnología apropiada para su trabajo. Cada uno de estos ejemplos es la demostración práctica del desarrollo como forma de liberación.

* Ce Dossier contient aussi un article du président du Mouvement Sarvodaya
Este número incluye también un artículo del presidente del Movimiento Sarvodaya
DEVELOPMENT AS LIBERATION:
POLICY LESSONS FROM CASE STUDIES*

by
Denis Goulet

INTRODUCTION

Which policy lessons can be gained from the diverse experiences of oppressed groups struggling to improve their living conditions and to shape their social environment in accord with their priority values? The policy interest of this paper centers on how communities utilize "leverage points" enabling them to overcome constraints and reach their specific objectives, while fostering larger social transformations around them. To blend a concern for benefits with the critical selection of qualitative means for gaining them is the very essence of development: it is development conducted in the mode of liberation.

Limitations of space preclude giving detailed profiles of the cases included here. The cases, as sketched out briefly, serve as backdrop for drawing out useful policy lessons learned from them. No claim is made that the examples presented are comprehensive or representative in scope; the selection is limited to a few recent social experiments directly known to the author and of seminal interest to larger development issues. The cases are situated at varying levels of generality. Guinea-Bissau is an example of alternative strategy at the macro (or national) level, while the example from Sri Lanka is "located" at an intermediate social level: that of a nation-wide movement which is non-governmental and does not embrace all arenas of development strategy. Other examples are taken from local or regional communities; this is the case of the women's efforts in the city of Ahmedabad in India and the peasant cooperatives in central Bolivia.

I shall first reflect on general problems of liberation and development strategy. Next, specific cases are discussed with a view to identifying leverage points for change created by oppressed groups in their struggle. Finally, wider implications for policy arenas are examined.

(1) Liberation: Its Scope and Content

To liberate means, etymologically, to set free. Politically, liberation evokes such images as revolutionary struggle, the overthrow of oppressors, and the institution of a new social order. Within the special context of development, liberation connotes a victory over privilege, stagnation, and dependency. Careful analysis reveals that the aspiration after liberation has both negative and positive dimensions: one is liberated from certain evils and one is made free for human fulfillment, however conceived.

* The document referred to on page 3, paragraph 3 can be obtained from the Overseas Development Council, USA
There are three conditions from which an oppressed populace seeks deliverance. (a) The first is the psychic paralysis or despair induced by the internalization of self-images which are destructive of esteem and confidence. One defense mechanism which oppressed people usually adopt is a behavior pattern which confirms the stereotype held by those who control their lives. They act as if they too believed that they were inferior to their masters, less intelligent, less energetic, and less reliable than they. One essential part of the liberation process, therefore, consists in "extrojecting" (the term is Paulo Freire's) or casting out the introjected self-portrait which one's exploiters have a vested interest in perpetuating. (b) A second feature of liberation is the sustained effort to overcome the political and economic constraints which block a people's creativity. Creativity is frequently stifled to such a degree that a community comes to depend on outside groups to define for it its own needs or goals. Moreover, economic and technological domination by privileged classes strips subordinate classes of their ability to satisfy their own needs—by inventing tools, by working productively, or by organizing themselves in response to the challenges posed by their own environment. Domination by others also denies a community the opportunities it needs to create if it is to transcend its needs. Such transcendence could be achieved by cultural expression, gratuitous leisure, even the design of new forms of social organization. Oppression, in short, prevents human beings from defining, meeting, and transcending their own needs. (c) The third level at which liberation is sought is the overcoming of all servitudes to nature and to ignorance. A community is oppressed when it is technologically unable to master the destructive forces of nature. Such technological mastery is closely tied to the cognitive control exercised over nature. This is the reason why every revolutionary movement stresses the vital role played by learning. Large numbers of people need to be persuaded that they too can gain access to knowledge of how nature impinges upon them, of how social systems affect them, of how their own transformative efforts could release them from bondages of superstitution, inertia, and ignorance.

After one has been liberated from all these evils, however, what does one do with the newly-won freedom? The question then becomes not freedom from but freedom for what? The only possible answer is: freedom to fulfill oneself, personally and collectively, in other words, freedom to pursue humane development. The late L.J. Lebret designated the quest for sound development as "the human ascent." Yet development is obviously not a historical Utopian vision of perfection or static bliss. On the contrary, the human condition will always be marked by tragedy and suffering. At its bottom frontier, authentic development holds out a prospect in which all persons can have that decent sufficiency of goods which they need to be fully human. Achieving even this minimal goal takes time, demands strenuous struggle and, even when it succeeds, leads to admixtures of good and evil. The best that can be hoped for, in matters of development, is some relative approximation of success. The first "bottom threshold goal" (meeting everyone's basic needs), however, launches the platform for further social effort. Individuals and societies can grow in being long before they have enough goods, and long after they possess more than enough. This is why, in 1945, Lord Keynes raised a toast to "economics and economists, who are the trustees not of civilisation but of the possibility of civilisation." Material well-being merely opens the door to possibilities of further development. Ultimately, therefore, liberation is for development—for full, comprehensive human development. Economic, political, and societal emancipation have two purposes: to remove major obstacles impeding human development and, in the process of engaging people in the effort to overcome these
obstacles, to transform hitherto passive human beings into active subjects creating their own history.

(2) What is the Source of Development Strategies?

Much is written nowadays of alternative development strategies. And numerous costly intellectual exercises are sponsored in varied international arenas to formulate new models of the future, and to translate these into a list of policy targets. Great emphasis is placed on basic human needs as a first priority for building up self-reliance, or for achieving food self-sufficiency. What is often overlooked in discussions is the indispensable role played by social praxis in creating new strategies. The main source of alternative development strategies is the inventiveness of human communities in need as they strive and probe to redefine their core values and vital needs, to cope with nature and the outside forces which impinge upon them, and to reassess their relationship to political processes over which they have previously had little control. Concrete social practice is the principal font of new change strategies. Consequently, this essay derives policy lessons—admittedly of a partial and tentative nature—from the concrete experiences of human communities struggling to gain new freedoms. Such experiences are the most important source of wisdom about development strategies. It is from them that true alternative modes of problem solving and models of social reconstruction must come, and not from purely cerebral model-building that has little regard for constraints, for human desires and limitations, and for the unpredictable vagaries of local conditions.

This is not to imply that well-conceived models are useless, but rather that their optimum utility derives from placing new ideas and visions in living symbiosis with the social practice of concrete human communities. It is evident that no full-blown theory or policy model can emerge from the small number of cases barely outlined in these pages. Nevertheless some important lessons appear, and these are worthy of critical reflection.

I. SOME CASE STUDIES IN SEARCH OF POLICY LEVERAGE:

(A) Guinea-Bissau: A New Nation

The purposes of this paper are not served by describing in detail the economic and social conditions inherited by this new nation upon achieving independence in 1974, or the measures taken by its leaders in pursuing a suitable development strategy. These questions are discussed in Annex A document entitled Looking at Guinea-Bissau: A New Nation's Development Strategy. But Guinea-Bissau recommends itself to students of comparative development for several reasons:

- As a small country which is very poor in natural resources, skilled people, and modern infrastructure, it faces many of the same concrete difficulties which press upon numerous other nations (GNP per capital is ca $130).

- Its leaders, most of whom were active freedom fighters prior to independence, are explicitly committed to a policy which assigns highest priority to distributing benefits in a just and equitable manner. The basic needs of the rural poor come first.

- The government in Guinea-Bissau is eager to learn from the developmental
leaders and people similar to those obtained by Mao’s China during its military Long March.
years as an independent nation is the importance of a political leadership which remains in constant touch with its people. A clear view of priorities and coherent planning of strategies are doubtless necessary, as are recourse to specialists and to proper institutional instruments. But nothing can substitute for leaders who listen to their people, who debate options with them and, speaking more concretely, who get out of their offices in the capital cities and visit the countryside to keep learning about local conditions. Most government officials in Guinea-Bissau are former guerrilla fighters who have lived in liberated zones under conditions of hardship which they shared with the rural populace. They thus had no choice but to adopt forms of decision-making which were largely non-elitist and consultative. Moreover, the key role played by constant criticism and self-criticism protects leaders from harboring the illusion of superiority which usually assails those who hold positions of leadership.

After independence, one continues to note an unflagging zeal to gain new knowledge. But knowledge is best gained by returning to its chief source: the daily struggle of the people in their concrete conditions of life. Because government officials are highly receptive to technical instruction from specialists. Since learning is a resource to be shared, the nation ought to make the best use of those who possess special skills. And everybody can benefit from these skills where reciprocity in dialogue is the rule.

3) Guinea-Bissau's early experience alerts policy-makers to the need to pursue equity and social justice directly: neither can be expected to result as a by-product of other priorities. President Luis Cabral publicly declares that a rational plan is necessary in order to avoid the unfair distribution of services to one region at the expense of another, to one ethnic group to the detriment of others. Machinery and skilled personnel—both in scarce supply—are constantly shifted around to meet pressing needs not related to the specific projects to which they are allocated. Many foreign technicians complain that this practice is inefficient. Although it may be inefficient for a given project, it is nonetheless a useful device for achieving a greater spread of the benefits gained. The government does not underestimate the importance of increasing production and productivity. Its main priorities in agriculture are to increase, to diversify, and to disseminate. But all the broad incentive systems adopted (taxation, pricing, marketing arrangements, etc.) are geared to assuring a wide distribution of benefits, whether it be of foodstuffs, medical treatment, educational opportunities, or political information.

4) Finally, one learns from Guinea-Bissau that self-reliance cannot be pursued in isolation from other objectives. The country receives annually some $50 in foreign assistance per capita, a high figure for a land whose GNP per capita is $130. The danger of excessive dependency on outside resources is therefore very real. Measures taken to counter this risk have been: the insistence on grants instead of loans (a freedom made possible by the exceptional prestige enjoyed by the PAIGC in international circles, thanks to its heroic liberation struggle and to the pervasive humanism of its revolutionary vision as expounded by Amilcar Cabral), diversification in the sources of aid (aid is welcomed from all who respect the country's sovereignty and priorities), and the refusal of aid whenever it would be too burdensome (either because of excessive financial costs or because it carries "political strings").
Nevertheless, Guinea-Bissau has to struggle in order NOT to become too reliant on outside help. The lesson here is that self-reliance is but a relative value needing to be balanced against the pressing urgency to obtain incremental resources if basic needs are to be met. Moreover, self-reliance is a long-term goal which can be realized only in stages. To illustrate, Guinea-Bissau aims at reaching basic food self-sufficiency within a few years and, over a somewhat longer term, at freeing itself from outside capital for its budgetary expenses and a significant portion of its developmental investment capital. To succeed, however, it must export more goods and expand its tourist services, thereby linking itself to outside systems in other ways.

A minute study of Guinea-Bissau's development efforts would unearth other instructive lessons, among these: the higher efficacy of persuasion allied to supportive incentive systems over coercion (for instance, farm cooperatives are not imposed but opened to volunteers who are then helped to become productive in the hope of setting an example which others will wish to follow), the value of setting non-elite priorities in key sectors (for example: basic education to all Guineans instead of creating a university before the country is ready for it), constantly providing a political educational dimension to problem-solving activities and, in a generalized way, insisting that the best model of problem-solving is that which is created by the people themselves as they keep testing out new solutions adapted to their own conditions. And although leaders are open to other models, they rely mainly on their own growing experience to shape preferred strategies, thereby displaying a high degree of conceptual self-reliance.

(B) A People's Movement in Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya

The words "Sarvodaya Shramadana" mean "the awakening of all in society by the mutual sharing of one's time, thought and energy." Sarvodaya's self-declared ideal is to achieve the "well-being of all, and not only of the majority." Its concept of human development springs from ancient Buddhist philosophy whose core values are the respect for all life and the concept of the well-being of all. Because these values have been ignored by most modernizing "development" planners, including administrators and planners in post-independent Sri Lanka, Sarvodaya initiated a non-governmental people's movement through awareness-awakening and self-development. Its social action aims at liberation from exploitation through self-reliance, itself nurtured by a revolutionary technique to awaken people to their own potential. People's participation is the foundation of the movement.

Launched modestly in 1956 by Ariyaratne, a high school teacher in Colombo, the Movement now reaches approximately 1 million Sri Lankans (in a total population of 14 million) in almost 2,000 villages. Its programmes embrace all phases of village life (although it is now also beginning to exert its influence in urban centers) ranging from child care and youth education to job creation, community organization, farmer's clubs, international linkages to build up solidarity, community kitchens, and new patterns of involvement by monks in social problems.

Manifestly, any activity which can grow from a tiny seed to a large movement, with no government support, must hold out some lessons for students of development. Many policy instructions coming out of the Sarvodaya experience are not formulated explicitly by the Movement's leaders. Some light can be gleaned, however, from briefly examining a few of their salient value and
procedural themes. Afterwards, this author will add personal reflections based on visits to Sarvodaya field sites and on long conversations with its founder, A.T. Ariyaratne, and with the head of the Sarvodaya Research Centre, Dr. Nandasena Ratnapala.

Philosophy.

Traditional Buddhist pedagogy summarizes all of life in a quartet of pithy sayings:

- There is a problem (suffering)
- There is a cause (craving)
- There is a hope (of gaining release from the vicious circle of craving)
- There is a way (the eightfold path)

Sarvodaya has given a highly imaginative yet simple and forceful reinterpretation of these locutions and applied them to development problems. In Sri Lanka there is indeed a problem: underdevelopment, with its train of ills—poverty, disease, inertia, lack of self-confidence, hopelessness. And this evil has a cause: social exploitation which roots poor and powerless people in passivity. Nevertheless, there exists a hope of improving: not by awaiting favors from well-disposed politicians or benefactors, but by getting organized to solve problems collectively. Finally, there are ways of acting effectively: tools, instruments, techniques, work plans which are to be tried out in concrete experience, then translated into training curricula, and later still to be widely disseminated in ways accessible to all.

Practice.

In its early years Sarvodaya launched village actions by dispatching student volunteers to open work camps in which labor was shared to build or repair access roads, to dig wells and sanitary facilities, and to perform other such tasks. The central emphasis was placed, however, on revitalizing human motivations and social inter-relationships of collaboration. Therefore, physical labor at the work camps became a springboard for bringing villagers together to analyze their conditions (the problem), the structural reasons why their bad conditions had proven so recalcitrant to attempted solutions (the reason), the basis for thinking alternative approaches might work (share your labor and your thoughts as you have at the work camp and things will start getting done!), and the feasibility of designing a concrete plan of action in job creation, crop improvement, uplift of women, activation of youthful leaders, etc.

Constant education in a multiplicity of modes—all of them allying concrete action to intellectual and artistic learning—rapidly created a new "critical mass" of human beings competent and confident to tackle difficult tasks.

Some Policy Lessons.

1) The most obvious lesson offered by Sarvodaya, a nationwide, non-governmental movement for full human development is that people—even poor, untutored, powerless rural people—are a country's greatest resource. People remain a latent resource, however, until they are stirred into action by a pedagogy which gives people pride in their own values, shows them how these values can arm them with tools for acting effectively in their concrete
surroundings, and welds them into strong community networks of mutual support in the face of obstacles and failures. One of Sarvodaya's greatest achievements is to have restored to local communities of Bikkhus (Buddhist monks) their ancient role as catalysts of community-centered economic and social activities. In early centuries prior to colonial rule, Bikkhus were responsible for keeping water "tanks" or village reservoirs in a state of good repair, so that rice paddy fields could always receive uninterrupted irrigation. It was also their duty to collect a portion of the grain harvest for storage in village silos, to be redistributed in between seasons or in time of emergency on the basis of need. Foreign occupation led to a stripping of the Bikkhus' economic roles and their transfer to state administrators or to private, commercially-minded (not to say exploitative) enterprises. Thanks in large part to Sarvodaya, monks are now once again active agents of community mobilization.

Sarvodaya, however, is not founded on sectarian appeals to Buddhists alone. Although its pedagogy is organized around the four great Buddhist virtues--Metta (loving kindness), Karuna (compassion), Mudita (altruistic joy), and Upekka (Equanimity)--Sarvodaya also works in Tamil villages and in localities having Christian or Muslim populations. It has recently extended its appeal to secular individuals in cities. The common emphasis is on upgrading human potential by having people share their energies to accomplish concrete tasks. Sarvodaya workers are true believers in their own slogan: "We Build the Road and the Road Builds Us."

2) Since its creation twenty-two years ago Sarvodaya has learned much in dealing with conflict. Given its commitment to the values of non-violence and respect for life, it adopts non-violent forms of conflict management. An example drawn from one village situation illustrates their approach. The inhabitants of the poor village community in question wished to build a dirt road over which to transport their produce to nearby markets. The villagers were blocked from doing so, however, by a rich landowner whose property would be crossed by the projected road. All efforts to get his permission to let the road cross his land proved futile. Finally, during one of his periodic vacations outside the village, the Sarvodaya community simply built the road and awaited his return, whereupon they invited him to preside over the festivities of inauguration. Although this non-violent action proved efficacious, in other circumstances Sarvodaya communities simply keep pressuring exploiters until their demands are met.

The Movement's critics charge them with defusing political action by "co-opting" potential revolutionary youths away from more radical structural solutions. Ariyaratne's reply to these charges is to insist that the only truly radical solutions are those which the people themselves can undertake and those which produce effects they can tolerate. Unfortunately guerrilla attacks often serve no other purpose than to bring cruel reprisals down upon helpless peasants. Meanwhile the guerrillas have fled to sanctuary to await further opportunities to strike. Moreover, doctrinaire ideological programs simply alienate the masses, who still cling to ancient values as their vital source of identity and meaning.

This author once likened Sarvodaya's attitudes toward the oppressive structures of society to the action of termites in an old wooden mansion. Let us imagine a spacious, elegant, and luxurious house inhabited by selfish pleasure-seekers who are forever banqueting and revelling, all the while disdaining the hungry crowds of beggars lingering at their portals for morsels from the table. In their complacent euphoria, the revellers think that the
people pose no threat to their privileges: "no enemies can take their fortress away." Meanwhile, however, the poor outside the walls have introduced millions of termites who begin eating away at the beams of the house, its supporting rafters, and structure. No change is visible at first but at the right moment, once the "critical mass" of termites has been reached, the entire structure suddenly collapses. In the public seminar at which this author proposed the analogy, Ariyaratne agreed that something like this could perhaps be taking place in Sarvodaya. Large numbers of little people are improving their lot--economically and culturally--and gradually empowering themselves to provide Sri Lanka with alternative development structures once the present ones are revealed to have no solid survival value or to be too destructive of cherished social values. Consequently, Sarvodaya does view its program, not as mere problem-solving, but as a veritable alternative development strategy.

(C) Indian Women and the Three-Fold Liberation.

The general position of women in India is at the lower rungs of national life in three important arenas: economic roles, social freedom, and access to political power. A small number of gifted women, it is true, usually members of higher castes, have risen to eminent positions of power and influence. But the lot of most women is a terribly depressed one, both in absolute and in relative terms. Not surprisingly, therefore, numerous initiatives launched by Indian women to lift themselves up have found in Gandhi's writings strong intellectual support for their struggle. The Mahatma wrote that:

To call woman the weaker sex is a libel: it is man's injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then indeed is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is inmeasurably man's superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self-sacrificing, has she not greater courage? Without her man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman.

In this context, marked by a moral glorification of woman co-existing alongside social oppression, one women's organization stands out and suggests valuable lessons as to the linkage of economic improvement to social freedom and political empowerment. This is SEWA, the Self-Employed Women's Association of Ahmedabad, in the state of Gujarat (Gandhi's native state). Founded in 1972 as an offshoot of the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad, the organization has two objectives: to provide economic regeneration and social uplift to women who are self-employed as street vendors, artisans, junksmiths, garment makers, and the like. What were their problems? They lacked capital to buy carts from which to sell vegetables or to purchase food at the beginning of the day. As a result, they would borrow 10 Rupees from wholesalers in the morning and have to repay them 11 Rupees come evening. Moreover, they were constantly harassed by policemen (themselves badly paid) and would have to bribe them 5 to 10 Rupees daily to be left alone on street corners to sell their wares. Worse still, they enjoyed no social status and were habitually treated with disdain by a caste-conscious public and press.

Now, however, these women have founded their own bank which already has 1,000 shareholders and 10,000 depositors. Thanks to this bank, self-employed women can now circumvent usurious interest rates and gain access to capital goods--carts, metal vessels, and tools. They have in the process also gained an enormous measure of self-confidence needed to deal with public authorities,
thereby freeing themselves from pressures to manipulate them and to speak disparagingly of them in newspapers. They have promoted educational services as well, health care, maternity and widowhood benefits, and a housing savings scheme. More importantly, in terms of longer-range social change, SEWA women have learned that numerous public services are available to them (everything from social welfare services to family planning counseling to opportunities for further credit) provided they exert the power to draw on them. Throughout their efforts they have never lost sight of their main broad objective: to gain levers for the uplift of weaker sectors in society.

SEWA was formed on the premise that social surveys and social work ought to precede organization around specific tasks. Research was needed to identify correctly how the poor lived, how they worked, and what they needed. Social work, in turn, was necessary so as to establish practical entry points into homes, whence networks of community solidarity and a base for further recruitment might take root. Given its earlier associations with the Gandhian-inspired Textile Labour Association, SEWA firmly embraced the social philosophy of non-violent action. More specifically, the reason why vulnerable women should organize was not to struggle against others (since they were self-employed, there was no identifiable employer as a target of complaints!) so much as to strengthen themselves. It comes as no surprise, however, that the build-up of their own capacities vis-a-vis the larger society led to the arousal of new aspirations in SEWA members regarding their home and neighborhood life. Lower-caste women began to aspire to greater personal equality with the males—fathers, husbands, older brothers, uncles—who constitute the "significant others" in their family surroundings. They express resentment, for instance, at the social stigma still attached to them if they return home late at night from a meeting. Their dissatisfaction is founded on the double standard which makes no similar condemnation of male members of the family who behave likewise.

Another complaint is a frankly economic one. Although many SEWA members retain control over their earnings, the generally low caste position their husbands occupy in the society at large sometimes leads them to become parasitical and rely on their women to be the main income earners in the family. Inasmuch as household chores—care of children, preparation of meals, washing and cleaning—are still the exclusive duty of women, a double burden is imposed on these working women. One SEWA supporter, a sophisticated urban researcher, put it this way: "The woman's status changes from that of being an occasional supplementary wage-earner to that of a regularly paid beast of burden." Although the poor working woman has generated more income for herself she has actually lost some of her social freedom, if only in the form of less time to engage in socializing with other women. Furthermore, although SEWA as a public entity now enjoys the respect of society at large in Ahmedabad—good press from the newspaper and considerate treatment from the municipal government—individual women have not gained access to the political process. This blockage is usually attributed to the overall structures of discrimination still pervasive in Indian society at large. The relevant point is that successful projects leading to income generation, even when they are run by and for women, do not necessarily lead to the full emancipation that is desired from social development: economic improvement, social freedom, and political access. Much depends on the overall incentive systems at work in the society.

All three domains are vital for full emancipation. Vina Mazumdar, Director of the Women's Studies Program at the Indian Council of Social
Research, explains that:

If women are to overthrow the weight of these restrictions and participate as equals in the social process, then they must enter all the sectors hitherto closed to them and compete with men for a share. The champions of women's rights have, over the last one hundred years, gradually increased this demand beginning with education, entry to professions, property, equal rights in marriage, divorce and guardianship, to the right of representation and of access to the dominant power and production structures.\(^{11}\)

Some Lessons.

Self-reliance cannot be erected into a dogma or treated as an end for its own sake. SEWA has won many benefits by empowering its members to lay claims on, and to utilize, existing government services, whether provided by banks, universities, research institutes, or technical organizations. Whereas individual illiterate women, too poor to dress as "respectable" middle-class individuals and unaccustomed to "professional" contacts, were unable to gain access to these services, an association of such women could negotiate access to them. To illustrate, although 98% of SEWA women were illiterate, they refused to attend literacy classes, deeming them a waste of time. After all they were adults, having practical experience of market operations and plenty of shrewdness. Consequently, the Adult Education Centre of Gujarat University, although hesitant at first, agreed to run a ten-day course on the "Structure and Behavior of the Modern Market Economy" using card-board models to suit their illiterate students. Vina Mazumdar describes progress:

The first batch of reluctant students, coaxed to attend by SEWA's staff, turned into enthusiastic and keen participants -- of an experiment that the university faculty now admits to have been memorable for themselves also. Illiteracy became somewhat more palatable to the women after this experience.\(^{12}\)

The relevant point is that self-reliance needs to be built up gradually and in organic fashion. Usually this implies that outside support groups must be cheerfully welcomed at first. SEWA could not have won its early battles against established banks without the backing of the Textile Labour Association. Later, however, it chose to have more autonomy vis-à-vis the TLA, not because of any disagreement over priorities, but in virtue of a mutually recognized need for SEWA to grow in independence.

The most compelling lesson to be gained from SEWA's accomplishments is the hopeful one that even poor marginal sectors in stratified societies can be rendered competitive in harsh social contexts. People must organize not only to earn income, but also to gain decision-making skills which enhance their capacity to cope with larger social systems. For example, SEWA once organized a protest meeting of 5,000 people in front of the municipal government house to win permission to occupy the sidewalk to sell their wares. They did not simply negotiate privately according to "gentlemen's rules." Nevertheless, they disciplined themselves to observe non-violence and to accept necessary compromises (that is, occupying one-half of the sidewalk instead of its entirety).

Finally, SEWA's frugality, low expenditures, and minimum infrastructures
render it flexible in its dealings with the outside world. Thus SUSA turns weaknesses—in this case, limited assets—into strengths. This very spirit of frugality has also allowed it to practice a highly egalitarian distribution of benefits, thereby facilitating recruitment of new members.

(D) Gaining Technological Freedom: Bolivian Peasants

In the Alto Valle (Upper Valley) region of central Bolivia, several Quechua peasant communities are experimenting with new modes of economic activity. Small villages clustered around Titacco and Huayculi have adopted forms of producer cooperatives which depart in several important respects from conventional models. Their approach to technology choices illustrates several important values germane to the policy implications of appropriate technology.

The economy of this dry plateau, located in the province of Cochabamba and site of much armed violence in the Bolivian land reform of 1952, is based largely on subsistence agriculture around a protein-rich native crop known as quinoa. A few years ago, an indigenous movement, still of modest proportions, arose with the goal of diversifying sources of economic income in a manner which would help revitalize Quechua culture and self-identity. In the words of one of the movement's leaders:

Cultural development of the people has two elements: the dynamization of the human potentialities and the cultural values of the community, and the assimilation of technology and science at the service of the cultural development of the people.

The two villages just mentioned have launched two cooperatives: one to produce ceramics for sale, the other to make rugs, ponchos, and other marketable woollen artifacts. One broad objective is to improve the economic condition of the entire community, not merely that of members of the cooperative. This commitment to communal improvement helps explain certain decisions reached after arduous debate.

The first decision is that new technology will be judged "appropriate" only to the degree that the community at large is able to understand and control it. Specifically, the ceramics cooperative decided in December 1974 not to introduce small electrically powered kilns into the village. The reasoning behind this decision is as follows: Traditional ovens use twigs and wood gathered locally for fuel, but such sources are now becoming scarce, as in much of the world at large. Moreover, this fuel produced uneven temperatures on the inner surface of the kiln, a failing incompatible with ceramic surfaces of uniform high quality. An outside adviser to the cooperative had, through simple experimentation, discovered a simple and workable electric oven. Nevertheless, this specific technology was rejected because it necessitated bringing to the village a portable electric generator which only the cooperative could afford and which only a very few people could fully understand, maintain, and repair. The principle invoked to justify the community's decision was that only those technologies are "appropriate" which are in harmony with ancient Quechua rural values of mutual help and sharing the benefits in all improvements. After lengthy deliberations, it was decided to adopt a kerosene-fueled oven and to experiment with ways of improving the refractory (or heat-insulating) properties of local clay. The choice was made because all villagers already possessed prior experience with kerosene, and even the poorest among them could afford the kerosene oven.
The second policy criterion which departed from conventional norms practiced in cooperatives affects the distribution of net surplus earnings. Here again, so as not to create social and economic distance between the producing cooperative and the larger village community, it was decided to assign a share of the surplus to all members of the village, whether they belonged to the cooperative or not.

Both principles have been applied in the wool cooperative as well as that dedicated to ceramics. Interestingly enough, although these two peasant associations receive partial outside funding, its members are fully aware of their need to restrict "technology transfers" from the outside. For reasons pertaining to the revitalization of their cultural values, they have established a practical criterion for exercising control over the entry of outside technology into their community in ways that harness it to their self-perceived broader value goals. This operation is admittedly small in scale and has not yet proven its viability over long periods of time. Thus far, nonetheless, it clearly illustrates an important principle: namely, the existence of a vital nexus among value options, development strategies, and concrete policies for the acquisition and assimilation of technology. These O'oduca communities in Nariño have deliberately and explicitly chosen to subordinate technological efficiency to their wider and more basic cultural needs. They have translated ancient O'oduca ideals of solidarity and mutual benefit into a working instrument to guide decisions at a financial and technological nature. Mutatis mutandis, it is precisely this kind of approach which is required even at policy-makers in macrodecisional arenas. However modest in scope, the Tiatico-Nayonal experiment is qualitatively important and has value to others as a paradigm, at least at the level of local choices.

The Alto Wolfa experience further suggests that true technological choices are possible to local communities only if their outside partners respect and nurture that freedom. In this case, the institution providing financial resources to the cooperatives, the Inter-American Foundation, itself explicitly endorses the policy of favoring groups committed to the participation of minorities, to equity, and to subordinating purely technical efficiency to broader social aims. This Foundation was created by an act of the U.S. Congress in 1969 and made independent of the U.S. State Department and the Agency for International Development precisely in order to experiment with new ways of making funds available to grass-roots groups in Latin America. Accordingly, the Foundation was already sympathetic both in philosophy and practice, to the goals and procedures adopted by the Huayculi and Tiatico cooperatives. Indeed the Foundation's initial assumption states that the non-experts, the people themselves, know how to diagnose and solve their problems.

11. UNANSWERED QUESTIONS.

Countless other examples could be adduced, each one pregnant with policy lessons for those in search of "another development." One might, for instance, cite the transformation of the "Teatro Conscientizador" of the Colombian Atlantic littoral into a "Teatro Anonimo Identificador." The change was dictated because the theater group's founder, Manuel Zapata Olivella, came to understand after much trial and error, that it is a mistake for any change agent to "cons cientize" or "arouse the consciousness" of an oppressed group. The true task consists in allowing that group to express its suppressed identity—and this in a mode that calls attention not to some talented individual, but to the community as a whole in its anonymous collective identity.
Clearly the danger always exists that even well-intentioned change agents will not respect the specificity of the populace they seek to change: its specific values, aspirations, and ways of defining its own needs. This theme repeatedly surfaces in discussions with Third World critics of mainstream development models. One Indian revolutionary activist recently declared to this author that "development makes life worse for 80% of our people, and confirms the other 20% in their selfishness." He complained that "too many revolutionaries assume that they know better than the people themselves what is good for them." Hence alternative development strategies which center on the liberation of the people must place decisions in their hands, even those initial decisions which diagnose the nature and causes of their problem.

In the course of examining culturally diverse attempts by the poor to free themselves of misery and the bonds that chain them to passivity, one unfailingly meets constraint systems which affect the degree of leverage any community can find as it struggles to liberate itself. A few of these constraints are now mentioned because, for the most part, they cannot be removed, attenuated, or circumvented, except by the creative strategizing of oppressed communities themselves. No exact policy recommendations are possible here, but only unanswered questions.

It matters vitally for any oppressed group to know how tolerant the macro social control system within which it lives can be of system reversals—or liberation struggles—at levels lower than the macro, that is national or international society. To illustrate, even an authoritarian government like that found in Brazil can tolerate a considerable degree of participation in local problem-solving. The reason is simply that Brazil is a vast country, highly diversified in its regional priorities and little threatened at its power center by the participational problem-solving of non-elites at the community level. What national leaders will not permit, on the other hand, is that the philosophy of participation become generalized or legitimized. Conversely, other regimes (such as that of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines) exhibit little tolerance for "alternative strategies" even when these are practiced solely at the local level in remote islands of the national archipelago. The Marcos government fears that any tolerance at the micro level will strengthen the forces of social revolution and ultimately erode his national power. He may well be correct in this assessment. The relevant point here is that leverage space for liberation is largely a function of how many interstices of deviance exist within any national society. This is why one must always, when speaking of "another development," indicate at what level of society leverage to undertake the alternative can be found.

Implicit in the remarks just made is the important distinction between dictatorial and totalitarian governments. At least on principle, dictatorships can rest content to control the major power centers of society and perceive little threat in the dissemination of needs-oriented, income-generating innovations at the grass-roots. Totalitarian regimes, in contrast, seek to prescribe not only what will be done by everyone, but how it will be done. Change strategists, therefore, need to recognize, in normative terms, that certain values inherent in "alternative strategies" will be perceived by some oppressors as a threat, and by others as something tolerable. The extent of the leverage which oppressed groups need to conduct "humane" social experiments is decisively affected by this perception. Hence, the peasant cooperatives in Bolivia succeeded locally because the government, although dictatorial, could afford to tolerate small-scale deviance from its own dominant development
Another vital constraint facing any group is the degree of economic autarchy or integration it has with outside units. A small locality or region (or even a larger one, provided it lives mainly from subsistence agriculture) ordinarily finds it much easier to devise alternative strategies centering on the priority of basic needs, the fostering of more self-reliance, and the formulation of solutions on the basis of prior values—than units whose survival depends on significant exchange with the outside world. The key once again, as in Guinea-Bissau's case, is a realistic analysis of specific conditions.

Liberation activities of all types—armed guerrilla warfare, self-help social innovations, and grass-roots organizing—seem to require external support. Support, in the form of material and moral aid, must come from the outside if fragile undertakings are not to be snuffed out. If this need is as pervasive as it appears to be, then the diversification of the "ground rules" by which outside resource transferors operate assumes great importance. Where relative success has been gained, outside helpers have respected the goal-setting and the procedures favored by those obtaining help. It is essential, therefore, that those who seek outside resources trim their sails to suit the criteria of potential helpers. The paradoxical truth seems to be that one receives support under favorable terms precisely to the degree that one is prepared to do without that support in order to be true to one's deeper and more primary objectives.

Within international circles, as in most First World development institutions, the assumption widely prevails that oppressed populations are eager to alter their lot. But Barrington Moore's recent study on the causes of social injustice and on the enormous facility with which most oppressed groups accept injustice, reminds us how deeply social oppression brands passivity into the soul of an enslaved people. Even as they complain and suffer, the poor fear to behave differently. And although it is true that most communities harbor latent leaders, these must often be "secreted" by certain risk-taking activities initiated by others.

Consequently any pedagogy aiming at preparing the oppressed to take eventual action on behalf of their emancipation must of necessity be very patient. Over two centuries ago Montesquieu wrote that:

*It is useless to attack politics directly by showing how much its practices are in conflict with morality and reason. This sort of discourse convinces everybody, but changes nobody.*

The same caution applies to development strategy: it does not suffice to denounce the failures of prevailing approaches. All those who suffer from conventional development strategies have always known that they gained little from them. In order to change things new strategies must be devised. But no uniform prescription can come from any source. Specific solutions can only grow out of risk-laden probes made by communities themselves as they struggle to find their own way. This, then, is the greatest single lesson learned from every effort made by oppressed groups to emancipate themselves from the triple bondage of misery, dependency, and passivity. "The kingdom of freedom is within them!"
FOOTNOTES.

1On this see Denis Goulet, "Development...Or Liberation?" in INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT REVIEW, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (1971/3), pp. 6-10.


5In such circumstances development could only mean providing essential goods to the population at large. There was never any temptation to conceive of it as aggregate GNP growth or rapid industrialization.


9On this see Critical Issues on the Status of Women (New Delhi: Indian Council of Social Science Research, 1977).

10Cited on back cover (without source given) of Profiles, op. cit.


13This case study is adapted from Denis Goulet, The Uncertain Promise: Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer (N.Y.: IDOC North America, 1977), pp. 119-121.


15On this see Manuel Zapata Olivella, Identidad del Negro en La America Latina (Bogota: Fundación Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1976).
See also various leaflets by Zapata describing the "Teatro Anónimo Identificador" published by the same foundation, of which he is the director.


Abstract: The paper is a description and analysis of the degree of economic and social equality achieved in post-revolution Viet Nam through the work of agricultural cooperatives.

The author, an Indian economist, has spent several years living and conducting research in Viet Nam, and continues to study social equality in this country. Three distinct aspects of equality are examined. Equality in personal distribution of income and the resulting patterns of occupational equality. 'The quality of life' is considered in the context of equality between the city and the country side. And finally the equality between the sexes is discussed. The Agricultural Cooperative in the social practice of equality has at least two major supportive roles. First, as a delivery system for collective consumption goods such as education and health, and as the organizational base of the well-developed public distribution system for essential commodities in the country. Secondly, the cooperative system supports the social practice of equality by providing an effective organ to deal with the rural employment question.

In addition to examining the principle of voluntarism in cooperatives, the concept of 'work democracy' is looked at as a concrete tangible phenomenon, which results in involving a greater degree of continuous participation by the members.
DECENTRALISATION ET AUTONOMIE DANS UNE ÉCONOMIE AGRaire: UNE ANALYSE BASEE SUR LES COOPERATIVES AGRICOLES AU VIET-NAM DU NORD

Résumé

Ce document décrit et analyse l'égalité économique et sociale réalisée au Viet-Nam après la révolution au travers des coopératives agricoles.

L'auteur, un économiste indien, a passé plusieurs années au Viet-Nam et il continue à étudier le problème de l'égalité dans ce pays. Trois aspects différents de l'égalité sont examinés: l'égalité dans la distribution du revenu personnel et la structure qui en résulte dans l'égalité professionnelle; la qualité de la vie est considérée dans le contexte de l'égalité entre villes et campagnes, et enfin, l'auteur examine aussi l'égalité entre les sexes. La coopérative agricole dans la pratique sociale de l'égalité joue au moins deux rôles principaux. Premièrement, comme système de distribution de services collectifs comme l'éducation et la santé, et comme base organisationnelle d'un système public de distribution des biens essentiels dans le pays. Deuxièmement, le système coopératif sert de base à la pratique sociale de l'égalité en fournissant un moyen efficace de résoudre la question de l'emploi.

Outre le principe de l'adhésion volontaire aux coopératives, le concept de démocratie au travail est examiné comme un phénomène tangible permettant la participation continue des membres de la coopérative.

RESUMEN

El informe describe y analiza la influencia del trabajo de las cooperativas agrícolas en el grado de igualdad social alcanzado en el Vietnam del Norte después de la revolución.

El autor es un economista indio que vivió varios años en Vietnam dedicándose a trabajos de investigación y que actualmente sigue estudiando la sociedad del país, sobretodo el grado de igualdad alcanzado en ella. Tres aspectos de esa igualdad le interesan: Igualdad en la distribución de las remuneraciones y sus resultados prácticos al nivel del empleo. La "calidad de vida" que se considera en función de la ausencia de diferencias entre la ciudad e el campo, y finalmente se menciona la igualdad entre los dos sexos.

La cooperativa agrícola contribuye para la igualdad social por lo menos de dos maneras: primero como proveedora de servicios a la colectividad (educación, salud) y como sostén de un sistema de distribución de los artículos de primera necesidad bien organizado. Segundo, a través de su acción sobre el empleo en los medios rurales. El informe analiza además el voluntariado en las cooperativas agrícolas y el concepto de "democracia del trabajo" que se examina como fenómeno tangible que permite la constante participación de los miembros a los objetivos comunes.
Decentralisation and Self-Reliance in an Agrarian Economy: An analysis based upon Agricultural Cooperatives in North Viet Nam.

Section 1. The Social Practice of Equality.

It is not altogether unexpected that post-revolution Viet Nam would achieve a considerable degree of economic and social equality. Nevertheless, the extent and scope of the social practice of equality, which has been achieved in the North of the country within a relatively short span of time, is truly striking. An economist's normal habit of thought constrains him to treat the social phenomenon of equality as almost equivalent to the narrower concept of equality in the distribution of personal income. And yet, one of the real lessons of observing the Vietnamese society in operation, is to be struck by the fact that the social practice of equality is indeed a far wider phenomenon.

Broadly speaking, one could distinguish three distinct aspects: (a) equality in personal distribution of income and the resulting pattern of occupational equality, (b) equality between the city and the countryside and (c) finally, the equality between the sexes.

With property income constituting a negligible proportion of national income in North Viet Nam, earned personal income (i.e., salaries and wages) represents fairly accurately the social distribution of purchasing power. While in 1976, no detailed information was available on the size distribution of personal income, one does have information on earnings by occupations which provides a fairly good idea of the range within which personal income could normally vary. The minimum income of an adult worker in urban areas with little work experience was about 60 North Vietnamese dongs per month in 1976, while the maximum income in a few specialized occupations with considerable work experience could go up to 200 to 220 dongs. The average income of a worker in an agricultural cooperative was about 50 dongs to which must be added at least another 15 to 20 dongs per adult member in a family, as additional monthly earning from the

1. The two main sources of property income results from some forms of private ownership of urban dwellings and agricultural land. But the exceedingly low house rent as well as the transition from the 'lower-' to 'higher-level' of agricultural cooperatives, make property income in the form of rent an insignificant proportion (not accounting for more than two percent) of national income (privately calculated on Western conventions including the 'service sector').

2. At the official exchange rate of 1976, one U.S. dollar was almost equal to three North Vietnamese dongs.
source of private- or family-plot in a cooperative. Thus, the range of the maximum to minimum income is around a low ratio of 4:1 in North Viet Nam.

But a mere quantitative statement about the range of variation in personal income hardly does justice to the prevailing pattern of equality among occupations. The most striking aspect of occupational equality is the elimination of systematically higher income from mental as opposed to manual work. Thus, the average monthly earning of a doctor with some experience can be around 100 dongs, while that of a trained nurse with similar experience will be about the same. A professional cook, skilled bricklayer or street-sweeper can earn up to 120 dongs, while a full University professor does not usually earn any more. The chairmen and chief accountants of many agricultural cooperatives often earn considerably less than some of the best workers in the same cooperatives and, what is still more important, usually a part of their income is also earned through manual work done in the cooperative. Thus, considerable equality in the distribution of personal income is combined with establishing social values which tend to discriminate less among various occupations in terms of their implied economic and social status.

This principle of equality extends not only across occupations but also across space. Thus, it does not merely mean that income earned by a member of an agricultural cooperative or a state-farm worker in the countryside is more or less the same as earning of an urban worker. It implies something more fundamental than equality of earnings. The well-known difference in "the quality of life" between rural and urban areas which exists in most societies and particularly in developing countries, is largely absent in Viet Nam. There are two important elements which contribute substantially to this gap between urban and rural life. First, social and infrastructural facilities tend to be much higher in urban areas and secondly, access to specialized skills and services is very often an almost exclusive privilege of the better-off urban population. In both these respects, the spatial pattern of development seems to have been far more uniform in North Viet Nam. This uniformity has largely been achieved through the agricultural cooperative movement throughout the countryside. Thus, each agricultural cooperative has a primary health centre which is linked to the district hospital for all cases needing specialized treatment.

3. Five per cent of the cooperative land is reserved as a rule for family cultivation, usually land attached to the residence of the family. In 'low-level' cooperatives, this plot of land is the private property of the family which it even has the right to sell. In 'high-level' cooperatives, this becomes collective property on which the family retains the "occupancy right" i.e. of using and deriving income from it.
Similarly, all cooperatives have primary schools linked to a secondary schooling system. Thus, basic needs of housing, health and education are met through the cooperative system itself. More important perhaps is the fact that the quality of these services are usually no worse in the countryside - housing conditions on an average was certainly better in rural than in urban areas of North Viet Nam in 1976. It is also not an altogether unusual practice to find that some of the most distinguished doctors are attached to district hospitals, rather than being exclusively concentrated in a few big urban hospitals. Again, the main lesson which one learns in this respect is that, the economic analyst's notion of the cooperative system as essentially an organization for allocating collective labour is a highly partial and perhaps misleading view. For, it has another economic role which is at least equally important - and, that is to serve as the basic organizational pivot of a countrywide "delivery system" of basic needs. The economic achievements of the Vietnamese cooperative movement becomes apparent as soon as its role as a "delivery system" is realized.

The question of equality among sexes is a more intricate one. It is difficult to capture this phenomenon adequately in terms of conventional cliché like "equal pay for equal work." Indeed, the notion of sexual equality goes considerably deeper in Vietnamese society. Even to the most superficial observer, it will be apparent that, not only do women have almost complete economic independence, but more fundamentally, they perform all sorts of work in every field which were traditionally reserved for men. Given the fact that until recently Viet Nam was a traditional agrarian society with strong feudal values, this is unquestionably a remarkable achievement. One could speculate as to what extent such rapid transformation of social values are the outcome of the exigencies of a long-drawn war, rather than being the consequence of a deliberate social process; but such speculations seem somewhat meaningless in the present context. For, the character of a "people's war" is such, that it is

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4. The evidence that I personally collected in eleven agricultural cooperatives of North Viet Nam is mixed and ambiguous on this point. There is likely to be some (not significant)discrimination in pay, operating through the system of 'works-point'. It was not possible for me to come to any definite quantitative assessment on this point.

5. This includes, for example, heavy agricultural work of tilling, traditionally done only by men. An interesting contrast often came to mind between the social position of women in Viet Nam and in industrial capitalism of Western Europe. In the latter case, typically some jobs (such as secretarial job) are almost exclusively meant for women as a part of the social convention.
impossible to separate in a meaningful way the mobilization process for the war from other social processes at work. Consequently, the emerging sense of equality among the sexes is perhaps better treated as a part of the overall social transformation of Viet Nam.

Section 2. Role of agricultural cooperatives in the social practice of equality.

It is difficult to imagine how this impressive structure of equality, briefly outlined earlier, could be maintained in North Viet Nam without a pivotal organizational role being assigned to the agricultural cooperatives. There seems to be at least two major ways in which the cooperative system carries out its supportive role of the practice of social equality.

First, as already indicated, it operates as a delivery system for collective consumption goods like education and health. At the same time, the cooperative is also the organizational base of the well-developed public distribution system for essential commodities in the country. The two-way exchange between industrial and agricultural goods is largely conducted through the cooperative system. The members of an agricultural cooperative get their essential food-stuff, particularly rice, at reasonable, controlled price directly from the cooperative. At the same time, through the obligatory selling quota of agricultural produce for each cooperative, the State is able to procure foodgrains at fixed prices for the system of public distribution in urban areas. By fulfilling the quota obligation, the cooperatives obtain in return basic manufactured goods like textile and fuel from the State enterprises. There are usually two other types of cooperatives to facilitate this exchange between urban and rural areas: A commercial cooperative whose functions include purchase and sale of goods, particularly retail trading in State industrial products as well as purchase of agricultural produce from the agricultural cooperative on behalf of the State. There is also a credit cooperative, usually formed through contribution of shares by cooperating members. It performs the functions of a commercial bank for individual members as well as for the whole agricultural cooperative, by taking deposits and advancing loans on individual as well as collective basis. But normally, the credit cooperative advances short term seasonal loans to the agricultural cooperative, while longer term loans (of 3 to 5 years) are granted by the Central or State Bank. The financial support from the State thus operates normally through the central banking system, but is occasionally delegated also to the local credit cooperatives as an exercise in decentralized
Secondly, the cooperative system supports the social practice of equality by providing an effective organ to deal with the rural employment question. It has been a well-known problem in most developing agrarian economies of Asia that, any direct attack on poverty and inequality tends to get diffused because the governments seldom have the organizational ability to "reach" the poor and unemployed directly. It becomes extremely difficult for government-run public works programmes to create the right kind of jobs, as expenditure leakages take place through contractors and overhead costs of maintaining an administrative machinery for organizing such programmes. As a result, quite a substantial portion of the expenditure on public works usually leaks into creating jobs and income for contractors and bureaucrats, instead of benefitting the intended poorest sections of the population. Organization of agricultural cooperatives at the village level in North Vietnam does provide the government with an administrative framework which can support such public works programmes far more effectively. Such work programmes then become investment programmes of the cooperative, at times partly financed by a grant or soft loan from the State through the Central Bank, but also at times, exclusively financed by the cooperative itself. This achieves a considerable degree of decentralization in the planning of public works and agricultural investments, both in terms of the physical form of the investment as well as its financing arrangements.

This decentralization of investment planning through the agricultural cooperatives is particularly facilitated by another important fact. In the absence of any significant private property rights on land, the tricky question of, "who should benefit and who should pay for public works", is largely solved. For example, a road or irrigation works programme financed by the government may result in substantial increase in land values in a market economy. Thus, the government pays for the programme while private landowners reap the benefits and, in the absence of the government's ability to tax away the benefits, the associated employment generation programme fails to become self-financing over time. This is a dilemma which is largely avoided under cooperative property relations, as the principle of organization tends to approximate the idea that "those who benefit should pay" (except when the grant element from the Central Bank in the financing of such programmes becomes predominant). The major lesson which one seems to learn in this context is that, self-financing should be an important component

6. See, Revolution in the Village Nam Hong, 1945-75 by Pham Quong and Kuyen Van Ba (Hanoi, 1976) pp. 33-48 for micro-description of the interrelated working of these three types of cooperatives in a specific case.
of any programme of decentralized public works, if it is to become self-sustaining over time and unabated private property rights in land frequently appear as a hindrance to the process. Thus, a considerable degree of self-reliance at the level of the cooperative appears to be a crucial component in the decentralization of investment planning. This, in turn, entails as its precondition important restructuring of either agrarian property rights or of the tax system so as to be able to tax effectively capital gains at the local level. But there lies precisely the political question - a government which is capable of sincerely operating such a tax structure is surely also capable of bringing about the requisite changes in private property rights, which after all, often turn out to be a simpler alternative?

Section 3. Principle of Voluntariness in Cooperatives.

The development of the movement for agricultural cooperation in North Viet Nam combined two distinct processes over time - it was a political process as well as a techno-economic process. As a political campaign, it was started in the mid-fifties for the mobilization of the poor to lower middle peasants against the emerging trend towards "capitalism in the countryside", which had begun to reappear following the anti-feudal land-reform of 1953-56. Since the earlier land-reform of 1953-56 had mobilized the poor to landless peasants on the political slogan of "land to the tillers", by creating small scale private property in land in the form of small peasant proprietorship, the drive for agricultural cooperation went against the newly-won property rights of the peasants. This created a dilemma that had to be solved through exceedingly careful handling of the problem. With the launching of the campaign for agricultural cooperation in early 1959, the conflict inherent in the situation was largely sought to be resolved on the basis of the application of a "triple principle" in agricultural cooperation - voluntariness in participation, mutual benefit in the organization of work and emphasis on democratic management. Thus, the historical situation compelled the political campaign to become democratic, based upon the principle of voluntary participation. The April 1959 resolution of the Party Central Committee stated this in no uncertain terms:

"It is essential to educate them (small and poor peasants), to persuade them so that they join of their own free will. While they are reflecting, weighing the pros and cons, we must have the patience to wait for them and convince them by means of the concrete results of cooperative farming, such as higher yields, higher returns.

"When they join the cooperative, one must take care of their legitimate interests and work out a just, appropriate solution to problems arising from land, cattle and farm-tools they bring in."
This principle of voluntariness, which also left each cooperative farmer free to leave the cooperative at any time, was maintained throughout the cooperative movement. This made the transition from private to cooperative production in agriculture a gradual process. The early stages of the process were characterised by 'low-level' cooperative based upon mutual aid teams. They were basically labour cooperatives with considerable private ownership rights to land. Rights to private property invariably meant private property income in the form of rent which could typically constitute 25 to 30 percent of the produce of the cooperative. With the development of the cooperative movement, this share of rent was gradually reduced, as the principle of payment according to work began to replace payment on the basis of property ownership. A cooperative reached the "high-level", when rent and other property income became an insignificant part of the total cooperative income, as land became collective property of the cooperative. This process of gradual transformation from "low-" to "high-level" cooperative can best be illustrated with concrete examples, say of cooperatives in Thai Binh province. There, for instance, the proportion paid out as rent decreased gradually from 30 percent of income in 1959 to 15.2 percent in 1962, 8 percent in 1964 and 0.3 percent in 1965. This small remaining proportion continued to be given only to households lacking labour force, typically childless old people or disabled persons. Today, in North Viet Nam, the 'high-level' cooperative is the predominant form of agricultural organization, with 93.2 percent of peasant households as members of such cooperatives in 1975. And, interestingly enough, even today, the Statutes of Agricultural Cooperatives (high-level) emphasise those original principles of voluntariness, mutual benefit and democratic functioning in its very first two articles.\(^7\)

Along with political mobilization of the poorer peasantry, the campaign for agricultural cooperation had to be technoeconomically successful. This was particularly important; for, without such success over time, it would have been impossible to maintain the principle of voluntary participation; nor would it have been feasible to have democratic decision making at the local level, which usually presupposes a significant degree of self-reliance. Partly the "delivery system" of basic needs organized through the cooperatives, which has briefly been described above, added to their attraction and thus enabled the


\(^8\) Source: Statutes of Agricultural Cooperatives (high-level), Rural Publishing House, Viet Nam, 1976.
principle of voluntary participation to become operative. More important, however seems to be the concept of "work-democracy" which became a material force underlying the development of the cooperative movement.

Section 4, "Work-Democracy" in Cooperatives.

Democracy at work place, in contrast to a set of abstract democratic or civil rights, is a more tangible phenomenon, as it gets defined in relation to the day-to-day work arrangements among the members of a cooperative. Although the abstract or general rights according to the Statutes, which members of an agricultural cooperative usually enjoy, are quite impressive, the very basis of work-democracy lies not in coded rules and statutes, but in the way work is actually organized.

In a fairly large, 'high-level' cooperative, production is organized both along "vertical" as well as "horizontal" pattern of division of labour. A vertical pattern means grouping of cooperative workers in "work teams" (consisting usually of anywhere between 10 to 200 workers), where each work team is entrusted with a specific work like irrigation, plantation, animal husbandry, fishing, construction etc. But even for each specified job e.g. irrigation, there may be several work teams or a "production brigade" spread over different areas of the cooperative and this is described as the horizontal aspect of division of labour. Since these work teams constitute the fundamental units for organizing production, inter-team as well as intra-team relations largely define the functional basis of a cooperative.

Each work-team elects its head and deputy head to keep records of "work-points" on the basis of which personal income get distributed. But the basic principle of assigning "work-points" in a cooperative, both at the inter- and at the intra-team level, is thoroughly discussed and then approved in the General Assembly of all the members in a cooperative. Thus, within a work-team a personalized system of assigning work-load taking into account health condition etc. may operate, while inter-team considerations relating to what would be the rating of various jobs in terms of work-points is collectively decided at the General Assembly.

9. See *ibid*.

It will be noted that, without exaggeration, this work-point system is perhaps one of the most democratic aspects of organization of work and income distribution. For, it is the general body of workers who decide on the work-points corresponding to each type of job as well as the working days for each member. This is quite different from the "factory system" under capitalism where workers are confronted with a given wage structure.

Secondly, such a collective decision process usually tends to reduce the gap between 'management' and 'workers'. In many cooperatives, elected members of the Management as well as Audit Committee have to supplement their (collectively decided) below average income by doing normal manual work as members of a work-team.

Finally, it will be of some interest even to academic economists to note that the division between "consumption" and "investment" of the net income of the cooperative is typically arrived at through collective discussions at the General Assembly (within the legally stipulated range of 5-10 percent). The democratic element in this procedure may well be contrasted against investment decisions taken by the "board of directors" in a large corporation.

These are some of the concrete elements of work-democracy. And precisely because it is a democracy of the work place, it involves far more continuous participation by the members. But there also lies the dilemma - continuous participation at the level of the local organization is not necessarily adequate for ensuring democratic functioning of the macro-political system. For, it may leave undefined the relation between the State and the cooperative or between the local organs of the Party and the cooperative. To an outsider it seems that both the strength and the weakness of the agrarian socialism in Viet Nam are juxtaposed precisely here. On one hand, there does undoubtedly exist a genuine democracy of the work place, unsurpassed by almost any "factory system" under capitalism. But, on the other hand, the connection between such work-democracy and political democracy in the larger context is still virtually non-existent. Although it sounds a heresy today, the future of agrarian socialism in Viet Nam would seem to lie in successfully counterposing the self-reliant, decentralized economic power of the cooperatives and their practice of work-democracy against possible tendencies of political authoritarianism by the State or the Party. These are of course mere speculations about a desirable future course. But in the meantime, the crux of the matter is simple: in a poor peasant economy work-democracy has far greater direct relevance and appeal compared to political democracy in the larger context. It is true that the very process of successful economic development will begin to raise those very issues of political
democracy and its relation to work democracy which have less immediate relevance in to-day's Viet Nam. But, then, the method of history has always been to solve the main contradictions of today, only by raising new contradictions for tomorrow. It is not likely that Viet Nam or any other country will prove to be an altogether exception to this general scheme.
BUILDING BLOCKS

LA COMMERCIALISATION DES PRODUITS AGRICOLES, FACTEUR DE DEVELOPPEMENT RURAL

par Florentin Agoua
Caisse Nationale du Crédit Agricole
Boîte Postale 999
Cotonou, Bénin

Langue originale: Français

Résumé

Ce document décrit et analyse un programme d'alphabetisation rural combiné avec la mise sur pied de coopératives rurales basées sur la participation populaire et entraînant une commercialisation graduelle des produits agricoles. Cette expérience a lieu dans la province de Borgou dans la République populaire du Bénin. Les inconvénients, en particulier l'exploitation des populations locales, de la commercialisation agricole conventionnelle sont décrits et le document montre comment les villageois ont, grâce au programme d'alphabetisation, formé leurs propres sociétés coopératives et ont pris le contrôle de la commercialisation de leurs produits. Le document montre également comment cette expérience peut être étendue à des zones plus larges du Bénin rural. L'étude conclut qu'un développement rural intégré et équitable ne peut être possible que s'il devient l'affaire des plus larges masses rurales.

COMMERCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, AN ELEMENT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Abstract

The paper is a description and analysis of a rural alphabetization programme, combined with the development of rural cooperatives, based on popular participation, and with a gradual commercialization of agricultural products. The scene of the action is the Borgou province of the Democratic Republic of Benin. The disadvantages and exploitation for the local people, of traditional agricultural markets are described, and it is shown how people in a number of villages have, with the help of the alphabetization programme, formed their own cooperative societies and have taken control over their own agricultural commerce. It is also shown how this development experience could be extended over wider areas of rural Benin. The study concludes that equitable integrated rural development can only be accomplished if it becomes the business of the large masses of rural people.

Resumen en Español en la página 12
LA COMMERCIALISATION DES PRODUITS AGRICOLES, FACTEUR DE DEVELOPPEMENT RURAL

Introduction

La commercialisation des produits agricoles peut-elle être un facteur de développement rural?

Une expérience en cours dans la Province du Borgou (République Populaire du Bénin) nous permettra de donner une réponse à cette question.

La Province du Borgou est située dans le Nord-Est de la République Populaire du Bénin. À l'est, elle a une frontière commune avec le Nigéria, au nord avec le Niger, à l'ouest la Province de l'Atacora, au sud la Province de Zou. Elle s'étend sur plus de 400 km du nord au sud et 180 km de l'est à l'ouest. C'est la plus vaste Province de la République Populaire du Bénin, avec 52.000 km², soit environ 48% du territoire national. Sa population représente 15% environ de la population totale béninoise. Avec 407.127 habitants, la Province du Borgou possède la plus faible densité de population, 7,08 habitants au km² environ.

Le groupe ethnique dominant est formé par les Bariba, suivi des Gando, des Boko, des Mokollé, des Dendis, tous agriculteurs, et enfin les éleveurs peulh nomades.

Le climat de type tropical soudanien ne comporte qu'une saison de pluie et une longue saison sèche. Le réseau hydrographique est caractérisé par trois groupes de cours d'eau: Le Niger et ses affluents (Sota, Alibori, Mekrou); l'Ouémé et l'Okpara.

Les sols sont en général de type ferrugineux tropical avec quelques fois des affleurements de latérite. Ces sols quand ils sont correctement choisis conviennent à la plupart des cultures.

Nous sommes en présence d'une Province dont les potentialités physiques et humaines sont relativement importantes.

Ce sont donc les premiers résultats de cette expérience en cours dans la Province de Borgou qui feront l'objet de notre communication.

I. De la Commercialisation des Produits Agricoles aux Structures Socio-Professionnelles Rurales

Le développement rural est l'affaire des masses populaires, mais comment les amener à prendre conscience des capacités qu'elles recèlent?

Quel a été notre cheminement dans la Province de Borgou?
Avant de le décrire, permettez-nous de vous exposer brièvement comment la commercialisation traditionnelle des produits agricoles était organisée:

1. La commercialisation traditionnelle des produits agricoles

a) les produits agricoles d'exportation

Les produits agricoles d'exportation de la Province du Borgou constitués par les amandes de karité, les arachides, le coton notamment, étaient collectés par les commerçants-traitants dans les villages pour le compte des grandes compagnies d'import-export.

A la proclamation de l'indépendance en 1960, un office de commercialisation des produits agricoles a été crée, mais, emboîtant le pas aux grandes compagnies étrangères d'import-export, cet organisme se sert aussi de commerçants-traitants pour la collecte primaire. Nous signalerons que le coton a échappé au monopole de cet office de commercialisation. C'est la C.F.D.T. (1) qui, avec des équipes d'achat constituées par ses agents d'encadrement de la production cotonnière, collecte le coton au niveau des villages. En 1973, elle a été remplacée par une Société Nationale Agricole pour le Coton (SONACO) transformée en décembre 1975 en Société Nationale pour la Production Agricole (SONAGRI).

b) Les produits vivriers

Le commerce des denrées vivrières porte sur le sorgho, le maïs, les ignames, le riz, les cassettes de manioc ou d'ignames etc... Les commerçants-traitants se rendent sur les marchés traditionnels, collectent ces produits pour le compte de grossistes des grandes villes de la Province. Des femmes se rendent aussi sur ces marchés pour vendre des produits manufacturés de première nécessité (sel, sucre, allumettes, etc.), et achètent des produits vivriers qu'elles revendent au détail dans les gros centres.

Les grossistes des grandes villes exportent la quasi totalité des produits entreposés pendant un laps de temps vers la Province de l'Atacora, le Togo, le Niger ou le Nigeria.

Comme nous le constatons, le producteur agricole livre son produit à des intermédiaires qui font des bénéfices qui ne reviennent pas dans le milieu rural en vue de contribuer à l'amélioration des conditions économiques et sociales des larges masses populaires.

La commercialisation des produits agricoles doit être considérée comme un prolongement normal des actions de vulgarisation agricole et les producteurs organisés dans ce sens.

Dans la Province du Borgou, notre cheminement a été le suivant : sensibilisation des populations rurales; constitution du capital social; élection du Conseil d'Administration; formation des responsables élus des paysans;

(1) C.F.D.T.: Compagnie Française des Textiles, 9 rue Louis David, Paris 16
prise en charge de la commercialisation des produits agricoles; initiation progressive du Conseil d'Administration à certaines tâches.

2. La sensibilisation des populations rurales

Le sensibilisation des populations rurales a débuté à la radio-diffusion nationale dans le cadre des émissions rurales en 1968, mais, les paysans de la Province de Borgou n'ont eu un interlocuteur avec qui discuter directement de l'organisation du monde rural qu'en 1970.

Avant de se rendre dans les villages pour les séances de sensibilisation, le Responsable de l'Action Coopérative dans la Province tient des séances de travail avec chacun des Chefs de Secteur de Modernisation Rurale en vue du choix des villages. Les critères retenus sont: (i) la bonne entente dans le village; (ii) la maîtrise progressive des techniques culturales par les paysans.

Le thème essentiel des séances de sensibilisation des paysans est la prise en charge de la commercialisation des produits.

Après une introduction liminaire de l'objet de la réunion, les paysans posent des questions sur l'organisation possible d'une commercialisation dont ils seront entièrement responsables. Nous saurons par la suite qu'en 1970, dans les cinq premiers villages qui avaient été retenus, personne ne croyait vraiment la chose possible, jusqu'au jour où la bascule est arrivée dans le village pour l'apprentissage de la pesée, le jour où le président a reçu les fonds nécessaires pour payer les produits des membres.

A l'issue des séances de sensibilisation dans les villages retenus, il est demandé aux paysans de se réunir sans les agents d'encadrement technique pour discuter de la prise en mains de leurs affaires, d'élire leur Conseil d'Administration et de nous soumettre la liste de leurs membres avec la mention de la part sociale payée par chacun d'eux.

3. La constitution du capital social

Le capital social du Groupement Villageois est constitué de parts sociales nominatives de 1.000 Frs/Hectare de coton ou de riz cultivé à la date de la création du groupement. La part sociale est payable par tranches successives dont la détermination du montant est laissée à la discrétion de chaque paysan.

Dans certains villages, les paysans ont constitué leur capital de démarrage avec des cotisations de 25 Frs CFA chacun. C'est seulement après la commercialisation de leurs produits qu'ils ont payé des tranches substantielles. Il est bien entendu que le montant de la part sociale s'entend à la date de création du groupement villageois. Si par la suite le paysan augmente ses superficies enlevées, il ne paie pas pour autant des parts supplémentaires. Les parts sociales souscrites à la création du groupement villageois sont libérables sur plusieurs années culturales.

(2) 1 Fr CFA = 0,02 FF
Nous considérons le paiement de la part sociale, quelque soit la faiblesse de son montant, comme une preuve de l'intérêt que le paysan porte à son organisation socio-professionnelle. La constitution de ce capital est de toute façon indispensable pour faire face aux dépenses inhérentes à la commercialisation des produits (achat de cahiers, de crayons, de bics, etc.).

4. **L'élection du Conseil d'Administration**

Selon l'importance du village, l'effectif du Conseil d'Administration varie de 9 à 15 membres. Il est conseillé aux paysans de faire en sorte que tous les quartiers du village soient représentés au sein du Conseil, qu'un tiers de l'effectif soit réservé aux femmes.

Cette élection des membres du Conseil d'Administration est laissée à l'initiative des paysans du village. Les premières libérations de tranches de parts sociales étant fixées à un niveau relativement bas, 25 à 100 Frs CFA, tous les producteurs libèrent des tranches de parts sociales et participent à l'élection des membres du Conseil d'Administration.

Des instructions strictes sont données à l'encadreur rural du village en vue de sa non immixtion dans le choix des paysans.

A l'issue de plusieurs soirées de longues discussions, les paysans annoncent à l'encadreur rural les noms retenus par eux pour les fonctions de Président, de Secrétaire, de Trésorier, de Peseurs, de Contrôleur du Groupement Villageois (ce contrôleur du Groupement Villageois ne fait pas partie du Conseil d'Administration).

Dans certains villages, les paysans nous supplient de les aider à la désignation de leurs représentants, ce à quoi nous nous refusons, considérant que ces élections libres devront traduire la prise de responsabilités effectives de la part des paysans.

Un à deux mois environ avant la commercialisation, l'encadreur rural du village forme dans la soirée les peseurs. À part ceux qui sont élus aux fonctions de peseurs, de nombreux paysans viennent apprendre à peser.

L'encadreur rural forme aussi le secrétaire dans la tenue du registre des membres, des cahiers de comptabilité simple, des fiches de commercialisation, etc.

En raison de l'analphabétisme quasi général des populations rurales, il a été mis en place dès 1971, une équipe d'alphabetisation fonctionnelle qui aide l'encadreur rural dans la formation des responsables élus des Groupements Villageois.

5. **La formation des responsables élus des paysans par la Section Alphabetisation Fonctionnelle**

L'alphabetisation fonctionnelle est le fer de lance des Groupement Villageois. Elle permet en effet aux paysans de prendre en mains leurs affaires dans leur univers socio-culturel.
Les cours se déroulent en trois étapes: 1ère étape: Cours A; 2ème étape: Cours B, 3ème étape: Cours C.

Le Cours A est consacré à l'apprentissage de la pesée, au calcul des poids grâce à l'emploi d'un boulier. Il dure en moyenne 20 à 25 heures réparties sur 7 à 14 journées. A part les paysans désignés par le Groupement Villageois des auditeurs libres peuvent venir les suivre.

Le Cours B, c'est l'apprentissage de l'écriture, de l'exécution des quatre opérations arithmétiques. Il dure en moyenne 30 à 50 heures reparties sur 10 à 25 jours.

Le Cours C: Les élèves-paysans apprennent à lire, à rédiger de petits textes dans leur langue. Il dure en moyenne 65 à 100 heures reparties sur un à deux mois.

Les cours A et B sont d'une importance capitale pour le démarrage de la commercialisation primaire des produits agricoles par les paysans pour les paysans. Le Cours C permet aux paysans de prendre progressivement, véritablement en charge le développement rural intégral et harmonisé dans le cadre de leurs structures socio-professionnelles.

6. La prise en charge de la commercialisation des produits agricoles

Au nom des Groupements Villageois de la Province, le CARDER (Centre d'Action Régionale pour le Développement Rural) signe avec l'organisme chargé de l'exportation du produit, la SONACEB (Société Nationale de Commercialisation et d'Exportation du Bénin), un contrat de commercialisation. Ce contrat stipule les obligations de chacune des parties. L'organisme chargé de l'exportation du produit fournit la sacherie, la ficelle, le fonds de roulement. En contre-partie, les Groupement Villageois, par le CARDER, s'engagent à fournir dans un délai déterminé un produit de qualité marchande.

A l'issue des opérations de commercialisation, des frais de marché sont payés aux Groupements Villageois. Ils varient de 1.000 à 1.200 Frs. la tonne commercialisée. Ces frais de marché ne sont pas répartis à chaque membre au prorata de ses apports mais contribuent à l'augmentation des ressources du Groupement Villageois qui les investit dans des équipements socio-économiques collectifs à savoir: bascules, appareils de traitement phytosanitaires, achat de moulins à maïs, mise en place de caisses pharmaceutiques villageoises, construction de magasins de stockage, d'écoles, de dispensaires, contribution financière à la création d'un magasin populaire en vue d'assurer l'approvisionnement des masses populaires au moindre coût en produits manufacturés de première nécessité, construction de silos à grains; ces deux dernières actions s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'une coopérative polyvalente au niveau de la Commune Rurale.

7. L'initiation progressive du Conseil d'Administration à certaines tâches

Le Conseil d'Administration du Groupement Villageois est progressivement initié: (i) à la planification des besoins en semences, en engrais, en produits
de lutte contre les parasites des plantes, en outillage agricole; (ii) à la
distribution, la récupération des prêts en nature.

Ainsi dégagé de certaines tâches ingrates du vulgarisateur agricole (dis-
tribution des semences, des engrais, des produits phytosanitaires, etc.)
l'encadreur rural se consacre mieux à sa tâche de conseiller agricole à savoir
l'application correcte des techniques culturelles, l'apprentissage de la tenue
de fiches de culture aux paysans, etc.

La prise en charge de la commercialisation primaire des produits agricoles
par les paysans leur permet de disposer de ressources financières pour dynamiser
leurs structures socio-professionnelles.

Grâce à ces ressources financières gérées et contrôlées par elles-mêmes, les
masses rurales s'équipent sur le plan socio-économique, déchargent l'encadreur
de certaines tâches ingrates du vulgarisateur agricole.

Progressivement, le développement se trouve pris en charge par les intéres-
sés eux-mêmes et s'amorce la lutte pour la liquidation des différences entre
la ville et la campagne.

Dans la deuxième partie de notre communication, nous nous attacherons à
expliquer comment ces structures socio-professionnelles rurales constituent
la solution d'avenir pour un développement rural intégral et harmonisé des
larges masses populaires des campagnes.

II. Les Structures Socio-Professionnelles Rurales: Clé pour un Développement
Rural Intégral et Harmonisé

1. Typologie des Groupements Villageois

Dans la Province de Borgou, le processus évolutif des Groupements Villageois
nous les fait classer en trois grands types:

Groupement Villageois G1: Prise en charge de la commercialisation primaire
des produits agricoles.

Groupement Villageois G2: Acquisition et possession collectives de certains
matériels: appareils de traitement phytosanitaires, bascules, etc.

Groupement Villageois G3: Accumulation financière au niveau du Groupement
Villageois grâce à la possession collective de bascules et d'appareils de
traitement phytosanitaires qui fait progresser le prix du kilogramme de coton.

Construction de magasins ou de silos de stockage dans le village.

Financement d'un magasin populaire au niveau de la Commune Rurale en vue
de satisfaire à un moindre coût les besoins des membres des Groupements
Villageois en produits de consommation courante, en pièces de rechange de
charrue, en appareils de traitement phytosanitaires, en matériaux de
construction, en mobilier, etc...
A ce stade le Groupement Villageois finance l'action sociale axée sur la lutte contre l'analphabétisme, l'état sanitaire déficient.

Cette typologie des Groupements Villageois n'est pas une simple vue de l'esprit, une projection de spécialiste des questions rurales, mais le résultat d'observations de terrain. Il est en effet clair que dès l'instant où les paysans d'un village s'engagent à créer leur Groupement Villageois, celui-ci fait partie des G1. Une fois la commercialisation achevée, les parts libérées, les frais de commercialisation payés par l'organisme stockeur, le financement d'une bascule et des appareils de traitement phytosanitaires peut être envisagé par le Groupement Villageois qui passe au G2.

La possession collective d'une bascule est un vœu des paysans. Comment pourraient-ils apprendre à peser s'ils ne possédaient pas de bascule? La location de bascules auprès de l'organisme qui s'occupe de l'exportation des produits agricoles ne résout pas le problème, celui-ci n'en possédant qu'une quantité limitée à l'égard du nombre de Groupements Villageois demandeurs.

La possession collective des appareils de traitement phytosanitaires fait partie aussi des vœux des paysans. Très souvent en effet, les appareils de traitements phytosanitaires sont destinés à plusieurs villages qui s'en servent à tour de rôle. Il faut que les paysans attendent que leurs camarades du village voisin finissent les travaux phytosanitaires pour aller les chercher, ce qui occasionne des pertes de temps à un moment où les paysans n'ont aucune envie d'en perdre.

Dans le cahier des doléances des paysans figure presque toujours en bonne place l'amélioration du prix du kilogramme de coton. Quand on leur explique que la possession collective des appareils de traitement phytosanitaires favorisera l'amélioration de ce prix, le chemin qui conduit du G1 au G2 est bien parcouru ensemble par les techniciens et les paysans.

Il reste ensuite à parcourir ensemble la distance qui sépare les G2 des G3. Les conditions d'exécution de ce parcours sont-elles remplies?

Nous répondons par l'affirmative:

- les paysans souhaitent mettre à l'abri d'éventuels incendies, leur bascule et leurs appareils de traitements phytosanitaires cherement acquis (nécessité de construction d'un magasin couvert de feuilles de tôles). Ils souhaitent aussi constituer des réserves alimentaires en collectant les surplus de céréales qui seront conservés dans des silos collectifs en maçonnerie;

- les besoins sanitaires non satisfaits sont vivement ressentis par les populations situées loin du moindre petit centre médical;

- pour ce qui concerne la lutte contre l'analphabétisme, dès l'instant où les paysans décident de prendre en charge la commercialisation agricole ils se rendent bien compte de leur incapacité à l'assurer sans un préalable apprentissage de lecture, d'écriture et de calcul. Le Groupement Villageois prend financièrement en charge tout le matériel didactique nécessaire à la formation de ses membres.
Les Groupements Villageois constituent de véritables structures d'accueil de la modernisation du monde rural.

Ils permettent aux communautés rurales: de s'organiser pour arrêter des plans et agir; de définir leurs besoins et de cerner les contours de leur problèmes individuels et communs; d'élaborer des plans collectifs et individuels pour répondre à leurs besoins et résoudre leur problèmes; d'exécuter ces plans en se servant au maximum des ressources de la communauté; de se rendre compte progressivement de leurs propres capacités.

Le fait de pouvoir se retrouver, agriculteurs et cadres techniques pour discuter des problèmes d'organisation de la collecte primaire des produits agricoles et des investissements collectifs à caractère socio-économique, doit permettre par l'enquête-participation d'amener progressivement les agriculteurs à de nouvelles idées, à un désir de progrès continu par la transformation du mode de production.

L'amélioration du mode de vie actuel des populations rurales est une nécessité. Son influence sur la mortalité, l'éducation, la formation des jeunes, sur la prospérité de la région est prépondérante. Il est clair que l'évolution ainsi amorcée, par les besoins qu'elle crée, devient un accélérateur puissant de l'effort des forces de travail.

2. Bilan


Dans le courant de l'année 1975, les paysans de la Commune Rurale de Bori ouvraient le premier magasin populaire de la Province en faisant passer 5 Groupements Villageois au stade G3 avec un capital de 1.400.000 Frs CFA.

Au cours du premier trimestre 1976, 36 Groupements Villageois de 5 Communes Rurales réunissaient un capital social de 5.160.000 Frs. CFA ce qui leur permettait d'ouvrir leurs magasins populaires.

A la fin de l'année 1977, nous dénombrons 17 magasins populaires totalisant un capital social de près de 15.000.000 Frs. CFA.

Les conditions financières sont actuellement remplies pour mettre en place d'avantage de magasins populaires mais le facteur limitant reste la pénurie de cadres qualifiés dans les problèmes de gestion en vue de l'initiation des paysans-gérants à leurs nouvelles tâches ainsi que dans le domaine de l'animation et du contrôle des coopératives.

Pour la campagne de commercialisation 1977-1978 nous enregistrions:
a) au titre des exploitations agricoles et des ménages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Désignation des Produits</th>
<th>Prix de la tonne (milliers de FCFA)</th>
<th>Quantité commercialisée (milliers de T)</th>
<th>Valeur des produits (milliers de FCFA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amandes de karité</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.848</td>
<td>116.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arachides en coque</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2.191</td>
<td>87.649</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coton</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8.394</td>
<td>360.925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riz paddy</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1,6</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maïs</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>25.530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorgho</td>
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<td>405</td>
<td>10.126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igname</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>601.057</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) au titre des organisations socio-professionnelles rurales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Désignation des produits</th>
<th>Frais de marché à la tonne (FCFA)</th>
<th>Quantité commercialisée (milliers de T)</th>
<th>Valeur des produits (milliers de FCFA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amandes de karité</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>4.848</td>
<td>4.848</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arachides en coque</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8.394</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Sorgho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Igname</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>23.132</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ces deux tableaux nous permettent de constater qu'en plus des 600 millions de FrsCFA répartis individuellement aux producteurs, 23 millions de Frs CFA reviennent collectivement aux organisations socio-professionnelles rurales. Ces frais de marché augmentent leur capital. Ils leur permettent de passer du palier G1 aux paliers G2 et G3.

Au palier G3, elles investissent dans la construction de magasins ou de silos de stockage au niveau du village; financent un magasin populaire au niveau communal pour satisfaire à un moindre coût les besoins des membres en produits manufacturés de première nécessité et l'action sociale axée sur la lutte contre l'analphabétisme, l'état sanitaire déficient, etc...
Par une rationalisation des transports des lieux de collecte aux centres de transformation, la société provinciale de commercialisation des produits agricoles peut réduire les frais d'approche, ce qui lui permettra de disposer davantage de ressources financières en vue de son autofinancement.

Au total, la prise en charge de la commercialisation des produits agricoles au niveau de la Province par une société régionale, son exécution au niveau des villages par les structures socio-professionnelles rurales, constituent un facteur déterminant de développement rural. En effet, le développement rural intégral et harmonisé des larges masses populaires ne se réalisera que dans la mesure où il deviendra leur affaire et ne restera plus seulement celle des techniciens du Ministère du Développement Rural et de l'Action Coopérative.

Conclusion

L'expérience en cours dans la Province du Borgou est riche d'enseignements pour l'organisation du développement rural intégré et harmonisé. Des agriculteurs analphabètes réussissent grâce à l'alphabétisation dans leur langue à prendre en charge la collecte primaire de leurs produits agricoles, tiennent les comptes de leurs organisations socio-professionnelles, lisent des fiches techniques, leur journal rural, participent de manière active à la rédaction de ce journal rural.

La prise en charge de la commercialisation par les producteurs eux-mêmes a contribué à la disparition progressive du climat de suspicion (3). Cela a permis aux cadres techniques de se mettre en position de dialogue avec ces populations organisées, c'est-à-dire passer de l'attitude du fonctionnaire à qui les paysans doivent soumission, paysans auxquels il était dénié toute initiative créatrice, pour passer à un stade dynamique grâce aux structures de participation des communautés rurales.

Cette expérience prouve, qu'à chaque fois qu'une population s'est rendue compte de ses propres capacités et a utilisé avec profit l'aide technique et matérielle disponible, non seulement elle mûrit, mais elle contribue en outre à résoudre le problème national plus vaste de la production, de la construction.

La prise en charge de la commercialisation des produits agricoles, l'investissement des commissions de commercialisation dans les projets collectifs à caractère économique, social, culturel ne constituent qu'un premier pas dans la voie de l'édification d'une société nouvelle.

Ces actions permettent à l'étape actuelle d'éliminer au niveau des communautés villageoises les abus des commerçants-traitants mais le problème de fond demeure. Il s'agit de la transformation progressive du mode de production.

(3) auparavant les équipes d'achat de coton-graine par exemple étaient constituées par des agents de la vulgarisation agricole
Il existe en effet une interaction dialectique entre la transformation du mode de production et la révolution technique. C'est la transformation du mode de production qui ouvre la voie à une véritable révolution technique. Seul le regroupement des exploitations agricoles permet d'utiliser rationnellement la charrue, le tracteur, d'unir les efforts en vue de la réalisation des travaux de petite hydraulique rurale.

La transformation du mode de production crée les bases socio-économiques capables de faire progresser la révolution technique qui, en retour, consolide les nouveaux rapports de production qui créent les bases matérielles et techniques pour parfaire sans arrêt les rapports de production socialistes.

Les nouveaux rapports de production socialistes (de chacun selon ses capacités, à chacun selon son travail, et ceux qui travaillent plus gagnent plus), permettent de procéder à de nouvelles répartitions du travail entre les anciens, les femmes et les jeunes, de développer la production, d'améliorer la vie du Peuple, et d'accroître avec rapidité l'accumulation en vue de l'industrialisation socialiste, d'apprendre aux forces de travail à gérer démocratiquement leurs unités de production.

Dans la province du Borgou, les conditions sont remplies pour que les cadres à tous les niveaux déclenchent, sous la responsabilité des instances du Parti de la Révolution Populaire du Bénin, une vaste campagne de transformation du mode de production dans les campagnes.

A l'issue des travaux de la Conférence Provinciale sur la Coopération agricole tenue à Parakou, Chef-lieu de la Province, les 3, 4, 5 et 6 mars 1973, cette vaste campagne démarre. Ses effets s'inscrivent progressivement dans le paysage par les vastes étendues de terre mises en valeur par les membres des coopératives de production agricole.

* * *

COMERCIALIZACIÓN DE LOS PRODUCTOS AGRÍCOLAS, ELEMENTO DEL DESARROLLO RURAL

Resumen

El informe analiza y describe un programa llevado a cabo en la provincia de Borgou de la República Popular de Benín. Se trata de un programa de alfabetización de los campesinos ligado a la participación popular en la formación de cooperativas rurales que tienen como objetivo modificar gradualmente las condiciones de comercialización de los productos agrícolas. El informe analiza los aspectos explotativos y las desventajas de los sistemas tradicionales de venta de los productos agrícolas e explica como en ciertas aldeas, los campesinos con la ayuda del programa de alfabetización han formado cooperativas y controlan de facto el comercio de sus productos agrícolas. Explica también cómo se pueden aplicar las mismas estrategias a otras regiones del país. La conclusión es que un desarrollo rural equitativo y bien integrado en la nación solo se puede alcanzar a través de la participación de las masas rurales en la solución de sus problemas.
BUILDING BLOCKS

THE RELIGIOUS AND TRADITIONAL VALUES IN DEVELOPMENT IN THE 80s,
WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SARVODAYA MOVEMENT (SRI LANKA)

by A.T. Ariyaratna
"Methmedura", Sarvodaya Institute
77 de Soysa Road
Moratuwa, Sri Lanka

Original language: English

Abstract: The Sarvodaya Movement, founded in 1958, has activities in over 2,300 villages in Sri Lanka. It is solidly rooted in Buddhist religious beliefs and practices, as they prevail among the vast majority of rural folk. The primary aim of Sarvodaya is the total awakening of the individual personality based on the four Buddhist virtues: Metta (Friendliness), Karuna (Compassion), Mudhita (Altruistic Joy), and Upekkha (a balanced state of mind). Ten basic human needs are identified which are then catered for by the altruistic actions of fellow human beings, of which Shramadana (sharing of one’s time, thought and energy) is the central element. Through Shramadana, the Movement has attempted to construct a social and economic infrastructure based on a strong community spirit.

A conference held in Sri Lanka in April 1978 with representatives from 12 countries on 'Sarvodaya and World Development' agreed that Sarvodaya draws strength from religious tradition without dependence on any particular religion and that Sarvodaya concepts and aspirations are relevant to international development. In the fields of personal relationships, community organization, total education, simplicity in patterns of living, over-coming of the stresses of a rapidly moving industrialized culture, a great deal of experience based on Sarvodaya could flow from the Third World countries to the rich.
VALORES RELIGIOSOS Y TRADICIONALES APLICADOS AL DESARROLLO:
EL MOVIMIENTO SARVODAYA DE SRI LANKA

Resumen

El Movimiento Sarvodaya fundado en 1958, tiene hoy día actividades en 2,300 aldeas de Sri Lanka. El Movimiento tiene sus raíces profundas en la filosofía Budista e en la práctica del Budismo que prevalece entre la mayoría de las poblaciones rurales. El objetivo primordial de Sarvodaya es despertar de la personalidad humana y su adhesión a los cuatro virtudes del Budismo: Metta (amistad), Karuna (compasión), Muditha (alegría altruista) y Upekkha (equilibrio mental). Se identificaron 10 necesidades humanas básicas cuya satisfacción se debe prender alcanzar para toda la humanidad, objetivo altruista que se procura alcanzar por medio de Shramadana, la dedicación de su tiempo, energía e inteligencia a la causa. Por medio de Shramadana el Movimiento procura crear una infraestructura social e económica basada en un fuerte espíritu comunitario.

El tema de la conferencia del Movimiento que reunió a participantes de 12 países en Sri Lanka en abril de 1978 fue "Sarvodaya e el Desarrollo Mundial". Los participantes concordaron en que aún sacando su fuerza de la tradición religiosa el Movimiento no depende de ninguna religión, antes sus conceptos y aspiraciones pueden aplicarse al desarrollo mundial. En el campo de las relaciones humanas, de los estilos de vida, de la manera de encarar los problemas de la industrialización, Sarvodaya puede representar una contribución valiosa del Tercer Mundo a las sociedades de los países industrializados.
RELIGIOUS AND TRADITIONAL VALUES IN DEVELOPMENT IN THE 1980s
WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SARVODAYA SHRIFUADANA MOVEMENT
IN SRI LANKA

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement was founded in Sri Lanka in 1958. Since that
time the Movement has expanded its activities to over 2300 villages. It has
also established fraternal links and sometimes its own branches in several other
countries of the world. A special characteristic of the Movement is its strong
utilization of spiritual and traditional values found in the Sri Lankan culture
for the achievement of social and economic objectives.

Awakening through Sharing

The word Sarvodaya owes its origin to the Gandhian Movement in India which insp-
ired the local Movement to adopt it in a way that was meaningful to the people
of Sri Lanka. Sarvodaya was defined as 'the total awakening of all'. One of
the principal ways in which the Sarvodaya concept was translated into concrete
action was Shramadana or 'the sharing of labour'. Therefore, a people's
effort to bring about the total awakening of all in society (Sarvodaya) by
gifting or sharing one's time, thought and energy (Shramadana), came to be
popularly known as the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

The concept of Sarvodaya or Total Awakening of All has to be described in
relation to the traditional thinking of the people of Sri Lanka. Since the
introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka in the Third Century B.C. and the
general acceptance of this philosophy by the king and the people of the country,
the ultimate goal of all human endeavour was 'the attainment of Nirvana or supreme
enlightenment' (Yava Nibbana Pattiya). The literal meaning of the word Buddha
is 'the Enlightened One'. It is true that, for the ordinary human being, the
goal of Nirvana was a very distant one, yet that was the generally accepted
supreme goal for the achievement of which every wise person should have striven
by abstaining from committing sins arising out of mental defilements such as
lobha (greed), dwesha (hatred) and moha (ignorance), and cultivating meritorious
actions such as dana (generosity or sharing), sila (morality) and bhavana
(meditation).

Thus, the concept of awakening or enlightenment, and the spirit of generosity,
sharing or thinking in terms of the well-being of all, are essential elements
of the Buddhist culture. By definition, therefore, the Sarvodaya Shramadana
Movement reflected a philosophical thought that was ingrained in the people
for centuries and it is not surprising that they responded readily when a
practical programme of development work based on this philosophy was placed
before them. For two decades a coherent series of development concepts and
people's participatory activities grew, one after the other, into what is now
known as the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. This two fold growth of the
Movement in thought and action, is continuing even today.
Three Phases of Growth

In the evolution of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement three clear phases could be identified. During the first ten years the Movement concentrated itself in giving an educational experience to students and teachers by organising them to work physically in programmes designed to improve the living conditions of communities in the most backward villages in Sri Lanka. The personality awakening aspect of the Movement was emphasised more than other aspects during this first phase of the Movement.

During the next five years of the Movement the total community awakening became an equally important objective. An integrated development programme involving hundred villages selected from all parts of the country, received the main attention of the Movement. Thus total awakening of the personalities of the individuals as well as the total awakening of village communities received equal importance during this phase.

During the last five years of the growth of the Movement, the 100 villages development programme quickly got broadened into a thousand villages development programme and then to a 2000 villages development programme. Naturally the objectives of national reawakening and world awakening objectives also came into the fore-front. This expansion understandably focused the attention of the Movement not only to personality awakening and community awakening but also to structural changes that are required at all levels of human society beginning from the village, through nation-states, to the international social order. In other words education, development and structural change became three integral components of the Movement in the development of its concepts, objectives, strategies and programmes to bring about social change.

Personality Awakening

According to tradition, for the total awakening of an individual's personality four qualities had to be cultivated. They were:

1. Metta - friendliness towards all or respect for all life
2. Karuna - compassionate action to remove causes that bring about suffering
3. Muditha - altruistic or dispassionate joy one gets when making others happy
4. Upekkha - equanimity or cultivating a balanced state of mind.

Metta is a thought. Karuna is an action. Muditha is an immediate reaction. Upekkha is a long term attribute that is imbibed into one's personality. If a person cultivates these four qualities such a person was said to be equal to a heavenly being.

The Sarvodaya Movement gave a practical meaning for these four factors of personality awakening. If one respects life then Truth, Non-violence and Self denial should become guiding principles of such a person's life. One
should not discriminate against other human beings on grounds of caste, race, religion, colour, nationality or political beliefs. One should look at others as one's own brother or sister.

This thought of oneness of all is further ingrained into one's consciousness by making meditation on loving kindness a routine feature in all Sarvodaya activities and in the daily time-table at Sarvodaya villages and centres. In this form of meditation, all can join together irrespective of one's religious beliefs.

**Compassionate Action**

If humanity is one family, suffering of human beings, wherever they may be, becomes the common concern of all those who embrace the thought of Sarvodaya. There are a variety of causes due to which human beings suffer. Some of these are the result of lack of basic human needs. The causes that bring about a situation where human beings lack these basic human needs are many and varied. Removal of these causes that bring about suffering whether they are political, social, economic or psychological is an act of compassion. Tradition called it Karuna or compassionate action. Every human being has the capacity to practice Karuna towards other human beings. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement focuses the attention of its workers and the communities who work with them on Ten Basic Human Needs which are listed below:

1. A clean and beautiful environment - To impart the knowledge and to plan measures for the protection of the soil and the atmosphere from environmental pollution on the one hand and take appropriate measures to prevent psychological pollution on the other hand and to ensure healthful living.

2. Clean and adequate supply of water - To provide an adequate supply of safe water to meet the personal needs of every family and the water necessary for cultivation work.

3. Minimum clothing - To provide basic requirements of clothing to everyone so as to safeguard their self-respect societal demands and day to day occupational needs.

4. A balanced diet - To ensure that every individual shall have the means to obtain a balanced diet providing protection from malnutrition and the energy needed for physical and mental activity in the day to day living, thereby contributing to optimum health.

5. Simple housing - To provide with economic housing units ensuring physical and health protection of the family as well as maintaining established ethical standards.

6. Basic health care - To provide primary and secondary health services for protection and promotion of health in physical, mental and social dimensions.

7. Basic communication facilities - To provide transportation and other communication facilities essential to meet the various needs of a simple way of life.
8. Fuel - To provide adequate fuel for the cooking of food, lighting and other energy requirements of day to day living.

9. Total education - To provide adequate facilities for continuing education of the individual as is consistent with the culture of the people while permitting his or her personality to develop to the fullest.

10. Spiritual and cultural needs - To provide facilities for the spiritual development of every individual.

The ten basic human needs were divided into nearly 170 sub-needs under these ten broad heads and the attention of every Sarvodaya member was drawn to work towards the satisfaction of these needs beginning with the poorest in their communities. Shramadana or sharing of one's time, thought and energy was well organized as the main activity to satisfy these needs.

**Shramadana**

Shramadana is essentially a group activity. From a small number of 25 people up to a number as big as several thousands can participate in a Shramadana project. The physical tasks to be accomplished can be an access road to a village, a tank-bund to store water for irrigation of rice fields, construction of school buildings, community halls, etc., or any other activity which helps to satisfy a felt need of the community. When such large numbers of people get together to work there should be certain guiding principles that keep them bound together in a community spirit. According to tradition there were four factors of progressive social conduct which Sarvodaya revived. They are:

1. Dana or sharing
2. Priya vachana or pleasant language
3. Arthacharya or constructive activity and
4. Samanathmatha or equality

During the 4½ centuries of colonial rule, like any other subjugated people, Sri Lankans also had got stratified into a minority elite class and a majority of under privileged people. When under the above four principles hundreds and thousands of people were getting together with pick-axes and shovels, to sweat together to give a better life to the village communities, that was an opportunity for non-violently bringing together of both these sectors of people.

Of course, if this sharing of labour for a common task is to be meaningful the concept of sharing would have to be taken to other fields of sharing such as one's land, wealth, knowledge and power. Like in the pre-colonial village society, participants in Shramadana camps addressed one another in the language that members of families addressed one another. This was another way that a non-violent integration was made possible. Wasteful destructive actions and inequalities were looked down upon as immoral and unjust as majorities in these villages started uniting together based on these four principles of good community living.
Community Awakening

On the one hand a Shramadana camp laid a psychological infra-structure in the village for all to get together in a spirit of community awakening. On the other hand much needed physical infra-structural activities were carried out. A new leadership sprang up from the community itself not based on properties that one possessed or the academic education one was fortunate enough to get, but purely because of the talents displayed in work brigades, capacity to organise people and the dedication to service that were shown.

Individual participation and community involvement on a mass scale go hand in hand all the time in this Movement. The average participation of Shramadana workers during 1976 was 142,000 in little over 400 camps, while in 1977 it was over 220,000 in over 550 camps. In 1978 over 700 Shramadana camps are being implemented.

Shramadana has a historical background. All the great irrigation works and huge stupas (religious shrines) in the past were constructed by Shramadana. At that time the people's effort was known as 'Samudan' meaning 'sharing (of labour) by the community. Song and dance, dramas and a variety of other cultural and religious practices were incorporated into shramadana activities linking those historical events with the present tasks. For example, every day in a Shramadana camp, three meetings were held known as 'Family Gatherings', at five in the morning, at one in the afternoon and at seven in the evening. All the men, women and children working in a Shramadana camp sit in a circle in the open-air on the ground or in a school building or temple-hall and conduct what they call 'family gatherings'. Family gatherings are the most effective media for community education. On any subject that is of interest to the community, talks and discussions, song and drama, educational classes or demonstrations, could be carried out. In other words, the most important factor in the Sarvodaya development philosophy, namely, awareness creation or community consciousness building is done at these family gatherings.

Social Infra-Structures

A Shramadana camp may last from a weekend to a month depending on the type of physical task that has to be completed. But this is only the initiation of a long term community awakening process. Generally during the last family gathering of the first Shramadana camp in the village a Mothers' Group is formed to follow up a programme of action specially for the benefit of children of compulsory school going age (5-14), pre-school kids, expectant and lactating mothers and sick and old people. Mothers' Group selects two or more girls between the age of 18-24 to come to a Sarvodaya Development Education Institute to undergo a training programme in nutrition, health-care, and pre-school education. These girls after their training return to the village. The Mothers' Group prepares a place for them to conduct the Children's Service activities. At the moment there are over 1,300 places in Sri Lanka where these trained girls under the guidance of Mothers' Group are bringing up a new generation of healthy and happy children.

The formation of a Mothers' Group and Children's Group is followed by the form-
ation of Youth Groups, Farmers' Groups and general Elders' Groups in the village. All these groups have their special areas of work and generally meet once a week. Representatives of all groups meet monthly and integrate their programmes into one coherent people's participatory village development programme. Through the social leaders in the village the extension arms of the governmental services are linked to these village programmes so that more effective use of governmental facilities are made for the development of the village.

Very strong cultural and religious principles come into operation when this type of social infra-structure laying takes place in the village communities. For example, according to Buddha's teachings there are seven factors of non-degeneration that a community of people should follow. These as adopted by Sarvodaya are:

1. meet as often as possible
2. meet in peace and discuss in peace and disperse in peace
3. don't impose laws that cannot be followed
4. follow diligently the laws that have been accepted
5. ancient rituals and ceremonies should be followed uninterruptedly
6. elders, women and children should be respected and protected.
7. spiritual leaders and wise people should be invited to the community and should learn from them.

Similarly when these groups gather there are numerous other cultural values that are revived in action. All these have a relevance to a better way of life bringing about closeness of the members of a community, participating in basic decision making, keeping community spirit alive, helping people to adopt a path of development based not on greed but more on their real needs.

Training

The above psycho-social infra-structural development is further carried on to a pre-economic development stage by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement providing as many village youths as possible with training appropriate leadership and technical skills. At any time in over 80 small and big educational centres training programmes are conducted. These are all residential. Some of the courses conducted in these centres are:

1. Community Service (2 weeks and 3 months)
2. Nutrition, Health Care and Pre-school Education ( 3 months and 2 weeks refresher courses)
3. Wood work, Metal work and Appropriate Technology (over one year)
4. Rural Technical Services (over one year)
5. Training in co-operative, agricultural, small industrial and credit management
6. Community Leadership Course for Buddhist Monks (4 months)

The much needed trained inputs in all aspects of village life as appropriate is provided through these residential training programmes. The training itself is not on a formal relationship between teachers and pupils or books, syllabi and time tables. They are more or less an improved form of family gatherings where
each participant becomes a teacher as well as a learner. Non-dependency, self-management and self-employment are the results of such non-formal learning experiences.

Help for Self-Development

Village groups get together at their village centres. Several villages get together at a central village where four full-time Sarvodaya workers are resident. This is called a Village Awakening or Gramodaya Centre. They help the village people to organise Shramadana camps, get into Development Education Programmes, provide tools and equipment and credit when necessary, bring them in contact with governmental Extension Services and give whatever other assistance the village community is in need for self-development.

Several Gramodaya Centres have as their focal point a Sarvodaya Development Educational Institute. There are already seven large established centres with a full-time staff capable of handling even rather big community development programmes. They provide the Gramodaya Centres with a know-how, guidance and resources and when necessary, the liaison services with the district administration of the government. At all these levels the Movement tries to get the community into close working partnership with governmental development institutions without losing its independence.

During the last two years after the present government came into power members of Parliament, district ministers and even the ministries of the central government have approached the Movement for help in areas pertaining to people's participation. At the moment several experiments with a variety of development administrators and governmental programmes are being implemented in different areas of the country. As the government itself has as its declared objective giving people maximum opportunities to participate in development, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement being the largest and may be the oldest organized group that is specialising in this respect has a vital role to play.

A Pioneering Role

The first task of the Movement in the 1980s is to continue its development educational role to raise the consciousness of the people as to understand the true meaning of development based on the religious and cultural values of the people on one hand and to further innovate the development strategies so that it can play a pioneering role to shape the new social order that is to come.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement rejects the Western definition and model of development where the spiritual values are rejected and the human being is pushed into an insignificant place in a materialistic culture.

The traditional Sri Lankan society was a synthesis of socio-economic and spiritu-o-cultural life. Sri Lanka was known as 'Dhanyagara-Dharmadweeapa' meaning an island of economic prosperity and social righteousness. The Movement subscribes to the same view. Our development goal should be a balanced growth in both material and spiritual aspects. The human being, the family and the village community should be the first units of development. Technology should be introduced in such a way that the identity of these three basic units is
not lost. The ethos in the political life should be direct democracy and community politics as different from distant representative politics and governments depending on bureaucracies. Personal human relationships, household and small scale economic pursuits should form the basis of the national economy without allowing gigantic institutionalised economies to dominate people's lives.

Development Principles

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement over a period of two decades has graduated from the status of being a personality awakening and village re-awakening Movement to be a national people's development effort with certain definite principles. Some of these are:

1. All development efforts should be aimed at the achievement of the fullest awakening of the human personality. Development should be measured by a yard-stick which includes the growth of spiritual, cultural and ideological qualities. Development should never be measured only by the wealth of consumer goods in the market and services available for the people.

2. While the fundamental human rights of every individual should be ensured without exception in the eyes of the law, the principal aim of any development effort should be to fulfil without delay the social, economic, cultural and spiritual aspirations of that segment of the society which stands lowest in it. We call this 'Anthyodaya' the awakening of the lowliest and the lost in society.

3. National development should have its beginning from within the village itself. All development plans should be made with the village taken as the fundamental unit. Development in respect of constituencies and districts should be undertaken by the co-ordination of those village units. We call this development from the village upwards.

4. Development plans in the village should be drawn up, implemented and evaluated with the fullest participation of the people of the village.

5. The primary goal of local production activities, should be to utilize the human and material resources available in the village, to meet the needs of the village people themselves. It is also an urgent need, to provide a methodical training, specially to the youth, to enable them to assume village leadership.

6. Use should be made of appropriate village technologies and organisational structures which the villagers themselves can control.

7. When development plans are assessed in their entirety, they should merge into one another, not causing contradiction or disruptions, when viewed from the philosophical, methodological and organisational angles.

8. Development should essentially be an effort of the people. In this context the public should be made clearly aware, that political institutions and state organizations, are important only as institutions providing:
a) relevant specialised advice and consultation services;

b) capital inputs;
c) legislative action for achieving economic justice;
d) equitable distribution of national wealth and resources.

In other words, political or governmental institutions should in no way be barriers for the promotion of self-reliance, self-sufficiency and self-management of the communities.

Role of Technology

In the achievement of national development targets technology has necessarily to play a vital role. The Movement, therefore, has accepted the following criteria in adopting technologies:

1. The technology should be economically non-violent in such a way that the materials and energies used in its process should not prevent other individuals in the world, now and in the future, to use them on a basis of equality. It therefore uses a minimum of non-renewable resources and a maximum of renewable resources.

2. The technology should be socially, culturally and spiritually non-violent in such a way that it doesn’t break local cultural traditions or democratic social organization. If transferred the technological organisation should be adapted to the prevailing conditions.

3. The technology should be psychologically non-violent in such a way that it does not provide jobs for human beings just to replace machines. A job should provide a maximum of creative and innovative tasks.

4. If technology is transferred it should come under the control of the people who are served by the technology as soon as possible. This should be so with regard to the maintenance and operational control as well as with regard to the means of production itself. This implies that transfer of technology should always have a training or educational component. Only then people can participate in the decision making process.

5. The technology should be able to compete, or if that is not possible, avoid competition either through output restriction or through direct producer-consumer relations.

6. The technology should produce items which are in the interest of the majority of the people, so that the majority of the people should be able to afford the items produced.

7. Any technology process that deals with primary products and raw material extraction must also try to establish manufacturing units for this product.

8. The technology should enhance life in general, therefore, it should be ecologically sound, dynamic, innovative and creative.
9. The employment created by technologies should not be restricted to persons who have followed a formal technical education. The absence of such an education should not hinder a person in getting a job. The technology process should be educative in itself.

World Development

International Development Agencies, both intergovernmental and non-governmental, have worked closely with Sarvodaya during the last five years in increasing measure. This naturally brings the Movement closer to the world development scene. In fact, in April, 1978, representatives of Sarvodaya Shramadana Organizations from 12 countries had a week-long conference in Sri Lanka on Sarvodaya and World Development.

At this conference the delegates agreed on the following points:

1. Sarvodaya can draw strength from religious tradition without dependence on any particular religion.

2. Sarvodaya embraces all age groups, sectors of society and communities.

3. Social justice is the prime objective of Sarvodaya, to be achieved in a spirit of harmony, but not ruling out non-violent confrontation wherever injustice is entrenched.

4. People's power is the sole strength of Sarvodaya, free from any alliance with forces which compromise this.

Although Sarvodaya usually operates within individual communities and countries, they found that the time was ripe for the following forms of co-operation at the international level on the principle of equality:

1. The exchange of personnel, especially field workers and those with particular skills to teach or to learn.

2. The exchange of technology.

3. The direct exchange of products, and establishment of direct trading relations.

4. The establishment of a clearing-house for the accumulation and dissemination of ideas, philosophies, and information on existing Sarvodaya programmes.

5. The creation of more effective means for the regular communication of ideas and information among Sarvodaya workers world-wide.

6. The sharing of resources, for example, received-aid, where this will maximise and multiply their impact.

7. The development of a methodology for multiplying the effect of local experience, and the dissemination of successful techniques.
8. Cultural exchanges, including the exploration of alternative forms of tourism to promote direct interpersonal and intercultural understanding.

9. The establishment of a co-ordinating body.

10. Promote recognition as a non-governmental agency by the United Nations, able to give voice to Sarvodaya concepts and aspirations.

The nucleus of a Sarvodaya Vishvodaya ("World Awakening") Council was formed at the conclusion of the International Conference.

There is an increasing demand from UN agencies as well as other governmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals for all forms of "Sarvodaya assistance from a stand-point of twenty years of experience. It is with much strain on the time and resources of the Movement that it is responsive even in a small way to these requests. Already about 30 youths and several scholars from a number of countries sponsored by the United Nations Volunteers, Dutch Volunteers Organization, Japanese UNESCO Federation and Helvetas in Switzerland are learning and contributing their knowledge within the Movement. In the months to come the Movement proposes to organise these programmes more systematically.

**Co-operation with Self-respect**

Sarvodaya is already an international Movement with branches and working groups. In several countries there are a number of fraternal organizations which have helped the organisation materially and financially during the past ten years. These organizations, generally speaking, have co-operated with the Movement in a manner that can be termed as 'co-operation with self-respect'. The donor-recipient relationship was hardly evident in their dealings. On the other hand, they have developed a development co-operation relationship based on mutual respect and understanding. Very often it is a process of sharing in an experience which benefits both countries, where the institutions are based, and also the human family in general.

Notwithstanding the above healthy relationships we have established, speaking of development assistance in general, we believe that much of new thinking has to come into the theory of international development co-operation. We are not entering into a long discussion on this subject, but a few salient points may be mentioned here.

**Self-reliance**

Firstly, the criteria by which poor world organisations are assisted by rich world organizations have to be drastically revised. For example, the concept of self-reliance as understood in the narrow sense of self-financing as in a commercial enterprise, cannot be applied to people's movements for self-development. Beyond the financial considerations there are a whole range of value factors and political and economic realities that have to be considered. When even national governments cannot build up their economies without being subjected to the changes in international political and economic realities, how can a non-governmental people's organization be imposed upon to conduct itself to achieve a financial target, assuming all other factors to be constant?
Self-reliance should be redefined, to include the possibility for dynamic adjustment within a changing system and on a value-basis pertaining to the attainment of broader goals that an organization had set before itself. When speaking of Sarvodaya, our concept of self-reliance has many more ingredients in it than mere financial considerations. Even for a non-governmental organization in a rich country carrying out a development task of the magnitude of that of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement - is it possible for it to be self-reliant, if self-reliance is only understood as self-financing?

This does not mean that certain programmes within an organization, for example, a well-thought-out co-operative farm with possibilities of bringing in an income with the money invested, should not fall within the above general statement: given proper natural conditions and management experience there should be no reason why a venture of this sort cannot be self-reliant financially, during a given period of time. On the other hand, most of the development educational programmes conducted for the benefit of rural and urban poor in a total development setting will always remain an investment in broader social development. We are sure that this is the same situation that prevails in a university giving free education in any country.

Right to Self-determination

A second area for review should be the recognition of the principle of the right to self-determination, that should be left in the hands of local organizations. This should apply to national organizations as well as grassroots level organizations. During the last ten years, out of the development assistance received by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, only about 5% of the funds could be utilized for activities chosen by our own free will on a no-project basis. 95% of funds were tied to projects. In a rapidly changing social, political and economic situation it is essential that the local group should be given the authority to determine changes and modifications that have to be effected from time to time.

We are happy that from January 1977, NOVIB of the Netherlands, our major partner in development co-operation, has agreed to render programme assistance giving the Movement an almost absolute right to self-determination. Of course, it is the duty of the partner organization receiving such programme assistance, in this case the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement - to prepare well ahead of time their intended programmes and projected budgets, and to satisfy the partners on the other side that it is a two-way responsibility that exists. At the same time, strict accounting and budget control and regular reporting and evaluation should be built into the operational machinery of the programme. We are happy that the Movement has satisfactorily built up such a relationship with NOVIB in the past two years.

From the Poor to the Rich

The third point that may be mentioned here is the responsibility on the part of non-industrialized but culturally rich countries like Sri Lanka to share certain development experiences which have a spiritual-cultural value to benefit the people of the industrialized countries. In the fields of personal relationships, community organization, total education, simplicity in patterns of living,
over-coming the stresses of a rapidly moving industrialized culture, a great deal of experience can flow from the poor to the rich world. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, in a variety of programmes engaged in this type of mutually beneficial activity. During the period that lies ahead of us we propose to venture into new areas, such as 'cultural tourism'. We mention the word tourism because, tourism is promoted by countries such as Sri Lanka, with the primary goal of earning foreign exchange. But very few of the tourists have been exposed to the real culture and life of the people, from which they can get a deeper benefit than a superficial satisfaction in the five-star hotels, on the sunny beaches, at historical sights and wild-life sanctuaries. There is something more in the life of the people that they can experience than those. Even if Sarvodaya can expose visitors from industrialized countries to rural areas, where they can experience a different kind of social security, which is personal and coming from the people, rather than impersonal and organizational, coming from the state, that in itself would be a worthwhile contribution we could make.

Replication

A question that is very often asked by visitors to Sarvodaya is whether it is possible to replicate the Sarvodaya experience of Sri Lanka in other communities in the poorer world. There are also requests coming from groups in other poor countries for assistance in development efforts. Sarvodaya does not claim that it has a ready-made strategy which could be transplanted in other similar countries. But, on the other hand, experience has shown that the fundamental principles, if intelligently applied, taking into consideration the realistic situations in such environments, can achieve many worthwhile results.

As a first step the Movement is looking for resources to invite young grass-roots groups from these countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to Sri Lanka and to expose them to our experience in real life situations, with least institutionalisation. Already in a small way this is being done. But it has to be systematised and regularised.
Abstract: This is a continuation of a paper published in IFDA Dossier 2 which pointed to a way out of current crises of maldevelopment in the Western industrialized societies through better use of societal time and redistribution of power away from the State and the market, towards the "civil society". Taking off from this last point, the transition strategy outlined here has as its base participatory, transactive and contractual planning for the need-oriented development of sub-national geographical units, within a supportive context of national macro-planning. The policies and measures prescribed at the national level include: eliminating wasteful production processes, converting industries to a socially useful production, encouraging the use of renewable energy and resources, decentralizing economic and human activities, and implementing the ecodevelopment approach. Internationally, the enlightened self-interest of the North is seen to be in abandoning its self-congratulatory assumption of technological superiority and in seeking a new, symmetrical international order involving - among other things - greater imports of "qualified labour-intensive" manufactures from the Third World. Bilateral arrangements between pairs of North and South countries can lead the way to new industrial linkages, either vertically (within the same industrial branch) or between sub-national units referred to above.

LE CHEMIN: STRATEGIES DE TRANSITION VERS UN AUTRE DEVELOPPEMENT DANS LE NORD

Résumé: Ce document fait suite à celui publié dans le Dossier FIPAD 2 qui voyait une issue aux crises du mal-développement dans les sociétés industrialisées de l'Ouest dans un meilleur usage du temps social et la redistribution du pouvoir à partir de l'État et du marché vers la "société civile". Sur cette base, la stratégie de transition esquissée ici repose sur une planification participative et contractuelle pour un développement orienté vers la satisfaction des besoins à l'échelle d'unités géographiques infra-nationales et dans un contexte positif de planification nationale. Les mesures envisagées au niveau national comprennent l'élimination du gaspillage, la reconversion des industries vers une production socialement utile, l'encouragement à l'utilisation de ressources et d'énergies renouvelables, la décentralisation des activités économiques et sociales et l'application des principes de l'écodéveloppement. Au plan international, l'intérêt bien compris du Nord serait d'abandonner l'hypothèse de sa supériorité technologique et de rechercher un nouvel ordre international symétrique impliquant, entre autres, de plus grandes importations de certains produits manufacturés en provenance du Tiers Monde et incorporant une forte proportion de travail. Des accords bilatéraux entre paires de pays du Nord et du Sud pourraient ouvrir le chemin à de nouvelles relations industrielles.

"Crises of maldevelopment in the North: A way out"

Resumen en español en la página 12
To some extent "transition strategy" is a misnomer, as we are always transiting from somewhere to somewhere, we are always in the process of developing or mal-developing. On the other hand, a still greater danger consists in projecting utopian golden paths without caring how we get to the entrance gate of "Development Heaven". Not that we should give up normative thinking - however, its aim should be not to describe ideal states of bliss to be attained and perpetuated, but to offer criteria for the inflexion of the development/maldevelopment process, hopefully moving from maldevelopment, if this is the case, in the direction of development. An ideal design - a utopia - may be instrumental in dramatizing the value choices and identifying criteria for action to be taken here and now. "Transition strategy towards another development" appears thus as a shorthand for the set of policies and measures necessary to avoid the future we are in, with its open and hidden crises, analysed in the previous paper.1/

A. Need-oriented planning

Let it also be recalled that the general framework for development planning proposed in that paper is one of continuous negotiation between the civil society, the state and the market forces2/. Hopefully, this should result in increasing the power of the civil society in charting the development process in accordance with its own perception of purposes and goals3/. The forms and contents of State intervention would be redefined and market forces kept within limits.

Logically, planning should first unfold the social project and then move down to the economic sphere. In practical terms, this is hardly possible because of the difficulty involved in spelling out in concrete terms a social project. A possible way out is to start the interactive planning process from the demand and not from the supply side.

Need-satisfaction can be achieved in two ways: by a better use of existing production capacities and by setting up new ones. The latter problem is a fairly straightforward one and will not be dealt with here, except for insisting on the obvious, yet neglected, high social and often environmental costs of scrapping production facilities still able to function in reasonable conditions and building new ones instead. A wiser use of the existing stock of equipment may provide, within limits, an alternative to accelerated capital formation. Thus,

1/ "Crisis of maldevelopment in the North: a way out" (See IFDA Dossier 2).
2/ Our view of planning has many points in common with "transactive planning" as proposed by John Friedmann.
3/ J.K. Galbraith is probably right in defining power as "the ability of an individual or a group to impose its purposes on others" (Economics and the Public Purpose, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1975, p.108).
it is mischievous to use the relative share of productive investment in the GNP as an indicator of economic performance, at least without bringing into the picture some qualitative aspects of the growth and process thus financed.

As for the improved performance of the existing production apparatus, we shall deal successively with two aspects of the problem: elimination of wastefulness and partial reconversion leading to a diversification of output.

Eliminating wastefulness

Whenever the same final result can be obtained through a lesser effort and/or by using less resources, we are in the presence of wastefulness. Its elimination may require technical measures sustained by some investment (e.g., in the realm of energy conservation) or else a reorganization of the activity pattern. Elimination of wastefulness through better social organization offers a tremendous challenge to our societies and to planners who should always bear in mind that the softest of all technologies is software. Rescheduling of activities over a day or a year-time and redesigning of transportation systems are quite fashionable nowadays. Still greater opportunities lie in the rationalization of commercial flows and in the gradual substitution of communication for travel. At a more fundamental level, it would seem that progress in telecommunication can pave the way to the redeployment in the countryside and in small towns of many activities at present concentrated in large cities (modern, small-scale industries, services and research). Were this to happen, we would gain at both ends, by eliminating some of the negative externalities at present associated with excessive urban concentration and by putting to a fuller use the social capital and the stock of houses existing in the countryside.

Adapting existing industries to new uses

Partial and gradual reconversion of some industries is required, either because they do not find outlets for their present output and/or because they produce pseudo-use values that should be substituted by genuine use-values. Reconversion is likely to prove politically difficult on account of the formidable pressure of vested interests, the armament industry being probably the best example. Not only the industrialists but also, more often than not, the trade-unions display conservative dynamism. They fight for the preservation of actual jobs, instead of pressing for a global deal that would encompass a more equitable sharing of the total work load within society, a fairer access to wealth and resources and, as consequences of both, an effective change in the distribution of income and an improvement in the quality and the meaning of life for the working people.

The argument in favour of partial reconversion applies clearly to the motor-car industry, so critically central to the economy of several highly industrialized countries. Of course, a motor-car factory could be converted to produce tanks and other kinds of weaponry. Obviously, such a reconversion would not bring us anywhere closer to a need-oriented, self-reliant and environmentally-sound development. But most likely it could also turn out collectors of solar energy and other related equipment.

The social usefulness of reconversion will depend, on the one hand, on the choice of new products and, on the other, on the ability to use reconversion to
foster new forms of participatory planning and to improve the quality of working life in the factory.

Participatory planning

We need to be able to suggest for each factory a range of specific products meeting the double criterion of feasibility and social utility, eventually translated into effective demand. Assessing the feasibility requires a deep inside knowledge of the factory; proposing new products calls for social imagination and, quite often, for institutional design and policy packages necessary to transform desires and aspirations into effective demand.

To achieve this, it is submitted that factory trade-unions, consumer associations and other civil society bodies jointly engage in the search for reconversion alternatives. Such a horizontal dialogue at the grass roots would become the cornerstone of participatory planning for local development. The dialogue could easily be extended to other subjects, and could also involve the local, provincial and - why not - central authorities, the public and private industries, indeed all the social actors who might eventually engage in a pluriannual shared contract-programme for the geographical unit under consideration. The aim of the contract-programme would be to define a package of projects financed by a mix of public and private, local and external funds, to establish the responsibilities incumbent on each social actor or group, and to create ad hoc coalitions around specific matters of common concern.

As suggested in the previous paper, the choice of the geographical unit should be such as to reconcile two contradictory criteria: it should be sufficiently big to display the web of real life complexity and to allow for a package of projects and thereby for a shared distribution of gains and costs, yet small enough to enable a meaningful grass-root participation. In any case, this participatory, transactive and ultimately contractual planning at the grass roots could not function without the simultaneous existence of contextual macro-planning.

Contextual macro-planning

The centre, as we have seen, may enter as one of the partners in the local contract-programmes, by supplying resources that are not locally available: expertise, physical inputs or finance. It must assume the role of co-ordinating the multiple local initiatives and of fostering the contracts between different local planning groupings leading eventually to "second level" negotiation. It can help the local planning groups by supplying them with studies and information of a sectorial or national level. Above all, it can influence contextually all the local planning efforts through policies for resources, energy, land-use, science and technology, and environment.

Given the diversity of situations, and the range of available instruments, such policies cannot be meaningfully discussed at the level of generality imposed by the very nature of this paper. But something can be said about the questions to which we should address ourselves.

Energy policies must aim, first of all, at keeping the demand profile low and learning to use energy as a scarce resource, even if it proves not to be so.
Ecologically, the safest energy is that whose use has been foregone. Economically, saving energy often proves much cheaper than producing more. Overall, efficiency of energy use might greatly increase by matching specific energy demands with the most appropriate forms of energy supply, so as to avoid using high-grade energy for needs that can be met by low-grade energy (e.g., using electrical power for water-heating). At the supply level, the only lasting and ecologically prudent solution will ultimately be provided by the flow of solar energy in all its forms: direct and indirect, such as biomass, hydro-electric and wind energies. Renewable energies deserve a pride of place in a long term strategy, on condition that their high absolute costs are realistically assessed and that the contribution of conventional and nuclear fission energies is carefully phased out in the short and medium run.

Space-use policies are probably even more sensitive than those for energy. Space is required, like energy, for all human activities, but the total area of our planet is given once and for all. The amount of usable land is probably shrinking because of irreversible man-provoked erosion processes, and our endowment cannot be enlarged, except through the highly problematic colonization of outer space or else the floating of artificial islands on the ocean. Moreover, many decisions related to land-use are irreversible. Under these circumstances, land-use policies should strive to preserve options for the future by maximizing the areas reserved for forests, agriculture and grazing. As already mentioned, decentralization of some industrial and tertiary activities would slow down the excessive growth of metropolitan areas and, at the same time, give new vitality to the network of rural settlements and small towns. More generally, siting of economic and human activities is a very powerful planning instrument, as both the environmental and the social impacts of such activities differ widely according to their location. Human settlement networks and production systems should be conceived as true systems, taking the fullest advantage of potential complementarities and using to this effect ecological cycles as a paradigm, with a view to minimizing environmental disruption and enhancing the quality of life. Physical planning is an integral part of socio-economic planning and not a separate concern, particularly so in the model of local, participatory, transactive and contractual planning outlined above.

Resource policies should aim, first of all, at supporting peoples' resourcefulness - their ingenuity to use, on a sustainable basis, specific elements of the local environments for the satisfaction of genuine needs. A desirable diversification of the resource base could be achieved in this way, contrasting with the uniformizing trends of the industrial civilization of the last century or so. For the same reasons as in the case of renewable energies, recycling and substituting the flow of renewable resources for the stock of depletable materials should be encouraged.

Policies for science and technology are situated at a somewhat different level from the previous three, to the extent that they must feed them with knowledge and know-how. And conversely, technical choices should be made in such a way as to actively promote the energy, resource and land-use policies adopted. It might be useful to consider technology as a link between needs (social demand) and the resource base used to satisfy them. The choice of the appropriate product and of the appropriate production process will depend on the specific socio-economic and ecological contexts. The concept of appropriateness is a
relative one. No product or technology can be deemed appropriate as such, without explicitating for what, for whom and where. Two general guidelines seem to be widely applicable, however. We need to search for more durable product technologies and for low-waste process technologies in place of the present escalation of production - pollution - anti-pollution, responsible for the continuous increase of the managing costs of our economic systems.

Finally, a word should be said about environmental policies. To the extent to which environment has been incorporated as an important dimension of the policies discussed previously, this appears as almost redundant. In fact, a consistent application of the set of policies suggested above leads to an eco-development path, i.e. to an ex ante harmonization of socio-economic objectives with ecological concerns. However, the back-log of accumulated environmental disruption calls for a considerable remedial effort, and the situation in the next few decades will worsen, if anything, as the retooling of the world economy would require a much longer period, even were all the public and private decision-makers to be converted to the ecodevelopment approach overnight! Furthermore, the success of energy and resource policies aimed at the substitution of non-renewable resources is conditioned by the potential of resource renewability. This is by no means automatic. Without an ecologically sound management of soils, oceans, water and climate, the sustainability of forest yields and of land and aquatic crops cannot be taken for granted, even if genetic breakthroughs were to bring about dramatic increases in productivity per acre. Thus, ecological management of resources at local, national and planetary levels is the cornerstone of the policy package outlined here. Interdependence is a meaningful concept when applied to the common physical basis from which mankind derives its subsistence. Urgent attention should be given to this problem, the more so as the present highly skewed pattern of private land resource ownership makes such management in many places very difficult, if not impossible.

B. Towards a new world industry geography

So far, we have dealt with transition strategies towards another development in a national perspective. The picture must now be broadened, bringing to the fore the requirements of a new international order. Ethical considerations and enlightened self-interest converge in this respect: the North should engage in forward-looking and open-minded consideration of a new and evolving pattern of economic relations with the South, instead of persisting in an attitude of conservative dynamism in a rearguard battle to maintain the present neo-colonial system and restrictive protectionist practices, in total contradiction with the professed doctrines.

4/ More precisely, the durability of the product should become a policy variable aimed at minimizing the material cost of human needs satisfaction. But the argument in favour of durability cannot be applied across the board: paper handkerchiefs are more hygienic than cotton ones; on a more serious vein, introduction of low-waste technologies requires a certain rate of technological change and, therefore, a limited life-span for the equipment presently at work.
We in the North must be ready to accept that the asymmetry at present prevailing in the North-South relations must give way to a more equitable relationship. But equity cannot be achieved through formal equality between partners of unequal economic strength. Therefore, the burden of initial adjustments should be borne by us. Johan Galtung is probably right to say that the NIEO is basically derived from the "Old International Economic Model" and closely resembles it. The postulated improvement of terms of trade of the Third World does not ensure, per se, that the additional resources obtained through foreign trade and the inflow of aid will finance development rather than maldevelopment.

But this is not our problem. It is up to Third World policy-makers and public opinion to measure the dangers of falling into the trap of excessively outward-looking strategies, that often carry with them the imitative consumption patterns and maldevelopment models; to expose the fallacy of country-to-country foreign trade statistics which fail to account for the share of transnational corporations in the distribution of gains and to reflect on the lessons to be drawn from the recycling of petrodollars by Western countries. We should instead consider the likely impacts on our economies and lives of the three basic postulates of the Third World, stripped from their technicalities:

1. to see their terms of trade improved on a durable basis;
2. to receive a greater inflow of net transfers of capital on a grant basis, with no strings attached;
3. to get freer access to Northern markets for a broad range of their commodities and manufactured goods.

The real cost for the North of attending to the first two demands should be estimated taking into consideration the reverse flows of trade thus generated and the multiplier income and employment effects on the industrial economies plagued by recession and unemployment. At any rate, increased aid to the Third World countries appears as an alternative to simply paying unemployment allowances to idle industrial workers in the North. In this context, it is legitimate to speak of enlightened self-interest.

The industrial prospect of the Third World

Let us now examine the second postulate. We shall once more argue that, in a dynamic perspective, the North has an interest to establish with Third World countries a two-way exchange of manufactured goods of similar complexity, treating these countries as equal industrial partners, negotiating bunches of long-term export and import contracts, and hopefully seeking in a planned way complementarities between the industrial systems. It should be made clear that, in the long run, the volume of our exports to the Third World countries, so important for our industries, will depend on our capacity to import from them.

Now, the present pattern of trade - manufactured goods versus commodities - cannot last for ever. The reason is simply that some Third World countries have today all the conditions for an extremely rapid, even if socially costly,
industrialization: a favourable resource endowment, abundant reserves of cheap labour, an exponentially growing intelligentsia and a potentially large internal market subject to a transformation of agrarian structures, not to speak of the still dormant possibilities of collective self-reliance, both in terms of intra-trade and of access to foreign-exchange surpluses accumulated by the oil-producing Third World countries. We need not discuss here the alternative industrialization patterns open to different countries, their likely social costs and impacts depending on the institutional arrangements, or even their specific contents. Whatever the ensuing variations in the commodity structure of their foreign trade, four conclusions will hold for most of the cases:

1. At some point, the newly industrialized countries will compel importers of their commodities to also buy their manufactured goods. They will likewise impose export quotas on transnational firms applying to set up manufacturing units on their territory.

2. The trend towards greater national control over natural resources is irreversible, even though it has suffered many setbacks, and measures to curb the freedom of action of transnational firms are taken in a disappointingly slow and erratic manner.

3. Not only will the present exchange pattern of commodities versus manufactured goods be increasingly challenged, but several large Third World countries will not accept either the role of suppliers of a few cheap labour manufactured goods because a world division of labour based on labour-intensity of goods is once more based on a static appraisal of comparative advantage, perpetuating the asymmetrical relationship between producers of capital- and skill-intensive goods from the North and suppliers of commodities and cheap labour manufactures from the South.

4. The present arrogance of the North in the North-South dialogue stems from an overestimation of the degree of technological dependence of the South, hence the insistence on the transfer of technology. It is true that of all the forms of dependence, the cultural (of which technology is but one aspect) is the worst as it leads to imitative maldevelopment. But the span of one generation may be sufficient to reverse this situation, even granting that the present educational explosion in the Third World may prove a mixed blessing in this respect owing to the pre-eminence of Western educational models. The example of India deserves to be analysed in depth. Whatever one's judgement on her economic and social performance and political orientations, self-reliance understood as an ability for autonomous decision-making is no longer an empty word there. In many important sectors of technology India successfully competes today on Third World markets with Northern countries. Her role as exporter of know-how, technical services, soft-ware and industrial equipment might considerably increase over the next years if she explores her formidable comparative advantage for qualified

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6/ Enrolment in higher education in the Third World has increased from less than 1 million in 1950 to over 10 million in 1975. It is estimated to reach 16 million in 1980 or nearly 30% of the world total. (S.J. Patel, Energy policies and collective self-reliance of the Third World, Resources policy, June 1978, p.129.)

7/ As is already happening with car manufactures in Brazil.
labour-intensive activities, on account of the conjunction of abundant supply of highly skilled personnel and research facilities with a very modest pay-level on international standards.

It is difficult to foresee how many Third World countries will follow in India's footsteps, but it would be folly, from our point of view, to persist in the present self-congratulatory mood about the North's unchallenged lead in skill-intensive and technologically-sophisticated activities.

In the name of self-enlightened interest, if not of a sense of responsibility for the present shape of Third World economies, we must therefore be ready to accept in our countries the competition of manufactured goods imported from the Third World countries, as part of a give-and-take transaction that in the long run means more business for both sides, even if, in the short run, this may create some difficulties to our industries. The more so since short-sighted trade-unions and egoistic industrialists agree to grossly overrate the challenge, feeding the media with misleading and alarmistic statements. Among the causes of our present crisis, Third World industrial competition plays a minor role in fact, although it is often invoked to justify protectionist policies. The latter stem in reality from the murderous intra-North rivalry among the leading industrial countries. The damage thus done to the image of the Third World is, however, considerable and important sections of Western public opinion are strengthened in this way in their prejudices and neocolonialist attitudes.

The argument presented here runs so much against the current wisdom that it would be unrealistic to expect it to carry conviction with many policy-makers, at least in the next few years. Nevertheless, in our transition strategies we should seek a mutually agreed pattern of industrial exchanges between North and South, facilitating the access of Third World countries to our markets, even if it calls in the short run for some adjustments. Two heuristic methods for the bilateral identification of potential exchanges are suggested below.

**Bilateral searching for industrial interdependence**

The first takes as a starting point the same vertically integrated branch in both countries, say the textile industry or the fisheries, encompassing the whole production chain from the raw materials up to the final products, including all the equipment. A joint planning effort is engaged with a view to identifying potential exports and imports in the short, medium and long term, on the understanding that their pattern will shift over time and that bunches of long term export and import contracts will guarantee to each country markets for new products. Each partner should be ready to forego some potential production, thus giving to the other the benefit of longer production series. As the negotiation deals with a bunch of contracts, a fair distribution of gains should be possible. As for the delicate problem of prices and terms of trade, it could be approached by negotiating mutually agreed methods of periodical price revision rather than trying to set prices many years in advance. The approach outlined here does not require entering into administratively cumbersome joint ventures, nor accepting direct foreign investment of private capital.

The second method consists in coupling two micro-regions, already involved in participatory transactive planning of the sort described in this paper, and
jointly exploring with all the concerned social actors points of possible inter-
action with a view to intensifying commercial, scientific, touristic and cul-
tural exchanges. The method has two advantages: it contemplates a broad range
of relations, not only the economic ones, and it permits consideration of the
social adjustment measures that may be required to make room for the other
party's economic presence. This may prove particularly important for the North
in light of the argument in favour of opening our markets to Third World manu-
factured goods.

C. Social adjustment

Both industrial reconversion and interlinking North and South on a more stable
and equitable basis are likely to intensify our present crises in the short and
medium run. On the other hand, a lasting way out of the present predicament
calls for a new look at the uses of the time of the society, for a redistribu-
tion of roles between market-oriented production and direct, non-market produc-
tion of use-values, for a new balance of power between the civil society, the
State and the market forces, that is to say, for a fairly radical social adjust-
ment policy. Hence the importance we attach to this subject in the context of
transition strategies towards another development.

The main issues at stake are:

1. A different and more equitable distribution of the total work load among the
whole active population, along the life-span of each person and within the day,
the week and the year. Sooner or later this will entail a shortening of working
time in one of the following forms: a shorter daily work-schedule, longer week-
ends, longer holidays, sabbaticals, generalization of part-time work, raising
the age of entry into active professional life, lowering the age of retirement.
The social, economic and even spatial and ecological implications of each choice
are very different and manifold, it being understood that in practical life com-
posite solutions will prevail, thus affecting differently various groups of
people. Some room should be made available for exercising individual preferen-
ces. The shortening of working time must be looked at in a dynamic perspective,
i.e., assuming further increases of labour productivity. It should be feasible
to phase it out in such a way as not to decrease real incomes by trading off,
against more available time for non-economic activities, potential increases in
earnings made possible by a rise in productivity (or a shift in the distribu-
tion of the value added between wages and profits).

The pace of working-time reduction could be accelerated, if people accepted to
forego part of their present income and to voluntarily restrain their consump-
tion of goods and services obtained through the market. Increasing the oppor-
tunities for part-time jobs would be a step in this direction, making possible
individual experiments in voluntary simplicity of life.

2. A greater professional mobility. People increasingly refuse to spend their
whole life in one monotonous activity. Besides, in a world of rapid technolo-
gical change the demand for specialized labour is in constant evolution. The
present educational and training systems do not stand up to the task.

7/ See the previous paper, "Development crises of maldevelopment in the North:
a way out" (IFDA DOSSIER 2)
3. Improvement in the quality of working life, by means of better material conditions of work, but, above all, by job enrichment, self-management and increased opportunities for personal initiative.

4. Broadening of the non-market, direct production of use values in the individual - family - neighbourhood - community continuum as a response to the shortcomings of the Welfare State, peoples' longing for a personalized lifestyle, their frequent disappointment with their professional careers and, last but not least, the increased availability of time.

Housing and human settlement management, environmental management, decentralized welfare services for care of children and old people, organization of sport and cultural activities: all offer a vast range of opportunities to individuals and groups willing to engage in personally rewarding activities and improve their quality of life.

Although it is up to the civil society to initiate, sponsor, organize and manage activities related to non-market direct production of use-values, their scope clearly depends on access to some resources controlled by the State. Strong public sector support for these activities is called for.

5. Expansion of opportunities for meaningful and creative spending of free time in cultural, educational, ludic and sport activities, as well as interpersonal contacts of all sorts. This point is closely related to the previous one and its importance will obviously grow with the progressive reduction of working time. Three competing models are presently in sight. The first is market-oriented, it encourages the expansion of the "culture industry" bound to become a leading economic sector in the so-called post-industrial society. The second entrusts the State with the sole responsibility for organizing and managing culture with a strong accompanying tendency for cultural uniformity, not to say totalitarianism. The Third expects the lead to be given by the civil society supported by the State. Our preference clearly goes to the latter.

D. Some tasks for the UN system

Industrial reconversion, industrial interdependence between North and South and social adjustment appear thus as the three pillars of transition strategies towards another development in the North. Participatory, transactive, contractual planning at the grass roots, coupled with contextual macro-planning, could offer a suitable framework for the elaboration of such strategies.

If this view is accepted, the UN system could be entrusted with the following tasks:

1. to explicitly consider in the general development debate the present maldevelopment crises in the North, their likely outcome and impacts on world economy and policy;

2. to recommend and assist the study of transition strategies towards another development by the member States from the North, giving special attention to alternative uses of the time of society, to the potential role of non-market activities, and to the diversification of output from existing industries;
3. to study new planning approaches, strongly emphasizing the role of the civil society, and to help to exchange experiences in this field by net-working groups already engaged in innovative local experiences; likewise to exchange experiences on the suitable policy packages for the harmonization of social-economic objectives with ecological concerns;

4. to invite, sponsor and assist negotiations among pairs of countries from North and South with a view to evolving a mutually agreed pattern of industrial interdependence;

5. to reflect all these concerns in the preparation of the UN development strategy for the eighties and beyond.

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EL CAMINO: ESTRATEGIAS DE TRANSICIÓN HACÍA UN OTRO DESARROLLO EN EL NORTE

Resumen

Este texto es la continuación del que se publicó en los Documentos FIPAD 2 que indicaba como una salida de la crisis actual de malsarrollo en las sociedades industrializadas del Oeste, un mejor uso del tiempo social y la redistribución a la "sociedad civil" de poderes actualmente en manos del Estado y del mercado. La estrategia de transición delineada tiene como base una planificación participativa y contractual del desarrollo destinado a satisfacer las necesidades al nivel de unidades geográficas infra-nacionales dentro de un contexto positivo de planificación nacional. Las medidas a tomar al nivel nacional incluyen: la eliminación del desperdicio; la reconversión de las industrias a la produc-ción de productos socialmente útiles fomentando el uso de recursos e energías renovables; la descentralización de actividades económicas y sociales; tanto como la aplicación del concepto de ecodesarrollo. Al nivel internacional el bien fundado interés propio del Norte está en dejar de basar sus relaciones con el Tercer Mundo en su supuesta superioridad tecnológica, para intentar establecer un nuevo orden internacional simétrico, el que implicaría el aumento de las importaciones de productos manufacturados del Tercer Mundo, productos cuya fabricación necesita abundante mano de obra, entre otras medidas. Acuerdos bilaterales entre pares de países del Norte y del Sur representarían un primer paso para el establecimiento de nuevas relaciones industriales.
La diversité des recherches et des actions en cours pour l'amélioration de l'utilisation du temps personnel et social constituent la base des réflexions de ce document centré sur la dimension temporelle de stratégies de développement propres à améliorer la qualité de la vie et sa diversité dans les pays industrialisés. Des progrès ont été enregistrés dans la redéfinition et l'application de techniques pour moduler le temps de travail. Les efforts pour améliorer l'organisation des tâches industrielles, pour les rendre plus intéressantes ont aussi rencontré quelque succès. Cependant, un obstacle majeur à une utilisation harmonieuse du temps est la distinction rigide aussi bien dans l'esprit des intéressés que dans la pratique entre le temps de travail et l"autre" temps perçu comme libre mais souvent consacré à une recherche folle de compensation. Une politique globale du temps devrait dépasser cette différence et tendre à une utilisation équilibrée et humainement satisfaisante du temps disponible. Elle devrait reconnaître la diversité humaine et la continuité des divers besoins et fonctions humains et en même temps assurer le contrôle des intéressés eux-mêmes sur leur propre vie. Un élément essentiel d'une telle politique serait la participation des travailleurs à la détermination de leurs tâches. Il faudrait aussi réorienter l'éducation, l'information et la culture de manière à préparer les gens à l'expérimentation sociale et à mettre en valeur leur capacité d'autonomie.

Annexe technique: Une annexe intitulée "Analyse d'une politique d'aménagement du temps, état actuel et perspectives" peut être obtenue du CIRED.
TIME PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Abstract

The diversity of current research and action for the improvement of the use of personal and societal time is the basis for these reflections on the temporal dimension of development strategies aimed at enhancing the quality of life in industrialized countries. Some progress is being made in refining and applying techniques for varying the duration of the work period and of its internal time-table; efforts to improve the organization of industrial tasks, so as to render them more interesting to those undertaking them, are also making some headway. However, a major obstacle to harmonious time use is the rigid distinction - in people's mind and practices - between working time and other time (seen as free, but often devoted to a frantic search for compensation). A global policy for time should reach beyond this distinction towards a balanced and rewarding use of all available time; it should recognize human diversity and the continuity of different human needs and functions, and should seek to give people control over their own lives. An essential element of such a policy would be the participation of workers in the determination of their tasks. Above all, it would be necessary to reorient education, information and culture in order to prepare people for social experimentation and to bring out their capacity to be self-reliant.

Supporting paper: A descriptive technical annex entitled "Analyse des politiques d'aménagement du temps: état actuel et perspectives" is available from CIRED in limited quantities.

ORGANIZACIÓN DEL TIEMPO Y ESTRATEGIAS DE DESARROLLO

Resumen

La diversidad de las investigaciones y acciones que actualmente se llevan a cabo para mejorar el uso del tiempo (personal y social) son la base de este informe que analiza la dimensión temporal de las estrategias de desarrollo que pretenden mejorar la calidad de los estilos de vida y su diversidad en los países industrializados. Se registran progresos en la redefinición y aplicación de nuevas técnicas de reorganización de las tareas industriales y se hacen esfuerzos para hacerlas más interesantes. No obstante, el mayor obstáculo al uso armónico del tiempo es la distinción rígida (mental y social) que se hace entre el tiempo para trabajar e el "otro" que parece libre pero de facto no lo es, ya que se usa frenético para compensar frustraciones.

Una política global del tiempo tendría que ultrapasar esta distinción y tener como objetivo principal alcanzar que "todo" el tiempo disponible fuera usado de forma equilibrada y humanamente satisfactoria. Lo alcanzaría reconociendo la diversidad de los individuos y la continuación de sus necesidades y funciones sin dejar de asegurarles el control de sus propias vidas. Un elemento esencial de tal política sería la participación de los trabajadores en la determinación de sus tareas. Habría también que reorganizar la educación, la información y la cultura para interesar a la gente en los cambios sociales que se les propone y aumentar su capacidad de autonomía.
Il y a une vingtaine d'années déjà, des responsables dénonçaient le déséquilibre économique provoqué par la synchronisation des horaires, et proposaient d’étaler les activités dans le temps (en décalant les horaires de travail, ou les dates de vacances), de façon à mieux rentabiliser les infrastructures et les équipements existants. A cette première préoccupation, s’est plus récemment adjointe celle d’alléger certaines contraintes temporelles imposées aux individus -comme les horaires stricts et les durées fixes de travail- et de leur laisser une plus grande souplesse pour l’organisation de leur emploi du temps. Peu à peu s’instaurent ainsi l’horaire variable, les vacances par roulement, la retraite progressive, les congés parentaux, le travail à temps partiel, le contrat annuel de travail... Mais ces mesures (1) restent ponctuelles, même dans les cas où il existe des organismes chargés exclusivement de l’"aménagement du temps" (comme en France) et elles n’ont pas encore trouvé leur cohérence entre les deux principaux objectifs qu’elles poursuivent : une meilleure gestion du patrimoine collectif et l'amélioration de la qualité de vie des travailleurs.

Elles ont le mérite toutefois de faire émerger le problème TEMPS dont nous sommes "malades", au dire des médecins, de sociologues et d’autres encore, qui dénoncent l’organisation du temps des sociétés industrielles... Cette diversité d’actions et de recherches nous incite à mener une réflexion globale sur l’ensemble des dimensions temporelles de la vie individuelle et sociale, seule condition pour définir les objectifs et les grandes lignes d’une politique de développement axée sur la qualité des temps et la diversité des styles de vie.

I L’ORGANISATION TEMPORELLE DES ACTIVITÉS

DANS LE TEMPS

LA DUREE : Dans de nombreux cas, prendre un emploi revient à vendre une certaine quantité de temps, qui est fixée par l’employeur et non en fonction des besoins personnels (en temps ou en argent). Le problème du chômage -que l'automation risque de rendre plus aigu dans les années qui viennent -incite à envisager une diminution de la durée du travail qui est jusqu'alors restée très en-deçà des effets de l'augmentation de la productivité. Pourquoi ne pas laisser alors les travailleurs choisir la quantité de travail qui leur convient ? Dans la mesure où la question des revenus y afférent ne sera pas étudiée (et en tenant compte, par exemple, du fait qu'une baisse de la durée entraîne un accroissement de la productivité), le développement du travail à temps partiel, ou le système du contrat annuel de travail (actuellement à l'étude) représentent des solu-
Ceci pose évidemment le problème de l'organisation du travail : lorsque celui-ci ne consiste qu'en gestes d'exécution, que le temps est totalement extérieur à l'homme et indépendant de sa fonction dans l'entreprise, il suffit de faire un effort dans la gestion du personnel. Mais il est des cas où la coordination des tâches nécessite une beaucoup plus grande circulation de l'information ; aussi faudra-t-il veiller à ce que la répartition des responsabilités ne renforce les inégalités sur le plan de la carrière professionnelle. Car l'assouplissement des durées ne doit en aucun cas se substituer à une véritable amélioration des conditions de travail.

Il reste que ce modèle porte en lui les germes d'une diversification des styles de vie, puisqu'il offre à chacun de choisir entre le niveau de revenus et le temps disponible qui lui conviennent : autrement dit, de bénéficier de l'accroissement de la productivité comme il le préfère : en augmentant son niveau de vie, ou en s'adonnant à de nouveaux types d'activités, hors du circuit économique marchand.

LES MOMENTS : les horaires rigides et rigoureux obligent encore la majorité des travailleurs à organiser toute leur journée autour du temps de travail, malgré la concurrence d'autres horaires : ceux des autres membres de la famille, ou ceux d'activités de loisirs, de formation ou de services. Cette contrainte, qui impose la référence constante à l'horloge, quelles que soient les obligations ou les occasions extérieures, disparaît avec l'horaire variable. Il ne change en rien la durée globale de travail (qui reste identique au niveau de la journée, de la semaine ou du mois, selon les cas) et fixe un certain nombre de limites (avec les plages fixes, la durée des reports et l'amplitude maximale de la journée), mais il permet au travailleur d'organiser l'ensemble de ses activités quotidiennes avec plus de souplesse, en fonction de ses "humeurs" et de ses préférences (certains préfèrent se lever tard, d'autres sortir du travail plus tôt...), en fonction de ses activités extra-professionnelles, et non plus des horaires de travail imposés. L'"élasticité" de l'emploi du temps rend plus disponible : les trajets sont moins minuts et l'on peut alors saisir les occasions d'enrichissement qui se présentent.

Au niveau de la collectivité, l'horaire variable et le système de roulement des vacances sont des moyens d'éta blir les activités (les déplacements en particulier) tout aussi efficaces que les décalages concertés, qui sont en général imposés aux entreprises et aux travailleurs. Dans l'entreprise, l'interdépendance des travailleurs n'exige pas toujours la coordination stricte de leurs horaires ; et faire disparaître l'uniformité et la ponctualité ne demande bien souvent qu'un effort de gestion du personnel. L'amélioration du climat social et l'augmentation de la productivité qui s'ensuivent ont d'ailleurs incité quelques entreprises à intégrer le souci d'atténuer les contraintes horaires dans leur politique de développement, et alors à procéder au réaménagement du système.../...
de production nécessaire.

La question du moment est posée en termes de préférences personnelles ou d'impératifs sociaux : la tendance générale est à la concentration du temps de travail (avec la journée continue, les longs week-ends, les vacances regroupées...), car les travailleurs désirant disposer de plus longs moments de détente. D'un autre côté, pour répondre aux exigences de la productivité et pour mieux étaler les services, le travail de nuit ou par équipes est en augmentation. Dans les deux cas, on oublie que le corps humain a son rythme propre et qu'il ne s'adapte au monde extérieur que dans une certaine mesure : le sommeil de jour est moins réparateur que celui de nuit ; il y a des heures de la journée, ou des périodes de l'année, mieux adaptées à certaines activités de l'organisme (la prise d'aliments ou de médicaments, par exemple) ; on sait qu'il y a plus d'erreurs commises durant le travail de nuit, ou que l'être humain est au mieux de ses capacités physiques en juillet et en août.

L'environnement et l'organisation des activités constituent, dans certains cas, des facteurs de stress dont il faudrait mesurer les conséquences sur la santé et sur la qualité de vie. Les changements brusques de mode de vie sont eux-mêmes nocifs : un travail de quelques heures tous les jours serait moins dangereux pour l'organisme, et plus productif, que l'alternance de journées d'activités trop intenses et de journées de repos regroupées.

Le choix des moments et de la rhythmicité de nos activités doit donc s'appuyer sur une meilleure connaissance de nos rythmes biologiques (qui varient aussi d'un individu à l'autre) (2) ; pour trouver, dans les cas où ils ne peuvent être respectés, les cycles qui favoriseront la réadaptation de la structure circadienne ; le travail de nuit, par exemple, est moins nuisible lorsqu'il est régulier, et la rotation rapide des postes (tous les trois ou quatre jours) est mieux tolérée par l'organisme que lorsque le cycle est plus long.

PAR LE TEMPS

La durée et les horaires (la place qu'elle occupe dans le temps de référence) nous donnent à connaître la "géométrie" temporelle d'une activité. Mais la chronométrie et la chronologie ne suffisent pas pour appréhender toutes les propriétés du temps. Il ne faut pas oublier en particulier qu'il est succession : l'être vivant est orienté, biologiquement d'abord ; il mûrit et sa conception du monde, comme sa façon d'être vis-à-vis du monde, évoluent. "L'activité de l'individu l'amène à des comportements dont il prend l'habitude ; ces comportements habituels engendrent des attitudes, qui contribuent à la constitution de la personnalité".

W. Grossin, qui a mis à jour les mécanismes de cette socialisation, nous incite à ne pas considérer le Temps comme un bien neutre et extérieur aux phénomènes, comme un avoir ou même un.../...
capital, mais comme l'être de l'homme.

**TRAVAIL ET AUTRES TEMPS** : la rigidité ou la souplesse des horaires créent des liens différents entre les activités. Mais leur interrelation se situe aussi à un autre niveau. Temps passé que l'on aime perdre, ou bien que l'on utilise avec fréquence, pour le rentabiliser en faisant un "maximum de choses", le temps de loisir est étroitement lié au temps de travail : c'est lui qui engendre ces comportements, par réaction ou par mimétisme. La couverture nette qui est de plus en plus souvent établie entre travail et autre temps est elle-même signe d'aliénation ; car le temps disponible ne peut compenser totalement le temps de travail, dont le contenu imprime sa marque sur le corps comme sur le mental. Des physiologistes ont montré que "supprimer dans la vie de travail toute "activité cérébrale" entraîne à la longue une atrophie cérébrale et engage un processus de vieillissement rapide et prématuré ; W. Grossin, à son tour, a fait apparaître que "les temps étroitement organisés, préparés, imposés, enlevent à l'individu le goût de l'organisation, de la construction, de la production de temps personnels. Ils lui enlèvent beaucoup plus : le sentiment du temps, l'orientation personnelle, l'étendue de l'horizon temporel. Ils limitent sa disponibilité et sa sociabilité".

L'augmentation du temps disponible offrirait l'opportunité de s'adonner à des activités plus diversifiées et mieux approfondies aux aspirations personnelles — à condition que, d'une part, les nouvelles activités ne soient pas soumises aux normes, aux horaires et aux lieux que les rapports marchands et la division du travail imposent dans tous les secteurs, y compris le tourisme et le loisir ; et que d'autre part, l'individu ait la capacité de produire des temps qualitativement différents (le bricolage et l'artisanat, anciennes formes de travail passées dans le domaine des loisirs, révèlent cependant une certaine aspiration à créer son propre temps par le "faire", à rythmer par la progression de l'œuvre, à se l'approprier par l'action et l'initiative personnelles). Même dans ces cas, si le travail n'est qu'un moyen de gagner sa vie, d'"acheter" des temps d'un autre type et d'une autre qualité (moins assujettis), il reste cette part de temps vendue, durant laquelle la vie est mise entre parenthèses. Sauf quand il y a refus de se plier à la règle et marginalisation — mais ce choix individuel reste extérieur au système économique dominant ; il éloigne des lieux de pouvoir où se prennent les décisions, même celles qui concernent les détails de notre vie quotidienne.

Une baisse de la durée du travail apparaît alors tout à fait insuffisante ; il est tout autant essentiel de redonner un sens au travail, une véritable qualité, dont n'a pas tenu compte l'organisation de la production avant que le désintérêt croissant des travailleurs ne fasse sentir ses effets sur la productivité et sur la qualité du produit ou du service.

*La substance* du temps de travail commence ainsi à faire l'objet...
d'une plus grande attention : l'amélioration des conditions de travail ne se limite plus à la sécurité, à l'hygiène et aux cadres (spatiaux et temporels) -qui ne sont que la périphérie du travail. L'ergonomie, qui accorde autant d'importance à la dimension sociale qu'à la dimension technique, s'efforce de mieux adapter la machine à l'homme. La rotation des postes rompt la monotonie des gestes et rend l'opérateur polyvalent ; l'instauration de stocks tampons sur les chaînes libère l'ouvrier des cadences directement imposées par la machine ; et grâce à l'élargissement des tâches, les gestes sont moins morcelés et moins répétitifs puisque le travailleur réalise un ensemble entier d'opérations - peut-être le temps passe-t-il plus vite ainsi (car plus une activité est morcelée, plus elle paraît longue). Mais la valorisation des tâches ne change pas fondamentalement la division du travail et des responsabilités, qui n'a fait que s'accentuer et s'étendre à de nombreux secteurs depuis l'époque de Taylor. Seul l'enrichissement des tâches représente un retour en arrière par rapport à cette évolution : il consiste à donner au travailleur plusieurs fonctions ; par exemple, le contrôle et l'entretien de sa machine, le contrôle de son produit, à la conception et à la préparation duquel il peut même participer. Le travail peut aussi être effectué en groupes semi-autonomes, qui définissent et se répartissent eux-mêmes les tâches qu'on leur a fixées ; ils sont globalement responsables de leur production, à la gestion de laquelle ils sont parfois associés. Les rapports de l'individu au produit de sa fabrication, aux autres ouvriers du groupe et à l'entreprise sont ici davantage modifiés.

Il est admis maintenant que chaque homme a besoin de s'exprimer, de s'accomplir dans son travail, d'être reconnu par les autres pour ce qu'il fait (et non seulement comme force ou même comme capital-temps de travail), d'être responsable et d'avoir accès à une promotion. Mais dans les faits, ces principes n'ont encore donné lieu qu'à de rares expériences, dont on connaît mal les résultats. Il ne faut d'ailleurs pas se cacher que les enjeux économiques qui dictent l'évolution ne prennent en considération la "qualité de vie" que dans la mesure où ils n'en changent pas fondamentalement la direction. Les réformes ponctuelles ne sont souvent qu'un moyen d'assurer le long terme. Une forte proportion de travailleurs restent soumis aux ordres des supérieurs hiérarchiques ou à l'organisation mécanisée qui leur dictent non seulement le contenu de la tâche mais aussi son déroulement et ses rythmes. L'homme est maître de son temps quand il décide lui-même des gestes, des parcours, des moments d'effort et de repos, quand il a une part d'initiative et de décision. Et une tâche prend un sens dans le présent si elle fait appel à un passé qui procure un savoir et si son achèvement ultérieur suppose une avancée ; et si le travailleur trouve une raison d'être autre que "gagner sa vie", c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il a conscience d'un but, d'une fonction sociale ; et quand le résultat produit prend sa marque personnelle.
La vie professionnelle détermine en grande partie le mode de vie, alors qu'elle n'est le résultat d'un véritable choix que pour une minorité de privilégiés. La plupart des travailleurs prennent un emploi aux conditions matérielles et temporelles duquel il doit se plier. C'est un peu un moule dans lequel on se glisse. C'est donc toute l'organisation sociale du travail qui doit être repensée, dans son ensemble, de façon à satisfaire le mieux possible aux capacités et aux aspirations de chacun, dans sa profession même, et non seulement au dehors.

II UNE POLITIQUE GLOBALE D'AMELIORATION DU TEMPS

En fait, une politique guidée par la volonté de donner à chacun la maîtrise de son temps doit s'élaborer par rapport à l'ensemble de la vie. La distinction travail/hors-travail doit elle-même être dépassée. D'abord parce que la vie professionnelle (comme le loisir, d'ailleurs, ou toute activité) revêt des réalités différentes: un emploi convient plus ou moins à telle personne et surtout les différents emplois offrent des conditions temporelles différentes (peut-on comparer la vie de travail d'un ouvrier spécialisé à celle d'un professeur de l'université ?). Ensuite, parce que les différents temps interfèrent les uns sur les autres, de manière dynamique - non seulement au niveau des catégories d'activités mais aussi à celui des moments successifs d'une même activité (la méthode des budgets-temps, qui ne saisit les activités qu'à travers leur durée et leurs horaires, et les fiche en les nommant, en leur faisant (souvent) correspondre un cadre spatial, ne parvient pas à prendre en compte leur intensité et ses variations internes).

L'HARMONIE DE LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE

L'homme se sent d'autant mieux dans ses temps que sa vie est ordonnée dans son ensemble, harmonieuse, équilibrée, mesurée (non pas par l'horloge, mais pondérée).

UNITE ET CONTINuite: l'individu ne trouve sa personnalité (son unité) qu'à condition que sa vie ait une certaine homogénéité et une certaine cohérence. Les activités nous assignent souvent des rôles précis; mais on n'est pas, à tel moment, seulement employé des P.T.T., on reste aussi père de famille, joueur de ping-pong, habitant de telle ville... Ces différents attributs façonnent ensemble l'être de l'homme. La vie n'est pas uniforme car les activités peuvent être très diversifiées; mais elles ne sont pas seulement additionnées dans l'emploi du temps, au fur et à mesure qu'elles passent, ni opposées comme temps qui se compensent. Un loisir qui est seulement un moyen de "ré- cupérer", ou au contraire de s'échapper hors de la réalité quotidienne, ne transforme pas celle-ci. Leur complémentarité doit se situer à un autre niveau—qui assure un minimum de continuité et d'évolution.

Or les liaisons rigides entre activités, les changements brusques de mode de vie (tels que nous les vivons, par exemple, dans l'alternance de journées de travail intense et de jours.../...
de repos regroupés) perturbent les rythmes biologiques comme les rythmes psychologiques. Le contenu d'un moment est en rapport dialectique avec sa durée et avec son contexte, dans la succession: on sait que le temps passe plus ou moins vite selon l'intérêt de l'activité présente et celui des activités qui précédent ou qui suivent. Il a une intensité, en dehors de sa durée; toutefois, excès de nouveauté et d'attention, comme excès de redondance et d'ennui nuisent à l'harmonie des activités qui se succèdent.

Aussi devrait-on chercher les moyens qui permettent un meilleur équilibre. Entre apprendre, produire (utiliser un savoir dans un but précis et social) et se distraire, se reposer ou se détendre (qui sont plus gratifiants en ce sens qu'ils demandent moins d'efforts et qu'ils ne sont pas tournés vers un objectif imposé). Entre l'information, l'auto-satisfaction, la production de temps personnels et leur intégration dans des cadres sociaux. La redistribution entre ces différents types de temps - entre ces situations dans lesquelles se trouve placé l'homme - ne doit pas s'opérer au niveau de la vie globale mais plus régulièrement, chaque jour, dans les activités elles-mêmes: le travail, comme le loisir peuvent faire alterner, si ce n'est fondre ensemble, ces qualités de temps, dans une nouvelle rythmicité.

Rythmicité: cet "art de vivre" pourrait s'inspirer de la rhymanalyse décrite par G. Bachelard (4) lorsqu'il esquisse sa philosophie du repos: "pour bien connaître ou utiliser son temps, il faut activer le rythme de la création et de la destruction, de l'œuvre et du repos". Le travail lui-même doit être fait de ces oscillations entre moments forts et moments de repos "actif". La durée et son déroulement, le contenu et la succession sont composés par cette rythmique, "seule manière de discipliner et de préserver les énergies les plus diverses". Mais G. Bachelard se situe déjà dans la perspective d'un temps "pensé" et "voulu", qui suppose la connaissance et une attitude active. En admettant pour l'instant qu'elles soient acquises, l'exercice par l'homme de cette liberté temporelle pose d'autres conditions: un assouplissement des contraintes extérieures sur l'organisation individuelle du temps; rythmes sociaux et rythmes personnels se contrarient parfois et seule une organisation sociale du temps assez souple, qui encadre et intègre les temps individuels, permet de les accorder le mieux possible. De plus, chacun ne peut choisir sa propre temporalité qu'à la condition que le travail et l'ensemble des activités offrent des choix véritables, qui ouvrent le champ des possibles et favorisent la spontanéité et la créativité - choix qui soient davantage que des options entre des types d'emplois du temps, entre différents modèles proposés dans des secteurs bien délimités.

Par ailleurs, l'homme ne donnera un style à sa vie que s'il l'oriente vers un but, que s'il est tourné vers l'avenir et si en même temps il tient compte des possibilités réelles qu'il a d'y parvenir. Or les conditions de vie changent maintenant rapidement que les modifications sont perceptibles à...
à l'échelle d'une génération ; mais elles suivent des rythmes différents (on sait que les mentalités évoluent moins vite que les techniques, que la loi est en retard sur les faits ...) ; d'où des distorsions qui, lorsque l'écart est trop grand, provoquent des réactions d'angoisse ou d'incompréhension -auxquels ne sont pas étrangers les phénomènes souvent observés de "résistance au changement", ou de besoin de sécurité et de prise en charge par la société. Trop rapide, le changement social ne permet pas d'intégrer les nouvelles connaissances dans l'acquis antérieur et dans les schémas mentaux. Mais son absence est également un facteur de stress (lorsque le présent ne se différencie qualitativement ni du passé, ni du futur, quand rien ne change, même ce que l'on voudrait). Car nous sommes des êtres psychologiques qui accordons une valeur aux événements en fonction de ce que nous en attendons. Et nous sommes à l'aise dans le temps s'il y a un certain ajustement entre les espoirs et les attentes, entre les besoins personnels et les occasions que donne réellement l'environnement, entre les exigences de l'environnement et les capacités de l'individu (5).

**LA MAITRISE DE SON DEVENIR**

**PROGRES SOCIAL ET DEVENIR PERSONNEL :** l'homme d'aujourd'hui éprouve des difficultés à trouver un équilibre entre un passé dévalorisé, un présent déchiré (par des temps hâchés et par de trop nombreuses informations) et un avenir incertain. La société est entièrement tournée vers l'avenir, tendue vers le même but à atteindre (poser le problème du développement en est une preuve). Elle remplit le présent de futur. Mais les individus ne participent personnellement à la préparation des temps à venir que dans de rares cas (ce que révèle l'enquête de W. Grossin). "On n'arrête pas le progrès", mais il échappe à l'homme ; c'est un mouvement qui l'entraîne sans qu'il n'en comprenne le sens et sans qu'il n'en attende beaucoup : mal perçu, l'avenir n'est souvent que la transposition du présent dans le futur. D'où cette attitude d'attente et de résignation observée par la plupart de nos contemporains ; la révolte, la fuite dans l'utopie ou dans l'immédiat (par la drogue, etc.) sont aussi des réactions contre l'absence de futur à faire, contre l'assujettissement du présent vécu aux exigences d'une évolution sur laquelle on n'a aucun pouvoir.

Ces attitudes ne sont pas étrangères aux conditions de vie temporelles. En effet, les attentes sont plus faibles, les projets moins fréquents et à moins long terme chez les personnes qui vivent un présent répétitif, monotone et très absorbant à la fois, car minué et coupé en tranches. Ce qui explique que la population ouvrière se montre beaucoup plus conservatrice, dans ses constructions temporelles imaginaires, que les travailleurs intellectuels (3). Selon les cas, l'emploi rapproche du temps social (de l'information, du pouvoir, de la décision), est source d'enrichissement ou au contraire détériore les temps personnels. De lui dépend aussi le niveau des revenus qui permettent de gagner du temps (le Concorde, le train à grande vitesse, etc., sont conçus pour les plus favorisés), et de mieux...
choisir ses activités extra-professionnelles. En faisant la meilleure part aux visionnaires, à ceux qui se sentent bien dans le devenir social, la société élitiste creuse l'écart entre les différentes couches de la population et n'offre à la majorité que la possibilité de déléguer ses pouvoirs, de donner sa voix à une minorité qui fait l’avenir.

**La formation** : comment donner à chaque homme les moyens d'élaborer des projets, individuels et collectifs, et de participer réellement au changement ? La capacité de faire des choix s'acquiert. Mais elle suppose que l'éducation ne soit pas seulement une préparation à la vie professionnelle, un apprentissage de techniques et de méthodes –qui du reste se démoderont et nécessiteront un recyclage, une "rééducation"–, auxquels se superpose un vernis culturel totalement déconnecté de la réalité vécue.

Une culture dont le but est de donner à chacun la maîtrise de sa vie quotidienne et de son propre devenir doit inculquer ce que Jeanrière (6) appelle "l'esprit prospectif". Celui-ci suppose un changement radical de mentalité vis-à-vis de l'avenir, qui ne doit plus être perçu comme le simple prolongement d'un mouvement qu'on a pu observer dans le passé, ni comme l'effet de modifications prévisibles du système présent. Il ne s'agit pas de deviner l'avenir –pour mieux en accepter les changements– mais de le considérer plutôt comme le résultat de l'action présente et donc comme un ensemble de possibles, qu'on va expérimenter à partir des conditions présentes.

Cette attitude prospective restitue à la vie quotidienne sa dynamique. En retour, elle implique que la formation soit un outil de lecture des événements, qui permette l'enrichissement continu et l'exercice par chaque homme de sa liberté temporelle, à chaque moment de sa vie -c'est-à-dire qu'il ait la possibilité de changer d'orientation s'il en éprouve le désir. Toute activité doit être l'occasion d'une expérimentation.

Au niveau global de la société, il reste à mettre en place des structures où se prendront les décisions, et qui soient en quelque sorte le carrefour des différents projets. Dans tous les domaines (production, urbanisme, loisirs, culture...) doivent être recherchées des stratégies cohérentes mais souples (l'avenir devra offrir des alternatives, à son tour) efficaces collectivement (en associant plus étroitement la recherche et l'action) et qui feront émerger de nouvelles valeurs.

L'évolution dans ce sens se heurte encore à de nombreux obstacles, de tous ordres (économiques, institutionnels, psycho-sociaux...). Mais une véritable politique d'amélioration du temps est un moyen de les surmonter peu à peu, si elle se fixe avant tout comme objectif la formation : par l'enseignement, orienté vers la profession mais aussi vers la vie politique, urbaine, culturelle... ; par l'information...
également, dans l'entreprise, le quartier et l'environnement immédiat ; et aussi par l'expérimentation vécue et par l'enrichissement de tous les temps de la vie quotidienne.

(1) L'analyse détaillée de ces actions fait l'objet de l'annexe technique.

(2) La physiologie et surtout la chronobiologie nous apprennent à mieux connaître la structure temporelle de l'organisme, dont les fonctions et la susceptibility varient dans le temps selon des rythmes réguliers et prévisibles (voir en particulier les travaux du Professeur REINBERG).


In the contemporary North-South dialogue it is said by some that (as Philippe de Seynes points out clearly and concisely in the preface to this volume) one "cannot go wrong" in promoting conventional trade and aid policies; Third World countries experience severe shortages in foreign exchange and in domestic savings, and these must be reduced - no matter what the long-term considerations may be. But, what is still ignored by many countries - and what has long been ignored by conventional wisdom throughout the UN system - is that trade and aid can indeed go wrong: whilst it is admitted that exchanges among unequal partners can sometimes produce gains for both parties, given the appropriate mechanisms for compensation, it may also be the case (and it has been the case) that the terms of trade deteriorate continuously, aggravate the existing inequalities and induce new ones at the expense of Third World countries and their poorest strata. It is true that there is an emerging new concern at the intergovernmental level, shared by both industrialized and Third World countries, for more equality and for the eradication of mass poverty. But what is not yet admitted by many (nor fully understood) is that traditional trade and aid policies have failed when Third World countries attached priority to the improvement of distribution - both domestically and internationally.

This UNITAR study, of which we now have the first progress report, attempts to understand the distributive mechanism at work, both at domestic and international levels, through macro-economic modelling and case studies; scenario analysis is used to project current development paths and perspectives into the future.

The study is built around several normative concerns: it should contribute positively to the international development debate by identifying mechanisms which can bring about equitable economic and social development in all parts of the world; it should provide policy impulses and instruments for the UN development strategy for the 80s (the "third development decade") for the elimination of extensive and extreme mass poverty, the improvement of income distribution, and the redistribution of national and international wealth and power. The belief is expressed that "the foundations of a plentiful and equitable social and economic development" can be laid in the next decade, if "adequate national and international strategies are adopted and implemented". The study wants to demonstrate the possibilities of adequate strategies through scientific analysis of the very complex and difficult technical and political issues that arise in such a context.

The method of the study consists of an attempt to integrate contributions from several different disciplines, including long-term development planning,
development theory, econometrics, scenario analysis as well as studies concerned with concrete sectoral/national problems. Three techniques are employed: mathematical modelling, scenario analysis and analysis of case studies.

Modelling consists, first, of constructing an aggregated macro-economic North-South model which can show the quantitative relationships and interactions of different income groups, in both Northern and Southern countries, through "market behaviour". Productivity, consumption of basic goods (agricultural products) and distribution patterns throughout the economies are important parameters of that model. Furthermore, "sub-models" are constructed to study specific issues - such as the range of possible effects of aid on the parameters of Southern economies, transnational behaviour, technology and innovation and, in particular, the effects of export-led industrialization on terms of trade and distribution. Sub-models and their results are intended to be fed into an "alternative interdependence model" which should demonstrate possible trade and development patterns among five theoretical regions and in six different markets (food, raw materials, energy, manufactures, capital goods and armaments).

Scenario analysis is used to enable the study to take into account factors which cannot (easily) be quantified and to take account of problems for which the theory may be too complex or data are unavailable. It is also used to clarify issues concerning the normative elements of the study, and one of its purposes is to identify preferences and interests (power, coalitions) and to clarify their impact on the possibilities of economic and social policy. This is done on the basis of three Northern scenarios (liberalization, interventionism, collectivism) and three Southern scenarios (NIEO, collective self-reliance, exchange among unequal partners).

It is expected that the combination of exact econometric analysis and scenario analysis will allow an in-depth critique of development strategies which are being (and will be) proposed, and that it will allow the precise identification of the main actors, their interests - and conflicts - of interest. On this basis, the study wants to derive its own conclusions and policy recommendations within the critical framework of other initiatives.

One major challenge of the study is the integration of the varied strands of investigation into a framework of solid prescriptions - "feasible and viable" (to use a frequently expressed wish of the intergovernmental community). It appears that Graciela Chichilnisky and Sam Cole, the co-directors of the study, are well aware of the magnitude of this challenge - as they are aware of the dangers and pitfalls of "modelling". They are experienced in this complex discipline. They want to avoid the mistakes and over-simplifications of earlier models; they continue the useful effort of, perhaps, the most interesting (if optimistic) of the recent world models - Bariloche - and try to link it up with the real world by tackling major issues, such as the current world recession, the place of the South in the world economy, and (on a normative basis) the more fundamental questions of our time - distribution, social stratification, and mass poverty. They also expect to complete the whole study in mid-1980 when the new decade is to be launched.

The proposed effort is, however, monumental. One looks at the whole project and its (so far) 29 summarized background papers with trepidation and hopes that they can hold all the elements together and weld them into a strategic framework as
well reflected and as well balanced as their intentions.

In the worst case, if the results should fall short, by far, of the objectives and "normative concerns" outlined in this progress report (at least in the practical sense), the study may still perform a useful function: it has the potential to contribute positively to an intellectual renaissance in the UN system - a renaissance long overdue and badly needed if the system wishes to make an effort to recapture some of its credibility of an earlier, more optimistic epoch.

The following suggestions are based on the hope that some of the study's results would have political relevance in the minds of the main actors. In framing its policies and prescriptions, the study should attempt to establish explicit links with the real (or imagined) problems which are holding the actual intergovernmental dialogue and negotiations down in the present deadlock. For instance, should the new development strategy be a truly global one, or would it be wiser to concentrate on the development of Third World countries? Given the deflation of the basic needs and NIEO formulae, what could be the new negotiating framework for the social and structural element of the strategy? How can the technical and political feasibility be increased to link social change at domestic levels, both in industrialized and Third World countries, with the transition to a new international order? What kinds of commitments (binding or non-binding) can be expected from member States? It should be borne in mind, also, that no amount of reasoning and rigorous analysis can change the hearts and minds of the actors of hard states; the negotiations are about changing the balance of power, both nationally and internationally, and the negotiating tools must be forged accordingly.

CHAKRAVARTHI RAGHAVAN

THE UNCTAD SCENE

The Third World is slowly being pushed into the realisation that it really has no soft options, and must rely on itself even to provide the horizontal linkages that would strengthen its bargaining power with the North.

This was forcibly brought home at the October session of the UNCTAD Committee on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries (ECDC). The ECDC concept was formulated at Manila early in 1976 as part of the idea of collective self-reliance of the South. It received support in the Action Programme at the Sri Lanka summit meeting of non-aligned countries in August 1976 and was shaped into a series of recommendations at the Mexico ministerial meeting of the Third World in September 1976. When the ECDC concept was formulated, it not only received the support of the "like-minded countries" in the North, but others - several of whom perhaps thought ECDC and TCDC would ease pressures on them for more aid, structural changes or even NIEO.

ECDC was endorsed by the UN General Assembly in 1976 and again in 1977 when it called on the UN Secretary-General to co-ordinate activities within the UN system through the ACC. UNCTAD was given the lead role in ECDC and launched several studies.
That the North, whether of the East or of the West, has different views on co-operation within Third World was brought home when UNCTAD was asked to organize and convene several meetings on ECDC during 1979 involving secretariats of groupings of the Third World, multilateral financial institutions of Third World countries, and sub-regional and regional economic groupings and government experts of Third World countries. A programme was drawn up and a modest sum, from budget allocations already made for such events, earmarked. The Trade and Development Board, whose approval was sought, had remitted the detailed examination to the Committee on ECDC and at this meeting in October, both Group B (Western European and others) and Group D (Eastern Europe) countries joined in blocking it. They argued that the UN and its agencies were "universal" in scope and could not service or convene such meetings. This really meant that there could be no ECDC or TCDC, or any other, unless the North had an opportunity to be present and participate and shape it to ensure the continued dependency of the South on the North.

The UN General Assembly resolution had specifically urged "the specialised agencies and other organizations of the UN system, in accordance with their established procedures and practices, to support measures of economic co-operation among developing countries, including secretariat support services and other suitable arrangements to facilitate the holding of meetings by the developing countries in pursuance of the objectives of economic co-operation among developing countries".

Confronted with this, the Group B and Group D took refuge in the words "in accordance with their established procedures and practices". Carried to logical conclusion, UNCTAD should not service or provide facilities for the various group meetings-- of the 77, of group 'b' or group 'd'-- that take place in UNCTAD or other fora. Also, the North is already represented, at the secretariat and membership levels, in the various regional commissions. But the South has no such representation in the ECE. Therefore ECE should no longer be financed or serviced out of UN revenues. In effect the message (as in Alice in Wonderland) to the Third World was that it could have NIEO, TCDC, ECDC, or any other concept so long as "words shall have the meaning we assign to them".

Whether the message got across to the Third World will be seen at Arusha in February when ministers of the Group of 77 are to meet on UNCTAD V.

The futility of endless search for words acceptable to all, and capable of such varying interpretations, was brought home at the meeting of the Committee on Invisibles and Financing related to Trade. Since its inception, UNCTAD has been involved in issues relating to trade and monetary issues, including debt. The Group B has always tried to avoid decisions and preferred the coziness of the Fund-Bank or GATT where the decision-making process and the secretariat is trained to safeguard their position. Under pressure at the ministerial meeting on debt of UNCTAD's Trade and Development Board, they agreed to a consensus draft to provide that debt negotiations at the instance of debtor country, should take place "in an appropriate multilateral framework consisting of interested parties and with the help, as appropriate, of relevant international institutions to ensure timely action". The words "relevant international institutions" were chosen in order that participation would not be by financial institutions alone.
In April 1978, UNCTAD officially sought an invitation to participate at the Paris Club meetings on debt questions, and renewed the request in October when Peru, which sought a meeting on its debt, asked that UNCTAD should be invited as observer just like IBRD, IMF, OECD and EEC. The Chairman of the Paris Club gave a non-committal reply about the future but turned down UNCTAD, and Peru's requests for UNCTAD participation in the meetings held on 2 and 3 November.

The UNCTAD Conference on a Code of Conduct for International Transfers of Technology, after a four-week session that ended with the usual cliff-hanger final session going into the wee-hours of the morning, is to meet again for two weeks in February 1979. Against the background that four years ago the Group B could not even conceive of the possibility of a code, the distance travelled towards a code might be considered encouraging and UNCTAD could pat itself. But it might be prudent to remember traditional Southern wisdom: a person falling into a well must swim the whole diameter to reach the bank and save himself. Halfway success will still mean drowning.

The Group B has advanced somewhat - for example, while still insisting on the code serving as voluntary guidelines, they envisage the possibility of an international supervising machinery and review of the voluntary aspect of the code after some years. True, the supervising machinery is as weak as the OECD one on Transnationals and is more likely to create translucency than transparency. But considering how much the Transnationals want to prevent any "wailing wall" on TNCs in the UN system, the Group B's present position may look like revolution.

But the hard core issues still remain. Even if a satisfactory code can be evolved in all other respects, will it apply to transactions between the parent Transnational and its subsidiary or branch, or between the branch in one country and some other enterprise in that country itself? What would be the limitations on national sovereignty of states in regulating these matters through domestic legislation? Would the Third World give up its asserted rights of sovereignty over natural resources and accept that not only international agreements they have accepted, but 'evolved' or 'common law' aspect of international law (that sanctifies private contract) would prevail over their sovereignty?

The Third World will have the opportunity of reviewing its position at Arusha. The Group B appeared anxious to get a commitment from the 77 that they should meet again in November (negotiations till death?) and would not raise the issue or force a solution at Manila. The fear of Manila perhaps is for the technicians at the negotiating conferences that their political bosses might yield under pressure and might not understand the technical issues for safeguarding the real transnational power structure.
SMALL FISHERMEN'S CHARTER

INTRODUCTION

There are at present more than one million small fishermen in the ASEAN countries of South-East Asia. Their average per capita income from US$100 to US$300 and it is well-known that they are among the poorest communities in their countries. In May 1978, small fishermen leaders from four of the five ASEAN countries and Japan met in Bangkok for five days to draw attention to their plight, discuss problems posing a threat to their livelihoods and to begin a process whereby they could improve the conditions of their lives through collective action. A Small Fishermen's manifesto adopted by these leaders has been widely circulated and has created significant impact internationally and at the national level. The manifesto is reproduced below:

PREAMBLE

We, the small fishermen of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Japan, gathered at the ACFOD/FAO Small Fishermen Seminar in Bangkok, 22–26 May 1978 wishing to assert our right to live in harmony with the sea and sea-life, our fellow fishermen and society, wanting to draw attention to our plight as being amongst the poorest communities in our countries and to the threats to our livelihood and our relationship with the sea hereby adopt the following resolutions:—

RESOLUTIONS

1. We call for an immediate stop to all forms of pollution which destroy the rivers, lakes and seas and its life-forms. We urge the establishment of anti-pollution bodies and laws to protect the sea.

2. We deplore man-made activities such as reclamation, filling-up of mangrove swamps and shore-line development for tourist hotels, industrial factories or commercial enterprises which

10. We urge training be extended to small fishermen to upgrade their fishing practices and other economic activities with the emphasis on appropriate and ecologically sound techniques. This should include opportunities for exchange of information and experiences between small fishermen both within and between countries to be provided by national organizations, non-governmental bodies and international organizations such as the FAO.

11. We urge the establishment of local, national and regional research and practical study institutions which can serve the special needs of small fishermen.

12. We urge the building up of appropriate information and communication services to serve small fishermen both within and between countries.

13. We urge the widespread dissemination of literature on existing fisheries laws and regulations, the condition of the seas and such other literature so as to promote consciousness amongst small fishermen and the public about the problems facing
seek to conserve and increase fish stocks and rehabilitate depleted fishing grounds.

4. We are concerned that regional fish development programmes such as the South China Seas Fisheries Programme are not benefitting us and strongly urge funding and implementation agencies not to proceed with such programmes until we have an opportunity to study them and our views communicated.

5. We protest against the encroachment by powerful foreign fishing fleets into our national and regional waters. We also request our governments to prohibit the setting-up of joint-venture fishing enterprises unless they serve the interests of small fishermen and the local consumer.

6. We draw attention to existing policies which have led to the increasing domination of the fishing industry by big business and big fishermen and call instead for positive discrimination in favour of small fishermen as against existing privileges to big fishermen. We also call for the abolition of policies e.g. concessioning sea areas which only benefit big fishermen.

7. We call for the progressive elimination of privately-owned trawler-boats and the issue of licences instead to genuine small fishermen co-operatives. Such bodies must strictly observe laws which set a limit in terms of area of fishing, power capacity and gross tonnage so that inshore fisheries can be safeguarded.

8. We urge effective control of middlemen and other intermediaries to prevent them from over-exploiting small fishermen and call for the establishment of comprehensive integrated local and national co-operative organizations for small fishermen which can strengthen capital formation, assure fair markets for our products, strengthen community economic activity and fight against capitalist exploitation.

9. We call for special credit arrangements for small fishermen from government and institutional bodies with an emphasis on credit for coastal area development to purchase improved tools of production and for diversification of means of livelihood.

10. We urge immediate local, national and regional action which will benefit small fishermen and their communities.

11. We urge the immediate implementation of comprehensive programmes of social and economic development which will benefit small fishermen and their communities.

12. We urge the establishment of local, national and regional co-operative bodies for small fishermen which can strengthen our economic activity and fight against capitalist exploitation.

13. We urge the setting-up of comprehensive programmes of social and economic development which will benefit small fishermen and their communities.

14. We urge the immediate implementation of comprehensive programmes of social and economic development which will benefit small fishermen and their communities.

15. We request a realignment of government policies in non-fishing sectors e.g. fiscal, infrastructural, etc. so that support can reach fishing communities who are acknowledged to be amongst the poorest peoples in our countries.

16. We call for a reorientation of attitudes and policies of government agencies dealing with fisheries so as to ensure that meaningful assistance reaches us. Presently widespread indifference, inefficiency and even corruption characterise the departments working with small fishermen. These must be stamped out and a new strategy of development leading from the bottom upwards such as that formulated in the FAO/RAFE Small Fisheries Programme instituted.

17. We urge the establishment of small fishermen co-ordinating bodies at local, national and regional levels along both governmental and non-governmental basis to work for the true aspirations and hopes of small fishermen. In this context we especially solicit the support of FAO/RAFE and ACFOD to assist in the organization of such bodies.

18. We request governments and international bodies to work for the eventual setting-up in the respective countries of fisheries and fishermen reform e.g. transfer of ownership of assets from private business to co-operatives along the broad lines of agrarian reform which can take into account the special problems and interests of small fishermen.

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding these resolutions we reserve the right to take such further action as may be necessary to protect our hereditary rights as small fishermen, especially in lieu of such decisions as may be made at the forthcoming Law of the Seas conferences. We urge all peoples and governments to take heed of our resolutions and we pledge our collective resources to act in solidarity to overcome our problems.
EMPLOYMENT THROUGH CRAFT PRODUCTION: OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN BANGLADESH

Craft production has been a traditional feature of Bengal's rural economy, domestic demands being supplemented by rural consumption at village hats (markets). Some products also found outlets in entrepôts for overseas markets and for sophisticated urban consumption. Not enough is known, however, of the extent to which economic benefits filtered down to the traditional artisan, nor indeed, how economically viable craft production can be for the contemporary worker in Bangladesh. Yet many projects and programmes have been launched after independence, to draw the unemployed into craft production, in the expectation that a minimum of training would be required to provide basic earnings for the workers.

When the problems of dislocation and disruption created by the war of 1971 in Bangladesh highlighted the need to create areas of employment for the dispossessed - a large sector of which was constituted by women - the interest of government planners, community voluntary organizations and foreign 'relief' agencies, was turned to the possibility of providing alternative or supplementary employment outlets. The need to draw traditionally dependent women, now deprived of their male crutch, and desperately in search of earning opportunities, into an organized labour force was recognized.

It is not difficult to see why craft production offered one of the few outlets for employment in the villages and urban slums. A traditional pattern of production dependent on manual dexterity, it demanded a minimum of scarce inputs, the organizational structure of craft production was an elementary one, the basic working unit being the family, which gave a social cohesiveness to the working groups. When hired labour was recruited ties of kin, clan or occupational castes were preferred. Since work was carried on at home considerable flexibility of the production structure could be maintained.

After 1972, several training programmes were initiated in various cottage industries - agro-based and craft-based, traditional and non-traditional. Amongst the crafts to which women were drawn as workers or trainees the following offered a scope for development in view of their marketability:

1. Jute strings, rope, bags, etc.
2. Cane and bamboo furniture
3. Cane and reed baskets
4. Silk worm rearing on castor oil plants
5. Silk weaving and silk yarn spinning
6. Leather work, including footwear

Some of the training programmes had short-term objectives, offering training and designing facilities, but not directly linked to marketing. Other organizations sustained their programmes over a period of time and some also tried to
impose a formal marketing structure. Beyond these broad objectives the organi-
zations involved in the development of crafts have shown a diversity of approach,
method and organization.

Amongst the organizations working at the national level, either only with women
or primarily with women, may be listed the following:

1. Integrated Rural Development Plan (IRDP) - a government organization, oper-
ating in the rural areas with headquarters in Dacca.

2. Bangladesh Handicraft Co-operative Federation Ltd. was formed with the
assistance of government and functioned both with urban and rural groups,
the headquarters and main marketing centre being in Dacca.

3. Women's Welfare and Rehabilitation Foundation, was set up by the government.
It operates district-wise, but under the main Dacca office.

4. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. A Bengali voluntary organization
which works both with men and women, mainly in Sylhet.

5. Jute Works. A combine of foreign voluntary agencies funded and set up by
OXFAM, Mennonites, etc., and functioning largely through a local women's
co-operative organization, the Jagaroni Mahila Samabaya Samiti.

In addition, other organizations have mushroomed locally in districts, providing
inputs and other facilities, but no comprehensive list is available. Apart from
women's co-operatives or societies thus instituted, craftswomen have also been
recruited by private entrepreneurs into workshops.

Although women have been systematically recruited into the production of crafts
over the last six years, no national strategy has been implemented for the
effective utilisation of this labour force on a national scale, nor is compre-
hensive data available on basic questions determining the viability of such
economic efforts viz: 1) the number of women recruited into craft employment,
2) the impact of training programmes on production and wages, over marketing and
designing. It is not certain if individual organizations have undertaken any
evaluation of their work\(^1\) to discover the levels of their effectiveness or to
determine the bottlenecks to the commercial development of craft production
which may originate from problems of technology, availability of capital, the
marketing structure or the production organization.

An evaluation of the role of craft production in recruiting and retaining women
in the labour force and increasing their earning potential becomes necessary if
this area of employment is to be expanded, and if the economic benefits are to
genuinely filter down to the producers, rather than be skimmed off by the middle
levels of society - the entrepreneurs and the middlemen. Such an evaluation can
be undertaken through a survey of existing organizations, an analysis of the
work/wage patterns of the women recruited, and their entry into the marketing
network.

\(^{1/}\) Sondra Zeidenstein and Taherunessa Abdullah have prepared a report for ILO,
based on their findings, resulting from two years' work with rural women in
IRDP.
The problems of organizing women effectively into craft production to enable them to receive the maximum benefits can be studied both in the national and the regional context.

A. A national study of craft production and its potential in Bangladesh should raise questions relevant to streamlining production, and marketing. Preliminary research into the work of selected organizations which have created employment opportunities in craft production should lead to an intensive study of the problems inherent in the production of crafts, which may derive from snags within the organization itself, or from weaknesses and limitations of finance, of technique, in the social organization and in the marketing structure. The research should, therefore, be structured around questions which have a bearing on women's effective participation in economic activity.

B. A regional study which has a much wider compass should concern itself with selected Asian societies, which have recruited a large labour force into craft production. The difference in the economic and social organizations in societies such as India, Philippines, China and Vietnam has allowed a different approach to be adopted in each society. A comparative study should concern itself with the following aspects:

1. An inventory of opportunities available
2. Craft organizations and their structure
3. Training programmes
4. Recruitment to the labour force
5. Inputs - financial, technological, etc.
6. Development of the marketing structure
7. Social benefits derived from such employment
8. Economic and social mobility gained through work in craft production.

The results of such a study could 1) provide policy options or guidelines for the development of craft production in other societies, 2) determine the possibility of regional co-operation in training programmes and in marketing, and 3) suggest schemes for a sharing of improved technology.

Mrs. Hameeda Hossain was Vice-Chairman of the Bangladesh Handicraft Co-operative Federation.
AMENAGEMENT SOCIAL DU TEMPS: UN ENJEU POUR LE CHANGEMENT DES STYLES DE VIE DANS LES PAYS INDUSTRIALISES

Beaucoup d'éléments, au niveau national et international, convergent pour placer le temps de la société, sa répartition et sa qualité au centre des stratégies de développement des pays industrialisés: l'impératif de l'emploi, d'abord; la recherche de styles de consommation matérielle moins gaspilleurs et plus adaptés aux ressources disponibles, plus égalitaires et plus conformes aux besoins maîtrisés de l'ensemble de la population; les exigences de temps libre accru et de développement de la capacité individuelle et collective de prise en charge directe d'un nombre croissant d'activités à l'origine du développement de professions dont la valeur d'usage des services est de plus en plus contestée; au niveau international enfin, et essentiellement, l'industrialisation plus autonome des pays peu industrialisés.

Au cours des années récentes, les mesures développées dans la plupart des pays en matière d'aménagement du temps ont essentiellement visé à limiter les effets d'une synchronisation trop rigide des horaires qui entraînait encombrement et gaspillage de ressources et de temps et à assurer une meilleure utilisation des équipements. Elles ont très certainement tendu vers l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie. L'enjeu semble pourtant beaucoup plus large; il s'agit de reconsidérer les différents usages du temps (travail, autoproduction, formation, activités sociales, culturelles et sportives, repos...) et leur relation à l'échelle sociale et permettre, au niveau individuel et collectif, l'exercice des choix entre les différents usages et leur répartition en fonction de styles de vie propres.

Une politique globale d'aménagement du temps de la société nous semble devoir s'orienter vers trois objectifs principaux: la diminution du temps de travail avec une redistribution à l'échelle sociale; un élargissement simultané des possibilités de développement des activités "hors travail"; une flexibilité accrue des différents temps et en premier lieu le temps de travail.

1) La diminution du temps de travail liée à une redistribution du travail, à l'échelle sociale, est une réponse structurelle indispensable face au chômage croissant qui affecte la plupart des pays industrialisés. Mais cette redistribution peut également s'élargir à d'autres couches, en particulier aux femmes qui désirent accéder au marché du travail, mais aussi - dans certaines conditions - aux jeunes, aux personnes âgées, aux handicapés... qui en sont exclus. On sait que la relation entre la redistribution et la diminution du temps de travail n'est pas mécanique; elle suppose des politiques adaptées de formation comme des dispositions sociales et légales particulières. D'un côté, cette mesure n'est acceptable que si elle n'entraîne pas une diminution correspondante des revenus, en particulier des catégories les plus défavorisées. De l'autre, on ne peut pas non plus ignorer les incidences de telles mesures sur la capacité concurrentielle des entreprises soumises au marché internationale. On peut
cependant observer que: premièrement, une diminution progressive du temps de travail sans réduction de salaire peut être en grande partie compensée par une répartition plus équitable des revenus; deuxièmement, la redistribution du travail s'accompagne à l'échelle sociale d'une diminution des coûts sociaux, à commencer par les indemnités de chômage; troisièmement, en se situant dans une perspective dynamique, les gains de productivité peuvent pour leur part largement fonder une diminution du temps de travail.

La dimension internationale des problèmes soulevés encourage les efforts de coordination entre les pays, en particulier au niveau syndical, en matière de réduction du temps de travail qui n'est qu'un aspect de l'amélioration de la vie au travail, indissociable des autres.

2) Indéniablement, l'organisation temporelle de la société est construite autour du temps de travail, et l'organisation du système de production a pesé sur les conditions d'exercice des activités domestiques et d'autoproduction individuelle et collective, de formation des activités sociales, culturelles et sportives et de repos, et en a modelé le contenu. L'élargissement de ces activités, leur enrichissement en fonction d'une plus grande maîtrise individuelle et collective de ses choix et d'une capacité d'initiative accrue, font certes appel à tout un ensemble de politiques qui favorisent d'abord l'accès aux ressources matérielles et aux équipements collectifs, au niveau le plus décentralisé.

Mais ceci repose aussi sur des mesures d'aménagement du temps de la société permettant, à un niveau individuel et collectif, d'assurer une répartition entre les différents temps de la vie quotidienne, au cours de l'année et au cours d'une vie qui favorisent l'exercice des différentes activités et qui puissent fonder une véritable capacité de choix entre les différents usages du temps.

3) Le concept de flexibilité du temps apparaît à cet égard comme un concept-clé. Il suggère, en premier lieu, des dispositions en faveur du libre choix de la quantité de travail à fournir et sa répartition dans le temps.

Aussi essentielle soit-elle pour accroître une maîtrise individuelle et collective sur l'organisation de son temps et de ses activités, la mise en pratique de ce concept se heurte à un grave obstacle institutionnel et social. Il suppose en effet que des dispositions existent pour garantir la capacité de choix des individus qui ne soit pas non plus le privilège de quelques minorités.

Cette réserve explique la réticence d'organisations syndicales de nombreux pays devant les propositions patronales d'assouplissement des horaires de travail qui, sous couvert d'amélioration de la qualité de la vie, imposeraient une organisation temporelle du travail en fonction des seules nécessités de la production de l'entreprise.

Michel Schiray travaille au CIRED, 54 Blvd Raspail, F-75270 Paris