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The Development Set

Excuse me, friends, I must catch my jet
I’m off to join the Development Set;
My bags are packed, and I’ve had all my shots
I have traveller’s checks and pills for the trots!

The Development Set is bright and noble,
Our thoughts are deep and our vision global;
Although we move with the better classes,
Our thoughts are always with the masses.

In Sheraton hotels in scattered nations
We damn multi-national corporations;
Injustice seems easy to protest
In such seething hotbeds of social rest.

We discuss malnutrition over steaks
And plan hunger talks during coffee breaks.
Whether Asian floods or African drought,
We face each issue with an open mouth.

We bring in consultants whose circumlocution
Raises difficulties for every solution—
Thus guaranteeing continued good eating
By showing the need for another meeting.

The language of the Development Set
Stretches the English alphabet;
We use swell words like “epigenetic”
“Micro”, “Macro”, and “logarithmic”.

It pleasures us to be esoteric—
It’s so intellectually atmospheric!
And though establishments may be unmoved,
Our vocabularies are much improved.

When the talk gets deep and you’re feeling dumb
You can keep your shame to a minimum:
To show that you too are intelligent
Smugly ask, “Is it really development?”

Or say, “That’s fine in practice, but don’t you see:
It doesn’t work out in theory!”
A few may find this incomprehensible,
But most will admire you as deep and sensible.

Development Set homes are extremely chic,
Full of carvings, curios, and draped with batik.
Eye-level photographs subtly assure
That your host is at home with the great and the poor.

Enough of these verses—on with the mission!
Our task is as broad as the human condition!
Just pray Good the biblical promise is true:
The poor ye shall always have with you.

Ross Coggins

From Adult Education and Development, September 1976
La culture et la communication font figure d'impediments dans un monde où l'on prétend aider ceux qui survivent à mieux survivre et ceux qui périssent à moins périr. Or, les risques de cette déconsidération deviennent de plus en plus graves, et cela malgré les efforts de l'UNESCO et de nombreuses organisations humanistes ou simplement lucides et réalistes. Pour deux raisons principales. D'abord, la caravane humaine, surtout le peloton des nantis, se rallie de plus en plus à la fuite en avant vers la consommation croissante en dehors de toute remise en cause critique. Par ailleurs, la crise économique présente au lieu d'inciter à la réflexion, est regardée comme un marasme dans le système, voir un accident provoqué de l'extérieur et non une crise du système.

Il n'est pas question de nier la place éminente, voir déterminante, de l'économie. À condition que les intérêts qui prolifèrent au niveau de cette instance n'obscurcissent pas l'analyse. À condition de ne pas oublier aussi qu'à défaut de vivre, des centaines de millions d'hommes et de femmes dans le monde s'accrochent pour survivre aux radeaux de la Méduse de l'aliénation mais aussi, souvent, aux racines vives de leurs cultures.

Et justement, le but suprême de toute stratégie alternative de développement doit être de donner à tous LE VIVRE ET LES RAISONS DE VIVRE. C'est une stratégie de libération dans laquelle la culture et la communication donnent souffle et chair au squelette de l'économie. En effet, la communication en soi est vide. Son contenu doit être cette culture plurielle grâce à laquelle la communication devient intercommunication. Si cela est vrai, la culture et la communication sont situées au carrefour stratégique de la nouvelle stratégie du développement. On ne saurait les dissocier de la promotion économique avec laquelle elles constituent un couple, un "bloc dialectique".

La langue et la culture d'assimilation constituaient la face superstructurale du pacte colonial. La langue d'ailleurs fait vendre des livres, des remèdes et beaucoup d'autres choses. L'éducation est par certains côtés un bien de production, jalousement conservé par certaines catégories sociales. Il y a un business du spectacle, du cinéma, de la publicité (32 millions de dollars de chiffres d'affaires dès 1970).

Il y a aussi un business de la nouvelle, des satellites de communication, des bandes dessinées, de la presse du coeur et du sexe.

Or, 90% des transactions qui s'opèrent aujourd'hui en Afrique, sont le fait d'agences d'information et de spectacles audio-visuels étrangers. Mais plus profondément encore la culture et la communication ne sont pas des marchandises comme les autres. Elles accompagnent l'acte économique du début à la fin, non pas comme simple ombre portée mais comme moteur jumelé. La culture et la communication qui mettent en branle l'énergie humaine sous forme de motivations, font produire, vendre et acheter d'autre marchandises. Le désir de s'éclaircir la peau inspire les achats de millions de nègres aujourd'hui. La culture et la communication sont de l'ordre de l'éducation : non seulement elles produisent, mais elles reproduisent la Société dans le cadre de rapports de production donnés. Il y a dans la culture quelque chose de seminal. Or, jusqu'à tout récemment, cet aspect du développement a été négligé, voire "oublié". Peut-être parce que c'est là que se trouvent les clés d'un système d'exploitation que secrètement on ne tient pas à remettre en cause. En effet, la culture mise au service de l'exploitation est le stade supérieur de l'aliénation : quand l'esclave ayant interiorisé sa servitude accepte lui-même sa condition, c'est l'un des plus sûrs verrouillages du status quo. Raison de plus pour donner à cette instance toute son importance. En effet, elle est entièrement absente des négociations en cours, dominées, écrasées par l'économisme et le productivisme. À quand un Tokyo Round, une CNUCED des échanges culturels? Devant la crise culturelle des pays du Nord qui commencent à douter de valeurs et de structures érigées depuis le Moyen Age et la création des Etats-Nations, la voie de la culture et de la communication est peut-être l'une des clés d'un New Deal planétaire.

I. Bilan

Le sujet est immense. Seulement quelques notations impressionnistes.

A. Presse écrite. 65% des messages d'information qui circulent dans le monde sont produits aux USA. 5 super agences dominent le marché : Associated Press - United Press International - Reuter - AFP et Tass1/.

1/ "L'AP transmet 17 millions de mots par jour à 10'000 abonnés. On estime à 1 milliard le nombre de personnes qui lisent ou entendent chaque jour ce qu'elle diffuse. UPI transmet 14 millions de mots par jour à 7'000 abonnés vers 90 pays. Reuter transmet un million et demi de mots par jour en 6 langues en direction de 155 pays. L'AFP transmet 3 millions de mots par jour à 12'000 abonnés dans 80 pays. Ses journalistes sont en poste dans 110 pays du monde" (François Giroud, Le Monde, 9 novembre 1978).
Au moins 30 pays membres de l'UNESCO n'ont pas d'agence de presse (18 en Afrique et 7 en Amérique Latine) et les deux tiers des agences des autres pays dans le monde ne possèdent pas l'équipement de base essentiel pour la transmission de l'information. Très peu de journaux dans les pays dits en développement. 8 pays d'Afrique et 3 pays arables n'ont pas de quotidiens. 13 pays africains ne publient qu'un seul quotidien et cela pour des raisons financières et/ou politiques. Les pays du Sud publient moins de la moitié des quotidiens du monde et leur tirage global ne représente que le sixième du tirage des pays industrialisés où l'on compte un exemplaire quotidien pour 3 habitants contre un pour trente (un pour 50 en Asie) dans les pays économiquement pauvres. Dans ces derniers, la moyenne ci-dessus doit être pondérée en fonction de l'analphabétisme d'une partie de la population.

Parfois la presse rurale essaie d'y remédier : Helisu, Haijma Mwisho qui tire à 45'000 exemplaires en Tanzanie, Kibamu (12'000 exemplaires au Mali), Sengo au Congo.

Les agences nationales du Sud qui paient assez cher leur abonnement ne font souvent que de la sous-traitance timide. Si bien que les super agences du Nord disposent d'un statut d'oligopole sur la planète. Comment s'étonner alors que la plupart des journaux du Nord qui parlent de plus en plus du Sud échappent difficilement aux reproches suivants : selon les cas, réaction raciste, miséralibilisme, paternalisme, confusionisme, sympathie ethnologique, folklorique ou exotique, dénigrement gratuit, ironie condescendante, etc.

D'où en janvier 1975, la création d'un pool des agences de presse des pays non-alignés sous l'égide de l'agence yougoslave TANJUG. 84 pays groupant les deux tiers de la population du globe sont intéressés par ce programme qui n'a pas encore d'impact significatif. L'Agence Panafricaine de Presse vient de naître à Monrovia lors du dernier sommet des chefs d'États de l'OUA (juillet 1979). Son siège sera à Dakar. Les problèmes financiers et politiques ne lui manqueront pas. Souhaitons qu'elle ne se réfugie pas dans la sous-traitance des dépêches des cinq grands qui dominent au point que, en 1975, le jour de l'indépendance du Surinam, cet événement n'a eu droit, dans les 16 principaux journaux d'Amérique Latine qu'à 3% du volume des nouvelles transmises d'ailleurs souvent par les super agences. Alors que le même jour, les mêmes journaux consacraient 70% de leurs pages aux pays du Nord.

La radio offre un bilan analogue encore que le bilan ici soit moins pessimiste. La radio est en tête des médias (1 milliard de récepteurs dans le monde) : plus d'un par personne dans les pays industrialisés, 1 pour 13 en Asie, 1 pour 18 en Afrique. Dans ce dernier continent une sorte de nouveau partage de Berlin a lieu par le truchement des ondes courtes. Les grandes "voix" se répercutent jusque dans le dernier village de la brousse. Les radios nationales contrôlées par les États deviennent parfois un écho, voire un parasite. On reproduit les dépêches d'agences ou les flashes des postes émetteurs du Nord. Parfois la créativité locale se résume en un petit exercice de ciseaux. En effet, les USA ont autant d'émetteurs que tous les pays du Tiers Monde réunis.

En Haute Volta, où il y a 7'000 villages, on estimait déjà le parc de postes récepteurs à 150'000 en 1976. 96% des récepteurs radios du Sud proviennent des pays industrialisés. Tout en étant le moyen d'information le moins aliénant pour le Sud grâce à la possibilité de choix (entre des offres extérieures
il est vrai!), grâce à l'utilisation des langues nationales, au développement des radios rurales, des théâtres radiophoniques, etc., la radio du Sud demeure satellisée par rapport aux sources du Nord. Et cela, même dans les procédés du discours radiophonique. Par exemple, le découpage en tranches de temps très courtes contredit le rythme du discours africain qui ne se conçoit pas sans une longue introduction de salutations, sans silences presque rituels, sans allusions, sans mi-dire et non dits.

Par ailleurs, le goût du public africain repéré par des enquêtes porte dans l'ordre sur les thèmes suivants : musique africaine, nouvelles locales, émissions religieuses, émissions féminines, sports, nouvelles des pays africains, éducation, nouvelles du monde, variétés. Or, cet ordre est loin d'être respecté. Les nouvelles du monde et la musique d'ailleurs, la publicité pour les produits étrangers, disposent souvent de façon agressive de la part du lion. Le résultat c'est que beaucoup d'Africains s'informent sur l'Afrique, y compris leur propre pays, en se branchant sur l'extérieur.

Si nous passons au cinéma et à la télévision, la bilan devient encore plus sombre. En 1974, 80% des films de cinéma utilisés dans les pays du Tiers Monde provenaient des pays industrialisés. Les USA exportent bon an mal an pour 200 millions de dollars de films et de feuilletons de télévision, après les avoir largement amortis sur leur propre marché. La BBC, les chaînes françaises et allemandes, l'Eurovision, interviennent très largement si bien que la dépendance par rapport aux plats cuisinés importés du Nord reste lourde. En 1974, elle était de 84% pour le Guatemala, 78% pour Singapour, 71% pour la Malaisie, 64% pour la Zambie, 63% pour le Nigéria, 62% pour l'Uruguay, 52% pour l'Irak. Les trois quarts des circuits de télévisions ont leur point terminal aux USA. L'Asie et l'Afrique ne disposent que de 12% des récepteurs télé du monde dont 1% pour l'Afrique. Le parc de récepteurs de télé en Haute Volta est de 700 postes. Mais le chiffre a triplé en cinq ans. Et puis, ces programmes touchent les classes sociales dirigeantes, celles qui décident des choix pour les pays du Sud. Ils sont composés à 75% d'actualités, de films de fiction, d'aventure, de drames policiers et de variétés musicales et autres. Quant au cinéma, son impact est populaire. (cf. ma communication au congrès de la FEPACI à Alger, 1974 et le symposium du FESPACO de Ouagadougou, 1979.) Le contenu des films consommés par le public africain des villes qui se saignent pour jouir parfois chaque jour de cette drogue, est très pauvre : Banalité, élitisme et vedettariat, conservatisme réactionnaire, violence et stupre, racisme plus ou moins direct, sous-tendent une bonne partie des productions. "Dieu les créa, moi je les tue". (Titre charactéristique d'un film.) Le cinéma qui pouvait être la grande école du soir du Tiers Monde est trop souvent une usine d'aculturation négative, surtout pour la jeunesse. Autre élément de ce dispositif de domination culturelle par la communication, c'est le système mondial des télécommunications entièrement détenu par les pays industrialisés. Pour le téléphone, le telex, le télégramme, etc., les pays du Sud ne communiquent entre eux que par le truchement de transnationales dont les plus pluissantes sont
américaines\(^1\). Parfois le schéma du temps colonial survit. Exemple : en Afrique Occidentale, aux Comores.

Le développement des satellites de communication se fait sous l'égide des super grands seuls détenteurs des véhicules de lancements. L'Europe ne dispose pas de ses propres lanceurs lourds, bien que l'Agence Spatiale Européenne ait un programme important. Les projets américains : INTELSAT avec la COMSAT (Communication Satellite Corp.) comme agence technique s'est adaptée à l'association de partenaires européens ou autres, mais avec la présence de plus en plus significative de IBM qui domine plus de 60% du marché mondial de l'informatique. Des contrats géants sont négociés avec certains pays du Tiers Monde dans le domaine des télécommunications, de la détection et de la télé-éducation: Arabie Saoudite, Indonésie, Brésil, Iran, Argentine. Des millions de terminaux de TV et de lignes téléphoniques avec les équipements correspondants de commutation sont installés. Entre la NASA pour le gouvernement américain et le Département d'énergie atomique pour le gouvernement de l'Inde; un accord permet dès la fin de 1975 au satellite ATS-6 de la NASA de transmettre des programmes de télécommunication sur tout le territoire du sous-continent, avec comme thèmes la hausse de la productivité agricole, les objectifs du planning familial et de la cohésion nationale. A l'UNESCO et à l'ONU, des débats où s'opposent pays du Sud et pays socialistes (lesquels disposent du système INTERSPOUTNIK) d'une part et d'autre part les pays occidentaux à propos de l'impact de la domination de l'espace sur les souverainetés des petits pays.

En attendant, des firmes américaines, dont la General Electric, sont engagées dans le lancement au Japon du premier satellite de diffusion directe qui relaie des programmes de radio et de télévision vers les postes de réception individuels sans passer par l'intermédiaire des stations terrestres. On voit toute la charge d'action culturelle portée par de tels programmes.

Cependant que les super puissances se sont instituées nos porte-paroles dans les tentatives de communication avec les extra-terrestres...

Il faut ajouter à tout ce dispositif déjà évoqué (presse écrite, radio, cinéma et télévision, télécommunication) deux facteurs-clés de domination culturelle dont je ne dirai que quelques mots parce qu'ils sont trop connus: l'éducation et la consommation des biens importés. L'éducation est une voie royale pour implanter dans le Sud les cultures du Nord, par les langues et les maîtres de l'enseignement, les programmes, les méthodes pédagogiques, les procédés de sélection, le matériel scolaire (livres et équipements), la hiérarchie des diplômes, la maîtrise sur la recherche scientifique, etc. Tout cela aboutit au déracinement culturel et sociologique de la future classe dirigeante modelée pour devenir le fondé de pouvoir et la courroie de transmission du modèle de consommation du Nord. Quant à la consommation, à

\(^1\) American Telegraph and Telephone (ATT); International Telegraph and Telephone (ITT); General Telephone and Electronics (GTE); Radio Corporation of America (RCA); International Business Machine (IBM). Cf. A. Mattelart: "La production de nouveaux moyens de communication et leur répartition reflètent les rapports de force mondiaux", CERES. Vol VIII, no. 5, sept-oct. 1975.
l'utilisation des produits manufacturés du Nord (costumes, véhicules, boissons, produits alimentaires, tracteurs, électroménagers, récepteurs télé, électrophones, disques, etc) on oublie souvent leur impact culturel. L'homme est plus ou moins ce qu'il consomme. La destruction de l'habitat traditionnel et son remplacement par le béton et la tôle ondulée constituent une révolution culturelle. L'éradication de l'artisanat traditionnel par les produits marchands en matière plastique ou en métal (au lieu du cuir, du bois, de la poterie, de la paille, etc) joue dans le même sens. Les liens directs avec la Nature, cordon ombilical vital pour la culture, sont sectionnés et remplacés par le médium universel abstrait et l'équivalent général, l'argent.

Si l'on ajoute à cela encore les flux culturels qui descendent du nord de la planète charriés par la religion, les idéologies, les rites et les mythes divers y compris dans le domaine sexuel, on se trouve en présence d'un système grandiose et implacable qui comme une chape de plomb ne laisse pas d'échapperatoire.

Ce système institue une balance d'échanges invisibles où les pays du Sud sont presque à 100% tributaires et débiteurs. Cela d'autant plus que le pôle culturel contribue au verrouillage de la dépendance économique et réciproquement.

Prenons la production des concepts qui guident et moulent le travail mental des couches dirigeantes de l'humanité : sous développement et développement, Nouvel Ordre International, besoins essentiels, tradition et modernisation, développement endogène etc. Tous ces outils mentaux sont formulés dans les langues de Kipling et de Jules Ferry essentiellement. Ils n'ont pas de traduction en Yorouba et/ou Bambara. Il y a une industrie des mots qui marche en avant courrière de l'industrie des choses, et qui engage toute la caravane humaine. Le concept des étapes du développement issue de l'évangile selon Rostow et celui parallèle des stades du développement du dogme stalinien ont ancré trop longtemps dans les esprits la notion du retard des pays du Sud sur un chemin unilinéaire où il fallait tout faire pour rattraper le peloton de tête de cette course contre la montre. Il y a dans toute cette mythologie un scientisme mécaniste qui substitue au fleuve de l'Histoire avec ses biefs, ses reculs, ses rapides et ses remous, une voie ferrée sans aiguillage. Dans ce cadre là, la culture et la communication deviennent non pas des accoucheuses, mais des avorteuses du progrès humain. La dépendance du Sud s'analyse comme une communication à sens unique où les émetteurs se trouvent toujours au Nord, sans possibilité de feed back sinon sous forme d'écho de la voix de nos maîtres. Statut d'enfants, de serfs, de sous citoyens de la planète, bénéficiant de la liberté d'expression sans moyen de s'exprimer, liberté de parole du muet, comme le prouve l'exemple du Ethiopian Herald, qui le 1er mars 1975 rendait compte des décisions de l'OAU sur le sous-comité des 7, en reproduisant une dépêche de l'AFP, alors que ses propres bureaux étaient à quelques centaines de mètres de l'OAU!

Aujourd'hui, pour conjurer une grève éventuelle des pays producteurs de pétrole, le Nord dispose de corps expéditionnaires contre qui personne ne pourrait rien. Par contre, si les grandes agences de presse décidaien la
grève, ce serait l'immersion des deux tiers du monde dans l'oubli et le non-être. Si savoir est un pouvoir, faire savoir est un pouvoir plus grand encore. Les pays industrialisés sont comme le seigneur qui, dit le proverbe africain, peut se permettre de ne pas connaître le roturier; ils sont les instituteurs du monde qui nous enseignent à tous un nouvel alphabet. Des satellites aux bandes dessinées, ils sculptent par petites touches quotidiennes le profil de nos âmes. Ils font pousser sur le cimetière de nos cultures un nouvel arbre de la Science du Bien et du Mal. Ils possèdent les clés pour envahir sans visa ni droit de douane, l'espace cérébral des pays du Sud, espace qui est ainsi râvé à la souveraineté des États-Nations, lesquels pendant ce temps luttent pour défendre des frontières matérielles et pour accroître le PNB. Mais si le producteur du PNB est déjà requis pour d'autres tâches ... s'il est convivial à merci ... si dans sa tête sont placés de petits ordinateurs qui programment son cerveau extra-verti comme ils façon- nent les rêves de ses enfants. Les pouvoirs des pays du Sud ne commandent-ils pas à des fantômes, à des zombies dont les doubles ont déjà émigré vers d'autres empires? Ce danger a été plus ou moins lourdement perçu. Les pays du Sud ont réagi et inclus dans le projet du Nouvel Ordre International un volet "culture et communication". Ils ont parlé de rééquilibrer du système par un mécanisme à double effet, de revalorisation des langues, de réforme de l'éducation, de politique culturelle pour la mise en valeur de l'identité, de l'authenticité, de mise sur pied d'agences de presse par les non-alignés, pour les relations Sud-Sud, etc.

Mais les contradictions pullulent. D'abord ces pays du Sud se trompent parfois d'adversaires. Dans certaines formulations de la négritude, on semble dire que nous sommes aliénés parce que nous sommes noirs, alors que c'est le contraire. La racine-mère de notre dépendance est économique. Peut-il y avoir authenticité dans la mendicité? Plus grave encore, le type de relation de domination qui prévaut entre le Nord et le Sud est reproduit à une échelle inférieure à l'intérieur des pays du Sud quand la majorité pauvre de la population est vouée au mutisme et à l'ignorance - cible sans défense - condamnée au dépérissement de ses propres valeurs et à la clochardisation culturelle. Peut-on reprocher aux autres ce qu'on cultive chez soi? A vrai dire, les dirigeants du Sud qui ont épousé les intérêts du Nord ont une position très affaiblie en l'occurrence. C'est ainsi qu'à la Conférence de l'UNESCO à Nairobi, 1976, les pays occidentaux du Nord ont contrattacké en brandissant le spectre du contrôle étatique sur l'information, en plaidant pour la liberté contre le monopole. La conférence générale de l'UNESCO à Paris leur ayant fait quelques concessions, le 22 novembre 1978, 146 pays adoptèrent la Déclaration sur l'Information qui bien qu'elle soit qu'une déclaration de compromis constitue quand même un pas en avant dans les idées. Mais comment concilier la liberté de circulation de l'information et des journalistes avec la souveraineté reconnue aux États, dans la mesure où il ne s'agit que d'une simple déclaration?

II. Problèmes de stratégie

A. Les impasses à éviter

Disons d'emblée qu'en matière de communication il n'y a pas de rupture totale
possible avec le monde extérieur. Sans compter que cette stratégie n'est valable que pour des sous-continental ou pour des blocs démographiques comme la Chine; elle serait particulièrement inefficace quand on sait qu'avec les transistors et les satellites, un veto en la matière sera de plus en plus impensable. Mais plus rigoureusement encore que le ghetto, il faut rejeter le status quo. Cela signifie que des changements structurels devront intervenir au besoin et si nécessaire par la confrontation qui a aussi valeur pédagogique. L'expérience de l'OPEP a plus fait en quelques années pour l'éducation à l'idée de solidarité que des décennies de discours. Néanmoins, il faut souligner que le problème de la communication ne peut être traité par une solution et/ou une technique seulement, ni non plus par une formule juridique ou contractuelle seulement. Bien sûr il faut des laboratoires pour monter des films; il faut par exemple des équipements de faible puissance pour mettre sur pied des stations locales de radio et TV. Mais il faut valoriser aussi les moyens de communication traditionnelle. Bref, ce n'est pas avant tout une question de moyens mais d'impulsion socio-culturelle et de décision politique. D'autres refusent cette approche qualitative en disant que ce qui manque le plus ce sont les moyens : "Pour pouvoir parler du goût du pain, il faut avoir du pain". J.J. Servan-Schreiber déclarait aussi lors d'un colloque récent : "Le principal obstacle à la liberté de presse est moins le manque de liberté que le manque de presse". Disons que tout cela est lié : une presse non libre est-elle une vraie presse? Par ailleurs une idéologie réactionnaire favorisant l'analphabétisme est parfois responsable du "manque de pain", c'est-à-dire de l'information saine.

B. Les objectifs de la nouvelle stratégie?

1) C'est d'abord la libération qui, contrairement à la liberté, déesse si souvent invoquée implique l'engagement permanent et direct des intéressés. Le choix n'est donc pas entre le contrôle étatique et pas de contrôle du tout, mais entre le contrôle de l'Etat ou d'un groupe privé, à moins que ce ne soit des deux à la fois quand l'Etat et le groupe privé en question font partie de la même classe. Alors la censure sans être visible et directe, exerce avec non moins de rigueur, au nom des propriétaires du journal, des parties en cause, de l'intérêt présumé du lecteur, qu'on a soi-même contribué à déformer ... A quoi sert la libre concurrence quand il n'y a pas de concurrents? Par exemple, une charte du droit à l'espace avec liberté et égalité d'accès quand cela ne vaut que pour 2% des Etats? La libération implique l'autocontrôle, la responsabilité et la self-reliance.

2) Second principe : L'enracinement. se connaître soi-même d'abord, Le proverbe africain dit : connaître l'eau, le cheval, l'arbre, c'est bien, mais se connaître soi-même voilà la grande affaire. D'où un principe de gestion et d'autogestion.

3) Maximiser la créativité par échanges dans la co-responsabilité.

4) Orienter information et culture vers la satisfaction des besoins fondamentaux matériels et non-matériels du plus grand nombre.
C. Les moyens?

1) Il s'agit d'abord de mener de front la bataille économique et culturelle. Car il s'agit de la même bataille comme le montre le bloc ambivalent du pouvoir dominant. Et cela d'autant plus que la lutte économique se heurte à des impasses persistantes.

2) L'alphabetisation massive semble être un préalable au niveau national. Entre 1960 et 1975, le taux de scolarité du groupe d'âge de 6 à 11 ans a passé de 46,3% à 61,6% dans le Tiers Monde et celui de groupe de 18 à 23 ans a passé de 15,2 à 30% dans les pays industrialisés. Mais en raison de la croissance démographique le nombre absolu de jeunes analphabètes ne cesse de s'élever.

3) La décentralisation et la démocratisation de la culture, tout en veillant à ce que, dans des pays qui se construisent, les forces centrifuges ne deviennent prépondérantes.

4) La refonte du système éducatif en particulier en y introduisant le travail productif source éminente de toute culture.

5) Eviter de tuer culturellement pour nourrir physiquement.

6) Poser comme postulat qu'il n'y a de culture vivante pour l'Afrique dans l'avenir que si elle est unitaire. D'où la nécessité de donner à chaque projet économique d'envergure une assiette interafricaine et une contre-partie culturelle.

7) Le soutien aux associations non-gouvernementales de spécialistes qui se multiplient en Afrique.

8) L'édition et la traduction d'ouvrages fondamentaux pour l'Afrique ou les pays du Sud.

9) La réorientation radicale des centres culturels des pays industrialisés dans les pays du Sud.

10) L'organisation de séminaires, d'expositions et d'échanges de groupes entre pays du Sud et entre ces derniers et le Nord.

11) Réformer le tourisme.

Plus précisément, en matière de communication, l'information réciproque devra respecter les normes suivantes:

1. Eviter de personnaliser outre mesure les problèmes en se polarisant sur les frasques ou les monstruosités de tel ou tel dirigeant qui confirme les préjugés qu'on cultive sur les pays du Sud.

2. Insister sur les structures et non les événements chocs. Insister sur les fonctions et non les statistiques et descriptifs sans épaisseur éclairante.
Les poncifs d'autosatisfaction, comme le fardeau de l'homme blanc, soulageant l'humanité arriérée, l'Afrique avec nous ou elle est perdue. La dénonciation de toute forme de libération comme une subversion contre l'Europe sous la poussée des fanatismes primitifs et du marxisme au couteau entre les dents. La formule d'internationale des mendiants pour qualifier les pays du Sud, tout cela doit être banni.

3. Mais l'intercommunication sympathique fondée sur la tolérance doit être cultivée comme une plante précieuse. Et cela, en faisant jouer le dialectique des différences et des ressemblances. Dans un premier temps, ce sont les différences qui frappent le plus de gens. Mais il s'agit de différences superficielles auxquelles certains s'arrêtent définitivement (phénotypes, traits spectaculaires). D'où le racisme. En musique africaine, pas d'instruments de percussion.

La différence est un droit légitime mais aussi une source de racisme et cela doublement : d'abord parce qu'on ne retient que les différences anodines et risibles. Ensuite parce que la méconnaissance des différences plus profondes et culturelles suscite aussi le racisme de l'ignorance.

D'où la nécessité dans la stratégie pédagogique pour traiter les conduites d'intolérance et d'injustice culturelle, de passe à une phase comparative où l'on reconnaît l'unité de l'espèce sous les apparences diverses.

Enfin, dans un troisième stade, il faut retenir les différences culturelles qui restent irréductibles à l'assimilation de la phase précédente et qui doivent être respectées. Seule cette approche en trois moments qui ne sont pas nécessairement échelonnés chronologiquement permet d'éliminer le chancre du racisme qui tue toute communication humaniste, et, d'affirmer non seulement le droit à la différence, mais le devoir de différence.

Enfin, il importe de noter que la solidarité dans l'intercommunication même si elle est contractuelle n'échappe pas aux conflits. Le droit, après tout est à l'intersection de l'éthique et de la force ou du rapport de forces. La communication entre peuples ne doit pas occulter les contradictions par un culte stupide de la non violence au moment même où les structures qu'on défend secrètent une violence organique homicide.

Bref. Un 'New Deal' de la communication et de la culture dans l'ordre international à créer devrait comporter des aspects infrastructuraux et structurels : lancement de satellites prévu par le colloque de l'OUA à Monrovia, création d'agences, multiplication des postes émetteurs; prise de parole dans les postes du Nord pour s'expliquer et jeter un regard critique sur le présent.

Il faudrait aussi constituer des bangues de documents sonores et audio visuels à échanger, structurer les temps d'émission de telle sorte que la majorité des ruraux aient leur juste part; organiser des conseils de presse pour la co-gestion ou l'autogestion, matérialiser le regard collectif de la communauté internationale pour que les règles de déontologie élémentaire ne soient pas foulées aux pieds au Nord ou au Sud. Au plan de la superstructure, ce projet nouveau d'intercommunication suppose que soit posée clairement la
question du modèle de société, ou plutôt des modèles, car il faut partir
du postulat d'une pluralité permanente des itinéraires collectifs. Ces ex-
périences sont-elles incommunicables? Oui et non. L'Inde fréquente l'Oc-
cident depuis des siècles, mais ne semble pas vouloir renoncer à ses propres
voies. L'Afrique étonnera aussi, malgré les apparences par sa résistance
tà l'assimilation, comme elle l'a démontré dans la diaspora outre-Atlantique.
La Chine veut vivre sa propre expérience du marxisme. Le problème n'es
pas "la recherche commune de la vérité élémentaire". Il est de supprimer la
domination et de lâcher l'homme collectif dans chacun de ses environnements.
Il y répondra à des questions spécifiques, mais aussi à certaines questions
générales. Dans tous les cas, il y aura une source d'enseignement, ne
serait-ce que par cet étonnement devant la différence, étonnement qui selon
le mot de Platon est le commencement de la connaissance.
Ce qui compte, c'est d'échanger les expériences. Coopérer, c'est opérer en-
semble. C'est sortir de soi pour retrouver l'autre si loin au départ, si
vite rejoint.
Il faudrait enseigner dans toutes les écoles, l'art de vivre au 21ème siècle,
quand la multiplication des spécimens de l'homo sapiens en fera tous des voi-
sins directs. Alors, le productivisme maniaque comptabilisant la création
comme la destruction, les services tendus comme les nuisances, ne pourra pas
prévaloir contre la science et l'art de cohabiter mieux que par juxtaposition;
pour faciliter au maximum la quête des joies non marchandes.
Cette éthique et cette esthétique neuves inculquées aux enfants d'aujourd'hui,
qui très jeunes ignorent le racisme, peuvent dès maintenant influencer leurs
parents et préparer la cure des névroses et des nécroses qui prolifèrent.
Mais qui dit stratégie dit agencement dans le temps et alliances. Encore
une fois, on ne peut prétendre que cette libération culturelle doive at-
tendre une désalinisation économique préalable. Il s'agit d'un bloc his-
torique, d'un ensemble qui fonctionne en tant que tel aujourd'hui au profit
de minorités privilégiées au Nord et au Sud. C'est en tant qu'ensemble
qu'il convient donc de le remettre en cause par une guerilla incessante qui
s'appuiera tour à tour sur l'un ou l'autre de ces deux pôles.
Quant aux alliés, ce seront les groupes aujourd'hui frustrés de leur part:
jeune, femmes, minorités infériorisées, journalistes et chercheurs ou en-
seignants, syndicats, clubs, organisations non-gouvernementales, chaînes
privées, églises progressistes, homme d'affaires intelligents. Les groupes
de pression ne manquent pas qui sentent venir l'asphyxie, et qu'il faut
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Conclusion
Il faut distinguer la stratégie et la tactique. La stratégie s'adresse aux
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de pression ne manquent pas qui sentent venir l'asphyxie, et qu'il faut
changer ou périr.
Au plan stratégique, les pays du Sud devraient envisager les objectifs suivants pour l'horizon 2001 :

1) créer leurs propres bases techniques pour l'intercommunication nationale et internationale et cela au niveau le plus sophistiqué : agences de presse; industrie du cinéma; émetteurs Radio TV; satellites.

avec la formation du personnel correspondante.

Cet objectif premier ne pourra être atteint que par la self-reliance collective, c'est-à-dire des sacrifices de souveraineté pour renforcer la souveraineté.

2) Réaliser des recherches pour la mise au point de modèles globaux qui intègrent la science à un projet de société inspiré de ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans les patrimoines culturels.

3) Eradication de l'analphabétisme et du racisme - qui sont incompatibles avec les objectifs précédents.

4) Promouvoir les langues nationales.

5) Enraciner les jeunes par une éducation nouvelle et retenir les cadres.

6) Mobiliser les peuples pour leur propre libération par l'intercommunication et la culture.

Au plan tactique, il s'agit de brancher la culture et la communication sur tout projet économique de développement comme une contrepartie dans un package deal.

Les pays du Nord qui veulent contribuer à cette stratégie devraient viser à se donner des partenaires dignes de ce nom. Le progrès général est à ce prix.

L'homme est un être qui communique. C'est pourquoi dans l'histoire humaine, les classes dominantes ont toujours tenté de monopoliser les moyens de communication (cheval, langues ésotériques, comme le language tambourine des chefs africains, agences, satellites, etc).

Or, il y a un rapport génétique réciproque entre la parole et la pensée de telle sorte que quand la parole disparaît, c'est la fin de la pensée et de l'être.

Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes est une formule vide s'ils ne disposent pas de la parole.

Il n'y a pas de liberté sans responsabilité, ni de libération des peuples sans co-responsabilité.

L'histoire montre cependant que le droit à la parole n'a jamais été octroyé par les forces qui la contrôlent. C'est un pouvoir qui a toujours été conquis par l'action collective et la lutte. Ce pouvoir sera conquis le jour où les pays du Sud auront compris que le 19e siècle est passé et que l'État Nation doit être dépassé par une structuration sous-régionale et régionale de la volonté politique d'être et non de paraître. La voix cacophonique du Sud aujourd'hui ne sera jamais entendue. C'est seulement quand une voix s'élevera du Sud, même si elle est très clame, qu'elle ne se perdra pas dans le brouhaha quotidien, car on fera silence pour l'écouter.
FROM SUEZ TO PANAMA: ACTION BY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO EXERCISE PERMANENT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATIONAL RESOURCES

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Abstract: Despite the obstacles to the achievement of a new international order, Third World countries have made impressive advances in asserting economic sovereignty over their national resources. This article illustrates the changing patterns of this process and analyses its effectiveness. A full report, including a catalogue of acquisitions of major foreign enterprises since 1945, is available from the author.

DE SUEZ À PANAMA

Résumé: En dépit des obstacles à la réalisation d'un nouvel ordre international, les pays du Tiers Monde ont connu des succès frappants dans l'affirmation de leur souveraineté économique sur leurs ressources nationales. Cet article illustre le déroulement de ce processus et analyse son efficacité. Une étude complète, avec un catalogue des prises de contrôle des entreprises étrangères importantes depuis 1945, peut être obtenue en écrivant à l'auteur.

DE SUEZ A PANAMÁ

Resumen: A pesar de los obstáculos al logro y a la realización de un nuevo orden internacional, los países del Tercer Mundo han tenido importantes éxitos en la afirmación de su soberanía económica sobre sus recursos naturales. Este informe ilustra el desarrollo de este proceso y analiza su eficacia. Se puede obtener del autor un informe completo, con un catálogo de las importantes adquisiciones de control de varias empresas extranjeras desde 1945.
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FROM SUEZ TO PANAMA: ACTION BY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO EXERCISE PERMANENT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATIONAL RESOURCES

I. INTRODUCTION

The object of the report is to take stock of the achievements of the Third World in giving effect to the principle of sovereignty over national resources, particularly within the context of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order - UN General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI) May 1974 - which states that in order to safeguard its resources,

"each state is entitled to exercise effective control over them and their exploitation with means suitable to its own situation, including the right to nationalization or transfer of ownership to its nationals, this right being an expression of the full permanent sovereignty of the State."

The report attempts to sketch, in broad outline, the long and continuing struggle of Third World countries to assert economic sovereignty in the aftermath of the decolonization that followed the end of World War II.

On achieving independence, Third World countries found themselves in the frustrating paradoxical situation of being politically free but economically dependent. This position of dependency on Northern countries was the legacy of a long historical period of colonial rule during which their economic and social structures were oriented to serve the needs of the colonizing countries. This dependency relationship has, in recent decades, been accentuated by the growing influence of the transnational corporations (TNCs) in industrialized countries which have come to control major aspects of the economic activities of the Third World.

Thus, even after having thrown off the shackles of political dependence, these countries found themselves still bound by the links of economic dependence on powerful foreign-controlled entities - in the form of the transnational corporations, managing agencies and other large companies - which continued to dominate, control and extract the maximum economic benefits from the national resources of these countries. In 1945 petroleum, mining, tea, coffee and rubber plantations, banking, insurance, utilities, transport, trade and manufacturing industries were all mainly foreign controlled. Most Latin American countries, it is true, had gained their political independence before World War II - but despite acts like the nationalization of the oil industry in Mexico in the 1930s, they still remained in economic bondage to the large American, British and European companies. Thus the international institutional structure operated to deprive Third World countries, to a greater or lesser extent, of effective control over the pace and pattern of the development process.

For the Third World, this mounting tension between political sovereignty and a sense of powerlessness in international economic relations underlined the need to move from political independence to economic sovereignty in order to be masters in their own house and break the dependency relationship which was the main cause of their underdevelopment.
A variety of measures have been adopted by Third World countries - nationalization, joint ventures, renegotiation of concessions and other mineral rights granted in the colonial or early post-independence period, national legislation to control foreign investment and to organize the transfer of technology on equitable terms, the setting up of State enterprises, collective action whether in the form of producers' associations or regional pacts, like the Cartagena Agreement, or joint adherence to legal norms, such as the Calvo Doctrine regarding arbitration, or the more widespread concerted action that is growing up under the drive towards collective self-reliance among Third World countries.

The pattern of the struggle has taken different forms in different areas of the world - Africa South of the Sahara, Asia and the Far East, Latin America and the Caribbean, North Africa and the Middle East. Even within these areas individual countries have adopted varying policies which have developed and become more sophisticated over the years.

For reasons of historical convenience the narrative of this report has been divided into three periods: (i) 1945-60 covering the early days of decolonization; (ii) 1960-69 when a large number of African countries gained their independence and deliberate and selective actions of nationalization began to multiply; (iii) from 1970 onwards when more ex-colonial countries became independent and when the Third World was learning how to exercise sovereignty in a more effective manner over wider fields. The report thus covers major examples of nationalization, from the dramatic take-over of the powerful Suez Canal Company by President Nasser of Egypt right up to the wresting of sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone by Panama from the United States Government.

II. CHANGING PATTERNS OF ACTION TO ASSERT NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

The right of Third World countries to exercise sovereignty over their own national resources has never been in doubt and lip service to this principle has been paid in countless resolutions passed by the United Nations and other bodies.

At the start of the period of decolonization in the post World War II period, Third World countries emerged with little or no voice in, or control of, their own resources. Politically independent, they still found themselves cast in the role of producers of raw materials exploited and controlled by foreign firms. They were largely deprived of any capacity to process or manufacture goods from their own raw materials and thereby gain the benefit of value added. Marketing and distribution of products was mainly in foreign hands. They were thus, in the main, recipients of manufactured goods from the industrialized countries and also the type of technology these countries decided to make available to them.

This chapter describes the principal measures and strategies adopted by Third World countries to break this foreign domination and to ensure that they would be in a position to exercise permanent sovereignty over their own national resources.
a) Nationalization

In a number of Third World countries the exercise of national sovereignty took the form of nationalization or takeovers involving State acquisition of full or major ownership of the assets of foreign companies. While nationalization may not be a sufficient condition for transcending the model of dependent growth, it is certainly a necessary one.

Nationalization has been particularly evident for obvious reasons in the extractive sector of the economy since this raises the basic question about foreign ownership of natural resources. It is for this reason that petroleum and mining companies feature so prominently in the catalogue.

Banking and insurance companies were also a target for nationalization since these industries involve the question of control over the economy. National governments saw the necessity for the direct control of financial institutions responsible for the movement of funds in respect of capital as well as current transactions with the rest of the world. Such control of credit-providing and savings-mobilizing institutions was also necessary for the implementation of overall development planning. Moreover, it was considered that the repatriation of the extremely high rates of profits of foreign banking and insurance companies represented a severe strain on the balance of payments.

Early priority was also given to the nationalization of utilities and it appears that most foreign firms were in national hands by the 1970s.

On achieving independence, countries like Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, and Sri Lanka undertook major measures of nationalization. India, on the other hand, did not practice nationalization on a large scale but opted instead for joint ventures. However, whenever foreign capital emerged as exercising unchallenged control in an important industrial sector, whether as a single firm or as a group of firms acting in concert, the Indian Government has attempted to curtail its power by entering the industry on its own account, or by encouraging Indian or other firms to enter or increase their share of the product. Intervention of this sort exists as a major ingredient of Indian economic independence. In the case of Africa, comprehensive measures of nationalization were undertaken by Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Mali. Massive but selective nationalization measures were taken by Zaire, and Nigeria; selective measures of nationalization were taken by such countries as Ghana, Somalia, Congo, Madagascar and Guinea. Countries like Algeria, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Morocco have taken over a large number of foreign enterprises. Kenya has only undertaken minor measures of nationalization. Some states like Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo, for example, have nationalized minerals but done little else. Nationalization has found favour in a number of Latin American countries like Argentina, Chile (under the Allende Government), Peru and Venezuela. In the Caribbean, Guyana has taken over foreign assets one by one. Jamaica has now embarked on a programme of selective nationalization which is in strong contrast with the system that prevailed previously. In Trinidad and Tobago, significant measures of Government ownership of resources has taken place. In July 1979 the new Government of Iran announced that it would nationalize banks and industries. It is understood that this might not involve a complete take-over as earlier
envisaged. It will apparently be more in the nature of Government control and management rather than complete State ownership.

b) Joint ventures

One method by which Third World countries have sought to establish control over foreign companies operating in their territory is to set up joint ventures (also known as ownership-sharing, equity-sharing, or participation arrangements).

The joint venture can take various forms - the host country can hold a majority share of the equity, an equal share or a minority share. Generally speaking, each partner in a joint venture possesses voting power or a voice in policy making or management decisions commensurate with its equity participation.

Local partners in joint ventures range between local business interests, host government corporations or the host government itself. In Africa it is the Government or the Development Corporation which tends to act as the local partner, whereas in Asia and Latin America in a large number of cases, private local firms are the partners in joint ventures with foreign companies. In Guyana, the exercise of economic sovereignty over the key sectors which tend to dominate the economy or control the country's national resources is obtained through majority equity participation of the State and/or cooperative activities.

Many Third World countries, through their policies of indigenization, have converted fully-owned foreign companies into joint ventures.

Some Third World countries have adopted what are known as "fade-out" policies in joint ventures. Such arrangements start out as joint ventures, but this is only meant to be a transitional stage which will eventually lead to full national ownership.

Another tactic that has been used by the Third World is that of "unbundling", i.e. instead of obtaining the whole package of capital, technology and management in the form of direct investment, the country only takes the sectors it requires. In the old days the TNC set up a subsidiary or licensed its technology on terms which it laid down relating to royalties, exclusive rights, export restrictions, etc. The Third World countries were presented with the alternative of either accepting the conditions or doing without the technology. These conditions generally prevailed well into the post-colonial period. Now, there are many forms of technology transfer ranging from direct foreign investment with technology as a package to the case where the public sector enterprise attempts to obtain elements of technology from different sources on the best possible terms and with variants of joint ventures in between.

More countries are moving either to the stage of joint ventures with the foreign holding decreasing and gradually being phased out (e.g. Latin American countries) or the formation of public sector enterprises which import technology from several sources (e.g. Algeria and India).

In any attempt to assess the effectiveness of joint ventures as a method to assist the host government to exercise sovereignty over its national resources,
a number of factors have to be borne in mind. Majority ownership does not necessarily imply effective control. Sometimes, for example, the government voice is smaller in managerial decisions than its equity participation when its shares carry no voting power. Many governments have been willing to leave the management of the undertaking to the foreign partner. The success in exercising sovereignty depends to a great degree on the effectiveness of domestic participation. In some cases the role of the national partner is passive and even perfunctory. In many cases indigenization measures may be circumvented by arrangements with dummy local partners. In order to achieve real national participation in joint ventures, some countries - India for example - have required that national shareholders should be active participants or be in effective control.

c) Renegotiation of existing contractual arrangements

Governments of newly independent countries consider renegotiation of agreements concluded under colonial regimes as part of the process of decolonization. Third World countries have moved away from the traditional concession regimes to arrangements which give national governments greater control over the foreign companies and a larger share in the benefits of the operation. The growing sophistication of Third World countries in developing basic abilities to exercise control over their national resources is reflected in the new terms and conditions they have been able to obtain in the newly renegotiated agreements, and the measures they have been able to take to ensure that mining companies operate in a manner consistent with the host country's development priorities.

Under the traditional concession arrangements the foreign company provided all the cash and know-how and managed and directed the enterprise. Many companies enjoyed exclusive and extensive rights to exploit resources and were, in effect, assured of ownership of raw materials at the point of extraction. Concessions covered vast areas of land and there were no provisions for relinquishment of areas abandoned or untouched. Leases ran for 50, 60 or even 99 years regardless of whether the area was exploited or not. Processing was carried out in the home country of the foreign company, so that the host country was deprived of the benefit of value added to the natural resources.

Until the 1950s the only benefits host countries received through traditional concessions were royalty payments. As they grew more sophisticated, some were able to introduce provisions into the new concessions, or the renegotiated old concessions, which enabled them to obtain a combination of tax payments and royalties.

In order to ensure a satisfactory rate of exploration, it has now become a common practice for governments to stipulate that concessionaries must relinquish specified fractions of their concessions as of a certain date1/, thus giving the concessionaire an incentive to explore the entire concession in the initial period in order to be able to retain the most promising area. To

1/ For example, under Decree of 14 April 1975, Ecuador stipulated that if a concessionaire moved from the exploration stage to the exploitation stage but no petroleum was found within the first 3 years devoted to exploitation, the drilling rigs and other equipment would become Government property.
encourage increased production, minimum production requirements are sometimes set if the company is to enjoy financial incentives or avoid financial sanctions. For example, incentives are provided in the form of higher royalty rates and penalties through forfeiture of bonds or termination of contracts.1/

In more recent concession agreements it is stipulated that exploration must take place as quickly as possible. In place of general obligations, recent agreements contain timetables of 6-12 years, with possibilities of extension. Again, sanctions are sometimes imposed for delays.

Some new concessions stipulate the construction of social and economic infrastructure and the training and employment of nationals. An innovative feature of recent mining agreements is to provide for the encouragement and upgrading of entrepreneurship by requiring foreign companies to initiate, develop and foster local supplying enterprises.2/

Other methods adopted by Third World countries to acquire expertise from abroad without imperilling their own sovereignty include the following:

Service contracts: While ownership and control of resources is vested in the government or one of its agencies, management and provision of capital and technology may be wholly or partly delegated to the foreign company as contractor. It is important to underline that under this type of contract the foreign company is relegated to the status of a mere contractor and is not a title holder. Service contracts can take three main forms:

1. The service contract proper: The government hires the services of the contractor who meets all costs for exploration and performs operations relating to the exploitation of the natural resource, including marketing. The costs are regarded as loans repayable over a given period of time. The government agrees to sell the contractor a given amount of the output at a discounted price. This type of contract became common in the late 1960s relating particularly to the petroleum industry where the contractor provided a wide range of services from exploration to marketing.3/ Another type of service contract

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1/ In a recent agreement that Jamaica concluded with a TNC for the establishment of a joint aluminium venture, a minimum volume of production was set for the calculation of royalties and the company had to pay this minimum of royalties whether or not minimum production was reached.

2/ One such example is the agreement concluded in 1976 by the Government of Papua New Guinea with the Dampierre Mining Co. under which local enterprises involved in the supply and maintenance of mining equipment should be promoted.

3/ For example, the contract signed in 1968 between ERAP (controlled by the French Government) and the Government-owned Iraq National Oil Co. (INOC). Terms: ERAP provided risk capital for exploration and technical services and acted as contractors if oil was found. Production to be financed by loans from ERAP to INOC at an agreed rate of interest. ERAP would be paid by the right to buy 30% of the production at an agreed price. At the request of INOC, ERAP could market an agreed quantity of oil at a
or operation or risk contract has been used by Latin American countries like Peru, Panama, Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil for petroleum and mineral development.\footnote{11} The advantage of this type of agreement lies in the fact that there is no risk to the government and it does not have to invest any capital. The petroleum and reserves remain the property of the government; the state is associated from the start with any success resulting from the exploration; the arrangements are simple and easy to administer.

Here again, it must be mentioned that if the service contract vests exclusive management and control in the foreign company it will remain very similar to the traditional concession despite the fact that the government is deemed the owner of the natural resource at the point of extraction.

- **Management contract:** The host country entrusts to a company the management of a nationalized enterprise, a new exploitation enterprise or the country's share in a joint venture.

- **Production sharing arrangements:** The company defrays all exploration and production costs. Once production has started it assumes responsibility for this but only as the operating agent of the government. It is paid on the basis of an agreed share of output after recovery of its expenditure. This type of arrangement was introduced in the 1960s by Indonesia which has entered into many production sharing contracts. A significant feature of these contracts is that the State-owned Pertamina is responsible for the management of the operations. In the 1970s important changes were made. For example, in 1976 the agreements concluded by Indonesia raised the Government's production share from 60 to 85%. In 1976 in agreements signed by Malaysia, the companies obtained 20% of the oil to compensate for the costs. Of the remainder, 30% went to the companies as profits and the Government got 70%.

**Technical assistance agreements:** This is the most radical departure from the traditional concession. The role of the foreign company has changed from that of owner to contractor. The financing of the project is the exclusive responsibility of the host government which owns the natural resource, the entire production and the equipment and other facilities. In this form of agreement the government's assertion of sovereignty and ownership is complete.

d) **Patterns of action**

i) 1945-60: There were not many cases of nationalization or take-overs in this early period of decolonization. In 1948, the independent Government of...
Burma decided to break away from the West, institute the "Burmese Way of Socialism" and undertake a series of nationalization measures. In 1951, there was the dramatic take-over by Iran, at the instigation of Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq, of the Abadan refinery of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company - a company whose concessions dated back to just before World War I and was looked upon as a symbol of Britain's colonial power. Another example of the exercise of political muscle was the decision of Egypt to nationalize the Suez Canal Co. As a result of concessions granted in the 19th century, the company had the sole right to maintain, operate and develop the Suez Canal and collect annual dues. Egypt also nationalized all British and French banks and insurance companies (1957). The Syrian Arab Republic nationalized foreign electricity, water and transport companies (1951). Indonesia nationalized Dutch banks (1951), electricity supplies (1952) and airlines (1954).

Unlike the above-mentioned cases, India did not practice nationalization of private foreign enterprises but opted instead for joint ventures. Since the mid 1950s (particularly after 1957) the Government has insisted on joint collaboration in new ventures. Many wholly-owned foreign companies have taken in Indian capital since the mid 1950s. However, during this period India did nationalize the Imperial Bank of India (1955), life insurance companies (1956), air transport (1953) and the Kolar Gold Fields (1956).

The period also witnessed the wholesale nationalization of American investments in Cuba - thus ending the domination of the Cuban economy by US corporations. Guatemala nationalized the wholly-owned subsidiary of the US United Fruit Co. (1953). Argentina (in 1958) and Brazil (in 1959) respectively nationalized the American Foreign Power Co. (US).

ii) 1960-69: It was during this period, with the speed up of deconolization, that a spate of take-overs occurred. According to a recent report which provides basic data on take-overs in some 71 Third World countries for the period 1960-76, a total of 455 take-overs of foreign enterprises were noted. The largest number occurred in banking and insurance (133) followed by agriculture (98), manufacturing (76), petroleum (40), mining (32), public utilities (31), trade (28), and others (17). The largest number of take-overs were recorded in West Asia and North Africa (152) followed by Africa south of the Sahara (138), South and East Asia (130) and the Western Hemisphere (35).

Some of the countries involved in take-overs of foreign concerns in different sectors of the economy in this period were: Banking and insurance - Burma, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Pakistan (insurance), Sri Lanka (insurance), Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (banks). Syrian Arab Republic (banks), Democratic Yemen, Guinea, Madagascar, Tanzania (insurance); Petroleum companies - Argentina, Bolivia, Cuba, Peru, Uganda, Algeria, Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic, Democratic Yemen, Burma, Democratic Kampuchea, Indonesia and Sri Lanka; Mining companies - Burma, Ghana, Guinea, Zaire.

1/ Transnational Corporations in World Development: A re-examination (United Nations Sales No. E.78.II.A.5)
Morocco and Mexico; agriculture, manufacturing, trade - Burma (trade and industries), Indonesia (plantations), Peru (US sugar and agricultural estates), Egypt (business houses), Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (51% indigenization of foreign concerns), Tanzania (sisal plantations, export import houses, flour mills, etc. in the wake of the Arusha Declaration), Zambia (51% indigenization of foreign business and industries).

iii) 1970 -- : With the growing sophistication in Third World countries and the addition to the number of countries which had thrown off the colonial yoke, this period has witnessed a very rapid increase in nationalization, take-overs, joint ventures and renegotiation of traditional concessions; and Third World countries have achieved a large measure of success in exercising their economic sovereignty. The report referred to above records a total of 914 cases during the period 1970-76 with the largest number of cases in banking and insurance (216) followed by petroleum (180), agriculture (174), manufacturing (145), mining (48), public utilities (27), trade (20) and others (104). The largest number of cases were recorded in Africa south of the Sahara (467), followed by the Western Hemisphere (163), South and East Asia (161) and West Asia and North Africa (123).

Some of the countries involved in take-overs of foreign concerns in different sectors of the economy in this period were: banking and insurance - Afghanistan (banks), Bangladesh, India (insurance), Sri Lanka (banks) Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (insurance), Democratic Yemen (banks), Angola (banks), Ethiopia, Somalia (banks), Sudan, Argentina; Petroleum companies - Algeria, Iraq, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Guinea, Somalia, Uganda, Zaïre, Equador, Trinidad and Tobago, Peru, Venezuela; Mining companies - Madagascar, Mauritania, Togo, Zambia, Bolivia, Chile, Guyana, Mexico, Peru; Agriculture, manufacturing, trade - Bangladesh (industries and trade), India (plantations, indigenization of foreign manufacturing companies), Sri Lanka (plantations), Algeria (manufacturing companies), Morocco (agricultural lands), Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (trading and commercial companies, Ethiopia (manufacturing companies), Ghana (indigenization of manufacturing companies), Nigeria (indigenization of manufacturing and trading companies), Sudan (manufacturing and trading), Tanzania (plantations), Uganda (indigenization of manufacturing and plantations), Zambia (indigenization of manufacturing and trading), Guyana (sugar plantations and trading companies), Argentina (trade, manufacturing), Chile (manufacturing), Mexico (manufacturing), Peru (manufacturing).

III. THE EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH NATIONAL LEGISLATION

National legislation relating to foreign direct investment can play a key role in solving the dilemma of Third World countries on how to obtain the capital and technology they require for their development plans without sacrificing sovereignty over their national resources.

Since the end of World War II, the flow of direct investment into the Third World from TNCs headquartered in the USA, Western Europe and Japan increased very rapidly and their local affiliates became the main source of both capital and technology. However, since investment decisions of TNCs
are made within an overall strategy to maximize their total income and since the parent company exercises control over the conduct of its affiliates' business, it has been necessary for the host country to control these operations to ensure that not only do they suit the needs of the TNCs but also contribute to the achievement of the host country's economic objectives.

In order to exercise sovereignty through their national legislation, Third World countries have:

i) Close certain sectors of their economies to foreign direct investment:
   Defense, arms and ammunition (e.g. Ghana, Kenya, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Algeria, Argentina); Communication industries - press, TV and broadcasting (e.g. Kenya, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Egypt, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Argentina, Brazil Mexico); Power generation, public utilities and services (e.g. Colombia, Ghana, Kenya, India, Indonesia, Pakistan); Wholesale and retail trade (e.g. Colombia, Ghana, Kenya, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya); Banking (e.g. India, Indonesia, Egypt, Tunisia, Brazil); Petroleum (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico); Certain basic industries.

ii) Assigned to state enterprises the commanding role in basic production and services of certain critical sectors of the economy: e.g. steel production in India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico, aluminium, cement, fertilizers and petrochemicals in several countries.

iii) Instituted provisions to prevent take-overs of domestic enterprises by foreign concerns: e.g. Colombia, Mexico, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Republic of Korea.

iv) Restricted foreign capital to minority holdings in certain sectors of the economy: Some countries state that domestic ownership should not generally be less than 51% (e.g. Colombia, Mexico, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria).

v) Laid down rules for the divestment of foreign holdings: e.g. the Andean Common Market Regulations which lay down that all new foreign investment projects shall agree to reduce progressively their foreign equity ownership to 49% within 15-20 years, depending on the country; the Foreign Exchange Regulations in India, 1976; the Enterprise Promotion Decree in Nigeria, 1977.

vi) Designed policies and institutional programmes both to regulate and screen foreign technology and know-how and to develop indigenous technological capacity: e.g. screening by governmental agencies in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, the Andean Group countries.

There have, however, been cases in which new governments have reversed the policies of their predecessors, embarking on programmes of de-nationalization or adopting policies to attract foreign investment. In Asia and the Far East, the example of Sri Lanka may be quoted. Here, since the present
Government took power in 1977, the earlier more restrictive attitude to foreign capital has been replaced by a very liberal attitude. Foreign investment is welcomed - especially in the tourist industry, off-shore and deep fishing and the processing of fish products. The Government has pushed ahead with the establishment of a free trade zone and introduced special safeguards for foreign investment in the new constitution.

In Latin America, there is the classic case of Chile, where the Pinochet Government overturned the nationalization programme of the Allende Government and returned to private foreign investors many of the companies which had been nationalized. Under the new Foreign Investment Law - Decree Law 600 of 1977 - almost all restrictions on foreign investment were removed. There are now no indigenization policy and no restrictions on take-overs by foreign companies. In Argentina too, the Foreign Investment Law 1976 has repealed most of the restrictions imposed under regulations adopted in 1973. There is now no longer any sector which is closed to foreign investment and no indigenization policy. However, Government authorization is required before a foreign company can take over a local company.

In the case of North Africa and the Middle East, the most obvious case is Egypt. After many years of an almost totally closed and State-controlled economy, Egypt has been opened up to foreign investment through Law 43 of 1974 which introduced the new open door policy. This law also allows foreign investors to set up free zone industries in Port Said, Suez, Cairo and Alexandria in return for a minimal tax on annual operations. The law was amended in 1977 to ease the foreign exchange problems created by Egypt's two-tier foreign exchange system. Priority for foreign investment is given in projects which add to Egyptian technology, promote exports, encourage tourism or reduce the need to import basic commodities. Oil and gas exploration has attracted 26 companies. Banking, the open door's most conspicuous sector, has brought some 60 foreign banks to Cairo.

IV CONCLUSION: PROGRESS IN INDEPENDENT MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF NATIONAL RESOURCES

In analysing the effectiveness of the actions taken by Third World countries to assert sovereignty over their national resources, a number of factors have to be taken into account - the extent of real control exercised by the country over national resources and the progress that has been made in the various sectors of the economy.

Since the question at issue is the exercise of sovereignty, it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between ownership and control. Ownership, by itself, does not ensure sovereignty. Where control is left in foreign hands whether it be in companies where majority ownership is in the hands of nationals of the country, or management agreements relating to nationalized industries or renegotiated concessions, this cannot be said to guarantee sovereignty and indeed the experience of many Third World countries seems to indicate that joint ventures tend to give ownership rather than control. In practice, foreign firms frequently exercise considerable control over joint ventures, even when their equity holdings provide them with only a
minority of voting rights. Day to day management is often their responsibility and the need for technical know-how and expertise and continual technological change in production processes may allow the foreign investor to retain de facto control. Thus, as long as the foreign company continues to manage the undertaking, experience has shown that there has been little change in the location of control in the decision-making process.  

In the field of petroleum production, Third World countries have made significant advances in obtaining majority ownership of the foreign-controlled companies operating in their countries, by a combination of renegotiations of traditional concessions, take-overs and nationalization. As a result of these take-overs many oil producing countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Ecuador, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Kuwait have now acquired either 100% or majority equity interest in the petroleum companies operating in their respective countries. Foreign investment in production is now wholly or largely excluded in Brazil, Mexico and India. During the period 1969-71, partial or complete expropriation of original concessionaires took place in Algeria, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Bolivia and Peru. There has been a continuing trend towards the take-over of the petroleum marketing sector which is now largely or wholly excluded from the largest markets - Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and India. There is a total monopoly of new exploration operations in Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Afghanistan, Burma, India and Sri Lanka. Third World countries are also determined to break into downstream activities of refining, transport and the petrochemical industry. Today, for example, all refining of petroleum products in Indonesia is carried out by the state-owned Pertamina which owns and operates seven major refineries throughout the country. In recent years Third World countries have used the leverage of natural resources to gain participation in international shipping and a gradual evolution towards preference for local shipping. For example, under the new Shell International Trading Co. agreement with Kuwait in 1978, Shell has agreed to a long-term charter of one of Kuwait's tankers if qualifications on prices and fittings are met.

Notable examples of nationalization in the mining field are those of the copper mines in Zaire (1966-67), the copper mines in Chile under the Allende Government (1971), the iron ore mines in Venezuela (1974) and the chromite mines in Madagascar (1976). The renegotiation of existing contractual arrangements, many of which were concluded under colonial regimes, reflect the growing sophistication of Third World countries in developing basic abilities to exercise control over their national resources. At the beginning of 1968, foreign companies still dominated most of the large extractive industries in Latin America - nearly all of these have now been taken over. Again, countries such as Ghana, Sierra Leone and Zambia now have a majority equity position in the mining operations, while other countries like Papua-New Guinea, Jamaica, Surinam, the Dominican Republic and Haiti have realized a higher return from mining operations by revising the fiscal regime of the mining agreements or by both measures, i.e. the stipulation of economic linkage and the conclusion of new contractual arrangements.

* Ed. note: See Ilunga Ilunkamba, Vers la demystification de la nouvelle magie blanche: le cas de l'industrie zaïroise du cuivre (IFDA Dossier 7).
Considerable progress has been made by country members of the International Council of Copper Exporting Countries (CIPEC) - Chile, Peru, Zaïre and Zambia. Until the mid-1960s all their copper production facilities had been wholly owned subsidiaries of the large international copper companies. For example, in the case of Chile the affiliates of two US-owned firms - the Anaconda Co. and the Kennecott Copper Corp. dominated Chile's copper mining industry. The big mining companies - the "Gran Minera" - produced from 85 to 90% of Chile's copper. In 1971, the Allende Government nationalized these companies. Other successful operations include Zaïre's nationalization of Union Minière de Haute Katanga (1966-67), the 51% participation by Zambia in the two major foreign copper companies in 1969 (Roan Selection Trust and the Anglo-American Corporation) and greater Government involvement in the management and control of the Government-owned copper marketing company in 1973. In Chile, after the fall of the Allende Government, the new Government did not denationalize the companies but paid them compensation in 1974. Peru, in 1974, nationalized the US Cerro Corporation. Thus by 1974 all major copper exporting countries had established national control over their natural resources.

The bauxite producing countries were also able, over the years, to improve considerably both the terms of mining contracts and acquire larger shares in the equity of the foreign-owned companies. Moreover, Jamaica was able to negotiate a deal with a large aluminium producer to ensure that 50% of the tonnage exported each year must be shipped in vessels registered in Jamaica, provided appropriate ships were available and competitive.

In Mexico, in the mining sector "Mexicanization" had a great success. During the 1950s between 80 and 90% of the country's output of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc and antimony were in the hands of US-controlled enterprises. Again, 100% of Mexico's sulphur, bismuth, cadmium and arsenic were mined by US affiliates. After the "Mexicanization" of major US-controlled mining and smelting enterprises, 98% of the value of Mexico's mining production at the end of 1973 originated in nationally controlled enterprises.

Considerable progress has been made in the nationalization of banking and insurance companies. The catalogue shows the large number of Third World countries that have been active in this field. It is in this area that the exercise of sovereignty is of key importance. It should, however, be mentioned that nationalization of insurance has related mainly to retail insurance activities. Reinsurance has in most cases been left untouched.

Foreign control of tea, coffee, cocoa and rubber plantations in the Third World was almost 100% at the end of World War II. In India, for example, in the mid-1950s, 80% of acreage under tea was foreign (mainly British) controlled - the bulk in Northern India. Between 1955-61, slightly under 1/10 of foreign controlled tea changed hands. All tea processing factories were foreign controlled as late as 1960. Two British firms - Liptons (a Unilever concern) and Brooke Bond handled 85% of retail distribution within India and the tea export trade was very much a British monopoly. One third of the coffee acreage and three-fifths of the rubber acreage was foreign controlled. As a result of the amendment to the Foreign Exchange Regulation
Act, a number of plantation companies will now have to cede 60% of their equity to Indian owners. In Sri Lanka even as late as 1970, Agency houses - mainly British - managed 47% of tea acreage, 21% of rubber acreage and accounted for 62% of tea export trade and 27% of the rubber export trade. Before the massive take-over of estates in 1975, 30% of the tea estates and 12% of rubber plantations were owned by foreign companies - mainly British. The hold of Tate & Lyle over sugar is still very strong in a number of Third World countries. In Indonesia, the major rubber estates are still run by American firms such as Goodyear and Uniroyal as well as other foreign interests. Thus progress in this field is slow.

As far as processing and marketing of raw materials is concerned, these, as described below, continue to be dominated by foreign concerns.

Petroleum producers have been forerunners in the host countries' drive for increased processing. As early as 1968, the OPEC Declaratory Statement of Petroleum Policy in Member Countries called for continuous pressure on TNCs to participate in downstream activities in host countries. The International Bauxite Association also emphasizes downstream integration. Some progress towards downstream integration has been achieved through intensive pressure for: the indigenization of technical management; the creation of effective state enterprises; and appropriate research and training institutions. Other measures include: taxation policies (e.g. the 1971 General Mining Law of Peru guaranteed tax stability to mining companies which set up or expanded processing facilities of a given capacity); levying of export duties and imposition of export quotas on unprocessed raw materials; and the requirement that extracting companies supply raw materials to companies engaged in local processing.

While in the 1960s processing was reflected in contractual agreements only in a vague declaration of intent, later agreements were more precise and set a time limit of 10 to 15 years. In modern, more sophisticated contracts, the government's right to obtain processing is sanctioned by financial penalties, the right to terminate the agreement or by the granting of financial incentives that depend on the establishment of processing capacities and which must be repaid in case such projects fail. In Jamaica, a TNC participating in a joint venture committed itself to purchase the output of the Government-operated processing plant. In Bolivia, Comibol - the State enterprise - has established its own smelters to free itself from smelters located in industrialized countries owned by nationalized TNCs.

Despite the progress that has been achieved, however, the major share of downstream stages of resource-based activities remains in the consuming industrialized countries.

In a number of Third World countries where control over specific commodities has passed to domestic enterprises - public or private (e.g. copper, petroleum, iron ore, bananas), the marketing of such products is frequently carried out by the same TNCs which used to control production. More recently, some Third World countries have broken into international marketing through state-owned corporations (e.g. Comibol in Bolivia and CVRD in Brazil).
However, these enterprises still face great difficulties in reaping the benefits of downstream integration as long as the existing barriers prevent effective market-entry into the advanced stages of raw material industries. In some major minerals (iron ore, bauxite) hardly any market exists for extracted or semi-processed minerals outside the established channels of trade.

There has been a rising trend in the acquisition of majority shareholdings in many foreign manufacturing companies which provide Third World countries with the capital and technological know-how required for industrialization whether in the form of import substitution or, to a lesser extent, in export-oriented industries. While a large number of manufacturing industries have been taken over, food products, beverages, textiles and apparel, leather and foot-wear and basic metals account for a large proportion of takings. On the other hand, in certain fields the influence of foreign companies far from diminishing has indeed expanded. In many Third World countries the largest penetration has taken place in pharmaceuticals, chemicals and the machinery industry. For example, the foreign-controlled share of the sales of the pharmaceutical industry in 1975 in a number of countries was as follows: Saudi Arabia 100%; Venezuela 88%; Brazil 85%; Indonesia 85%; Mexico 82%; India 80%; Iran 75%; Argentina 70%.

Third World countries appear to have secured a greater measure of ownership and control in foreign firms operating in the traditional raw materials sector than in those in downstream processing, marketing, distribution, and export. In the case of the manufacturing sector there has been widespread local participation. However, industries like drugs, chemicals and plastics, which are relatively research intensive and globally integrated, are areas where domestic control has not yet been so effective. Marketing and trading of commodities continue to be dominated by foreign interests.

Thus, the struggle to assert sovereignty and economic independence is by no means over. However, there is no doubting the determination of Third World countries to change the international order to improve their unequal bargaining position in the area of the transfer of technology, marketing and export, so that they will be in a position to exercise real sovereignty and direct the economic development of their countries.
BUILDING BLOCKS

FISHERIES IN ASIA - PEOPLE, PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by Okada Osamu, Onishi Mutsuo, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, Yamaka Junko

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Abstract: The paper analyses the transformation of Asian fisheries due to large-scale Japanese fishing operations, particularly in South-East Asia and the Pacific. The increasing problems and hardships in the livelihood of Asian fishing people (fish marketing, middlemen, impact of domestic industrialization, motivations and strategies of Japanese expansion, offshore production for exports) and the roles of the Japanese government as well as of international organizations in the deteriorating prospects of Asian fishing peoples are discussed. The paper concludes with a series of policy recommendations, aimed at the needs of Asian fishing peoples and at the problem of ecological equilibrium, which concern coastal and deep sea fishing, industrial growth, foreign enterprises and distribution, and the role of intergovernmental agencies.

LA PÊCHE EN ASIE : PROBLÈMES HUMAINS ET RECOMMANDATIONS

Résumé: Cet article analyse la transformation de la pêche en Asie qui a résulté des opérations massives du Japon, notamment en Asie du Sud-Est et dans le Pacifique. Il examine les problèmes croissants et la détérioration du niveau de vie des pêcheurs de la région (commercialisation, intermédiaires, impact de l’industrialisation domestique); les motivations et les stratégies de l’expansion japonaise (entreprises communes, production 'offshore' pour l’exportation); et le rôle du gouvernement japonais et des organisations internationales dans l’aggravation de la situation des pêcheurs. L’article se termine par une série de recommandations pratiques, tendant à la satisfaction des besoins des pêcheurs et au maintien de l’équilibre écologique, et portant sur la pêche côtière et en haute mer, la croissance industrielle, les entreprises étrangères et la commercialisation aussi bien que sur le rôle des organisations intergouvernementales.

Resumen en español en la página 16 (46).
Okada Osamu, Onishi Mutsuo, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki and Yamaka Junko*/

FISHERIES IN ASIA - PEOPLE, PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Southeast Asian fisheries and their problems

On February 16, 1979, fishing people in Goa, India, resorted to direct action against trawlers. They captured two trawlers and set fire to them. They have been protesting over the past few years against the trawlers which had begun to operate near their coasts, devastating their traditional fishing-grounds. The local government, supportive of the fishing entrepreneurs who had sent trawlers into this area cracked down on those protesting. The fishing people's anger exploded at last in February as their catch continued to decrease.

This is a confrontation between the capital-intensive fishing industry and the traditional small fishing people. This type of confrontation is not unique to Goa. It exists to differing degrees, between capital-intensive fisheries and large number of small and coastal fishing people to India (6.5 million) and Southeast Asia (20 to 25 million), accounting for about 10 per cent of the population of this region of the world.

These fisherpeople constitute a poor population. In Malaysia, 63 per cent of the country's 90,500 exclusively fishing families are classified as "poor families" with an income of MS$1,115 a year as compared with the average farmer's $1,964. In Thailand, 70% of the 300,000 fishing families are small fisherpeople whose family income is 6,000 Baht (US$ 300) annually.

But this does not mean that the fishing industry in these countries is inactive. On the contrary, the local fish catch is increasing.

This gap is explained by the rapid "modernization" of Southeast Asian fishing industry.

The modernization process involves several aspects: 1) local and foreign entrepreneurs have found shrimps and pawn fishing exceedingly profitable and rushed to modernize their fishing gear to increase their catch for export; 2) the governments have begun to promote modernization of fishing to increase export and thereby earn foreign exchange. While the need to raise locally supplied protein is mentioned, the rapid development of fishing industry in these countries (as well as in the Southern Pacific Islands) is motivated commercially with fish considered more as export commodities than a source of protein.

Japan has a special role to play in this process. After the designation of

*/ Pacific-Asia Resources Center, Japan.

1/ An abridged version of a more extensive paper under the same title.
200 nautical mile economic zones, Japan, deprived of its fishing grounds in many parts of the world, has begun to arrive in the form of joint ventures and other forms. The forms vary in accordance to countries: in Thailand with relatively developed local fisheries, Japanese firms mainly purchase import products (shrimps mainly) and in Indonesia lacking local capital despite rich resources, Japan favors joint ventures.

The advance of foreign ventures and the growth of profit-motivated local fishing business have pressured the local traditional fisheries of small fisherpeople, instead of making them better off.

Aside from these external factors, the traditional social structure, especially the control of distribution by middlemen, has increased the sufferings of small fisherpeople especially as commercialization of fish proceeded.

Fisheries is becoming a pursuit requiring more and more investments as it is modernized. Facilities for fish landing, preservation and transport have to be included in the government economic development programs, and needed funds are largely introduced from foreign sources, i.e. Japanese government financial agencies as well as international agencies.

The fisheries modernization goes hand in hand with the (export-oriented) industrial development programs of these countries, which again are heavily lopsided toward the export manufacturing sector. One of the most serious consequences of these industrialization programs is the disruption of coastline environment and pollution of water, fatal to fishing.

The fishery situations of the countries we are going to outline differ greatly, and so not all fisherpeople there are suffering from the same kinds of plights. But their voices are not heard in most of these countries as they remain unorganized and local political situations are severe. In some places such as Goa (India), Kuala Juru (Malaysia) and some parts of the Philippines, the small fishing people have organized themselves and raised their voices.

So far, their voices have been clearly communicated from a small but important occasion, the Asian Small Fishermen's Workshop, held in May, 1978, in Bangkok under the joint auspices of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development and FAO, where fisherpeople from Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Japan met for the first time among themselves. The common problems they identified are as follows: 1) the destruction of traditional coastal fishing by uncontrolled trawler fishing; 2) the excessive exploitation by middlemen and other intermediaries; 3) the environmental destruction and pollution of traditional fishing grounds by big business corporations; 4) the policies of various governments to give priority to large-scale capital-intensive fishing and to disregard the interests of small fishing people and 5) the poverty of fishing people caused by the above.
2. Several aspects of the life of Asian fisherpeople

a) Fish marketing and middlemen

Exploitation by middlemen is one of the most conspicuous phenomena meeting visiting researchers' eyes. The middleman operates speculation on fish and engage in usury by advancing funds not only for fishing gear but also to buy consumer goods including food and housing. They have also monopoly over the fish catch. According to John Kurian who researched this subject, for every 100 rupees worth of fish bought by consumers in Kerala, only Rs. 34 reaches the original fishermen (1973). The tendency is for the middlemen to favor bulk trade so that small fisherpeople are now excluded from the market in a series of countries including the Philippines. In the case of fish marketing at Navotas, Manila, the Navotas Fish Landing and Market Authority (MAFILMA) has a complex marketing channel. At each of the stages of fish transfer, commission money as indicated is collected. The export goes through more intricate processes of intermediaries.

b) Domestic industrialization vs. fisheries

Japan presents the most typical case of the utter destruction of coastal fishing grounds by the buildup of industrial projects. During our survey trip, we saw and heard of similar things occurring in Southeast Asia. Because of the industrial development policies and programs promoted by the governments of these countries, many coastal fishing people are driven out of their fishing villages, and fishing grounds (including inland) in many parts have been destroyed due to pollution caused by effluent from industries. And in many cases, the factories, the sources of pollution, are Japan-based. They are cases of "export pollution" by those firms which have been driven out of Japan.

Malaysia

Kuala Juru in Malaysia is the victim of an industrial estate called Perai Industrial Estate whose construction began in 1971. The fishing village at the mouth of the river Juru was first hit in 1968, by the construction of a bridge which dammed the river, but by the end of 1975, 40 factories including Toray in the estate began to pollute the water with toxic water including mercury, lead and cadmium. The fish in the river were almost all killed. The villagers made undaunted protest against the government and some steps were taken to regulate flow of industrial wastes, but the fish did not return.

The Environmental Quality Act of 1974, Malaysia, provides for maximum fine of $25,000 to factories found guilty of polluting the environment. But this Act merely exists on paper. There are many other cases of industrial pollution that threatens the livelihood of fishermen: Batu Pahat (Feb. 1974) and Sungai Simpang Kiri, polluted by effluents of rubber and palm oil factories and weed killers, affecting Semagat area fishermen; Kuala Lumpur (June, 1975) where indiscriminate land clearing and tin-mine effluents affected fisherpeople and residents; Sungai Petani (Jan., 1976) which is a case of pollution by effluents from rubber factories affecting over 300 fishermen; Pualu Aman (August, 1977) where aquatic lives were destroyed by
pollutants from factories in Penang and Prai industrial estates.

**Indonesia**

In Indonesia, there are many reported cases of industrial pollution affecting local fisheries. One of them occurred at Samarang, Central Java where local fishermen's shrimp and banden culture was destroyed with waste water from Semarang Diamond Chemical Co., a joint venture by Mitsubishi Corp. and a local firm.

**Thailand**

In Thailand, Thai Asahi Caustic Soda, a joint Thai-Japanese venture, making caustic soda and chlorine products, since it opened its factory on the Chao Phraya River 27 miles from Bangkok, has been polluting the river water with caustic soda, hydrochloric acid and mercury. (Asahi Glass is a Mitsubishi group firm).

Generally, the fish catch in the Gulf of Thailand has been reduced by some 150,000 tons due to overfishing and industrial pollution, according to a report by Secretary General of SEAFDEC.

**Philippines**

The Manila Bay area in the Philippines has already been polluted by industrial wastes to the detriment of small fishermen's interest. Also, the bay reclamation work now under way for highway construction is directly affecting fisherpeople, among others, the 1,000 villagers of San Dionisio near Manila, who are being deprived of their fishing grounds. In Mariveles, Bataan, in the Philippines, the Bataan Export Processing Zone is in operation. This part of the Manila Bay used to be a fertile fishing ground for the local fisherpeople. The BEPZ, which cropped up, caused sudden population concentration, expelling fisherpeople from their places. They now have to venture to farther fishing grounds, which means additional expenses (use of more gasoline, oil and quick wearing out of engines). Man-hours have trebled.

These are only a few cases illustrating the conflict between industrialization and the fisheries. Similar situations are arising wherever industrial development changes socio-economic and environmental configuration of localities. We have seen that wherever such industrial development proceeds, there is no concern over environmental destruction and the livelihood of the local people, especially small fishing people, is ignored.

3. Japanese fisheries expansion

a) Motivations

The situation of the oceans of the world is rapidly changing with competition among big powers for natural resources extended to marine resources. The 200 nautical mile system, devised first by Third World countries as their legitimate means of protection, is now working to legalize the division of the sea by these big powers which can easily penetrate the economic zones
of other countries which have but poor fishing technology and fishing
gear and fail to fully utilize their own fishing resources.

Meanwhile the governments of Southeast Asia (and Pacific countries) are
emphasizing fisheries development, with a view to 1) increased supply of
domestically produced protein, and 2) obtaining more foreign exchange by
fish exports. Especially when the emphasis is on the second point, the
program usually puts priority on the type of fishing which has a high inter-
national market value such as shrimp trawling and tuna long-lining as well
as on industrial projects related to fishing but unrelated to indigenous
fishing. Taking advantage of this development, Japanese fisheries capital
has been attempting to expand rapidly into these areas.

Explaining the motivations of Japanese fisheries advance overseas, Dainippon
Suisankai, a major association of private fishing companies, described the
objective of setting up fishing joint ventures as "securing the sales right".
The motivations of private fishing firms in Japan to set up overseas joint
ventures are set out in the following extremely frank manner in one of the
publications of the association: 1) labor -- the labor is cheap and abundant,
but with low productivity; 2) transport cost -- cheap, but inefficient;
3) land acquisition -- easy and cheap; 4) environmental problems -- not as
strict as in Japan; 5) resources -- abundant, unutilized, undeveloped; and
6) availability of many-sided development/import of marine products.

Not only these private firms but also the Japanese government is active
through its national policy of overseas fisheries development cooperation
or assistance.

b) "Development/import" strategy

"Development/import" is the new Japanese fishery strategy adopted to cope
with the new international fishing situation of 200 mile economic zone.
The strategy involves "development" of non-industrialized countries' fishing
by Japanese parent companies, in exchange for "importing" the resultant
increased catch to Japan. This strategy is implemented through 1) joint
ventures; 2) purchase contracts; and 3) payment for fishing rights.

Joint ventures in Indonesia

Joint ventures are concentrated on Indonesia. As of 1978, 21 Japanese joint
fishing ventures secured Indonesian presidential approval for investment,
and Japan's major fisheries such as Taiyo Fisheries Co. (Taiyo), Nippon
Suisan (Nissui), Nichiro Gyogyo as well as major trading firms including
Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Tomen, Nissho-Iwai and Marubeni, have invested here.

Offering capital, technology and offshore gear as well as freezing and
processing facilities for export products, Japan's major fishing and trading
companies have built their bases in Sorong in Irian, Kota Baru in South
Kalimantan, Ujung Pandang in South Sulawesi, Ambong in Ceram Islands, etc.
Their offices are all in Jakarta. The giant trading firms also made joint
investment with fisheries firms. The ratio of investment is generally 80
to 20 for Japan and local partners, respectively, and amounts of investment
range from $1 million to $6.5 million (top being P.T. West Irian Fishing Industries (WIFI)). Alongside, trading firms such as Sumitomo and Tomen operate large-scale purchasing and freezing activities exclusively for export. The main products they handle are prawns. In the management, there are usually 4 Japanese to 1 Indonesian.

The check price of frozen shrimp has been rising rapidly: US$2,000/ton in 1971; US$2,500 in 1972; US$3,000 in 1974; US$4,000 in 1977; and US$6,000 in 1978. The catch of the WIFI in 1978 is said to have exceeded 1,000 tons/year; therefore, its sales must be over US$6 million. The catch of P.T. Misaja Mitra was 100 tons in 1969 when it began operation, but it jumped to 1,000 tons in 1977, ten-fold, and 1,500 tons in 1978. As for facilities and ships, P.T. Misantara Fishery is equipped with a refrigerator with the capacity of 100 tons, and 7 fishing boats 135 to 300 tons. WIFI is equipped with a refrigerator with the capacity of 200 tons; P.T. Irian Marine Product Development (IMPD), in which Nissui is investing in addition to WIFI, is equipped with two 100 to 300 ton-level fishing boats and one refrigerator of 200 ton capacity; P.T. Mina Kartika, with 15 boats of 100 to 300 tons. Some companies have boats with onboard processing facilities and the others have onshore processing facilities stationed at their bases.

Sumitomo Shoji's joint venture, Central Java Marine Products Co. (CEJAMP), with its main office in Semarang, Central Java, is undertaking a shrimp processing and exporting business with a cold storage capacity of 400 tons. CEJAMP set up a national subsidiary company for fishing activities off Irian, which is equipped with 5 fishing boats of over 100 tons. One boat goes fishing for nearly 100 days per trip, taking one week to get to the operation area from Semarang. Then it will engage trawling for 40 days; stop at Ambon for supply; and continue operation again for another 40 days before going back to Semarang. When going to Ambon, trash fish will be stored, since there is storage space, and will be sold at the Ambon local market when it stops there. But on the way back, the storage is full of the more profitable shrimp, and the trash fish caught will be just dumped into the sea. Sumitomo financed the capital for setting up this subsidiary. The captains and chief engineers are all Japanese. At the large cold storage and the processing plant, about 400 local people are employed. The crew of the subsidiary's fishing boats is about 100. The minimum wage is said to be Rp. 300/day. The export amount is 1,200 to 1,500 tons/year and its sales are about $10 million.

Having heard about the P.T. Toyo Fishing Industry Company Indonesia (TOFICO) in Surabaya, East Java, a joint venture of Toyo Menka Kaisha, we visited there, but it turned out to be an Indonesian company called Sukr Bumi, to which Tomen is supposed to be giving technical guidance and assistance. Its management is totally under Tomen, and the capital must have been financed by Tomen. This company is engaging in the shrimp export business, from purchase, to freezing, to processing and export. Its 1978 transactions are said to have amounted to 600 tons. In the case of such a large-sized export business, local fish brokers collect shrimp directly at a landing market and deliver them to the company. The number of employees of Sukr Bumi is 250 to 300 including part-time workers, mostly women. The working hours are from 8 to 4, and the daily wage is about Rp. 400. If the amount of
delivery is small, the work finishes early. Since the amount of work is unstable, there are a high percentage of part-time workers. In contrast, salary of a high school graduate office worker is said to be Rp. 60,000/month, and when the overtime allowance is added, it will become about Rp. 100,000, which enables him to lead a life with a TV set and Honda motorcycle.

The facilities (onshore) of both Sumitomo's CEJAMP in Semarang and Tomen's plant in Surabaya are highly modernized. They use water abundantly, giving one the feeling of cleanliness. It is natural that a number of local small-scale shrimp processing plants, which have small capital, cannot compete with joint ventures which are supported by giant capital. (The shrimp peeling factory we visited in Thailand was a small wooden hut-like building in which about 30 women and children were working squatting on the floor.)

The Nippon Keizai Shimbun of July 18, 1979 reported that Taiyo decided to set up a joint venture, deep sea tuna long-lining operation in Indonesia with Indonesian P.T. Perikanan Sam Dora Busal (PSB). PSB is a major fishing company in Indonesia, owning nearly 20 fishing vessels of 20 to 300 tons, and fishing tuna. It has been exporting 1,000 to 1,500 tons of tuna to Taiyo, while Taiyo has provided technical guidance to PSB, sending experts. (It seems to be the same tuna fishing development project to which the Japanese government contributed 2.8 million yen in 1970, as a part of Japan's economic cooperation with Indonesia.) According to Nippon Keizai Shimbun, Taiyo decided to set up a joint venture "because it can secure Indonesian cheap crude oil for fuel" The high cost of fuel is one of the recent problems of Japan's deep sea fishing, and the paper said, "the joint venture for tuna long-lining in Indonesia is worth noticing, since it shows a future direction for Japan's deep sea fishing in the time of high fuel cost".

What kind of impact is this Japanese fisheries expansion into Indonesia having on the country?

According to the regulations stipulated in the Foreign Investment Law, 1) a joint venture should not conflict with local fishermen; 2) with regard to transfer of technology, after 2 years of operation, 80% of the workers should be Indonesian; 3) as for the transfer of equity, initially the local partner's investment should be not less than 20%, in 5 years, the national portion should become 40%, and in 10 years, 50% and in 15 years, 100%.

Concerning the relationship with local fisherpeople, there seems to be little conflict, at least not directly, due to the difference in scale and area of operation. It is also said that joint ventures help promote local employment. The problem is, however, that such large-scale fishing for the purpose of export and profits will not limit itself to its own business, but it will turn the local fishing into a monoculture, and eventually control even the local marketing system. (The modern fishing gear, fishing vessels, base port, and freezing/processing facilities require an enormous amount of money, but the huge returns encourage the investment.) For instance, the growth of shrimp export has increased the price of shrimp and made it impossible for local people to eat shrimp. It was said in Malaysia that,
due to the rise in the price of shrimp, the manufacturers of shrimp paste (a common and favorite food for a long time) were forced out of business. This is an example of people's cheap food being victimized by large scale fishery operations.

Offshore production bases in South Pacific

Pacific Islands are mostly newly independent countries with the legacy of colonial domination in the form of monoculture. They are surrounded by very good fishing grounds, but their local fisheries center mainly upon subsistence type fishing inside their corral reefs. There also, Japanese joint ventures are active, using the islands as their fishing bases.

In Fiji, C. Itoh and Co. has a cannery called PAFCO and in Solomon Islands Taiyo fisheries is operating a powerful monopoly fishing firm, Solomon Taiyo, as a joint venture.

C. Itoh built the cannery in 1967 at the government's request. The firm is now producing 30 tons of canned fish and 12 tons of fishmeal a day, and exporting 98% of the canned fish mainly to Canada and the U.K. In 1977, the export totalled $11 million, fish being the second largest export item of Fiji following sugar. The firm plans to increase the export to $20 million by 1980.

Fiji has its state fishing corporation IKA Corp. founded in 1975 for the development of skipjack fishing. The director of the Fishing Bureau of the Fiji government is managing director of IKA, and the president of PAFCO (a Japanese) is also on the executive board of IKA. (IKA operates four fishing boats and will have two more soon; 60% of the crew of IKA ships are Fijians, but from 1979, when new boats are added, the crew will consist of 135 Fijians and 30 Japanese.)

IKA exists to supply all catch to PAFCO. PAFCO may be performing certain positive roles as it provides job opportunities and as its canned fish export brings in foreign exchange to Fiji. But in exchange, all fish caught by Fiji's state fishing corporation has to be supplied to PAFCO. which means that IKA does not supply any fish to Fiji people. Mr. Ochi, a Japanese officer of FAO and president of IKA, put it bluntly: "Tuna is too expensive for local people to buy."

Solomon Taiyo is a dominant presence in Solomon Islands whose neighborhood is one of the world's best fishing grounds. In 1971, Taiyo started test operations and in 1973 established Solomon Taiyo Co. as a joint venture with the government of Solomon Islands.

At the outset, the joint venture was capitalized at A$500,000, 25% of which was provided by the Solomon government and the rest by Taiyo Fisheries. In 1978, following the independence of Solomon Islands, the capital was augmented to SI$1,000,000, the composition also changing to 49% and 51% for the government and Taiyo. Solomon Taiyo holds the exclusive right to fish tuna and skipjack near the islands.
Solomon Taiyo operates 20 fishing boats, half of them on charter from Okinawa. The fish catch at the outset was 4,165 tons, but it increased to 10,300 tons in 1977. All the fish catch shown in Solomon Islands’ statistics is Solomon Taiyo’s.

Solomon Taiyo has only six Japanese staff, and employs about 700 local workers.

These workers live in extremely isolated locations. The Tulagi fishing base we visited is accessible only by once-a-day amphibious plane. The workers there are living in bunk rooms with bare concrete floors devoid of any furniture but beds. Japanese live in handsome houses up on the hill equipped with video cassette systems. The local workers are paid $1.50 - 2.00 per day for a work-day of eight hours. They are usually served rice with some fish flakes. They are young men brought up in the Melanesian culture characterized by strong communal ties, but are now severed from their communities to live in seclusion on an island without any amenities of life.

Produce of this base is supplied dominantly for export (75% to the U.S., Samoa, Puerto Rico and Japan) and 15 per cent is canned and shipped to Europe. Only 1% goes to local consumption.

Solomon Taiyo with its monopoly over the local fishing is so strong in orienting the future course of that country that a Taiyo officer attributed Solomon Islands’ independence to his firm’s efforts. Japanese fishing business praises Solomon Taiyo as an ideal case of overseas investment conforming to the local needs.

But the Solomon government officials, whom we interviewed, were not altogether satisfied with Taiyo’s role. While they expect Taiyo to conduct technological training for local workers, the firm actually has done little in this area. Solomon Islands in the future has the intention of nationalizing this firm, and wants to have enough experts of its own by that time. Technological transfer is totally neglected, according to them.

On the part of the local workers, there are many grievances: they suffer from communication gaps with Japanese managers and Okinawan fishermen. Solomon Taiyo also has caused troubles with local coastal fishing people by catching baitfish in the atoll waters.

The influence of Taiyo is even over National Fishery Development, Ltd., a state-run company, which was established recently for a purpose of supplying fish to Solomon Taiyo, through pole-and-line skipjack fishing. It is located next to Solomon Taiyo in Tulagi, and is now building skipjack fishing vessels of 50 ton level (the company plans to build 10 vessels in 5 years). Although it is said to be a state-run company, Solomon Taiyo is also investing in the company: it is therefore, a grandchild company for Taiyo Fisheries Co.

Last year, a fishing agreement was signed by the Japanese and Solomon Islands governments which prohibited fishing by Japanese fishing boats in the 12 nautical mile territorial waters of Solomon Islands. But this clause has no
meaning at all since Solomon Taiyo is already inside the country as a local venture having the full right to operate within the territorial waters.

We have examined only two cases of Japanese fishing ventures operating in the South Pacific region. But these two instances, both typical, give rise to several questions and doubts about the Japanese presence in the region.

It is true that C. Itoh's cannery and Solomon Taiyo have become mainstay industries in the region serving to improve the international payments positions of the countries involved. It may also be argued that their presence has, if slightly, increased local job opportunities.

But fact remains that after all local fishing resources are flowing out of the countries concerned through the operation of the Japanese joint ventures. Also, the operation of the Japanese fishing companies never lead to the development of the local fishing industry and the development of local fishing technology. At the moment, tuna and skipjack are caught plentifully even to the degree that the prices of canned tuna and skipjack are dropping drastically in Japan. But are the Japanese firms paying attention to the preservation of local resources? Are they going to stay in the South Pacific even after their rampant operations have exhausted local fish resources, or when local workers, by uniting, successfully obtain improved working conditions to the detriment of their high profitability?

Japanese fishing businessmen and the government are taking one step after another in order to penetrate the 200 mile economic zones.

In the Kingdom of Tonga, Japan built a $5,000,000 marine culture center equipped with modern facilities under its assistance program. Tonga is still under feudal rule, and suffers from a far larger income gap between rich and poor than exists in other South Pacific countries. The people there are generally poor. The shining marine culture center, costing enormously for maintenance alone has very little to do with the life of the local people.

International conflicts of business interests concerning the offshore natural resources around Tonga are reported. Japanese ultra-rightist manipulator Sasakawa Ryoichi is believed to be deep in Tonga's politics with an eye to Tonga's potential resources. Some Charlie Onodera, a King of Tonga effectively playing his middleman function in the interest of Japanese big business.

The Japanese government in January 1979, gave Tonga and Western Samoa $750,000 worth of canned tuna in "grant aid". This "gift" was made merely at the convenience of the Japanese fishing business and the Japanese government. The tuna and skipjack fishing industry, suffering from a slump, wanted the Japanese government to buy surplus canned tuna at the taxpayers' cost, while the Japanese government suffering from surplus foreign exchange holdings wanted to abate its dollar reserve. This "gift" also had the effect of imposing "canned food culture" on the people of Western Samoa and Tonga.

It is true that Japan has a highly developed fishing technology. But this
technology is of the type developed solely to satisfy the requirements of
capital. Capitalist fishing never hesitates to destroy the environment and
exhaust resources. Fishing technology of this nature never serves the in-
terests of the countries which are now developing their fisheries.

Nor is "aid" linked with the expectancy of returns welcomed by these countries.
In fact, Fiji last year refused to accept Japan's "grant aid" in fisheries,
seeing through the selfish design of Japan behind this scheme.

3) SEAFDEC

While the main body of Japanese fisheries' expansion into the Asia-Pacific
region consists of big capital-intensive fishing companies, the Japanese
government and official international agencies play their own role in lu-
bricating this process. Their functions in most cases are counter-productive
from the point of view of development of local fisherpeople and indigenous
fishing industries. Here, we take up the Southeast Asian Fisheries Develop-
ment Center (SEAFDEC), under Japan's virtual aegis.

SEAFDEC, established in 1968 by the Southeast Asia Economic Ministers' Con-
ference (ASEAN) as Japan's vehicle for technical assistance to Southeast
Asian countries with the initial investment of 500 million yen, maintains
a training department in Thailand, a research department in Singapore and
an aquaculture department in Iloilo, Philippines. Though it is participated
in by Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam (pre-
liberation South Vietnam), it is virtually a Japanese organization with
all the deputy chiefs of the departments Japanese.

The Training Department located in Sumutprakarn near Bangkok started the
fishing training and navigation course (15 trainees) and the marine en-
gineering course (10 per trainees) in 1970. Excepting the Thai trainees,
all trainees are government officials who expect promotion through training
at SEAFDEC. For those Thai trainees who are non-government persons, they
say in reply to our questions, that they won't be able to obtain proper
jobs after graduation. The teachers are from Japanese government agencies
who know only about their very specialized techniques and have little
knowledge about local fisheries. The fact that all lessons are given in
English precludes the possibility of accepting fisherpeople themselves as
trainees. Nor is the knowledge transferred expected to serve small fisher-
men's purposes as the students are trained using a 380 GRT steel trawler.
The interest of the Japanese government as well as the participating
governments is definitely to foster trawler fisheries which frequently
conflict with the interests of the coastal fisherpeople.

The Marine Fisheries Research Department located at Changi in Singapore,
was intended mainly to develop new fishing grounds through trial operations.
Opened in 1969, the department began a survey using its 390 ton survey vessel
"Changi" (provided by Japan), but the boat was soon captured by Burma on
charges of violation of Burmese territorial waters. Then, the department
was asked to do a survey about the sea pollution caused by the wrecked
Japanese tanker Showa Maru in the Malacca Straits, but the Singaporean
government soon ordered the survey to be stopped for fear that it might boomerang on it. Now the department is concentrating on post-harvest technology in line with the Singaporian government's policy of developing fish processing and trade.

The Aquaculture Department was started in 1973 near Iloilo city, Panai Island in the Philippines with the enthusiastic backing by the Philippine government. It has more than 10 stations including a fresh water aquaculture station in Southern Luzon. The department conducts research on culture of milkfish and shrimps, with its emphasis shifting rapidly to shrimps for export to Japan. A Japanese staff member of the department, interviewed by us, said that the milkfish growers are switching their business to jumbo tiger shrimp partly because of the fact that SEAFDEC is making tiger shrimp culture its primary project, adding that all of good quality shrimps were being exported to Japan. The local people eat only poor ones. According to him, the price of shrimps has soared so high that very few local people can afford to buy especially since the fullscale shrimp export began. Concerning milkfish, Philippine's traditional source of nutrition, studies are being made to use them as bait for skipjack long lining. SEAFDEC in the Philippines is transforming local fishing into monoculture production dependent on, and intended for, Japan.

4. Policy recommendations

The following policy recommendations are drawn on the basis of two considerations: 1) the Basic Needs Approach and 2) ecological equilibrium. The basic needs are those of the small fisherpeople themselves and of the vast majority of the population in the countries concerned, and in terms of subsistence of the fisherpeople concerned as well as of the nutrition of the majority of the population. The ecological equilibrium concerns not merely fish resources and fish catch but also the relationships between fisheries and the industrial sector.

Coastal fishing and off-shore fishing

1. Though they are alike grouped together as fishing, they should be strictly differentiated. All steps should be taken to protect the interests of the small fishing people following traditional methods of fishing from the invasion of their fishing grounds by trawlers and other big fisheries.

2. The fishing rights of these small fishing people should be established, both to protect them from trawler type of fishing and from damage and encroachment of their fishing by industrial development.

3. Their right to organize themselves should be established and respected in order to enable them to improve their production and to resist external encroachments.

4. A price control system, wherever necessary, should be devised to protect local consumers from the skyrocketing of international prices of shrimps and other export fish which are consumed also locally. A tax policy similar
to a fuel tax applied in some countries for road construction subsidy may be devised for export-oriented catches so as to encourage indigenous fisheries, especially by small fisherpeople.

5. In view of the fact that most fishing cooperatives in Asia functioning as channels for government subsidies represent boat owners and contribute to their interests, more equitable opportunity should be provided for the voice of small fishing people to be expressed.

6. Organization of small fishermen themselves should be strengthened to help them counter the often dominant exploitative influences of middlemen who often function as money lenders.

7. Fish resources may be exhausted even if there is an optimum coexistence between the capital-intensive offshore fishing and coastal fishing. Governmental or inter-governmental agencies should provide objective information about the optimum catch, international market etc. which should be channeled together with proper subsidies to small fishing people who have organized themselves.

Industrial development on the land

1. The development of manufacturing industry on land affects fisheries and fisherpeople, the weakest part of them most seriously at that, as past and current examples show. The use of chemicals in agriculture also has the same effects frequently. Economic development plans should be reformulated in order to ensure coexistence between local and coastal fisheries and the needed industrial development.

2. For well balanced economic planning with emphasis on preservation of marine resources and environment, there should be a wide room for citizens' organizations which will give the public a clearer understanding of the complex process of industrialization in Third World countries.

Deep-sea fishing

1. It is the boats of transnational enterprises that operate in the waters of the South Pacific since local fisherpeople with their small outrigger boats lack the capability for deep-sea fishing and since local monetary and technological resources are still limited. Though this situation may be unavoidable at the present moment, it should be borne in mind that the foreign fishing enterprises are pursuing only their own goals -- making profits and securing local fishing grounds. Letting the rights of operation in the Southern Pacific economic zones in exchange for taxes or compensations in the long run is not conducive to the development of local fisheries.

2. The governments of the South Pacific Islands intend to increase the export of processed (canned) fish by letting the processing of fish catch to be done by foreign joint ventures or foreign firms with local workers. While this brings on added value to their fish catch, the production and products in this case are geared totally to the tastes, qualifications and market
conditions of the importing countries such as Japan. Moreover, South Pacific countries facing shortage of reef fish to satisfy their local needs are spending scarce foreign exchange to import tinned fish. In the long run, it would be advisable for these countries to decrease this import by substituting deep-sea fish of their own catch and to control the fish processing for themselves. (The transfer of technology should be accelerated for this purpose.)

Foreign enterprise

1. Foreign enterprises of large capital are activating their purchase and development/import activities in many Asian and Pacific countries. Their motivations are alien to the prosperity of local fisheries, let alone the interests of local fisherpeople. While governments invite foreign enterprises in order to make up for shortage of local capital and technology and in order to increase their export earnings, the operation of foreign fishing interests in the form of joint ventures, in some localities and sectors of fishing, creates heavy burdens for the local fishing people who cannot compete with them and also distorts the whole fishing industry in the country concerned in a fashion serving the needs of the foreign firms as well as the importing markets. The use of dummies and joint ventures in order to penetrate the local fishing grounds and markets should be more strictly controlled.

2. Wherever necessary, certain measures are urgently required to be taken to protect local fishing people. Restrictions of modernized technology, such as limiting the size of nets, the size of boats, or the horse power of trawlers, are some of such protective steps.

Distribution system

1. Though fisheries in Asia are being rapidly integrated into the international market economy, the majority of fishing people are working in a subsistence economy supplying to their own or nearby villagers. In this situation, efforts to modernize the distribution system in a one fell swoop from the top would work disastrously, by raising the price of fish beyond the purchasing power of the consumers, mainly peasants. Policy consideration should start with setting forth practicable goals within the reach of fishing people and villagers. (The effort to suddenly spread the use of freezers for instance would be absurd when electricity is not available.)

2. The power of middlemen and fish merchants, often money-lenders taking high interests, should be curtailed by official measures as well as by the organized efforts of fisherpeople. The interest rate should be controlled. Financing through cooperatives can replace private money lending provided that fisherpeople themselves form and run such cooperatives.

3. Traditional fish preservation methods, widespread in Asia (sundried and salted fish for instance) can be better made use of to develop and improve the fisherpeople's own distribution system to counter the influences of middlemen. Mutual exchange of experience is recommended between, for instance,
Thais and Filipinos for the development of a wider variety of traditional preservation methods. (Smoking, using coconut shell charcoals, for instance.)

4. Perhaps, the most difficult and acute problem in this field is to protect the domestic price level from being affected by the international market price. A separation system and tax revenues earmarked for a subsidy for domestic marketing may help if applied properly.

Inter-governmental agencies and technological transfer

Transfer of technology is an area where there are vital needs but where things should be very carefully handled. SEAFDEC offers a case of "negative teacher". (Failure in recruiting proper persons; use of English as the school language; concentration on big technology; study of export-purpose fish culture; lack of interest in the fostering of indigenous fisheries and technologies; no relevance to local fishing communities.)

It would be much more feasible to invite young fishing people individually as trainees to any countries which have advanced and usable technologies in specific areas for fishing, and let them study in actual conditions. Exchange of technological inventions and methods among Third World countries especially in the tropical area would be more feasible than exchange between these countries and countries like Japan.

LA PESQUERÍA EN ASIA - PROBLEMAS DEL PUEBLO Y RECOMENDACIONES

Resumen: El informe analiza las transformaciones que ha sufrido la industria pesquera en Asia debido a las operaciones pesqueras Japonesas de gran escala en el Pacífico y en Asia del Sureste. Presenta los problemas y las aplicaciones que más y más afectan la subsistencia del pueblo (comercialización de la pesca, intermediarios, el impacto de la industrialización nacional), la estrategia y motivación de la expansión Japonesa (empresas en conjunto, la producción ribereña para la exportación). Se plantea el problema del papel que juega el gobierno Japonés y también el de organizaciones internacionales en cuanto al empeoramiento de la perspectiva para los pueblos pescadores en Asia.

El informe concluye con una serie de recomendaciones sobre la política dirigidas a las necesidades de los pueblos pescadores de Asia y a los problemas del equilibrio ecológico que tienen que ver con la pesca costera y en alta mar, el crecimiento industrial, empresas extranjeras y distribución, y el papel que deben jugar las agencias intergubernamentales.
Abstract: Roughly 40% of the world’s total fish production comes from the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries. In recent years the precarious economic situation of the small fishermen of this area has worsened. The low productivity of traditional fishing gear, the control of the market by middlemen, the seasonal nature of their income, their chronic indebtedness — all these problems have plagued small fishermen for a long time and prevented them from reaping the full benefits of their labour. To remedy these problems, two specific areas must be addressed: bioecological; socio-economic and institutional.

In this paper policy recommendations are made to remedy these problems at the same time pointing out examples where these recommendations have not been implemented thereby causing an adverse impact on the fishing industry.

LES PETITS PÊCHEURS EN ASIE DU SUD EST : VERS UNE PERSPECTIVE PLUS CLAIRE

Résumé: Les deux cinquièmes de la pêche mondiale proviennent des pays de l’ASEAN (Association des nations de l’Asie du Sud Est). Au cours des dernières années, la situation économique précaire des petits pêcheurs de cette région s’est détériorée. La basse productivité des méthodes traditionnelles, le contrôle des marchés par les intermédiaires, la nature saisonnière du revenu, l’endettement chronique, tous ces problèmes ont affecté les petits pêcheurs depuis longtemps et les ont empêché de bénéficier des fruits de leur travail. Leur solution appelle une action dans deux domaines: bio-écologique, et socio-économique/institutionnel. Des recommandations sont formulées pour remédier à la situation présente, on montre également comment, quand de telles recommandations n’ont pas été appliquées, l’industrie de la pêche en a souffert.
INTRODUCTION

Roughly 40 per cent of the world's total fish production comes from Asia, and for many years the great proportion of this catch came from the vast number of small-scale or artisanal fishermen who live by the coastal waters. The contribution of these fishermen (estimated in 1975 to number 6 million, or 40 million including their dependents) to their national economies and the protein food needs of their countrymen has been incalculable. In 1971, for example, it was estimated that the fisheries contribution to the economies of Philippines, Indonesia, Khmer Republic, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong and Vietnam was US$2,300 million. Yet for all their contribution, the economic positions of small fishermen have never been stable. The low productivity of traditional fishing gear, the control of the market by middlemen, the seasonal nature of their income, their chronic indebtedness; all these problems have plagued small fishermen for a long time and prevented them from reaping the full benefits of their labour.

In recent years, their precarious economic positions have worsened as a result of new threats and today there is a real danger that, unless strong policies and measures are undertaken to counter the new and old threats, small fishermen will be left out of the mainstream of economic and social development and reduced to being the poorest of the poor in their countries. The new threats to small fishermen, most acutely visible in the ASEAN countries, are due in large part to the adoption of the policy of export-led growth through increasing foreign and local capitalist investment by the governments of the region in the 1960s and 1970s. In the fishing industry, this meant the encouragement of heavily-capitalised, export-oriented large-scale fishing operations against one oriented towards the development of the operations of small fishermen. Invariably, the large trawler fleets of this 'modern' fishing sector have competed directly for the fish resources of the coastal waters worked by small fishermen, to the detriment of the latter. The figures in Table 1 showing the trends in fisheries production in Malaysia are indicative of a pattern well established in the ASEAN countries of diminishing catches by small fishermen. In the Philippines, it is estimated today that 98% of the fishermen produce 50% of the total catch whilst 2% of fishermen engaged in large-scale industrial-type fisheries net the other 50%. In Thailand, large capitalist enterprise fisheries now produce 65% of the total catch whilst small-scale fishermen net only 35%.

Notes

*/ The ASEAN countries consist of Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia.

This paper has been prepared after extensive dialogue with fishermen leaders, NGO workers, researchers and government fisheries bureaucrats in the ASEAN countries.
Elsewhere in the countryside, the new export-led growth strategy of ASEAN governments has resulted in infrastructural development, the clearing of swamps and light-industrial development in the areas close to traditional fishing grounds, thereby destroying fish spawning areas and denying fishing communities easy access to the rivers and seas. The depletion of fish stock available to small fishermen has been further abetted by the consequences of other types of capitalist expansion, especially that of pollution. The Sungei Skudai in Johore, Malaysia, is so heavily polluted by the untreated discharge from 30 factories that hardly any aquatic life can live or propagate for over a distance of 6 miles upstream. Water pollution all over the ASEAN countries is also being caused by the excessive use of fertilizers, insecticides and weedicides.

PROBLEMS OF SMALL FISHERMEN

In the drawing of policies and programmes of action to improve the deteriorating situation of small fishermen in the ASEAN countries, two categories of empirical problems must be addressed:
- bioecological;
- socio-economic and institutional.

These categories are often treated separately. In fact, however, they are complementary and interacting, as will be made clear in the analysis and the policy recommendations proposed below.
The nature and dynamics of the environment and its resources (including aquatic) is a critical factor to consider in fisheries development. It is now widely agreed, for example, that the distribution and abundance of fish is greatly controlled or affected by variations in the environment. At the same time, the environment itself, as with fish stocks, is critically affected by the type of exploitation carried out. Unfortunately, however, the present pool of knowledge with regard to the geographical, limnological and oceanographic characteristics affecting water masses and aquatic resources, and fish resources themselves, is extremely limited. No country in the region has, as yet, systematic information on the biological characteristics of even the most economically important species. Without such baseline data, it is difficult - if not impossible - to calculate potential yield or what are sustainable levels of fishing activity, and design policies which will ensure maximum net returns to small fishermen over a long-term period.

A major policy recommendation flowing from this is that no government in the region should permit the introduction of new fishing technologies or expansion of new fishing fleets in its waters thereby reducing the total amount of catch available to small fishermen unless the data base exists showing conclusively a position of under-utilization of stocks. A classic case of the adverse impact of new fishing technologies is found in Malaysia where government permitted a rapid build-up of trawler boats from 27 in 1966 to 3,028 in 1972. It is now clear that this decision, undertaken without reference to a proper data base, has resulted in overfishing at a rate above the biological reproduction potential of many demersal species along the west coast. At the same time, it has worsened the plight of small fishermen as the benefits of temporary increased production have accrued principally to trawler boat owners who are large capitalists and not to small fishermen who have to contend with declining catches. Policies preventing the further undermining of the bioecological basis of fish stocks through land-based programmes by the imposition of strict environment standards on all existing and new programmes should also be immediately pursued. A start has been made in this matter by some countries in the region with the enactment of environment standards legislation, but there has as yet been no implementation capacity so that the legislations have remained pieces of paper.

Since information on an ex-post-facto basis is not very useful from the experiences of Malaysia and many other countries with their fish resources, it is proposed that an assessment of the demersal stocks fished by small fishermen be immediately conducted and data on size, identity, growth-rate, etc. collected and evaluated to enable suitable policies and restrictions to be designed to limit overfishing. At the same time, since present modern theories of fisheries management are based upon work carried out in high-latitude single-species fisheries, new conceptual tools to assess multi-species have to be quickly devised and quick policy decisions regarding level of exploitation, type of technology, etc. arrived at.

The difficulties in obtaining and interpreting the data on fish stocks, relating it to a wider environmental matrix and to current and future levels of
exploitation by small fishermen and arriving at policies which permit a long-term maximum sustained yield per small fishermen unit must not be underestimated. To achieve it requires much greater national and international effort in the scientific and technical spheres than has been noticeable and a coordinated link between research management, education and training. Much fisheries research in the past has been irrelevant or unutilized and a redirection into relevant and timely problematic research tied to implementable policies will provide the first step in understanding the bioecological problem.

**Socio-economic and institutional problems**

The problems of small fishermen communities relating to low levels of income, adverse conditions of production, limited access to credit and marketing are already well served by a strong data base and the general directions of policy orientation required to resolve them are clearly established, although they might vary in detail from country to country.

In general, the problems of small fishermen require an integrated bottom-up approach as opposed to the conventional approaches of development planning. Such an approach would entail, firstly, the direct involvement (not through representation) of small fishermen in solution-seeking field-level dialogues and, secondly, the participation of small fishermen themselves in project formulation and implementation. Placing small fishermen themselves at the very centre of policies will ensure not only participation but also permit for the particular socio-economic and cultural contexts of the communities to be taken into account and their own sense of priorities to be respected. At the same time, it is inevitable that such participation will run into conflict with vested interests. In the Philippines, for example, it would conceivably lead to the abolition of policies of concessioning sea-areas which have mainly benefited capitalist business. In all the countries of the region where privately-owned trawler boats have captured a large share of the production, it requires a major policy reversal to progressively eliminate the licences issued to capitalists and to have them issued instead to genuine small fishermen cooperatives.

Another major area of policy implementation where resistance can be expected is marketing. For a long time now, middlemen and other intermediaries have exploited small fishermen who have no outlets for their products. The establishment of alternative marketing channels which provide fairer prices to small fishermen would be an important step forward. The lack of access to markets is connected to the present inequitable distribution of fishing gear and boats within the fishing industry. Many small fishermen still do not own their means of production and hence are tied to distribution systems.

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1/ Such an attempt was made at a meeting held in Bangkok in July 1977 of small fishermen leaders from Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia and Japan. This exercise of small fishermen themselves exchanging experience and information in international level forums is continuing with the small fishermen leaders of South Asian countries coming together later this year in India.
which are exploitative. An aquarian reform programme along the lines of land reform programmes—transferring the ownership of assets from capitalists to the operators themselves or to small fishermen cooperatives, where these exist—is another major policy area which should be given priority.

However, much caution needs to be exercised as many attempts at replacing middlemen, dealers and distributors with government-sponsored organizations have failed due to their ignorance of the fact that underlying what superficially appear to be sale transactions is a fine and intricate mesh of social and economic relations providing credit assistance and security to the producers in a limited but still superior fashion to that provided by government. The long-range goal in this area is nevertheless clear. Comprehensive, integrated, local-level cooperative organizations for small fishers are the only way to build up capital formation amongst them, assure fair market for their products and strengthen their communal economic activity which can enable them to overcome their present dependence on capitalists. Overall, what is required then is a realignment of government policies or the setting of new ones in both fishing and non-fishing sectors so that the special interests and problems of small fishermen are given the priority they deserve and adequate support to at least own their means of production can reach the most needy ones.

POLICY ASSUMPTIONS

In assessing the problems mentioned above and prescribing policy solutions to them, three basic assumptions have been made which are essential to the defence of the policy suggestions.

1. The first assumption is that national objectives of maximising protein yield, employment and foreign currency can be achieved by a systematic programme of long-term improvement in the social and economic status of small fishermen. In this respect, the courting of corporate-type fisheries development by the countries in the region through joint-ventures with foreign companies must be condemned as short sighted and injurious to small fishermen and national interests.

2. The second assumption is that small fishermen can be presumed to act as rationally as other groups in society wanting to improve their lives, that is, they will be ready to adopt, or adapt to, new technologies which will improve their catches and incomes, but they will not support restrictions which seek to conserve and increase fish stocks and rehabilitate depleted fishing grounds if these restrictions are not understood by them, and they do not see how their medium or long-term interests are best served by such action.

3. The final assumption is that the small fishermen community is, in fact, a much more heterogeneous community than outsiders have been led to believe. Although they can be identified in terms of certain economic criteria (small unit size, little or no division of labour, low catch and productivity, use of traditional or low-level mechanized technology) there are
substantial differences between full and part-time, artisanal and subsistence fishermen as well as those differentiated by fishing task. A standard policy or development strategy which fails to respect the differing perceptions and needs of the various communities of small fishermen can often do more harm than the lack of policy.

CONCLUSION

Finally, it must be emphasized that the future development of the fishing community is to a great extent dependent on the availability of resources other than fisheries provided to it. Many small fishermen groups in the past have been extremely mobile, moving from fisheries to agriculture and back, according to the season. This mobility can be used advantageously by policy-makers to widen the economic base of the fishing community through the establishment of supplementary means of livelihood based on agriculture and land-based projects. In such expanded rural development programmes, the willingness of small fishermen to participate must first be obtained and the complex ecological and socio-cultural frameworks within which they are embedded given primacy, or else the change will result in the creation of even more dislocated and uprooted people.

PESCADORES DE PEQUEÑA ESCALA EN PAÍSES DE LA ASOCIACIÓN DE NACIONES DEL SUD-ESTE DE ASIA; HACIA UNA PERSPECTIVA ESCLARECEDORA DE SUS PROBLEMAS

Resumen: Aproximadamente el 40% de la producción mundial de pescado viene de los países que forman parte de la Asociación de Naciones del Sud-este de Asia (ANSEA). En los últimos años la situación económica precaria de los pescadores de pequeña escala en este zona ha empeorado. Baja producción de aires de pescar, el control del mercado por intermediarios, el hecho de que sus ingresos dependen de la estación del año, su endeudamiento crónico —todos estos problemas importanaban a los pescadores de pequeña escala durante muchos años e impedía la cosecha de todos los beneficios de sus esfuerzos. Para remediar estos problemas hay que dirigirse a dos problemáticas específicas: la bioecológica; y la socio-económica e institucional.

En este informe se proponen recomendaciones para remediar estos problemas. Además, y al mismo tiempo se señalan ejemplos en que no se pusieron en práctica estas recomendaciones y así se produjo un efecto adverso para la industria pesquera.
CRUEL EXPLOITATION OF CHILD LABOUR AT SIVAKASI

Faced with an acute labour shortage, industrial units (in this town) priding itself as "little Japan"(*), are going in for children in lower age-groups to sustain their expanding activities.

Investigations by a news agency showed that some of the new recruits are barely of kindergarten age. A cynical observer remarked that what was going on was "cradle snatching of a sort".

The emergence of hundreds of tiny match-making units in the villages from where the labour force was traditionally drawn has compelled the older and more resourceful units to look farther away for their requirements of child power. Some employers transport children to the work-spots from as far as 40km each morning.

Packed buses empty their cargo of half-asleep children outside the factories long before the crack of dawn. Some of them are dragged out of bed as early as 2.30 a.m. as the buses have to do more than one trip.

By 6 a.m. when the gates of the match factories open, 40,000 to 45,000 children will have assembled in the factories of Sivakasi. They put in 11 to 13 hours to qualify for piece rate payments, found by a Government commission to range from 50 paise to Rs. 2.

Inquiries showed that the factories engage agents to produce child labour. Often money is advanced to children rather than their parents - and this keeps them bound to the employer. When advance is worked out almost invariably a fresh one is sought - and readily given according to informants. The employers, however, deny this vehemently and assert that the workers are free to move from the factory to another and, in fact, do so.

At a factory outside the municipal limits, this correspondent found a toddler being initiated into wage-earning, which here means spending his wakeful hours in overcrowded buses or in worksheds where kanakapillais (literally accountants, but actually supervisors) indulge in constant prodding to quicken the pace of work.

As the boy, squatting uneasily, scattered flints around, he was quickly disciplined by the vigilant supervisor. There was no sound of protest. With unsteady hands, he started filling a frame with flints. The little one ignored a question put to him. "He just came with his mother to see the place", said the factory owner. She sat in another part of the hall, filling boxes.

Malnourished children, most of them girls, squatted on the floor in rows, filling frames. The youngest of them appeared to be not more than four years old. By filling 2,500 flints, sufficient for 50 match boxes, each of the children will qualify for a payment of 13 paise.

(From The Indian Worker, newspaper of the Indian National Trade Union Congress).

*) because of high productivity.
 BUILDING BLOCKS

DEBT AND DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: A grave debt crisis is emerging in the Third World as a consequence of the recurring deficits in the balance of payments of most Third World countries, and which have so far been financed mainly through external borrowing. Those poor countries whose deficits have been met so far by the transfer of concessional resources could also be strongly vulnerable to the present recessionist trends. The dramatic growth in the foreign debt of Third World countries threatens the very autonomy - both economic and political - of these countries and affects their sovereignty.

Primarily, the underlying cause of increasing indebtedness is the belief in and the pursuance of a "development" model predicated on rapid increases in the GNP through the massive use of capital - both foreign and local, and a technology which is both foreign and capital-absorbing. This strategy has led to increased dependence and the marginalization of large segments of the population. Another approach to development, based on the enhancement of endogenous, creative and productive capacities, only could assist the Third World out of this debt trap.

ENDETTEMENT ET DÉVELOPPEMENT

Résult : Le Tiers Monde connaît une grave crise d'endettement qui résulte de déficits répétés dans la balance des paiements de la plupart des pays qui la compose; ces déficits ont été principalement financés, jusqu'à présent, par des emprunts extérieurs. La récession rend les pays pauvres dont le déficit a été comblé par des ressources à conditions favorables partiellement vulnérables. La croissance dramatique de l'endettement extérieur du Tiers Monde menace l'autonomie même de ces pays, politiquement et économiquement, et affecte leur souveraineté.

La cause fondamentale de l'endettement réside dans la mise en œuvre de modèles de "développement" basé sur une croissance rapide du PNB par le impliquant un usage massif de capitaux externes et internes et une technologie exogène et à fort coefficient de capital. Une telle stratégie a conduit à accroître la dépendance et à marginaliser de vastes secteurs de la population. Seule une autre démarche, reposant sur les capacités créatrices et productrices endogènes, peut aider le Tiers Monde à sortir du piège de l'endettement.
DEUDA Y DESARROLLO

Resumen: En los países del Tercer Mundo aparece una crisis grave de endeudamiento como consecuencia del déficit recurrente en sus balanzas de pagos; déficit que se financiaba principalmente por medio de préstamos externos. Puede que aquellos países sobre cuyos déficit se pagaba hasta ahora con la transferencia de recursos concesionales se encuentren muy vulnerables a las tendencias recessionistas actuales. Un aumento dramático en la deuda externa de los países del Tercer Mundo amenaza la autonomía misma – tanto económica como política – de estos países y afecta a su soberanía.

Ante todo, la razón fundamental por el aumento en el endeudamiento es la creencia en y la ocupación con un modelo de "desarrollo" predicado en aumentos rápidos en el Producto Nacional Bruto por medio del uso masivo de capital – tanto del extranjero como nacional, y en el uso de una tecnología importada y absorbente de capital. Esta estrategia ha resultado en el aumento de dependencias y en la marginalización de grandes porciones de la población. Sólo un nuevo enfoque y planteamiento del "desarrollo", basado en el realce de capacidades endógenas creativas y productivas puede asistir al Tercer Mundo a escaparse de este entrampe.
DEBT AND DEVELOPMENT

1. PRESENT SITUATION AND PROSPECTS

Much has been said and written about Third World indebtedness problems and much more will be in the future. Industrialized countries are showing clear symptoms of generalized recession, and contrary to developments a few months ago, no optimism is now expressed about short- and medium-term economic prospects. Recent OECD estimates, in the light of the latest increase in oil prices, are much more pessimistic than estimates made earlier this year. As in the past, industrialized countries will probably transfer much of the effects of this recession, or of its implicit costs of adjustment, to Third World countries. Greater protectionism, lower imports, export subsidies, a drop in official financial flows, more or less disguised expulsion of immigrant workers, will be amongst the measures bringing about this transfer. To these will be added the drop in some raw material prices due to the fall in demand.

The impact on the Third World will depend on the scale of the recession, and the time it will take industrialized countries, in particular the United States, to react, under the assumption that this is a more or less traditional cyclical crisis albeit aggravated by new elements, which can be escaped by adopting traditional neo-classical economic remedies. If, however, as many suspect, the present recession is rather an expression of structural problems affecting the very basis of the functioning of present growth models of the industrialized countries, then the impact of the recession on Third World countries will be greater and more prolonged. In such circumstances, the "debt" problem will become particularly relevant, since it will be the most obvious expression of the incapacity of many Third World countries to resist an aggravation of their balance of payments problems.

If the vulnerability of the external payments situation of many Third World countries has not yet emerged, this has been thanks to a sub-product of the recession and of the international monetary disorder: the high level of international liquidity. Without such a recession the transnational companies and the large companies of the industrialized world would have already absorbed most of the liquid resources available in world financial markets, which are at present being used to finance the Third World's indebtedness. Hence one of the paradoxes of the present situation: the same recession depriving many Third World countries of external resources derived from their exports or remittance of their migrant workers, is generating the liquidity enabling them to contract debts, thus escaping the risk of economic collapse.

This paradox can become a trap with few exits. If the industrialized countries took measure to limit this liquidity, which for orthodox economists is one of the main causes of the monetary disorders at the root of the present crisis, many countries resorting massively to indebtedness would be deprived of these resources, but continue to be faced with the other aspects of recession which have compelled them to contract new debts. And when there is a continuous series of increases in interest rates in industrialized countries and there are daily demands for a greater control on the issue of dollars and the activities of the Euro-market, is such a moment still far away?
It would not be intellectually fair merely to present this grim scenario. In more cases than one, indebtedness may well have been a well-calculated risk, and even a considerable drop in international liquidity within the framework of generalized recession would permit more than one considerably indebted country to escape the risk of default.

However, reservations must also be expressed on this possibility because there is not just "an indebtedness problem" but several problems, and the present situation and future prospects differ greatly from one country to another.

2. SIZE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THIRD WORLD INDEBTEDNESS

The statistics published by the OECD on public and private disbursed debt show that from 1970 to 1977 the external indebtedness increased from 72.9 billion to 244.0 billion dollars, growing at an annual rate varying from 12% in 1972 to 25% in 1975.

This overall development involves important changes in the composition of the type of debt. Non-official loans have increased their share of the total from 28.1% in 1969 to 41.1% in 1976, and this share has certainly continued to increase since.

The bulk of this indebtedness is concentrated on a small number of countries. On the basis of figures for the end of 1976, eleven Third World countries accounted for 60% of total public and private debt, i.e. some 115 billion dollars out of a total of nearly 195 billion dollars.

From the global and quantitative point of view, while the debt problem is basically concentrated on this group of countries, the situation of many other Third World countries must also be studied to determine the future development of the problems.

On this basis, four types of situations could be considered. First, that of the two major debtors - Brazil and Mexico, with 25% of total Third World countries' debt (25.9 billion and 21.7 billion dollars respectively at the end of 1977). Their debt service ratio (debt service as percentage of exports) was in 1976 around 45% and 32%, on the basis of "World Financial Markets" data.

These countries' indebtedness is growing and involves significant amounts of their future external resources, considerably burdening their present resources. But these are not exactly the countries which could present major problems in the short term. In the case of Mexico, because its oil resources could enable it to meet debt service and in the case of Brazil, if its balance of payments problems worsened, its present creditors would be well advised to avoid a collapse which could have repercussions on the entire international banking system.

The second type of debtor country are countries like South Korea, Philippines, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Yugoslavia. Most of them have adopted economic policies of increasing integration with the international market and are strongly oriented to promoting exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures. The debts of these countries will probably continue increasing so long as the present international liquidity situation prevails.
There will probably be exceptions, but in any case, this is a group of countries presenting many signs of external vulnerability with increasing indebtedness. Thus the debt service ratio of some of these countries is reaching high levels: 45% in Chile, 41% in Argentina, 28% in Peru (1976 data).

The third type of situation consists of the varied group of countries with fairly low per capita incomes, with an external debt essentially originating in public loans, with debt service ratios between 40 and 18 percent, whose external vulnerability arises from the lack of diversification of the economy, and low rates of growth. This group could include Pakistan, Egypt, Bolivia, Jamaica, Angola, Congo, Guinea, Dominican Republic, Mauritania, Sudan, Togo, Bangladesh, Burma and Sri Lanka. Several of these countries also have debts of commercial origin - either bank loans or suppliers' credits - with a significant share in their indebtedness.

According to the World Bank, countries with a per capita income of between 161 and 300 dollars - the category where the majority of this group of countries is included - showed the highest increase in indebtedness during the 1970's - 25% a year between 1970 and 1976. Private bank loans multiplied by 30 growing at 75% a year. Debt service increased at 26%, while interest payments increased faster than amortizations. Some countries inside this group might soon encounter serious payments difficulties.

Finally, the fourth group of countries is that which does not have debt, but depends, to a major degree, on grants of industrialized countries to finance their basic imports. This group includes many African countries. Some, like Ethiopia, often finance up to 100% of their current deficit with grants. The vulnerability of this group is very great. Serious concern for their economic future can be expressed if present recessionary trends worsen.

3. THE CAUSES OF THE INDEBTEDNESS PROCESS

The question now arises as to how such a large number of Third World countries could have arrived at such a high level of indebtedness, especially when most of their leaders realize that historically, indebtedness has been one of the most usual ways of losing important areas of economic autonomy, or even political independence.

However, one analyses the indebtedness of the Third World it becomes clear that it is a central circular mechanism within the numerous vicious circles of underdevelopment. It is astonishing that this problem has so far been given only limited attention and that it has been viewed more as a consequence of underdevelopment than as one of its causes or at least as one of the principal means by which underdevelopment perpetuates itself.

In trying to give an answer to these questions, two basic types of situations should be distinguished. First, that corresponding to countries totally lacking in resources, with limited capacity or autonomy for self-financing. These countries, extremely dependent on foreign aid, have been unable - although in some cases one may wonder whether they had no other alternative - to escape from strong external indebtedness to maintain essential imports to ensure basic consumer levels.
The second, more common case relates to those countries whose indebtedness is strongly linked to the type or model of growth which they have chosen, or to the economic and social policy followed as a consequence of the adoption by the dominating groups of the ideology of development. This is the case that we shall now analyse.

4. DEVELOPMENT AS IDEOLOGY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON INDEBTEDNESS.\(^1\)

In the Third World "development has become an integral part of the national ideology." The simple-minded idea that one or two five-year plans making massive use of equipment supplied by the industrialized countries can give a country a chance of quickly "catching up" with the industrialized countries has often been the corollary of such an ideology. Bogus pseudo-scientific mathematical equations of the growth of revenue, based on investment/production ratios through capital coefficients, have lent additional legitimacy to the plans of Third World countries. These mechanistic calculations have been enriched by various more or less brilliant and superficial theories, which are almost always designed to justify a special drive for massive investments in the "modern" industrial sector, which is supposed to generate spin-off effects which will greatly accelerate a country's progress.

The majority of these theories leave aside an important historical consideration, that practically no country has industrialized or "developed" only with foreign technology, and much less by importing capital goods. Examples of exaggerated "Europeanization" and "modernization" in the 19th century (Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Tunisia, Iran, certain Latin American countries) were numerous but in all cases the final result was financial bankruptcy and the strengthening of foreign presence in the administration of the countries, and even, in some cases, the loss of political independence.

Generally speaking, the "development" theories based on this ideology have all helped set in motion a scramble for investments intended to bring about modernization; these investments have thus led to massive and abrupt imports of production equipment from abroad and have driven the Third World deep into the technological trade circuits run by the TNCs, with a final result - the deepest indebtedness process of modern history.

The enquiry into the origins of the indebtedness of the Third World led us to emphasize the sequence: process of acculturation - transfer of technology - indebtedness. From a historical point of view, the process of acculturation initially manifests itself in the military sphere, where the overwhelming superiority of the industrialized countries since the 19th century has obliged the Third World to borrow Western technology. It then spreads gradually to the other spheres of the life of a society, and it is in this way that the aspiration to the model of consumption of the industrialized countries becomes

\(^1\) For the drafting of this section and the final conclusion of this paper, extensive use has been made of a document prepared by G. Corm for CID ("L'endettement des pays en voie de développement. Origines et mecanismes") within an IFDA project on "Debt and development"; but, of course, responsibility for the ideas expressed here is the author's.
generally accepted, and it is not possible to satisfy the demand of such a model but through technological borrowing, usually taking the form of the massive and indiscriminate import of the products of technology, and not of a global and sustained effort to acquire a command of technology. Whether they are military or whether they consist of capital equipment for the production of consumer goods, the equipment imported by the Third World is in no sense a transfer of technology. At most they constitute a transfer of productive capacity, the excessive cost of which is apparent only over a long period and blocks the dissemination of progress locally, and the egalitarian and profitable insertion of the country into the circuits of international trade.

The real accumulation of capital which enriches society is that which lies in the capacity to produce productive capacity, and not in the expansion of the capacity to import productive capacities from abroad. In this sense the mechanisms for the "transfer" of technology from the industrialized countries to the countries of the Third World, as they have been used in practice since the last century, are precisely those which help the industrialized countries to develop even further their technological capacity, while the Third World becomes more and more dependent and lags farther and farther behind. Whatever capital is imported, the added value created in the exporting country far exceeds that in the importing country; the genuine spin-off effects take place in the country of origin of the equipment and not in the receiving country.

On the basis of this ideology of "development", a model has been developed for an accelerated process of industrialization based on external investments and massive indebtedness to import capital goods or inputs to ensure their functioning. Other than substituting imports or generating new exports, the hypothesis has been that it would be finally possible to amortize those capital inflows and debts contracted abroad. In fact, this type of approach has perfectly coincided with the interests of the transnational companies, in favour of a new international division of labour better suited to their global interest.

It is evident to us that the industrialized countries and their TNCs are doing their best to promote a new international division of labour (IDL) in keeping with the technological evolution of their production apparatus and its profitability. Nonetheless we feel it is risky to attempt to formulate a global theory for the functioning of the IDL as a mechanism from which the Third World countries cannot escape, because the very essence of the IDL is the fact that it is constantly moving in response to the obstacles or the opportunities with which the TNCs - the main actors on today's economic scene - are faced.

But the gradual take-over of the economies of Third World countries by the TNCs is not merely a result of the excessive power of the industrialized countries. As in the 19th century, the integration of the Third World on unequal terms in the trade circuits dominated by the industrialized countries is due quite as much to the nature of the local economic policies, which reflect, above all, the interests of the dominant groups in Third World countries. It seems to us that the 20th century is repeating the unfortunate experience of the 19th century, when the lack of interest in an autonomous effort to achieve a mastery of the technological processes at the national level meant that the policies of modernization were doomed to be nothing more than an instrument for the promotion of the supremacy of the industrialized countries. The current phase,
which, for the countries of the Third World, has lasted since 1950, indicates that there has been a dangerous acceleration of their technological/financial dependence, in the form of a faster rise in rates of indebtedness as well as the undisputed supremacy of the TNCs in the execution of all major investments in the Third World. Whether the technology-consuming countries have liberal regimes favouring joint ventures with the TNCs or whether they have regimes of State capitalism and use turnkey arrangements the result is the same: a passive consumption of technology, and an increasingly fragmented economy and the loss of control over the ecosystem implied by the decline of agriculture and by uncontrolled urban growth.

5. MECHANISMS OF INDEBTEDNESS

Following the description of the basic causes of indebtedness, the mechanisms through which it is achieved will be described.

The "development" model generally adopted in Third World countries with more or less chronic indebtedness problems is centred on the satisfaction of the demand of those groups in society with the highest purchasing power, interested in copying consumption models in industrialized societies. This is achieved through a process of modernization of the infrastructure and an accelerated industrialization process generally based on import substitution.

Both processes are linked and usually mutually reinforced. This can be illustrated by the introduction of motorcar manufacture or assembly, requiring the construction of roads, which in turn require the development of a road equipment industry. This kind of process leads many development theorists to maintain that it is self-sustaining. But the reality is slightly different.

The establishment of the motorcar industry is within the reach of only very few countries. Capital needs are huge and though technology is very dispersed it is always in the hands of the transnational companies dominating the world car market. Consequently, there is a need for foreign investment by TNCs at least to establish terminal plants.

Local sub-contracting factories then develop around these plants, many of which are small or medium-sized national companies resorting to public credit to start up and develop operations and needing State guarantees to obtain foreign credits needed to import capital goods. Many in turn are associated to other foreign firms providing them with the technology necessary to manufacture automobile parts. Generally, the percentages of national integration of the final product is not very high, since often the TNCs controlling the motor car plant prefer to import parts from other countries as a function of their overall costs or intra-firm financial movements. On the other hand, the State embarks on ambitious road construction programmes, even though they have a low coefficient of use, except around the big cities, and although other public services such as railways are outdated and overloaded with passengers - most of whom, moreover, will never be able to own a car.

In order to build these roads, the State will resort to credits extended by international organisations and will use the services of foreign consulting engineering firms to satisfy the technical requirements of these organisations. Also, the State will import road equipment, or if the programme is very
ambitious, will promote the establishment of a road equipment industry, resorting to other specialised TNCs, which in turn will resort to local companies for the manufacture of some of the necessary parts.

The result of this series of operations will imply: a degree of indebtedness with respect to credits accompanying the entry of foreign capital; further indebtedness for capital goods imports of local companies manufacturing parts; the increase in imports corresponding to parts not manufactured locally and further sums for inputs to be used in the manufacture of parts. If the country has no oil, then there will also be an increase in oil imports, and in refined products, and perhaps also a plant to refine imported oil. Most of these imports except for oil, will be on credit, backed by a government guarantee. The State will have in turn contracted debts for the roadbuilding programme.

The volume of debt generated in this way can be considerable, but it is assumed that the development of the motorcar industry will result in an increase in economic activity permitting increased exports of other products. This increase will cover the payment of debt service and the regular increase in imports of inputs, renewal of equipment and fuels.

The problem begins when it becomes evident that the massive introduction of the motor car, while satisfying the expectations of most of the middle and upper income groups, not only has not solved the transport problem, but has not generated greater exports, whether directly or indirectly, which can look after the indebtedness on which it was based. Something similar happens with the television industry, with refrigerators, radios and other consumer durables, which will have contributed to increasing the welfare of population groups with purchasing power and increasing GNP ... but also indebtedness.

In relation to the economy as a whole, when based on the economic model described here, various factors cause the indebtedness which are reflected in the following manner in the balance of payments. First, the increase in imports of capital goods not financed by foreign investments. To these should be added increased imports of inputs. Significantly, the further the industrialisation advances according to the model described, the more difficult it becomes to limit or diminish such imports of inputs. The reason is that industrial sectors which have emerged through this process become the most dynamic centres of the economy and it thus becomes almost impossible to restrict imports of inputs without endangering the rhythm of economic activity and the level of employment. Thus when balance of payments problems start becoming serious, it is usual for governments to run away from their problems by promoting new investments to increase import substitution, but since investments are usually made on the same basis as their predecessors, the balance of payments effects of this substitution are cancelled out over time.

Second, there is an increase in payments and remittances made by foreign companies. These can become so large that normally the balance of inflows from investments plus eventual exports they generate are less than outflows for dividends, capital repatriation of part of the principal, royalties for patents and trade marks and additional imports.

Factors such as overbilling which takes place in intra-firm transactions, the burden on Third World countries arising from R and D expenditures already
amortized in the industrialised countries, have also a role in this process. Statistical analysis carried out in Latin American countries clearly demonstrate the above. In addition, a good part of the profits made by the TNCs are at the expense either of local credit, or external credits with the official guarantee of the host country, when not based on tax breaks offered to attract investments. Taken together, all these factors give a clearer view of the negative impact of this type of investment on the balance of payments.

But balance of payments problems also have other origins. One of them, little analysed until the present, is the financial cost of their external debts incurred to promote public works. Due to the basket of currencies in which the loans of some international financial organizations are expressed, their real cost is much higher - due to the constant appreciation of some of these currencies - than the nominal rate of loans.

Thus, for example, the IBRD, which is financed largely on the Japanese, German and Swiss national markets, passes on exchange rate risks wholly to its debtors, who thus find the actual rate of interest charged on their borrowings from the IBRD marked up several points above the nominal rate. /

Also, expenditures on armaments should be mentioned as one of the usual causes of excessive indebtedness.

Data on this type of expenditure is scarce and is never reflected in official indebtedness figures but each time that a country has come forward to renegotiate its external debt, it has been possible to infer that most of the differences between figures by creditors and debtors was due to unregistered purchases of military material, due to its confidentiality, in the books of the central monetary authority. Of course this does not give even a vague idea of the burden of financing such purchases on the indebtedness of many poor countries, but permits the assumption that in many Third World countries indebtedness is considerably higher than the official figures.

The theoretical models of planners of this type of development assume that all these pressures on the balance of payments will be compensated by increased exports arising out of stepped up economic activity. However, this is not normally the case, due to the weakness of the exporting sector of most Third World countries (with the predominance of products characterized by unstable prices, some declining over the long term) and difficulties in moving from export of primary products to exports of manufactures. Also it is due to the influence of the growth in internal demand, the inefficiency of industries which have been developed on the basis of high tariff protection and thus cannot compete with costs on the international market, and finally due to the increasing

/ An article published in 1978 in a Colombian review edited by former Minister of the Economy, stated that Colombia was: "...paying to the World Bank an approximate rate of interest in dollars of 18% for the portion of our debt expressed in Swiss francs, and a dollar interest of 15% for the portion expressed in DM" and it compared these rates with that of 7.6% payable on month to month Eurodollar loans in December 1977. In "Estrategia económica y financiera", Bogotá: March 1978.
protectionism of industrialised countries against products in which Third World countries have managed to become competitive.

The result of this lack of symmetry between growth of imports and outflows on current account and the slow growth of exports is a more or less chronic deficit in the balance of payments, leading to increasing indebtedness, described earlier.

In recent years, the governments of some Third World countries, in particular in Latin America, have chosen to apply a model whose final objectives are the same - to satisfy demand of the sectors with the highest purchasing power but which are achieved under different policies. These have consisted in eliminating external protection benefitting their industries, while proceeding to major income redistribution resulting in the notable drop in real wages, while promoting the entry of foreign capital and meeting balance of payments problems by increasing indebtedness in the form of bank loans.

These policies have been aimed at making their industry "competitive" and facilitating the increase of exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures, based on low labour costs and in some cases on the availability of comparative advantages derived from the low production costs of certain inputs.

Until now, the result has been almost the same in all cases. First, a huge social cost, in terms of high unemployment and repressive measures to oblige wage earners to accept the reduction of their real earnings as well as the weight of income redistribution in favour of higher income groups, assumed to have a higher propensity to save and invest.

Second, a major recession which in many cases has resulted in significant drops in GNP. Third, the liquidation of a considerable part of national industry, due to the interplay of falling sales due to the recession, competition from imports whose entry is favoured by the dismantling of effective protection and by the exchange policies and the high cost of money, due to the freeing of interest rates. Fourth, the emergence of a new financial class, cornering most of the benefits of this type of policy and which has replaced the previous industrial bourgeoisie - which has turned to speculative activities or the import of products it used to manufacture. The entry of foreign capital in the form of direct investments have not been very great in any case - except perhaps when it has been for the sale of public companies or the handing over to private interests of natural resources previously nationalised. Inflation has reached impressive levels and indebtedness which it was thought could be rapidly eliminated has either remained at the same level, or grown, due to the increase in imports arising from the liquidation of industry and tariff dismantling, as well as to the disappointing performance of exports - due either to internal production problems, to difficulties of access to markets of industrialised countries, or to decreasing demand due to the general recession.

In the case of countries which have not followed the traditional model, when they reach a critical point in their indebtedness, they have either had to postpone the problem by resort to the capital markets for loans to amortize previous debts, or to the International Monetary Fund to obtain short-term financing in exchange for applying the recessionary policies favoured by the
IMF with their known consequences, or in most critical cases to further debt rescheduling, with equal or graver consequences. ]/ 

As can be seen these are all dead ends arrived at by the development paradigm and the adoption - or imposition - of development models only taking into account the interests of a part of society.

6. CONCLUSION

An exhaustive study of the "development" paradigm clearly goes well beyond the limits of this paper. We hope, however, that our efforts to situate the phenomenon of indebtedness in a broader framework will help dispel the illusions of the purely economic approach, which prevails in the literature on development and underdevelopment as well as in the solutions advocated to escape the "bottlenecks" and "vicious circles" of underdevelopment.

For this reason we think that there is no isolated remedy to the problem of the excessive indebtedness of the Third World, and no neat financial prescription. The recurrence of indebtedness and its increase have to do with the overall functioning of exploited and blocked societies, and thus, in the last analysis, with the very nature of the kind of society intended by their ruling elites.

To change the pattern of development and breaking the thousand and one links between technological dependence and financial dependence is a long business which involves upsetting large numbers of conventional notions about development. Yet only such a break with the past is capable of bringing about new types of planning, based as a matter of priority on an internal command of the national economy and of technology, and in the mobilization of internal savings in order to disseminate local productivity. It alone is capable of breaking the mechanisms of excessive profit of the TNCs and, therefore, the mechanisms of unequal trade which is reproduced, on an amplified scale, from century to century, as the technological gap between industrialised and Third World countries continues to widen. It is only in this framework that alternative models for development can begin to take shape.

]/ Sid-Ahmed, Abdelkader "The IMF Conditionality" document prepared for the CID project on "Debt and Development" to be published as a Third World Forum Occasional Paper; Lichtensztejn, S. and Quijano, José M. "LDC debt and international private banking" and Martner, Gonzalo G. "Multilateral Debt Renegotiation", documents of the above project.
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MATÉRIEAUX

DEMAIN AUJOURD'HUI: EXPERIMENTATIONS SOCIALES ET CHANGEMENTS DE STYLES DE VIE

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Résumé: Face à l'emprise croissante des forces du marché et de l'intervention de l'État, il existe de multiples formes d'opposition émanant de la société civile. Parmi elles, nombreuses et diverses sont les actions entreprises à la base par des groupes pour accroître leur leur capacité propre de décision en apportant des solutions nouvelles à certains aspects de leurs conditions de vie. À l'issue de l'examen d'un grand nombre d'entre elles, l'article présente, une analyse des enjeux de l'expérimentation sociale à la base; examine les champs privilégiés de ces expériences à différents niveaux d'organisation sociale, et insiste sur le rôle de l'information pour sensibiliser l'opinion publique et développer un débat aussi large que possible sur les alternatives de développement et de styles de vie.


TOMORROW TODAY: SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION AND CHANGING LIFE STYLES

Abstract: The civil society is generating multiple forms of opposition to the ascendency of market forces and of the State. These include actions undertaken at the grass roots by groups seeking to strengthen their own capacity to decide on new solutions to problems of their daily lives. Based on a study of a large number of such actions, this paper analyses what is at stake in social experimentation, examines its more promising fields, and emphasizes the role of information to arouse public opinion and develop a broad debate on development alternatives and new life styles.

The 4 subsequent issues of the IFDA DOSSIER will contain illustrative notes, drawn from the project "Tomorrow Today", on social experimentation in different fields, starting with: appropriate techniques.

MANANA HOY: EXPERIMENTACIONES SOCIALES Y CAMBIOS EN LOS ESTILOS DE VIDA

Resumen: Para hacer fuente al aumento en la influencia que ejercen las fuerzas del mercado y el Estado, existen varias formas de oposición que emanan de la sociedad civil. Incluye entre ellas acciones emprendidas por grupos que van al grano del problema e intentan aumentar y dar fuerza a su propia capacidad para (cont. en la página 12 (78).
CE TEXTE EST LE RÉSULTAT D'UN TRAVAIL D'IDENTIFICATION ET D'ANALYSE D'EXPÉRIENTATIONS SOCIALES EN COURS, DANS LES PAYS INDUSTRIÉS PRINCIPALEMENT ET LES DOMAINES LES PLUS DIVERS. PLUTÔT QUE DE RÉSUMER CES EXPÉRIENCES OU D'EN DRESSER UNE TYPOLOGIE (1), IL A SEMBLÉ PRÉFÉRABLE DE PROCÉDER À UNE DOUBLE ANALYSE : CELLE DE L'ENJEU QU'ELLES CONSTITUENT POUR LA RECHERCHE D'ALTERNATIVES DE DÉVELOPPEMENT ET DE STYLES DE VIE D'UNE PART, ET CELLE DES CHAMPS PRIVILÉGIÉS DE L'EXPÉRIENTATION SOCIALE, D'AUTRE PART.

I - L'EXPÉRIENTATION SOCIALE COMME ENJEU

1. Expérimentation sociale, innovation et mouvements sociaux.

Devant les significations multiples que le terme d'expérimentation sociale (2) prend aujourd'hui, il semble important d'apporter quelques critères de démarcation, en particulier concernant, d'un côté, la différence entre innovation et expérience et, de l'autre, entre expérience et mouvement social.

Les expérimentations sociales peuvent être définies comme des actions menées par des groupes ayant une emprise sur une situation relativement délimitée pour apporter des solutions propres à leurs problèmes, en modifiant simultanément leurs rapports avec le marché et/ou l'État. Dans cette première approximation, nous voulons souligner les deux composantes de l'ES : la proposition et/ou la mise en œuvre de solutions nouvelles, d'une part, et la transformation des rapports sociaux ou institutionnels, d'autre part. Ceci découle de notre démarche qui situe la recherche de réponses alternatives dans des sociétés caractérisées par l'appropriation croissante des pouvoirs de décision par les forces du marché et de l'État, sur des sphères de plus en plus larges de l'activité sociale. Les expériences qui nous intéressent sont celles visant une créativité sociale en même temps qu'elles permettent à des groupes d'individus (la société civile) de se (ré)approprier le contrôle sur un des aspects de leur vie. Cette réappropriation va forcément de pair, de façon souvent conflictuelle, avec une mise en cause des pouvoirs du marché et/ou de l'État.

L'ES implique donc, sans s'y limiter, la mise en œuvre de solutions nouvelles, qui constituent le versant innovation sociale. L'innovation sociale peut concourir à l'amélioration de la vie, mais elle ne vise pas per se des processus de changement des rapports sociaux. S'il nous semble risqué d'assimiler l'innovation sociale à l'ES, on doit aussi se démarquer des positions qui considéraient l'ES comme la forme la plus appropriée de changement social, au moins pour deux raisons.

(1) Une synthèse en a été présentée dans le document préparé, dans le cadre du projet Demain-Aujourd'hui, par Ignacy SACHS et Michel SCHIRAY : "Styles de vie et de développement dans le monde occidental : expériences et expérimentations" pour le séminaire organisé par la Commission Économique pour l'Afrique et le Programme des Nations Unies pour l'Environnement sur "Les différents modes de développement et styles de vie possibles pour la région africaine" qui s'est tenu à Addis Abeba, en Éthiopie, du 5 au 9 mars 1979 (ECA/SAP/1979/6).

(2) Dans la suite du texte, nous utiliserons le sigle ES pour le terme d'expérimentation sociale.
Premièrement, l'ES n'existe que par rapport à un contexte donné, concernant un groupe social particulier et n'intégrant pas de manière évidente des dimensions d'intérêt plus large. Sa dimension fortement ponctuelle ou locale pose de façon accrue ce qui est partagé par toute forme de changement social, à savoir l'harmonisation entre l'ensemble des objectifs sociaux perçus à des niveaux spécifiques et à un niveau général. Ceci exprime les aspects toujours contradictoires de chaque expérience isolée. Ainsi, par exemple, si l'école parallèle constitue un essai de mise en œuvre de nouveaux rapports entre la population et l'appareil éducatif, elle risque également d'aggraver la segmentation sociale et les inégalités.

Deuxièmement, l'ES implique un ensemble d'individus qui acquiert un accès aux ressources nécessaires pour mettre en œuvre des projets, généralement précis, délimités dans l'espace et qui contournent la logique de fonctionnement du système. Il s'agit d'une mobilisation pour apporter des solutions novatrices. Ce qui fait sa richesse en constitue en même temps ses limites, à savoir celles de son champ d'intervention. C'est justement cette capacité de réalisation plus ou moins immédiate sans changements importants préalables dans la société qui différencie l'expérimentation sociale de mouvements qui ont des objectifs à plus long terme ou plus globaux ou qui visent explicitement la transformation d'institutions existantes. Les enjeux sociaux dans ce dernier cas sont en effet d'une autre envergure et se placent à un niveau qui dépasse la capacité de mise en œuvre de réponses alternatives concrètes, si riches soient-elles, propres à l'ES. Pour cela, le changement social ne peut provenir que de mouvements sociaux de revendication ou de contestation à plus grande échelle. Le mouvement nucléaire en constitue certainement un des exemples actuels : l'ES dans le domaine de l'énergie n'a pu conduire qu'à des réalisations de petite échelle qui ne sont pas de taille à répondre au défi nucléaire. Certaines d'entre elles-parce qu'au-delà de leur aspect novateur elles visaient, de manière implicite ou explicite, un changement des rapports sociaux - ont pu, cependant, devenir une composante importante du mouvement anti-nucléaire lui-même, en lui apportant une certaine crédibilité.

2. Expérimentation sociale et projets sociaux.

L'expérimentation sociale attire les discours les plus variés, voire les plus contradictoires.

Dans la période de crise qui touche l'ensemble du monde occidental, l'innovation sociale développée au sein de la société civile apparaît comme une source importante de réponses nouvelles, nécessaires à la dynamique de la société. Les courants modernisateurs des forces sociales dominantes sont ainsi souvent très actifs en faveur de l'ES ; mais cet intérêt porte surtout sur la seule composante innovation. Plus encore, le propre des ES développées dans ce cadre est la dissociation entre l'innovation et le contrôle des décisions (1). En fait, il s'agit de mobiliser surtout le changement du type consensus, minimisant ainsi d'éventuelles ruptures dans le tissu et dans les institutions sociales existantes.

Toutefois, ceci n'élimine pas l'intérêt de ce type de changement, bien que de telles actions ne semblent pas fonder des dynamiques sociales nouvelles à long terme. Ces projets modernisateurs, loin d'intégrer l'ES dans une approche de changement global de la société, tend à l'atomiser pour lui donner un rôle ponctuel de résolution de problèmes spécifiques et non reliés, au fur et à mesure de leur émergi.
l'ES dans un discours modernisateur lié aux centres de décision, un regain d'intérêt a touché aussi les courants idéologiques et les organisations politiques visant une transformation sociale. Ceci a suscité un vif débat, en mettant quelque peu en question des lignes d'action classiques. Ce débat est, en effet, marqué par le poids d'une certaine tradition politique axée sur la prise de pouvoir de l'Etat et sur la lutte dans la sphère de la production, considérée comme seule matrice explicative de la société. D'une part, cette même tradition tend à négliger toute initiative qui ne s'intègre pas d'emblée et explicitement dans une action et un projet coordonné, quel que soit d'ailleurs le niveau où elle se situe. L'action locale ne prend de sens, en effet, que dans la mesure où elle contribue et renforce des stratégies visant une prise de pouvoir au sein de l'appareil d'Etat. D'autre part, le primat accordé à la sphère de la production découle de l'idée qu'il suffit de changer le pouvoir de contrôle des moyens de production pour déclencher un processus de transformation dans les autres sphères de la société. Ceci conduit à considérer comme secondaires les actions menées à l'extérieur du domaine de la production.

Ce rappel connu étant fait, force est de constater que les débats autour de l'expérimentation sociale répondent aux défis posés par des changements structurels dans les pays industrialisés et au constat historique que la prise de pouvoir de l'Etat et le contrôle public de l'appareil de production ne sont pas suffisants pour instaurer des rapports sociaux véritablement démocratiques. Dans toute cette mouvance politique, l'ES joue ou doit jouer beaucoup plus le rôle d'une activation de la société civile visant de nouvelles formes d'association et de décision décentralisées. La question cruciale de leur rapport avec un mouvement politique reste encore ouverte.

3. Des réponses à la crise aux dynamiques de changement.

La situation de crise globale et ses multiples expressions sectorielles donnent une importance nouvelle à l'ES. Les périodes de croissance soutenue et continue dans les pays occidentaux ont certainement favorisé l'extension d'un consensus social autour d'un projet dominant, légitimé par le plein emploi de la main d'œuvre, l'augmentation de la consommation et l'élargissement de la sécurité sociale. Dans cette situation, il est typique que les luttes sociales soient axées davantage autour des demandes de participation accrue aux fruits de l'activité sociale. Les forces de changement qui mettent en question le contenu du projet de société sont conduites au retrait et à la marginalisation. La recherche de formes alternatives de sociabilité paraît devoir se faire "à l'extérieur". La société ne semble pas en mesure de mettre en question ses finalités et ses moyens institutionnels.

Le consensus sur les finalités et les moyens est en réalité largement dépendant des résultats du projet. C'est ce qui constitue sa faiblesse. Il suffit d'une crise touchant à la sphère économique pour faire apparaître tout un ensemble d'ouvertures pour la mise en cause du projet de société, tant au niveau de ses finali-
Certes, les situations de crise ne favorisent pas systématiquement des réactions sociales porteuses d'alternatives, encore moins d'alternatives d'ensemble. Tant s'en faut. Au contraire, et de nombreux exemples en témoignent, les situations de crise favorisent plutôt une soumission accrue ou des conduites parfois violentes de défense individuelle ou collective.

Cependant, dans des conditions très particulières, la crise peut conduire à un affaiblissement des règles d'action sociale et des rapports sociaux qui leur sont liés ; affaiblissement plus ou moins important selon l'envergure de la crise. Cette perte de légitimité ouvre dès lors la voie à une mobilisation individuelle ou collective pour formuler des alternatives. Les actions de réorganisation sectorielle peuvent retrouver derrière des obstacles apparentement institutionnels l'emprise des rapports sociaux dominants. A ce titre, elles renforcent la capacité d'un groupe social donné de relier les conditions de la vie quotidienne au jeu des forces sociales. Ces actions peuvent concourir ainsi à reconstituer la chaîne des enjeux qui définissent le projet social global.

Comment définir la notion de crise à l'heure actuelle ?

Au niveau le plus général, une certaine interprétation marxiste par la crise de l'accumulation et la montée des luttes sociales, d'une part, et de l'autre, l'interprétation libérale par les nouvelles données internationales (prix des matières premières et guerre économique) ont ceci de commun qu'elles se situent dans la même sphère, la sphère économique. Toutes deux conduisent à concentrer l'enjeu essentiel du changement dans la modification des rapports de production entre groupes nationaux ou entre classes sociales.

Ces interprétations, certes évidentes, expriment les processus de restructuration économique qui engendrent principalement le chômage, l'aggravation des conflits pour la répartition entre profits et salaires (pression à la baisse sur les salaires et redistribution sectorielle très inégalitaire ; pression pour limiter les coûts sociaux). Ceci constitue certainement les dimensions explicites – et partagées par tous – de la crise. Ces aspects sont la face la plus découverte du processus de restructuration/redistribution en cours et se manifestent directement dans des zones d'activité privilégiées qu'il s'agisse de l'appareil de production, de l'habitat ou des services sociaux.

La face cachée de la restructuration semble, quant à elle, être le processus de centralisation du pouvoir (économique, social et politique), largement appuyé par l'appareil d'information, et l'emprise croissante sur la détermination des choix sociaux, individuels et collectifs, par de nouvelles formes de combinaison des forces du marché et de l'Etat.

A travers des mécanismes encore mal connus, le processus de restructuration des sociétés industrielles pousse à la concentration du pouvoir, d'un côté, et, de l'autre, à l'ouverture de nouveaux champs de conflit et de nouvelles formes de contestation à la multiplicité des sous-systèmes de domination. A côté des agents classiques de la lutte sociale, au premier rang desquels les travailleurs, on voit aujourd'hui se développer, à travers des "va-et-vient", des actions menées par d'autres forces sociales avec parfois des enjeux dissociés, voire contradictoires, et dont les revendications sont souvent des mélanges de modernisation, de défense, de contestation et d'émancipation. Dans ce mouvement, dont les contours restent difficiles à cerner, on peut identifier un ensemble d'initiatives qui ont en commun de s'efforcer à conserver et même d'élargir, à différents niveaux, les capacités de décision de la société civile face au processus de consolidation/concen-
tration du pouvoir.

Ainsi, s'il est vrai que la restructuration vécue comme crise rallume les enjeux de classes, l'ES ne doit pas être considérée comme une forme d'action au rabais. Elle pose au contraire un défi majeur, celui d'établir un lien entre les nouvelles couches sociales mobilisées et les classes sociales définies dans la production.

Dans cette nouvelle dynamique, quel est donc le rôle de l'ES ? On peut, à cet égard, distinguer trois situations formelles quant à l'origine des initiatives qui ne se retrouvent évidemment jamais à l'état pur :

a) les situations acquises menacées par les effets de la restructuration, directement visibles dans le cas de licenciements ou de fermetures d'entreprises, mais qui se manifestent aussi dans l'habitat et dans d'autres champs ;

b) l'ouverture par l'État (parfois avec les entreprises) de nouveaux champs d'actions (1). La prise en charge publique de nouveaux problèmes encourage un débat sur les actions nouvelles à entreprendre et par là-même certaines initiatives volontaires parallèles ;

c) de manière plus large, l'émergence de nouvelles exigences sociales qu'exprime la galaxie des mouvements de contestation culturelle et sociale de certaines catégories de population. Les exigences qui sont de nature à modifier l'ordre des autres peuvent donner lieu à toutes formes d'action, de l'action idéologique à la marginalisation et aussi à l'ES.

Dans tous les cas, ce qui apparaît important, c'est le dépassement de l'action de défense pure par le passage à un processus de création pour apporter des solutions nouvelles aux problèmes vécus. L'ES combine ainsi, dans un processus de contestation, les aspects de défense (contre la destruction de l'acquis) et de création.

II - LES CHAMPS DE L'EXPERIMENTATION SOCIALE

La démarche qui sous-tend la présentation des champs de l'ES est guidée par une question : à quels niveaux la société civile peut-elle s'organiser pour acquérir son pouvoir d'intervention et de maîtrise sur les différents aspects de ses conditions de vie, en dehors et dans la production ?

I. De l'habitat et des consommations collectives.

L'approche par l'habitat apparaît pertinente pour aborder l'ES en permettant de préciser le cadre territorial et la collectivité concrète qu'elle implique.

Il semble en effet nécessaire de dépasser l'enfermement de l'analyse des nouvelles formes d'actions collectives dans le binôme production/consommation. Elles impliquent des groupes donnés, visant, sur un territoire donné, un contrôle de l'organisation de multiples aspects de leur vie qui peuvent toucher tout à la fois les champs de la production, de la consommation, de l'environnement et du cadre de vie.

L'unité territoriale, par ses caractéristiques propres, définit à elle seule des champs de l'ES en fonction de son degré d'intégration dans un ensemble plus vaste qui lui impose des contraintes physiques, sociales, institutionnelles et

(1) Sans négliger toutefois le rôle des pressions extérieures exercées sur l'État pour entreprendre des initiatives nouvelles. Ceci est évidemment manifesté dans la prise en charge des problèmes d'environnement et des autres aspects de la qualité de la vie.
économiques. Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant que les expériences les plus poussées de recherche d'alternatives soient étroitement associées à l'occupation parfois illégale d'espaces territoriaux.

En milieu rural, à côté de nombreuses et anciennes tentatives communautaires qui ont opté pour l'autosuffisance relative et la marginalisation, on assiste à des expériences collectives dans lesquelles une rupture profonde dans les modes de vie associée souvent à des productions autonomes n'excluent pas l'échange avec l'extérieur. C'est le cas, par exemple, dans le large mouvement de coopératives agricoles, en Italie, créées par de jeunes chômeurs sur des terres abandonnées. Beaucoup d'entre elles s'efforcent de développer de nouvelles productions, tout en instaurant des rapports, y compris commerciaux, avec certains groupes sociaux urbains. En milieu urbain, certaines expériences d'occupation de logements — dans les actions de squatting — ont permis de pousser très loin la recherche collective pour de nouveaux modes de vie. L'exemple très connu de Christiania, à Copenhague, au Danemark, montre à la fois les limites mais aussi l'impact extérieur de cette forme d'expérience.

Indépendamment d'autres dimensions, ces actions posent comme préalable à tout changement l'accès et le contrôle de la ressource la plus élémentaire : un lieu (lieu d'habitation d'abord et lieu de production ensuite).

On peut leur opposer toutes les actions collectives qui se définissent à l'intérieur d'un espace territorial donné et qui visent à une plus grande maîtrise d'une communauté sur ses conditions de vie à partir d'une transformation des rapports sociaux qui les régissent, à commencer par leur rapport avec les forces du marché et les institutions de l'État. Ces actions se situent à des niveaux très différents selon la taille des groupes qu'elles engagent et la communauté d'intérêt autour de laquelle ils se forment.

Au-delà du noyau familial — de l'unité d'habitation élémentaire — le petit nombre — et/ou l'homogénéité sociale — facilite certainement l'action collective en matière d'habitat et de services communs. Il existe ainsi de nombreuses expériences dans lesquelles des familles se regroupent pour réaliser la conception de leur habitat favorisant une vie communautaire, collectivement et volontairement aménagée, et l'organisation de services de voisinage. Ceci suppose évidemment une cohésion poussée du groupe.

La cohésion nécessaire est évidemment beaucoup plus difficile à établir à un niveau plus élevé, celui du quartier, auquel correspond une gamme plus large d'activités. Aussi peut-on identifier de nombreuses expériences dans des champs très divers (1) : qu'il s'agisse de groupements d'achats (dont la forme la plus connue est la coopérative alimentaire), de centres de soins, d'écoles libres, de garderies d'enfants ou de crèches, de collectifs juridiques, d'initiatives en faveur d'activités ou d'aide aux personnes âgées, de journaux de quartiers, voire même de radions libres, de librairies, de garages collectifs ou autres équipements collectifs pour ne citer que les plus répandus, à côté des initiatives variées, éphémères ou permanentes dans le domaine culturel.

Ces initiatives élargissent la communauté impliquée en même temps qu'elles situent à un niveau plus élevé l'ÉS. Cependant, si un consensus assez large peut s'établir pour une organisation collective et autonome sur une activité donnée, correspondant à un problème précis de la vie du quartier, la question de son élargissement se pose pour soutenir une vie communautaire plus globale.

(1) Dans chacun de ces champs, il existe des expériences dans de nombreux pays, sous des formes et des appellations très diverses. Aussi ne pouvons nous que nous limiter à l'énoncé de ces champs sans reprendre les terminologies exactes.
Dans certains contextes favorables, une initiative sectorielle a pu progressivement développer une conscience de la communauté d'intérêts des habitants du quartier aboutissant à une prise en charge très large des problèmes locaux par la population. Ceci repose certainement sur une forte homogénéité sociale. Ainsi, à Craigmillar, quartier pauvre d'Edimbourg en Écosse (25 000 habitants), c'est en partant d'un festival populaire d'art qu'une organisation de quartier a progressivement élargi son champ d'intervention pour aboutir à l'élaboration d'un plan global de développement du quartier. La population — à travers la Société du Festival — s'est ainsi instituée en interlocuteur face à la municipalité et les pouvoirs publics.

C'est cependant face à une menace externe pesant sur l'ensemble d'une collectivité qu'un consensus et une large mobilisation apparaissent plus aisés. L'originalité des expérimentations sociales urbaines observées réside, comme dans la production (la société TRIUMPH ou LUCAS AEROSPACE en Grande-Bretagne ou LIP en France), dans le passage des luttes d'un stade défensif à un stade offensif en apportant des réponses spécifiques, alternatives aux projets externes.

Ainsi, dans le quartier ouvrier d'ALMA GARE à Roubaix, en France (2 500 habitants), face à un projet de rénovation qui signifiait l'expulsion des habitants, la population a su progressivement s'organiser et se doter d'un Atelier Populaire d'Urbanisme. A l'aide de cet instrument, les habitants, rompant la division traditionnelle aménageurs-architectes/aménagés, ont élaboré leur propre conception d'habitat. A partir d'un rapport de force favorable, ils ont fait valoir leur plan d'aménagement à la municipalité et aux pouvoirs publics. L'organisation dont ils se sont dotés à cette occasion est aujourd'hui à la base d'un élargissement des initiatives collectives à d'autres domaines de la vie communautaire.

Ces deux expériences de quartier posent la question des champs qui peuvent être pris en charge par des organisations locales, même dans un rapport de forces plutôt favorable, et ceux qui relèvent de champs de pouvoir qui leur échappent, contrôlés par les entreprises ou l'appareil de l'État. Ce partage de compétences est normalement conflictuel, en premier lieu entre le quartier et la municipalité.

Un exemple très éclairant est fourni par l'expérience désormais classique des dix dernières années de la ville de Pavie en Italie. Une des caractéristiques est qu'un mouvement de base d'organisations de quartier a abouti au renversement d'un pouvoir municipal conservateur en créant une majorité électorale sur une direction favorable au mouvement. La nouvelle municipalité a reconnu et institué les comités de quartier en leur attribuant une fonction de représentation et de gestion sur les équipements collectifs très étendue. Autour de ces comités s'est organisée l'association des habitants à la conception d'ensemble de leur ville lors de l'élaboration d'un nouveau plan d'aménagement. Dans ce contexte favorable, certaines actions débordant la capacité des comités locaux ont pu remonter au niveau municipal pour être développées sur l'ensemble de la ville. C'est le cas, par exemple, d'une initiative sur la consommation et les prix, émanant de la base, qui appela la mise en place d'une coopérative municipale et des interventions auprès des commerçants.

L'élargissement du niveau des actions entreprises implique évidemment l'apparition de nouveaux champs plus larges de conflit : entre la municipalité et l'État d'une part, entre les intérêts contradictoires de la ville — en particulier avec les entreprises — d'autre part. A ce stade, il est manifeste que l'expérimentation sociale à la base perd son sens originel pour se nôyer dans le mouvement social en se liant à d'autres forces sociales et politiques.

Le champ d'autonomie potentielle au niveau de la ville face à l'État dépend du contexte institutionnel national et du niveau de décentralisation des décisions.
dans chaque domaine. Il existe, à cet égard, une grande diversité entre les pays. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'extension de ce champ dépasse la capacité d'action d'une municipalité isolée et relève d'actions de dimension nationale.

De l'autre côté, si l'habitat - à travers le cadre de vie et les consommations collectives - apparaît comme le champ privilégié de l'expérimentation, la capacité de la collectivité à maîtriser son développement et ses conditions de vie dépend de son pouvoir d'intervention dans la production.

Même au niveau du pouvoir municipal, ce pouvoir se limite habituellement à influencer l'implantation d'entreprises ou certains aspects de conditions ou du cadre de travail. Quelques expériences nouvelles ont pu cependant aller plus loin en favorisant la création d'entreprises nouvelles d'intérêt collectif ou privé ou en soutenant des entreprises défaillantes. L'exemple récent d'une ville moyenne de l'État de New York, Jamestown, entre autres, montre la portée que peut avoir l'intervention municipale dans la vie économique locale. En favorisant une concertation à l'intérieur des entreprises et au niveau de la ville entre employeurs/syndicats et travailleurs pour améliorer les conditions et les relations de travail, d'une part, l'orientation de la production, d'autre part, l'initiative municipale a permis de donner un nouvel élan au développement de la ville qui connaissait un dépeuplement très net.

Cependant, les exemples sont pratiquement absents dans lesquels une forte démocratie locale se serait accompagnée d'une maîtrise simultanée de l'appareil de production local. Certaines entités territoriales - petites communes ou groupes de communes - ont cependant développé un tissu coopératif local important, sans pour autant tomber dans l'autarcie et l'isolement. A cet égard, l'expérience de Mondragon, dans le pays basque espagnol, qui groupe plus de soixante coopératives interdépendantes constitue évidemment une référence, ne serait-ce que pour son ampleur et sa viabilité.

2. Au domaine de la production.

À côté des initiatives variées pour créer des unités de production nouvelles, généralement de petite dimension, nombreuses sont également les expériences, touchant des entreprises de taille beaucoup plus importante, qui ont apporté des réponses nouvelles aux effets de la restructuration économique, la fermeture d'usines ou les licenciements collectifs.

a) Une grande diversité de groupements de production de biens ou de services ont renoué avec les aspects les plus novateurs des vieilles utopies coopératives.

Ce foisonnement n'est pas étranger aux effets de la restructuration de la vie économique et sociale liée à la crise des secteurs de production et aussi de certaines professions. Très souvent, en effet, l'impossibilité de maintenir des formes traditionnelles d'activités individuelles et le refus de s'insérer dans des unités plus larges donne lieu à des organisations communautaires. La petite taille de ces unités favorise certainement des conduites de rupture très poussées par rapport à la division sociale qui s'exerce dans les rapports de travail d'une part (désocialisation des rôles, rotation des tâches, gestion collective du temps de travail et des rémunérations...) et par rapport à l'institutionnalisation des rôles sociaux, avec la recherche d'une distribution de produits et de services différents. Ainsi, voit-on apparaître de nombreux collectifs d'avocats, d'architectes, de médecins, d'éducateurs, d'éditeurs ou de libraires à côté de groupements de production agricole ou artisanale ou développant des technologies alternatives.
L'homogénéité professionnelle et idéologique des membres, d'une part, le niveau requis de division technique du travail, d'autre part, limitent évidemment le champ d'action de ces unités. Au-delà d'une fonction d'assistance sur des problèmes particuliers, elles peuvent se lier à des groupes pour participer à une plus grande autonomie locale ou même renforcer des mouvements sociaux plus larges.

b) Une problématique semblable traverse, dans le contexte de crise, le renouveau des formes d'organisation coopérative liées au contrôle ouvrier. Les coopératives, quand elles n'étaient pas vidées de leur sens originel, avaient acquis une place spécifique dans le système de production, quoique marginale. Il semble qu'elles soient appelées à jouer un rôle beaucoup plus fonctionnel dans la reconstruction en cours. En effet, il apparaît démontré que dans de très nombreux cas, la reprise par les travailleurs de leur unité de production constitue une réponse économiquement viable, au moins de façon transitoire, à la fermeture d'usines, aux licenciements ou, plus généralement, à la crise de rentabilité de certains secteurs. Assurant une fonctionnalité économique en permettant de sauvegarder des activités nécessaires à tout ou partie de l'appareil de production, ce renouveau pourrait répondre à une fonctionnalité sociale en limitant le chômage et les conséquences les plus explosives de la crise.

On peut ainsi formuler l'hypothèse d'un développement d'un dualisme à l'intérieur même du système de production marchand, avec un secteur à haute rentabilité coexistant avec un secteur coopératif - fortement autogéré - dont la rentabilité reposera sur les avantages de l'organisation et la responsabilité collectives.

D'autre part, le contrôle des travailleurs sur l'organisation de leur travail peut être développé à des degrés assez avancés, sans rupture radicale de la division sociale du travail, notamment entre dirigeants/employés. Les expériences d'équipes semi-autonomes dans de nombreuses entreprises montrent, dans certaines conditions, l'intérêt pour la productivité des entreprises d'une décentralisation de décision et d'une autonomie accrue dans l'organisation de la production. Le contrôle sur leur outil de travail et, a fortiori, sur l'orientation de la production supposent qu'à eux un transfert de propriété de l'entreprise aux travailleurs, ce qui implique aujourd'hui un obstacle évident pour le développement d'initiatives décentralisées, en particulier dans les secteurs clés de l'économie.

Cette double mise en garde ne saurait cependant sous-estimer le potentiel d'apprentissage et d'exemplarité qu'offrent les expériences de prise en charge autonome par les travailleurs de leur outil de production, comme l'ont démontré parmi beaucoup d'autres, les Lip en France, Vermont Asbestos aux Etats-Unis, Triumph en Grande-Bretagne ou l'expérience témoin plus ancienne des coopératives de Mondragon dans le pays basque espagnol. Au contraire, il s'agit aussi d'insister sur leur capacité d'innovation technique et sociale pour donner de nouvelles orientations au système de production.

L'expérience initiée par le Combine Shop Steward Committee de la Lucas Aerospace, en Grande-Bretagne, a certainement, à cet égard, valeur de démonstration pour beaucoup de groupes. Pour répondre à une vague de licenciements, les syndicats ont élaboré un plan de développement de nouveaux produits "socialement utiles" à partir d'une participation généralisée des travailleurs de l'entreprise. Cette expérience montre la portée d'une telle initiative en se réalisant dans une très grande entreprise et dans un secteur de pointe. Elle en montre aussi les limites en ne réussissant pas à déboucher sur une réorganisation effective de la production, face à la structure de pouvoir d'un groupe multinational puissant. Ce qui semble cependant le plus important, est le fait que l'expérience se produisant au sein d'une firme puissante, elle apporte à l'opinion publique un élément de crédibilité sur la capacité de formuler à la base des stratégies de productions alternatives.
Pour conclure, on est amené à poser une interrogation sur les champs de l'ES qui constitue un axe de réflexion principal.

Plusieurs auteurs ont progressivement délimité des champs spécifiques qui pourraient donner lieu à des formes d'organisation sociale différentes. Qu'il s'agisse de "troisième secteur" (Jacques DELORS, France) ou plus généralement de la notion d'économie duale (Joseph HUBER, Allemagne ou James ROBERTSON, Grande-Bretagne) l'objet consiste à privilégier certaines sphères d'activités qui pourraient donner lieu à une prise en charge directe au niveau domestique et communautaire ou sous des formes coopératives ou mutualistes. Il est clair que celles-ci peuvent donner lieu de façon privilégiée à l'ES.

On ne peut cependant pas écartler la question essentielle des rapports entre les secteurs ainsi délimités. En premier lieu, celle de savoir dans quelle mesure la dynamique du secteur II (ou III selon le cas) est susceptible d'infléchir l'ensemble de la société. Accepter de concentrer la recherche d'alternatives dans un secteur, probablement dépendant de l'autre (ou des autres), équivaudrait à renoncer à une transformation d'ensemble, à moins que l'on postule - et qu'on démontre - qu'un renforcement de l'un contribue à la reconstitution d'un système social divisé et désagrégé.

**Remarques finales.**

1) Dans une perspective de changement social, on peut identifier trois logiques principales qui président à l'ES :

- premièrement, l'expérience reste d'abord marquée par son caractère isolé. L'isolement peut certes résulter de processus très opposés. On peut franchement opposer le choix délibéré d'un groupe visant une autosuffisance plus ou moins prononcée et l'isolement provenant soit d'une initiative ponctuelle sur un champ partiel de d'action, soit d'une conjoncture socio-économique peu favorable. La multiplication d'expériences isolées ne permet certainement pas, à elle seule, d'entrainer une dynamique sociale soutenue. L'effet de propagation par imitation ne semble pas a priori capable d'entrainer une dynamique de changement généralisée. Cependant, à titre symbolique, ce type d'expérience peut être un élément de changement. La logique d'exemplarité peut avoir une influence idéologique sur des mouvements sociaux très variés;

- deuxièmement, la solution apportée à la satisfaction d'un besoin ou d'un manque prévaut. L'ES peut donner lieu à une généralisation autour d'une revendication relativement précise avec la transformation du groupe engagé dans l'action en un groupe de pression face aux pouvoirs constitués, État ou entreprises. L'ES peut ainsi jouer un rôle important comme initiative engageant un processus de modernisation ou même de plus grande démocratisation du système institutionnel. Mais ceci pose en même temps le problème connu de son institutionnalisation, c'est-à-dire de l'absorption de l'ES par les institutions. A cet égard, le risque ne paraît pas tant être son intégration dans les institutions que celui de voir son contenu détourné de ses objectifs;

- troisièmement, l'accent est porté sur la liaison avec d'autres forces ou groupes sociaux engagés dans un mouvement plus large et dont les buts incluent en les dépassant l'ES. Le risque que l'ES reste enfermée dans les secteurs périphériques de l'économie sociale renforce, en effet, la nécessité d'une complémentarité d'action avec les forces sociales engagées dans les champs centraux. A cet égard, les mouvements écologiques et antinucléaires ont certainement servi de liaison entre les expérimentateurs sociaux et certaines fractions des syndicats ou partis politiques.

(1) Voir IFDA DOSSIER 6.
2) Quelle ébauche de réponse peut-on donner à l'interrogation sur la portée de l'ES ?

Reprenant les distinctions opérées au début, on peut distinguer en premier les ES comme sources d'innovation répondant à des problèmes identifiés au niveau global comme toutes les expériences liées à l'économie d'énergie, le recyclage des déchets et matières premières ou les crèches, et en deuxième lieu, celles qui visent plutôt à développer de nouvelles formes de participation et de démocratie.

En ce qui concerne les premières, leur diffusion dépend de la capacité d'un système de production et d'un système institutionnel - donnés - à les reprendre et à les diffuser.

En ce qui concerne les secondes, la capacité de l'ES d'infléchir des choix globaux repose forçément sur la création d'un certain pouvoir de pression qui dépasse l'expérience locale.

Ceci incite à multiplier les échanges d'informations et d'expériences entre groupes engagés dans les actions les plus diverses, à partir d'intérêts communs, par la constitution de réseaux nationaux et internationaux. L'organisation de ces réseaux devrait permettre de concilier la double nécessité d'une certaine autonomie et diversité des groupes engagés et d'une certaine convergence de l'ensemble de ces actions pour alimenter des projets plus globaux.

On peut en même temps remarquer que si la diffusion des ES s'adresse essentiellement à des techniciens ouverts de l'État, elle ne pourrait aboutir qu'à la généralisation de nouvelles solutions techniques, sans support social. Si elle se développe à travers des réseaux parallèles de plus en plus complexes, elle a toutes les chances de favoriser la formation d'une nouvelle couche de "professionnels de l'expérimentation sociale", éclairant les choix du planificateur à travers des simulacres de prises en charge autonomes. Ce qui pose donc deux séries de problèmes :
- la multiplication de réseaux par thèmes et de leurs liaisons transversales ;
- l'articulation entre ces réseaux et les autres forces sociales engagées dans des mouvements sociaux plus larges.

L'hétérogénéité des ES rend cependant difficile leur canalisation vers les forces sociales organisées. Elle met en revanche au premier plan la sensibilisation de l'opinion publique pour développer une base sociale capable de se constituer en nouveaux interlocuteurs dans les processus de décision.

Le développement des formes très décentralisées d'information ne saurait remplacer une action forcément conflictuelle plus large pour un accès aux grandes médias. L'information comme ressource stratégique - ou la lutte pour la démocratisation de l'information - apparaît ainsi comme un enjeu majeur pour l'infléchissement des choix sociaux par l'expérimentation sociale.

Resumen (continuación)

Tomar decisiones en cuanto a nuevas soluciones a ciertos aspectos y problemas de las condiciones de su vida diaria. Como resultado de una examinación de una gran cantidad de estas acciones, el informe presenta un análisis de lo que está en juego en la experimentación social, examina los campos privilegiados de sus experimentos a distintos niveles de la organización social, e insiste en el papel importante que juega la información en hacer sensible y despertar la opinión pública y en el desarrollo de una discusión amplia sobre las alternativas de desarrollo y de nuevos estilos de vida.

Las 4 tiradas siguientes del Documentos FIPAD contendrán notas ilustrativas sacadas del proyecto "Manana Hoy", sobre experimentaciones sociales en diferentes campos, empezando con Técnicas Apropiadas.
Résumé: Cet article constitue la synthèse d'une série d'évaluation de l'animation féminine en Afrique et plus précisément en Côte d'Ivoire, Maroc, Sénégal, Tanzanie et Zambie. Il examine notamment le contexte dans lequel l'animation a été conçue, le genre de projets, l'origine de la démarche, le financement et les difficultés rencontrées dans leur mise en œuvre. Sa conclusion est que les programmes de développement féminin doivent être intégrés aux priorités nationales, répondre aux besoins réels des femmes africaines, reposent sur une recherche sérieuse, faire l'objet d'une évaluation permanente avec la participation des intéressées, éviter la dépendance à l'égard du financement ou d'une direction extérieure, encourager les échanges entre pays et à l'intérieur des pays, et assurer la formation des cadres locaux.

WHAT IS THE STATUS OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES FOR WOMEN IN AFRICA?

Abstract: The report synthesises national evaluations of programmes geared towards the development of African women carried out in 5 countries (Ivory Coast, Senegal, Morocco, Tanzania and Zambia). It discusses, among other things, the context in which such programmes were framed, types of projects, origin of programmes, approaches, financing and difficulties encountered in implementation. It concludes with the recommendation that women's programmes must form part of national priorities, respond to the real needs of African women, be preceded by research and involve permanent evaluation with the participation of women, avoid external financing or leadership dependency, encourage exchanges between and within countries and must provide for training of cadres using local resources.

¿CUÁL ES EL ESTADO DE PROGRAMAS DE DESARROLLO PARA MUJERES EN AFRICA?

Resumen: Este informe constituye la síntesis de una serie de evaluaciones del movimiento femenino en África y más precisamente en la Costa de Marfil, Marruecos, Senegal, Tanzania y Zambie. Examina especialmente el contexto en el cual se formuló el movimiento, tipo de proyectos, origen de programas, enfoques, financiamiento y dificultades en su cumplimiento. Se concluye que los programas para el desarrollo de las mujeres deben ser parte íntegra de las prioridades nacionales, responder a las necesidades reales y concretas de las mujeres africanas, apoyarse en investigaciones serias y ser objeto de evaluaciones permanentes con la participación de las interesadas, evitar dependencias externas en cuanto a financiamiento y dirección, animar intercambios entre países y dentro del país y asegurar la formación de grupos locales.
 Association des femmes africaines pour la recherche sur le développement

OÙ EN EST L'ANIMATION FÉMININE EN AFRIQUE?

A) Introduction

En Afrique, les femmes représentent non seulement plus de la moitié de la population, mais elles jouent aussi un rôle économique très important. Le système colonial en bouleversant les structures traditionnelles et en imposant "une économie de traite" a introduit de nouvelles relations sociales, des valeurs différentes et une nouvelle division sexuelle du travail.

Ainsi les femmes suivant les écosystèmes ont vu leurs tâches s'accroître ou ont eu de nouvelles responsabilités familiales. Dans les régions où l'agriculture est dominante les femmes sont reléguées dans le secteur dit traditionnel de subsistance. Elles effectuent 60% du travail agricole et fournissent 44% des prestations nécessaires à l'alimentation familiale. En plus, elles doivent assumer cinq à six heures par jour toutes les tâches domestiques : aller chercher de l'eau et du bois parfois à plusieurs kilomètres de leur habitation, faire la cuisine, le linge, s'occuper des enfants, transformer la matière première en aliments comestibles, etc...

Dans les campagnes, au moment intensif des cultures, les femmes peuvent consacrer 15 à 16 heures de leur journée à différentes obligations productives et sociales et ce même lorsqu'elles sont enceintes ou allaitantes.

Dans les centres urbains, les femmes sont des domestiques, des ouvrières, des employées du secteur public ou privé. Cependant la grande majorité de la population féminine est composée de "ménagères", c'est-à-dire de femmes sans revenus réguliers. Elles habitent dans des quartiers populueux ou dans les bidonvilles où chaque jour elles doivent livrer bataille pour survivre dans un environnement malsain et pollué, sans eau courante, sans hygiène de base.

L'éducation des enfants, leur santé, le chômage, le sous-emploi, la malnutrition, la sous-nutrition, la promiscuité et l'insalubrité sont les principaux problèmes auxquels elles sont confrontées.

Et pour aider à la résolution de ces problèmes, l'animation féminine a vu le jour.

Durant l'époque coloniale, elle était le fait des "femmes des blancs", dames patronnesses, ou religieuses, qui apportaient leur contribution à la "mission civilisatrice de l'Occident".

Leur action consistait principalement à inculquer aux femmes africaines les qualités indispensables à une "bonne ménagère" selon le modèle européen. Elles ignoraient de la sorte, le rôle capital que les femmes jouent dans la production agricole.
Depuis les indépendances, ces actions diverses ont été structurées suivant les pays dans le cadre plus général de l'animation rurale ou de ses variantes dans la mesure où les actions en milieu rural étaient devenues des priorités nationales. L'objectif de l'animation rurale était d'établir les conditions d'un véritable dialogue entre les cadres administratifs et techniques et les populations, d'aider ces dernières à s'organiser et de mettre en place un réseau de structures au niveau des villages capables de prendre en charge progressivement l'ensemble des problèmes du développement.

Les cadres de l'animation rurale dépendent généralement, suivant les pays, d'un ministère de l'action sociale ou de la promotion humaine ou d'une direction du développement rural.

L'animation féminine est née dans le sillage de l'animation rurale essentiellement tournée vers les hommes à l'origine. En effet pour assurer la survie des familles et garantir les chances de construire une société nouvelle, il était apparu nécessaire de faire participer les femmes au développement.

Cependant, l'animation féminine, à cause des difficultés et des blocages de tout genre, à cause des politiques de développement des pays en question, à cause de sa dépendance par rapport à l'extérieur, n'a pas toujours su répondre aux attentes et aux besoins réels des femmes.

Les controverses quant au bien fondé de l'animation féminine, l'absence de sa planification au niveau national, l'importance du financement et de l'encadrement étrangers, la permanence de la motivation des femmes et des cadres nationaux, sont autant d'éléments qui méritent une attention particulière. Aussi à l'heure où il apparaît de plus en plus urgent de promouvoir des idées nouvelles, de faire preuve d'imagination créatrice, pour préparer la prochaine décennie de développement, il était important de faire un bilan critique de l'animation féminine afin de stimuler la réflexion quant à ses limites objectives et sur ses liens avec les stratégies de développement national.

Ce bilan exécuté par l'ASSOCIATION DES FEMMES AFRICAINES POUR LA RECHERCHE SUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT - AFARD - a été fait à partir de l'expérience de cinq pays africains (Côte d'Ivoire, Sénégal, Maroc, Tanzanie, Zambie). Ces pays ont été choisis à cause de leurs diversités tant sur le plan géographique et culturel qu'au niveau de leurs stratégies de développement. Malgré ces différences, en ce qui concerne l'animation féminine, les méthodes d'approche à quelques variantes près sont les mêmes. Ceci est déjà très révélateur du peu d'importance qui est accordé à la spécificité de la situation des femmes.

B) Description des projets

L'Année Internationale de la Femme a joué un rôle prépondérant dans la reconsidération du rôle et du statut des femmes par les planificateurs nationaux. Auparavant les actions en direction des femmes étaient principalement orientées vers l'apprentissage de la couture et du tricot, les
cours d'hygiène et de nutrition et l'éducation civique.

Cette prise de conscience a permis la reconnaissance du rôle des femmes en tant que productrices de biens d'usage et d'échange. La gamme des interventions en milieu féminin s'est alors élargie à des activités plus rentables et plus conformes aux besoins réels des femmes.

I. Typologies des projets

Trois grands groupes de projets se dessinent dans les cinq pays. Il s'agit des projets à caractère social, économique ou intégrés.

a) Les projets à caractère social

Ce sont les projets féminins classiques. Ils consistent, dans le cadre des centres sociaux, des "foyers féminins" ou des centres de protection maternelle et infantile (PMI), en une formation dans les domaines de l'hygiène, de la puériculture, de la nutrition, de l'économie domestique et de la couture. Dans les PMI, il s'agit surtout d'activités médico-sociales (pesées des nourrissons, récupération nutritionnelle). Leurs conditions de vie en devenant des femmes au foyer, expertes, capables de gérer rationnellement leur budget familial. Cette formation, principalement dans les domaines de la nutrition, de l'hygiène et de la puériculture, permet de démystifier un certain nombre de tabous, d'apprendre aux femmes des techniques pratiques utilisables dans l'immédiat. Ces rencontres de femmes sont aussi l'occasion d'une très grande socialisation, les animateurs organisent parfois des causeries-débats sur différents sujets concernant la famille, la santé, la culture nationale, etc...

Cependant l'orientation d'ensemble de ces projets est inadaptée aux besoins et aux préoccupations fondamentales des femmes en particulier et du milieu rural en général. En effet ces actions ponctuelles de formation sans suivi du milieu, ont parfois de sérieuses répercussions sur l'équilibre du système social et n'offrent pas d'alternatives valables aux femmes. Ainsi au Sénégal, des foyers féminins forment des dactylos qui ne trouvent pas d'emplois, au Maroc après trois ans de formation des filles sortent, munies d'un diplôme en cuisine ou en hôtellerie qui ne leur sert qu'à travailler comme domestiques chez les gens riches pour un salaire de misère.

b) Les projets à caractère économique

Ces projets sont généralement initiés par des femmes désireuses d'augmenter leurs revenus. Ils sont aussi parfois suscités par des groupes politiques en faveur de leurs militants ou encouragés par les services techniques d'encadrement du monde rural. Les activités de ces projets sont très diversifiées; alors qu'au Maroc on ne trouve pratiquement pas de projets à caractère économique, en Tanzanie et en Zambie ils sont largement représentés, et en Côte d'Ivoire et au Sénégal, c'est une tendance qui se dessine et semble devoir se développer assez rapidement.
En Afrique de l'Est, il existe des groupements de couturières, des coopératives de femmes gérant des hôtels, des pensions de famille, des bars, des restaurants, des fermes collectives, des boutiques, etc... C'est sur la base des cotisations individuelles que les femmes ont constitué le capital initial qui sert à acheter le matériel et les matières premières.

Par contre en Afrique de l'Ouest, en Côte d'Ivoire par exemple dans certaines régions, les femmes s'organisent en équipes de production et louent leurs services dans les plantations de café ou cacao.

D'autres groupes féminins transforment et commercialisent des denrées alimentaires de consommation courante tel l'"attiéké" (farine de manioc). Au Sénégal, c'est le maraîchage qui rapporte aux groupements féminins des revenus substantiels. Parfois les femmes organisent des expositions-ventes de leurs travaux. Les bénéfices réalisés sont soit partagés entre les membres, soit destinés au financement d'autres activités ou à l'achat de matériel technique ou de matières premières. Ainsi grâce à ces revenus, des femmes peuvent construire une maison, payer la scolarité des enfants, améliorer leurs conditions de vie.

**c) Les projets intégrés**

La tendance actuelle de l'animation féminine est d'entreprendre de plus en plus des projets qui intègrent l'ensemble des activités des femmes. Ces projets généralement financés par l'Etat ou des organismes donateurs, visent à :

- alléger les travaux des femmes par la mise en place des moulins à mil et à riz, des concasseurs de noix de palme, etc;

- organiser l'hydraulique villageoise pour parvenir à une maîtrise de l'eau et à une diminution du temps de travail des femmes qui marchent plusieurs kilomètres pour chercher de l'eau;

- créer des bois de village destinés au ravitaillement en bois de chauffe pour la cuisine et en bois d'œuvre pour les artisans. Cette opération permet aussi de lutter contre le déboisement et favorise la reforestation surtout dans les pays du Sahel. Elle allège aussi les femmes du poids que constitue le ramassage du bois;

- diversifier la production agricole et à créer les bases d'une auto-suffisance alimentaire;

- stimuler l'élevage d'ovins, de caprins ou de volailles pour la consommation familiale, mais aussi pour la vente;

- instituer des pharmacies villageoises qui seront aussi des centres d'éducation sanitaire. Leur rôle devant être déterminant dans la prophylaxie et l'hygiène du milieu.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, il est souvent prévu dans chaque projet une
formation technique et en gestion soutenue par une alphabétisation fonctionnelle.

II. Origine des projets

De manière générale les projets féminins sont initiés et souvent exécutés par des personnes ou des groupes extérieurs au milieu. Ce sont des associations à caractère confessionnel (des religieuses), des organisations non gouvernementales ou des organismes spécialisés, la coopération internationale.

Au niveau national, ce sont les services techniques gouvernementaux. Mais les populations prennent de plus en plus des initiatives surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de projets à caractère économique.

Chaque organisme donateur a des préférences quant aux types de projets qu'il lance. Les religieuses, par exemple, sont très portées sur les projets classiques de couture, puériculture, hygiène... alors que les organismes internationaux ont des interventions plus spécialisées (alphabétisation fonctionnelle, formation technique, etc...).

Les services nationaux sont plutôt orientés vers les projets intégrés.

III. Les méthodes d'approche

La démarche adoptée pour initier les projets d'un pays à l'autre suivant le degré de prise de conscience et de motivation des populations, des gouvernements ou des organismes étrangers.

Les réunions de groupes, les sessions de formation, l'observation participante, la sensibilisation, l'étude du milieu, l'auto-analyse, l'évaluation permanente sont les différentes techniques que l'on utilise dans ces pays. Cependant le succès de ces méthodes est souvent fonction de l'aptitude des encadreurs à savoir être à l'écoute des besoins de la population et à saisir les problèmes du milieu.

IV. Le financement

Il dépend de la nature et de l'origine des opérations. Dans le cas des financements internes, l'argent est obtenu à partir des cotisations, ou de vente de produits fabriqués par les femmes (artisanat, couture, maraîchage). Certains projets sont aussi financés conjointement par l'Etat (personnel), et les populations (matières premières, main-d'œuvre locale). Ou alors par l'Etat qui prend en charge le personnel indigène, les moyens logistiques et par un ou des organismes étrangers, qui supportent les cadres expatriés et le budget.

Il existe par contre des projets féminins qui sont entièrement financés par l'extérieur.
V. L'encadrement

Depuis les indépendances il y a eu un effort certain quant à la formation du personnel d'encadrement. Des écoles spécialisées existent dans certains pays. Les cadres ont eu à former à leur tour des animateurs auxiliaires ou des leaders féminins au niveau des villages. Cette pratique permet à long terme de parvenir à un auto-encadrement villageois ce qui réduit progressivement la forte dépendance par rapport aux leaders expatriés ou aux agents nationaux plus attirés par le travail en milieu urbain. Des projets bénéficient également de l'encadrement de volontaires du développement de différentes nationalités et d'expatriés représentant des organismes caritatifs.

Ces caractéristiques générales sont celles de l'animation féminine dans les pays étudiés. Cependant, on trouve des différences d'orientation ou d'expression qui sont liées à la culture du pays, aux préoccupations des gouvernements, à l'intérêt que portent les organismes donateurs à tel pays ou à telle forme d'intervention et au dynamisme même des femmes.

C) Les difficultés de l'animation

Dans leur application, les projets féminins rencontrent des difficultés réelles qui sont des freins puissants dans le succès de leur réalisation. Ces obstacles peuvent être plus ou moins aigus selon les types de projets, les réactions des populations concernées, les moyens mis en œuvre et se situer à plusieurs niveaux :

I. Au plan sociologique

a) Le choix des objectifs

Connaître les vrais besoins des populations est une des plus grandes difficultés que rencontrent les agents du développement. Les femmes expriment parfois des besoins qui ne sont en fait que le reflet d'une certaine fascination pour les modèles occidentaux, alors que ces besoins ne résolvent pas leurs problèmes. C'est le cas des femmes qui demandent à être alphabétisées en français en pensant que cela va leur offrir des débouchés. Ces mêmes femmes désertent les cours après quelques leçons difficiles ou lorsqu'elles se rendent compte que la connaissance du français n'améliore pas leur situation! Le succès de certains projets dépend des moyens et du personnel existant afin que lorsque le financement ou l'encadrement extérieur doit cesser, les populations soient en mesure de continuer leurs activités. Il faut dire aussi que bien souvent les objectifs des projets sont confus, les financiers n'étant guidés que par leurs propres motivations.

b) Les responsabilités sociales et familiales des femmes

La participation assidue des femmes aux projets dépend du temps libre qu'elles peuvent consacrer à des activités nouvelles. Le volume de leurs tâches quotidiennes est tel qu'elles peuvent difficilement les concilier
à d'autres activités. Et dans la mesure où les activités se font au même moment où elles doivent remplir leur devoir de mère ou d'épouse, elles sacrifient leur participation au projet, malgré leur enthousiasme du départ. Ceci est à la base de l'échec de plusieurs projets qui ne se préoccupent pas de la disponibilité des femmes.

c) La réticence des hommes

Tout projet qui tend à rendre les femmes plus autonomes essentiellement sur le plan économique peut être perçu comme une menace sur la division traditionnelle des rôles et statuts. Les hommes conçoivent difficilement la participation des femmes à des activités extra-familiales, surtout lorsqu'elles peuvent en retirer une certaine autonomie financière d'abord puis sociale. La crainte et la résistance des hommes peuvent inhiber les femmes. Parfois même ils peuvent empêcher certaines de participer au projet. Aussi l'information et la sensibilisation des hommes quant aux objectifs du projet est un préalable nécessaire à l'implantation d'un projet.

d) La mobilité des agents féminins

Les cadres de l'animation féminine sont généralement issus des centre urbains. Aussi est-il très difficile de les maintenir un temps relativement long dans le milieu rural. L'attrait de la vie urbaine, le mariage, le changement de profession, l'absence d'intérêts profonds pour les problèmes du monde rural, ou le bas niveau des salaires sont autant de raisons qui sont à l'origine de la mobilité des animatrices.

e) La gestion des projets

C'est le point faible de beaucoup de projets, surtout lorsque la gestion est transmise aux autochtones n'ayant pas été formés à cet effet. Des projets économiques ont parfois échoué faute de gestionnaires valables ou à cause de malversations des encadreurs ou des responsables politiques.

II. Au plan méthodologique

a) L'absence d'étude de milieu

Les promoteurs des projets sont généralement très réticents à la nécessité d'une recherche avant d'implanter un projet. Leur préoccupation principale étant d'agir; "d'être concret". Cette hantise pour l'action est révélatrice de leur prétention, car une meilleure connaissance du milieu ne peut que contribuer à mieux cerner certaines difficultés d'ordre sociologique. Mais elle est aussi révélatrice de cette "mauvaise conscience de ceux qui possèdent et qui veulent faire quelque chose à tout prix" pour libérer leur conscience. Mais il faut dire aussi que bien souvent, les projets sont conçus par des "experts" locaux ou expatriés, sans participation des femmes, sans études sérieuses du milieu, sur la base de la seule compréhension que les planificateurs ou les promoteurs ont des problèmes et des besoins des femmes. C'est ce qui explique ces nombreux échecs retentissants.
b) La pluralité des projets et le manque de coordination

Dans certains pays, il existe un organe central de coordination des projets. Cependant, il est bien souvent débordé par la multiplicité des projets, par la compétition entre les différents organismes. Dans les pays où cet organe n'existe pas, les actions de promotion féminines se mènent de manière anarchique, se dédoublent. Il n'est pas rare même dans les pays les mieux structurés, de voir plusieurs organismes mener le même type de projet dans des régions différentes sans se concerter et sans coordonner leurs interventions. Et ce, au mépris des intérêts des populations féminines. Leur seule préoccupation étant la publicité que leur organisme en retire.

c) Le caractère sectoriel des projets

L'ignorance de la situation réelle des femmes amène beaucoup de promoteurs à ne situer leurs problèmes que par rapport à leurs activités domestiques exclusivement. Nonobstant totalement leurs rôles de productrices, ou leurs autres activités. En réponse à cette situation chaque projet prend en charge un aspect du problème sans tenter de cerner les liens qui existent entre les différentes facettes de la vie des femmes. "La couture et le tricot, c'est bien, disait une Marocaine, mais nous ne pourrons acheter le matériel et cela ne nous fait pas vivre. D'ailleurs les travaux domestiques nous pouvons les apprendre à la maison." Car cette approche ne fait que créer de nouveaux besoins, de nouveaux modèles auxquels les femmes ne peuvent prétendre.

d) L'absence de planification

Le problème de la relève est rarement résolu tant au niveau du personnel d'encadrement qu'au niveau du suivi du projet. L'avenir du projet est ainsi constamment remis en question. Dans le cas des projets financés et encadrés par l'extérieur, la "débandade" est encore plus grande et c'est dans ces cas que l'on mesure les implications d'une telle dépendance vis-à-vis de l'étranger. Ainsi, en Côte d'Ivoire, lors de l'évaluation d'un projet d'animation féminine, une femme s'est écriée : "qu'allons-nous devenir à présent si vous partez?" Pourtant des expatriés avaient, dix années durant, encadré ce projet!

Cette absence de planification se révèle aussi au niveau des débouchés. Ainsi, au Maroc, une fille après trois années de formation dans un foyer féminin a peu de chances de trouver un emploi. Ou bien des produits artisanaux fabriqués en Tanzanie ne sont vendus que grâce à la diligence d'une organisation étrangère. Dans telle région, des légumes pourrissent faute de camions pouvant les transporter en ville. Cette faiblesse dans la planification est un frein de taille qui doit être débloqué principalement dans les projets à caractère économique. Mais elle montre aussi le caractère de colmatage qui est attribué à l'animation féminine. "A la fin de la formation, le gouvernement va-t-il donner du travail aux filles?" demandent les femmes. La réponse est souvent éluidée car en fait rien n'a été prévu.
e) Le chevauchement des structures techniques et politiques

Dans la plupart des pays africains il existe des organisations féminines qui sont généralement des structures politiques du parti unique. Ces organisations, qui n'interviennent pas dans la conception des projets, ont tendance, lors des campagnes électorales, des conflits entre les divers clans, des visites officielles, à utiliser les projets et les femmes qui y participent comme une masse de manœuvre à des fins politiques. Les intrigues, les détournements de fonds, les querelles entre cadres des projets lorsqu'ils appartiennent à différentes clientèles politiques, la corruption, le népotisme, sont autant d'éléments qui handicapent la bonne marche du projet et ce au détriment des populations.

f) Le manque d'évaluation

Le principe d'évaluer les projets durant leur application ou avant la mise en place des structures d'encadrement national n'est pas encore très répandu. Aussi lorsque les cadres sont confrontés à des difficultés, c'est par tâtonnements qu'ils arrivent à redresser la barre ou à colmater quelques trous. Les modifications qu'ils apportent à leurs démarches et à leurs techniques ne sont en fait que des ajustements qui ne peuvent en rien remplacer une évaluation faite sur des bases plus rationnelles. En outre, une évaluation permanente du projet par les femmes elles-mêmes permet d'amorcer un processus d'auto-éducation et de remise en question de l'orientation du projet lorsque cela est nécessaire.

g) Le personnel

Il existe des difficultés réelles à trouver des cadres nationaux motivés pour travailler dans l'animation féminine. Le bas niveau des salaires, l'éloignement des centres urbains, la dureté des conditions de vie et de travail dans les zones rurales, le peu d'intérêt porté aux problèmes des plus démunis, sont autant de raisons qui ne prédisposent pas à un personnel nombreux et permanent. En outre, la formation d'agents locaux de développement ou de leaders villageois dans le cadre du projet n'est pas toujours prévu, ou ne peut se faire.

La dépendance vis-à-vis du personnel expatrié est très grande alors, car beaucoup de projets sont initiés par ces derniers qui ont souvent des moyens financiers et techniques très importants. Et dans la mesure où la relève nationale n'est pas toujours assurée, leur présence qui coûte très cher au projet risque de durer longtemps. Les questions liées au personnel des projets sont une des grandes faiblesses de l'animation féminine.

D) Conclusion

Le bilan de l'animation féminine demeure insatisfaisant et maigre. On a beaucoup parlé de succès de certains projets. Cependant lorsque l'on étudie ces projets, on apprend qu'ils ont bénéficié d'un financement et d'un encadrement extérieurs très importants. Peu de projets réellement initiés et exécutés par les populations ont connu de grandes réussites. Aussi,
les interrogations quant au bien fondé de l'animation féminine, et de son orientation actuelle demeurent pertinentes.

L'animation féminine ne fait pas partie des priorités nationales. Le financement et l'encadrement des projets féminins sont souvent laissés à l'appréciation des organismes donateurs qui dans le cadre de l'aide internationale peuvent apporter une assistance matérielle ou enseigner des techniques permettant aux femmes de survivre. Cette conception marginalise les problèmes des femmes et les rend dépendantes. Or cette aide massive de l'étranger est souvent non seulement un frein à la prise de conscience des populations sur la nécessité de compter d'abord sur soi-même, mais elle renforce aussi la dépendance des pays du Tiers Monde vis-à-vis de l'Occident. En outre, les modèles proposés peuvent nier ou effacer l'identité culturelle des femmes. Grande est aussi la responsabilité des gouvernements africains qui, par l'absence d'intérêt qu'ils portent à l'animation féminine, démontrent qu'officiellement, les femmes, dans leur grande majorité, sont considérées comme une population "non-active".

Or, on sait qu'en Afrique les femmes sont les principales productrices des cultures vivrières. Et le déficit vivrier actuel ne peut se résoudre en dehors des femmes, à moins d'une mécanisation totale et massive de l'agriculture de subsistance. Aussi, il apparaît évident que l'animation féminine doit s'orienter résolument vers la satisfaction des besoins de base des femmes, liés aux rôles qu'elles jouent dans la production et la reproduction.

Ainsi dans les zones rurales, l'animation féminine devrait se donner comme objectif principal : l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail des femmes, la diversification de l'agriculture vivrière, l'augmentation de la productivité, mais aussi la transformation de l'environnement.

Par contre dans les villes, la création d'activités capables de générer des revenus réguliers et la mise sur pieds de structures sociales permettant aux femmes de s'adonner à leurs occupations, seraient les réponses les plus adéquates à leurs problèmes à court terme car dans le long terme, il ne s'agira plus seulement de créer ou de gérer des structures qui "raccroissent" ou "bricotent" tout en accentuant l'inégalité des femmes cantonnées aux tâches ménagères dépréciées ou participant à des projets de moindre envergure. Mais dans le cadre d'une stratégie de développement auto-centré, d'utiliser de manière rationnelle les cerveaux et les bras que représentent les femmes, pour édifier une économie auto-dépendante.

En attendant, des mesures visant à influer du sang nouveau à l'animation féminine doivent être prises :

10) Réorientation des objectifs de l'animation féminine

Les projets féminins ne doivent pas être conçus comme moyens de colmater les problèmes que les femmes rencontrent, ils doivent être intégrés aux plans de développement avec pour objectif de résoudre les problèmes du chômage, du sous-emploi, du déficit vivrier. Cela suppose que l'on recon-
naisse aux femmes le statut de producteurs de biens de consommation et
d'échanges, que l'on reconsidère les problèmes de la distribution des
terres aux femmes, l'extension et la mécanisation de l'agriculture de sub-
sistance. Ces projets doivent donc répondre aux problèmes réels des femmes
et non à ceux de l'action caritative et faire partie des préoccupations na-
tionales afin de diminuer l'aide étrangère.

2°) Recherche et formation

La recherche est un préalable à tout projet d'action, son rôle est d'étudier
le milieu et la rentabilité des projets, principalement lorsqu'ils sont à
caractère économique.

Cette recherche doit être faite en collaboration avec les femmes qui ainsi
pourront à chaque étape évaluer leurs actions. Cette évaluation perma-
mente permettra aussi de collecter les données concernant la situation
des femmes.

Ces projets doivent être prévus parallèlement à des programmes de formation,
dont la première étape sera de sensibiliser et de "conscientiser" les
femmes sur les problèmes de développement. Tous les projets doivent com-
porter un volet formation des leaders locaux en gestion de projets, mais
aussi dans les différentes technologies à utiliser, ainsi que des sessions de
formation de courte durée pour les membres des groupements. Le ma-
tériel de démonstration doit provenir des ressources locales. Il faut
aussi favoriser les échanges d'expériences entre projets de même type réa-
lisés dans les régions ou dans des pays différents.

3°) Les types de projets

Les projets féminins doivent viser à augmenter les revenus des femmes et à
leur permettre par l'acquisition de certaines connaissances, d'améliorer
leurs conditions de vie et de travail. Ces projets doivent être intégrés aux
projets de développement régional. Ils doivent être conçus dans le
souci d'alléger les tâches des femmes et se baser, lorsque cela est pos-
sible, sur les organisations traditionnelles qui peuvent devenir des
groupements coopératifs de production et de vente.

4°) Financement et encadrement

Les projets ne doivent recevoir de financement extérieur à la communauté
que lorsque les populations ont commencé à amasser le capital de départ.
Ainsi, le financement extérieur sera perçu comme un appoint et non comme
un don, et les organismes nationaux et/ou internationaux apparaîtront comme
des partenaires.

L'encadrement par les services compétents (nationaux et expatriés) doit
viser à former à court terme les leaders locaux, et ensuite il doit assurer
le suivi du projet par un recyclage permanent de leaders ainsi qu'un con-
trôle de la formation des membres du groupement.
SRI LANKA: A NATIONAL DIALOGUE ON DEVELOPMENT

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Original language: English

Abstract: Designed to promote a broad-based national discussion on popular perceptions and aspirations regarding the future of Sri Lankan society, the project attempted to gain insights into the way in which households at different levels in the society, both rural (10 villages) and urban, defined the content of the desirable future life to which they aspired. This is the first phase of an on-going activity which will further develop the methodology followed and examine whether the experiment could be organized in a manner which should be linked more effectively to the national decision-making processes.

SRI LANKA: UN DIALOGO NACIONAL SOBRE EL DESARROLLO

Resumen: El proyecto que sirve de base por este informe se preparó de manera que resultara en la promoción de una amplia discusión nacional para formarse una idea de las percepciones y aspiraciones populares en cuanto al futuro de la sociedad de Sri Lanka. La tarea era la de determinar a que porvenir aspiraban familias de diferentes niveles de la sociedad, tanto en el ambiente rural (10 aldeas) como en el urbano. Se trata de la primera fase de una investigación que propone desarrollar más el método usado y examinar si el experimento pueda ser organizado de manera que esté ligada más efectivamente al proceso nacional del tomo de decisiones.
Godfrey Gunatilleke

SRI LANKA: A NATIONAL DIALOGUE ON DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The National Dialogue on Development was designed to promote a broad-based national discussion on popular perceptions and aspirations regarding the future of Sri Lankan society. The main objective of this discussion was to gain insights into the way in which households at different levels in Sri Lankan society, both rural and urban, defined the content of the desirable future life to which they aspired, and in doing so perceived the goals of development at the local and national levels. In the implementation of the programme there was a major emphasis placed on the process which the programme was to set in motion. It was to be an experiment in popular participation in the definition of development goals. The work undertaken within the project itself had to be confined to a small sample of the population owing to the obvious limitation of resources and time available. Nevertheless, the methodology that has been followed and the locations that have been selected enabled the Institute to develop the concept of a National Dialogue on Development into a more systematic ongoing process for the future. The second phase of the project which the Institute plans to carry out will therefore further elaborate the methodology that has been followed and examine whether the experiment could be organised in a manner which should be linked more effectively to the national decision-making processes. This aspect would be discussed further in a later section of this paper.

1/ This paper was prepared by Godfrey Gunatilleke, director of Marga Institute as a report to IFDA on the project "A Programme for a National Dialogue on Development Goals in Sri Lanka". The project was implemented under the overall direction and guidelines provided by Godfrey Gunatilleke. The rural dialogues were carried out by a team of researchers who prepared individual reports on each dialogue and made an analysis of the material for the village as a whole. The national dialogues were organized by the Institute's staff in collaboration with the non-Governmental Organisations concerned. The research team is given below: Sunimal Fernando, Consultant/Sociologist, Micro-Level Socio-Economic Studies Division, and Rex Casinader, Assistant Director, Micro-Level Socio-Economic Studies Division.


National: M.J. Perera, Associate Director, Implementation Projects and Studies Division; Sydney Wanasinghe; Ms. Yvonne Schokman; N. Abeynaike; S. Ranatunge.
A second objective of the programme was to activate what might be described as the "third system" in Sri Lanka. This was the system comprising voluntary organisations at the grass roots level such as rural development societies and agencies devoted to specific activities which have some bearing on development issues, such as Sarvodaya, the Young Men's religious associations, associations of religious groups, youth organisations and so on. The project attempted to bring together as many elements of the third system as possible into the organisation of the programme. This component of the programme however was confined to dialogues held at the national level where each group of voluntary organisations was requested to collaborate in the organisation of a dialogue, bringing together citizens from different walks of life in order to assemble various profiles of aspirations representing different groups. It could not however be said that all these organisations which participated in the project were able to enter into the project in a way which would enable them to act in the future as focal points for an ongoing programme of national participation in the definition of development goals. Nevertheless, it is expected that in the second phase this aspect of the programme would be better developed and a firmer institutional network established to promote a more structured discussion by citizens.

Another objective of the programme was the process of development education which would be set in motion. It was clear from the outset that the methodology that was being adopted was one in which the organisers of the programme were themselves participating in the dialogue, directing the inquiries and perceptions of the respondents and to some extent enhancing the awareness of development issues on the part of these respondents. The dialogue participants were most often not accustomed to visualising the future in non-personal and abstract terms as was required for the purposes of dialogue. The task of conceptualising and defining goals for the future well-being of one's family or one's community as required in the dialogue is itself quite alien to the thought processes of many of the people who take part in the dialogue. Therefore in the first phase these conditions have two results. First, the dialogue itself tends to be at times loose, rambling and irrelevant. In many instances, the responses reflect superficial views expressed for the occasion and therefore not derived from a well-considered set of values or priorities. Second, the dialogue itself functions as an instrument for clarifying the ideas of the dialogue participants and motivating them to reflect more consciously on a whole range of development issues. For this reason the programme has to be perceived as a continuing process. The first phase which has been completed would be useful only if it is the initial stage of a continuing dialogue. The first phase has thrown light not only on the problems of methodology but has also advanced the awareness of development issues among participants to enable the second phase of the project to produce more reliable and insightful discussions.

The framework for the National Dialogue - Methodology and selection of locations

As stated earlier, the dialogue was conducted among a number of rural communities as well as selected urban groups. The rural communities were chosen from different locations in the island representing different types of villages.
and covered agro-climatic, occupational, socio-economic and ethnic variations. The selection was purposive and not by any means fully representative. The communities that have been selected include among others a coastal village where the primary occupation was fishing, a community of wage labourers of Indian origin in a tea plantation in the hill country, an agricultural peasant community which was already deriving benefits from government irrigation programmes in the dry zone, a community of new settlers under a government irrigation project, a rural community in the south of Sri Lanka adjacent to a tea estate, a village community in the central region of Sri Lanka in close proximity to a tea plantation, a rural community in the wet zone close to market towns and in a region where there has been considerable development of commercial plantations, a semi-urban community close to Colombo in the outskirts of the urban commuter belt, a community of Sri Lankan Tamils in the northern part of the island, a community with a predominantly Muslim population, and a slum community in Colombo City.

The dialogues at the national level were organised for 10 groups. Three were organised by the voluntary agencies largely representing the young Western educated elites. These were held in Colombo and included business men, trade unionists, executives in the private and public sectors, mercantile clerks. Two of the seminars were organised specially for the trade unions; one was held in English and the other in Sinhala. Two seminars were held for the professional groups, particularly the academic community, and three seminars were organised by the National Council for Religion and Peace, one being conducted in English and the other two in Sinhala.

It would be seen that the programme was able to include a very diverse group of citizens in both the rural and urban sectors. The selection of rural communities covered a fairly representative segment of the rural sector and included communities which would have presented problems which were typical of the regions in which they were located. For example, the outlook of the coastal fishing village would provide some insight into the profile of aspirations of these rural communities which are scattered along the south-west coast and which are exposed to strong urban influences. The community of plantation workers has been selected from the community of Indian immigrant labour which accounts for a significant part of the agricultural workforce. The village community in the north-central dry zone reveals the changing nature of aspirations in a peasant community which is being drawn into a major development programme of the government and therefore offers interesting insights into the nature of responses of rural people regarding the prospects for improvement of material well-being. The four communities which are contiguous to the commercial plantation sector represent for different socio-economic situations with different levels of income, widely varying resource bases and different levels of dependence on wage employment. The national dialogues covered a broad spectrum of the main interest groups -- the business sector, the academic community, religious organisations, trade unions and youth. In the selection of the urbanised groups there is also some attempt made to involve the participation of people with different political affiliations representing the broad spectrum of political opinion in the country.

The methodology that was followed adopted two different approaches for the rural part of the project and the national urban part. In the case
of the rural dialogues it was felt that the project would have to be structured around a representative sample of household dialogues which would eventually lead to a village seminar. Therefore from each village a few households were selected from different income groups. For the purpose of the selection a broad classification of the income groups in the villages was made. In most villages the classification was based on observations and studies that had already been made in these villages as part of a programme of village studies which had focused on the structure of power in these communities. The classification however was not made on any accurate survey of income data as this was not important for the project. It was possible to group the households into 3 or 4 categories on the basis of general observations made regarding the standard of living of these households and broad estimates of their income. As far as possible the selection was to cover the different age groups. Therefore from each income category an effort was made to select households from four age groups spanning "young" households between 20 and 30 years of age at one end, and "old" households where the family head was over 55 years. In the actual selection of the households however it was not always possible to get all the age groups in each income category. As might have been expected, most of the households in the higher income categories were in the older age groups. The object of selecting households in this manner was to gain some understanding regarding the differences in aspirations related to income and age. The selection of the households also paid attention to such criteria as caste, village leadership, political affiliation. While keeping within the basic framework of income and age, families were selected so as to include village leaders who may have had decided views about development and the future of the village as well as households who had positions of authority on account of wealth, caste and status. Ideally the dialogues conducted within this framework was expected to provide profiles of expectations which would have enabled one to identify the perceptions of the future and the articulation of needs at different income levels and in different age groups. As will be explained later in the analysis of the content of the dialogues, the reality did not correspond so closely to the expectations that were implied in the framework.

One researcher was assigned to each village. He was expected to hold approximately 20-25 household dialogues which were to be conducted in depth with groups of family members present and participating in the discussions. Of course the dialogue was primarily directed at the head of the family with other members intervening when they felt inclined to do so. The researchers were expected to create a sufficiently informal atmosphere so as to enable the respondents to articulate their views freely. The researchers generally have reported that the methodology that has been adopted has been successful insofar as they were able to elicit a high degree of participation from the households.

At the inception of the project there were extensive discussions in regard to the structure of the dialogue. Some opinions favoured a loosely structured dialogue which raised a few general development issues and thereafter allowed the respondent to range over a broad field according to his specific interests. Another alternative was to select a few specific problems which were relevant to the village and thereafter unfolded the development dialogue to cover the main development issues. In the case of the former, experience of another
The project had indicated that while the outcome of the dialogue itself may be interesting, there was a tendency to traverse a whole area in an indiscriminate manner and include problems both of an important as well as of a trivial character. The second approach would have required much more preparatory work if it was to produce satisfactory results and could not have been organised during the period available. Therefore the Institute decided that the household dialogues should be organised round a carefully designed structure which was to be made available to the researcher in the form of a set of questions and themes with guidelines. These guidelines directed the dialogue to examine problems at three levels -- the level of the household, the level of the village and the level of the nation. Each household was expected to reflect on their expectations for the future of the household and how they would perceive the better life to which they aspire, what would be their image of the desirable future household in which they would be members. In this section the household was taken through the main elements of a profile of household aspirations. These included the basic needs category of food, clothing, housing, health, education. The researcher was expected to record what was available to them in their present conditions and thereafter attempt to elicit how they saw the future increments to which they could realistically aspire. The word "realistically" is important in this connection. The researchers were required to so establish the framework for the dialogue that the respondents are not permitted to indulge in ideal or utopian-type projections of the future life. They were to be brought down firmly to the ground of their present standards from which they were to project the possible increments to their well-being. By and large, the approach adopted has been successful in containing the aspirations within a framework which might be regarded as realistic.

After an examination of those components of material well-being which also included prospects of savings, investment, future employment, the researcher was expected to take the household to other areas of well-being of a more qualitative and non-material character. The householder was to be questioned on the conflict between traditional values, religious beliefs and family ties on the one hand, and urban styles of living and materialistic approaches to life based on modern attitudes, on the other. The householder's views regarding education for his children, employment outside the village, the place of the temple, the type of recreation, the styles of living -- Western versus traditional -- were also to be obtained. This part of the dialogue was to focus on the householder's concept of the desirable quality of life, the extent to which he held fast to some of the traditional values such as close family ties, links with the village, the important place assigned to religion and religious practices, the respect for village customs and so on. To what extent was he looking inwards to an improved life in the village, to what extent outwards, seeking to participate in the world outside in employment, education, improvement of status and so on? The second section of the questionnaire took the householder to the issues relating to the village as a whole. He was required to project his own image of the improvements to the village and the desirable village of the future. This again took the householder through the whole spectrum of economic, social, cultural, religious, environmental and institutional issues. The third section of the questionnaire raised issues of a national character. One set of questions raised issues regarding the model of development. Here the researcher was to raise general questions as to the
type of society which was preferred the consumerism of the Western society with ever increasing consumption of material goods or a more balanced model in which there is due attention paid to man's non-material needs -- religious and spiritual. It was appreciated right at the outset that this area of inquiry would present numerous difficulties. First, the understanding of what the Western model underlying the development process is would be very vague and fragmentary. Most households would find it difficult to respond to such questions at the village level. But at a more straightforward and simple level the conflicts between materialistic and non-materialistic values, tradition and modernity, would evoke a response from villagers.

The national section also dealt next with the political issues -- what kind of political system they opt for -- the competitive party system with elected representatives or alternative more authoritarian forms of government? What was their attitude towards democratic freedoms and the preservation of these freedoms? How do they envisage greater participation by the citizen? What forms do they have in mind, e.g. at the village level, at the enterprise level and so on? Another set of themes dealt with the organisation of the economy -- what was their attitude towards public ownership, did they favour a fully state-owned economy or an economy in which private enterprise is dominant, or a mixed economy?

After the household dialogues were completed the main conclusions were to be discussed at a village seminar which included participants in household dialogues as well as other selected discussants from the village.

The national dialogues were organised on a different pattern. It was not possible to structure the discussion in terms of the detailed and concrete inquiry into household expectations which was adopted as the basis for the rural dialogues. Instead, the seminar discussion was focused on two sets of development issues, one being problem-oriented and the other being value-oriented. In the problem-oriented section the seminars were expected to deal with some of the critical problems of development facing the country and to elicit an assessment of the national approaches that have been adopted and constructive view with regard to future directions. The themes included unemployment, poverty, population growth, the development strategies in agriculture and industry, and the dilemmas of mass education. The second part of the discussion dealt with the qualitative aspects of the desirable future social and economic systems for the country. This part ranged over many of the issues which were raised in the third section of the rural dialogues in relation to the political system, the place of parliamentary democracy, the conflict between tradition and modernity, the role of public and private enterprises in the economy, the distribution of income and power in society.

In regard to the rural dialogues, the most productive part of the dialogue was the first section relating to household expectations. Here it was comparatively easy to focus on concrete problems and well-defined aspirations as the discussion moved within a context with which the household was familiar and around which ideas could be clearly formulated and articulated. This does not however imply that the methodology adopted was without any serious problems. What was said earlier regarding the dangers of exploring future expectations has been relevant throughout the study. Even in the household sector the responses had varied in regard to definiteness, clarity and sense.
APPRIOPRIATE TECHNOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT

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APPRIOPRIATE TECHNOLOGY IS A TOOL FOR DEVELOPMENT. KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS LAST LONGER THAN MACHINES, AND THEY CAN BE USED BY PEOPLE IN MANY DIFFERENT WAYS TO HELP THEMSELVES, SO THEY ARE A BETTER KIND OF AID.

IT IS NOT LIKE AID THAT A BIG MAN GIVES TO A LITTLE MAN. KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS FOR WHAT? THIS DEPENDS ON THE NEEDS OF EACH COMMUNITY. PEOPLE GIVING AID MUST FIRST FIND OUT THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY.

IT IS MORE LIKE PEOPLE HELPING THEMSELVES. REAL DEVELOPMENT HAPPENS IN A COMMUNITY WHEN THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES DECIDE WHAT THEY NEED TO MAKE THEIR LIVES BETTER --

IT IS NOT "APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY" IF SOMEONE GIVES YOU A MACHINE YOU DON'T KNOW HOW TO RUN OR REPAIR.
IT IS APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY IF SOMEONE TEACHES YOU TO BUILD A MACHINE, OR TO FIX IT WHEN IT GOES WRONG.

This appropriate technology is "AID", but what is given as aid is not a machine, but knowledge and skills.

Then get the knowledge they need to choose a technology that is right for them --

And learn the skills that will give them control over that technology.

Doing this, they are using appropriate technology as a tool for development.
of realism. But as the dialogue proceeded to the other two levels, the responses have been less clearly defined. This is to be expected. Most households would not have consciously reflected on the problems of the village as a whole nor would they have formed well-defined opinions and views on the national problems. The rural dialogues also suffered from the inevitable consequence of varying quality and capacity among the researchers themselves. The nature of the information elicited and its coverage to a large extent depends on the initiative of the researcher who conducts the dialogue. As a dialogue of this nature had been undertaken by the researchers for the first time particularly in an area where a high level of speculation, fantasy and wishful thinking can be present, it was not possible within the short time available to refine and improve the methodology. The dialogue structure was pre-tested in a few locations and the content of the guidelines and the form of the inquiry were discussed intensively within the institute. Even so, it has not been possible to ensure that the dialogues were conducted within a framework in which both the priorities and the coverage were freely comparable.

The national seminars however presented a different set of problems. At the very inception it was made quite clear that the seminars were not intended to be an amateur exercise at development planning. There was no attempt to obtain technically valid and socio-economically feasible answers to the questions that were raised. What was attempted in the problem-oriented part was to obtain a general assessment by citizens of the broad directions in which the economy was moving. In the process if participants presented interesting innovative solutions to some of the problems, the seminars would have been certainly enriched, but it was clear from the beginning that much could not be expected in this direction. The discussions at the national level were somewhat disappointing in that a large part of the discussion moved along familiar lines and was given to an expression of views and opinions on development problems which were at a somewhat superficial level. This was in part due to the method that had been adopted. More could have been obtained out of these seminars with a longer period of preparation. It might have been possible to so organise the participation as to ensure inputs of better quality by selected participants. This would have required preparation of background papers and more intensive discussions. The second part of the seminar however was less demanding as it attempted to obtain a cross-section of views in regard to the changes in value systems and the desirable features of a future system. The responses to these questions were more specific and indicated the broad orientations within which the urban groups were thinking and acting. The lessons of this experience however are important for organising future work. It is possible on the basis of what has been done to structure a more meaningful and constructive dialogue in which citizens participate in the task of defining national development goals.

An impressionistic summary of the main conclusions

It is difficult to attempt an overview of the results of the dialogues that have been held. The dialogues provide a wealth of material which require careful and detailed analysis. Even though this first set of dialogues suffer from the methodological looseness arising out of the experimental character of the exercise, there is a very large mass of
information relating to a wide range of typical rural situations as well as some general view of urban approaches and attitudes to development, that comprehensive study and analysis would be certainly profitable and rewarding. The work involved in such an analysis might be assessed from the fact that in all there have been approximately 200 household dialogues, approximately 10 village seminars, and 10 national dialogues. The material is therefore voluminous and requires a considerable effort at detailed analysis. However, for the purpose of this initial report on the dialogues, a mode of analysis of a somewhat impressionistic character has been adopted. The researchers have attempted to assess the level of expectations in relation to each of the major categories of needs. In making these assessments, no attempt has been made to apply a set of rigorous measurements. The researchers have attempted to set the future expectations against present conditions and tried to evaluate these expectations. In the first instance, researchers have grouped present conditions in terms of 3 or 4 categories ranging from low to high. As against this categorisation they have placed the expectations once again in terms of the categories which describe the present conditions. In some instances refinements have been attempted. For example, where present conditions are already high and expectations go beyond this level, the range of future expectations may be placed as high plus. All the researchers have not followed an identical scheme for evaluating the profile of expectations in the manner suggested. They have adopted their own scheme in relation to specific conditions of living within the village in which they have worked. For example, the low condition in regard to food may be different for a village where there is no serious food insufficiency even in the households at the bottom income level in the village, whereas it would be different in a village where the households at the bottom are in conditions of absolute poverty and where the main expectation is an increase in quantity, i.e. ability to have three full meals a day. The researchers have described in detail the content of low, medium or high or any other criteria they have used for grading. This crude attempt at evaluating expectations is however successful in indicating the nature of the gap between present conditions and future expectations. Where present conditions in a community are largely weighted towards the low level and where future expectations are generally in the high range, it would be possible to make some conclusions about the magnitude of the gap between present conditions and future expectations and the resulting tensions, the discontent and the sense of deprivation in the community. But in order to use these assessments as a more reliable tool for measuring the degree of inner deprivation and the pressures that are mounting in regard to future expectations, it would have been necessary to refine these measurements to a much greater degree. An effort would be made in this direction in the next phase of the project.

No effort will be made in this note to try to capture the diversity and richness of all the material that has been presented in the dialogues. What is attempted is to give a set of broad conclusions which would give some insight into selected key elements in the diverse profiles of expectations which emerge from these dialogues.

(i) The views expressed in the dialogues tend to support the conclusion that the expectations at the rural level are contained at a level of moderation and do not on the whole manifest any inordinate pressure towards high levels.
of material well-being which are substantially above the levels prevailing in the village. In other words, in most of the villages that have been included in the project the frame of reference is internal to the village and the ideal level of expectations appears to be derived from the better conditions prevailing in the village. This is illustrated even in the villages where the high income groups have reached income levels which compare favourably with middle class incomes in the urban area -- e.g. Kaledivulwewa. It is also generally true that the pressures of future expectations are contained within a relatively moderate increment. For instance, those who are in the low category seek to reach the moderate category. Many in the moderate category aspire for improvements which are still categorised as moderate. If one uses the criterion suggested by Durkheim for assessing the sense of inner deprivation or unhappiness -- the gap between expectations and the possibility of releasing these expectations -- it might be said that in the rural context this gap is not very wide, and that the increments to well-being which are sought after by rural communities are within the capacity of the system to deliver with the right effort.

(ii) When this is said, however, there are specific areas where problems of a more critical nature emerge. There are large groups as yet in a number of rural communities as well as in the slum community who visualise the improvement in the food intake in purely quantitative terms. This is very likely an indication of absolute poverty as many of these households place the possibility of having three daily meals as being the most important improvement in regard to food. The fact that the households are still at a level where improvements are exclusively seen in the quantity of food taken, clearly suggests a level of food insufficiency which is indicative of absolute poverty. Where the expectations regarding food relate to improvement of quality and inclusion of protein-rich food, there is evidently an income level which is above the poverty line. Taken together, the dialogues again indicate a modest food package. In many cases what is expected in the future is a better supply of protein food -- milk, eggs, fish, meat. The dietary style remains very much a rural style. The desire for tinned foods as well as butter and jam is not pronounced. They are considered essentially luxury items.

(iii) Another critical area is education. It is evident from the dialogues that aspirations in regard to education remain quite high for all income groups, whereas the levels of education in the low income groups are generally low. This is clearly due to socio-economic causes. The emphasis on education also reveals an interesting feature in the profile of expectations at least for some of the rural communities. The low income groups see their betterment not only for themselves but for their children and are ready to wait for their children to move upwards in the social ladder through education. Therefore education is given an important place. It is in this area that the pressure of expectations seems to go beyond the bounds of what can be easily realised and could be therefore an area of serious discontent and tension. There are of course variations in the pattern. In some of the rural areas the low income groups do not press as hard for high levels of education for their children. In the estate community while there is a clear preference for high levels of education among all income groups, this is confined to the males.

(iv) Another interesting feature that comes out of most of the dialogues is
the great importance and priority given to housing. In almost all cases one sees that savings and increments to income are perceived as a means of improving, building or acquiring one's own house. In this context it is important to note that the dialogues reveal both a desire and a significant propensity to save among all economic strata in the rural sector. This is manifested to a degree which is unexpected in the prevailing socio-economic conditions of these households and belies conventional notions about their capacity and inclination to save. These elements in the profile of expectations is indicative of an outlook which contributes to stable settled patterns of living which is rooted in the community. The expectations regarding housing go with a certain package of improvements in the interior of the house and the acquisition of consumer durables. Here again while emphasis is given to furniture such as a wardrobe, table, chairs, the desire for highly expensive consumer durables such as a refrigerator or a television set is rare. The range of consumer durables which are popular and which are symbols of a better life are bicycles, radios, cassette recorders, sewing machines and so on. Some of the dialogues are interesting for the mode of expression regarding the acquisition of new goods. There is a general acknowledgement that in themselves these goods can improve their well-being -- e.g. a refrigerator or a fan -- but with it there is most often a recognition that these are somewhat beyond their present means and would take lower priority even when their income levels rise. For this reason one does not get an overall impression of a community which has been exposed to the demonstration effects of a large range of expensive consumer durables and consequently is hankering after their acquisition. It would be however interesting to see how these responses withstand the flow of consumer durables both as a result of liberalisation and as a result of the outflow of large numbers of young people from low-income households to the Middle East.

(v) This perhaps has to be qualified in terms of the picture which emerges from the dialogues in the slum community where the youth as well as households with middle incomes are ready to spend their money on expensive clothes and consumer durables. Even while neglecting basic needs, this is of course the impact of the exposure to urban styles of living.

(vi) The majority of the dialogues in the rural sector as well as in the estates indicates that there is no marked preference for outward mobility. This comes out fairly clearly in such rural communities as Megalla, Kaledivulwewa and Henegama. The younger generation does show evidence of a desire to find employment outside the village, but this does not apply invariably to all households. On the whole the communities seem to be centered on themselves and to that extent inward looking. The dialogues do not give evidence of a widespread pressure for outward migration. This would imply that as regards future expectations, the development in and around the rural communities would to a large extent be adequate if the improvements that are expected for the household and the village are met.

(vii) The questions relating to traditional value systems, the place of religion, the role of the family and kinship ties did figure as an important element in the vision of a desirable future life. But here it is difficult to draw any significant conclusions. In most cases the responses indicated that the future society which is the outcome of development should retain
these elements and that they were valued by the households who were participating in the dialogue. There were of course the minority which questioned the importance to be assigned to these values in a process of development. But even in these cases many were objecting to the institutional form which religion has taken and the vested interests which had organised themselves around it. The substance of religion and its importance for the lives of individuals was seldom unequivocally dismissed. But the dialogues do not help us to understand how the participants themselves saw the conflict between what they valued in the traditional value systems on the one hand and the new life styles, values, consumption patterns on the other, which would inevitably grow out of the changes and the developments that were taking place. While recognising the importance of religious values and cultural identity, the responses seldom went on to consider how these had to be protected and preserved in the process of development. First, the dialogues do not seem to have perceived any sharp conflict or confrontation between tradition and modernity, between religious values and the modern scientific materialistic attitudes. Second, while there was a vague awareness of the threat to the preferred systems as a result of the entry of urban life styles and ways of living, this threat itself was not clearly articulated nor was there a sufficient understanding of its significance. On the basis of the material available, it is not possible to derive any conclusions as to how these rural communities maintain their equilibrium within this somewhat confused ideological frame. One expected a greater awareness of the inherent conflicts. On the other hand, it is also likely that the rural communities did not perceive a sharp conflict between the religious system and the modern development process leading to material well-being. It would seem that the moderateness of expectations has some connection to the ideology in the village and to the way in which the pursuit of material improvement and the value systems which emphasize non-material needs somehow are held together and co-exist at present. It would be useful to examine these themes in greater detail. What is necessary is to inquire whether in fact at the less-than-conscious level, these communities seek to evolve their own synthesis of tradition and modernity and provide the co-existence of different value systems without engendering sharp conflicts between them. These comments however are of a speculative nature and would need to be substantiated by much more detailed work at the village level. In the same context most participants both at the local and national levels argued for a separation of religion from politics. This was essentially a reaction against the mobilisation of religious support for political ends and was derived from a concern to prevent the religious dimension from being profaned by the political processes and to protect the integrity of religion in society. The majority of respondents did not distinguish the politicisation of religion from the constructive role that religion might play in development and social change. Surprisingly enough, they did not emphasize the moral and ethical force of religion for society and the processes of Government as a whole. The notion of 'dharmista' or 'righteous' Government, the avowed objective of the ruling party was not commented upon explicitly in this context. This could have been the result of the way in which the dialogue was structured and the issues were raised. What might have been of great value would have been the exploration of the popular perception of 'righteous' Government.

(viii) The dialogues attempted to distinguish the perceptions and aspirations
of the younger generation from those of the older households. But in the
discussions themselves, while differences are recognisable and there is
generally a higher level of expectation among the youth there is no evidence
of a sharp or irreconciliable conflict of attitudes suggesting a deep dis-
continuity with the past or breakaway from the older generation. Neither
does the difference in levels of expectation stand out in sharp contrast to
the pattern of differences among households as a whole. More analysis is
however needed before any definite conclusions are drawn.

(ix) A large majority of the dialogue participants did not wish to see any
major departure from the existing political and economic system. Most of them
wished to preserve the present political system which enabled citizens to exer-
cise their power through the vote and choose between competing parties. They
wanted to achieve the desirable future and improvements to the social system
through the processes of parliamentary democracy. In the urban dialogues,
however, there was repeated reference to the evils of the party system, but
the discussion itself did not separate the abuses arising from the exercise
of power by individual parties on the one hand, and the inherent weaknesses
of a multiparty system on the other. The consensus however appears to point
in the direction of an endorsement of a system which preserves values of
freedoms based on free elections and the institutionalisation of political
opposition and dissent by citizens. The preferences of the majority is
clearly for an open society.

(x) On the questions of social and economic organisation, there is again the
majority view that there should be a mixed economy. The approach to this
question by those who favour a mixed economy was not based on identical grounds.
In most cases there was a distrust of large bureaucracies. The state enter-
prises appear to have left a popular impression of mismanagement and inef-
ficiency. In this context the private sector is seen as a sector which must
play a significant role in development and economic activity. At the same
time many participants seem to argue for an important welfare component ad-
ministered by the state. The dialogues themselves have not probed very far
to examine the views of participants regarding subsidies and free public
services. Some opinions expressed seem to support a general strategy which
reduced the element of subsidy provided the pace of development was acceler-
ated and incomes rapidly increased. At the same time many participants ap-
peared to regard the mixed economy as one in which the state played an im-
portant role through its welfare services.

(xi) The theme of participation in decision-making received more attention
in the national dialogues than at the village level. At the national level
the need for a more participative system was strongly urged in several
seminars. Participants argued that the parliamentary electoral system in
which voters made their choice of Government once in several years did not
adequately provide mechanisms for continued involvement of the people. The
current efforts at decentralisation was endorsed as a movement in the right
direction. Forms of 'self-management' in enterprises were strongly advocated
at the Trade Union seminars. It could be said that the desirable system that
was projected at the discussions was one which avoided the processes of
bureaucratisation and the expansion of centralised state machinery and which
promoted instead decentralisation, self-management and the participation of
the people. At the local level however the theme of participation did not evoke much comment. The discussion of rural institutions and the capacity for self-management at the local level seldom produced well-considered thoughtful responses. The need for strengthening local government generally seemed to find support. There was still evidence of strong dependence on initiatives and administrative action flowing from the government system. In order to elicit a more active response on the issue of participation, future dialogues would have to focus more specifically on it.

(xii) What would be revealing would be a more detailed analysis of the subtle variations in the patterns of expectation and the definition of development goals in the entire range of village and national dialogues. In the general patterns there are exceptions which stand out. For example, the village of Medakumbura is more outward looking than most villages with a marked preference for government employment and for more remunerative jobs outside the village. This is influenced by the occupational structure of the village workforce which includes several government employees. There is less value placed on extended family ties and more emphasis on the nuclear unit. There is greater receptivity to new values and in all respects a higher level of expectation than most other villages. The various images of the better life at the household, village, and national levels which emerge from the dialogues would therefore need to be examined in greater depth in relation to income levels, extent of exposure to external and urban influences and socio-economic structures. This would be undertaken as part of the continuing work on this project.
A BASIC NEED OF ASIA: INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

The Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) had convened at Bangkok, Thailand, in February 1979, 'a group of eminent persons on emerging development issues'. The substantive part of the Group's Report is reproduced below.

LOOKING AHEAD

The Group emphasized that, within the limited time available to it, it could address itself to the task of conceptualizing emerging development issues on a highly selective basis and in a broad framework. The policy responses the Group could suggest were derived from and interwoven with the identification of issues, and were broadly indicative of directions. Follow-up discussions on specific ideas would be necessary for more precise articulation in a sectoral context. The Group did not consider it appropriate to go into specific sectoral details.

At the beginning of its consideration of the emerging development issues the Group felt that, useful as reviews of the past were in identifying successful development efforts, there was a need for bold and imaginative approaches in the future. The rapidity with which technological change was taking place in modern societies threw up new challenges for the future. Basically, there was need for more innovative approaches as distinct from imitation of past development models.

In the Third World countries of ESCAP, recent development experience showed wide variations. A number of countries in the region had managed to attain relatively high growth rates in production, income and exports. However, the overwhelming fact remained that the bulk of the world's 800 million people trapped in absolute poverty were in Asia. Even in Third World countries with a fast rate of general growth, a large part of the population

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1/ The Group was comprised of: Dr. Moinuddin Baqai, Special Secretary, Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs, Pakistan (Rapporteur); Mr. F.N. Bennet, Deputy Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce, Australia; Dr. E. Bragina, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR; Dr. Krasae Chanawong, Adviser, Office of the Prime Minister, Thailand (Chairman); Mr. B. Kodijat, Secretary, Board of Industrial Research and Development, Indonesia; Mr. Yoshihiro Kogane, Special Adviser to the Minister, Economic Planning Agency, Japan (Vice-chairman); Dr. Arthit Ourairat, Special Adviser to the Prime Minister, Thailand; and H.E. Dr. Vincente Paterno, Minister of Industry, Philippines. The members of the Group attended in their personal capacity.
continued to be deprived of basic needs. It would therefore be necessary to combine economic growth with progress in providing mechanisms for ensuring the satisfaction of basic needs together with efforts to improve the growth performance of countries lagging behind.

Some Third World countries in the region which were held up as successful examples based on outward-looking strategies had achieved their success by obtaining an increasing share of Industrialized country markets at a time of rapid growth of world trade. The international climate might not be so favourable in the future especially if a larger number of countries attempted to follow similar strategies of export development.

It was pointed out to the Group that recent experience had also underlined that too rapid a rate of growth, as such, could produce strains on the social fabric. Social institutions had to undergo appropriate transformations to absorb rapid growth.

It was also pointed out that, important as the need for new directions was, lessons might be drawn from the experience of high-growth Third World countries, so that policies which had proved themselves useful could be assessed with a view to improving their application, if found appropriate.

**INTERDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANT GROWTH**

Viewed in the context of interrelationships among countries, it was pointed out that, while hopeful of their evolution along favourable lines, the Third World countries should be realistic in their assessment of prospects of growth and access to markets in the international context. Third World countries, with their comparatively weak bargaining position, particularly needed a sense of security about their capacity for autonomous decision-making regarding their own development.

Three aspects were repeatedly referred to in the discussions. Dynamic interdependence implied structural changes not only in Third World countries but appropriately in Industrialized countries also. Third World countries would continue to need inflow of external resources and technical know-how; in their own individual context they had to define for themselves the pattern and degree of external dependence. Progress in development of Third World countries could influence the growth and stability of Industrialized countries.

Coming to the question of international economic relations, the Group noted the urgent necessity of more equitable terms of participation for Third World countries in such relations. As part of a continuing movement towards a new international economic order, there should be progressive institutionalizing of the various elements of relationship between the Industrialized and Third World countries, in the sense of providing them with the foundation of agreed parameters in reducing external instability.

The process of negotiation and bargaining by Third World countries would be strengthened to the extent they were reliant on internal sources, at least for the basic necessities of life and the required inputs. Extension of
such self-dependence, without undue sacrifice of the advantages of exchange with other countries, was possible through collective self-reliance among Third World countries. The Group was reminded that assuredness of the long-term policies of the partners in co-operative arrangements, geographical contiguity, broad similarities in socio-economic structure and common long-term objectives were the key elements in the success of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Such arrangements should not be at the expense of broader functional groupings where economic advantages could be demonstrated as accruing to each of the members, as in clearance arrangements, regional preferential trade arrangements, etc. Various proposals had been mooted in Third World countries' forums; for instance, pooling of import requirements, joint external marketing with, wherever possible, joint processing units, mutual preferential treatment in government procurement, joint participation in tender for aid-financed projects, etc. A careful choice could be made on the basis of operational criteria and political feasibility.

INTERNAL GROWTH DYNAMICS

The Group emphasized the urgent need for intensifying and internalizing the process of development through the adoption of a more comprehensive approach integrating social, economic and political changes. An overall societal advance, eliminating socio-economic inequalities in the process of economic growth, would include greater participation of neglected sections of the society in production processes, improvement in efficiency within small productive units and expansion of minimum social services to cover the entire population. Above all, it would require evolving innovative development approaches which were firmly rooted in the cultural patterns, traditions and beliefs in various countries.

Some members of the Group felt that imitative patterns of development tended to create enclaves of elitist life styles disrupting the basic cohesiveness of society. That had not been conducive to the creation of conditions to promote internal dynamism for growth in many countries. At the same time, they tended to create demand pressures for items of consumption suited for high-consumption societies ahead of the emergence of large-scale production possibilities within the country or generation of purchasing power for such items among broad sections of the society. There was a need for greater awareness of and research in appropriate products, products which did not "overkill" with respect to requirements but were appropriate to indigenous life styles.

The persistence of absolute poverty for large numbers in Third World countries of the ESCAP region posed a major challenge for qualitative improvement and greater balance in development during the next decade. Much more effort was required to devise ways in which the basic needs of the people could be met in the context of over-all growth of the economy. Some members emphasized changes in socio-economic systems, tax structures and policies, government expenditures, existing national income levels and income distribution, and other factors. Other members suggested that that would also require changes in the over-all approach to life styles. It was not
realistic to expect an approach designed to meet the basic needs of the people on the basis of economical and judicious use of locally available resources and techniques to function in certain parts of the economy, while sizable sections of the economy continued to be motivated by more expansive ways of meeting requirements and life styles which demanded large resources and tempted people away from the traditional environment of urban and rural communities.

The Group noted that, in a number of Third World countries of the ESCAP region, the broad commitment of the Government to improve the standard of living of the people had been translated into an explicit declaration of goals for providing basic needs. It was realized that inventories of basic needs would vary in different countries. It would, however, appear feasible to include in the priority package basic nutrition, minimum clothing and universal access to at least a few social services, such as primary education adapted to local environment, rudimentary health services and safe drinking water.

A comprehensive approach was needed to ensure that production, distribution, employment and income policies converged to realize the objective. In that regard, some members emphasized the increasing role of the State in the economy, including expansion of the public sector. Others considered that the most crucial element would be a set of policies which would result in improving the production capability as well as productivity of the large number of small units in the economy. Those would include the small farmer in agriculture and the large number of small industrial units and individual craftsmen in rural and urban areas. It would be necessary to devise approaches which either improved and perfected the operation of market mechanisms and public distribution systems so that they were capable of delivering needed inputs, credit and technology to the small units or, in a more realistic framework for a number of countries, sought to organize smaller units into viable entities for benefitting from specially designed programmes for that purpose.

It was pointed out to the Group that a balanced development strategy required special attention to intersectoral terms of trade. Favourable terms of trade to agriculture could be the basis for local demand stimulating rural industrialization and action against too rapid urbanization. That would have to be combined with policies which ensured generation of surpluses for investment.

It would be essential to pursue employment policies, particularly in rural areas, which would ensure absorption of new entrants to the labour force in productive employment at wage rates adequate to give purchasing power for meeting basic needs with respect to marketed goods. It would be essential to increase employment opportunities within agriculture by increasing the use of labour per unit of available land and water resources. Recent studies had established that labour intensity per unit of land was lower in the labour-surplus Third World countries than in the technologically advanced Third World countries of the ESCAP region with a relative shortage of labour. It would be a fruitful line of study for member countries to examine institutional and other constraints which tended to lower the productivity of land by discouraging the more intensive use of a relatively abundant supply of labour.
Greater access to productive assets was needed for enlarging rural employment opportunities. In that respect, progress through land reforms had been admittedly slow. There was scope for combining surplus labour in the countryside with a scarce resource such as land for common objectives land levelling, soil upgrading, etc. through appropriate organizations, for example, small group action. The integration of employment objectives with development plans would play an important role in making progress towards ensuring the supply of basic needs to people in two ways. It would help directly by increasing the participation of the people in the production process. It would also strengthen the labour market for needed improvement in wage levels.

It would also be necessary to orient production policies to ensure the steady supply of goods required to meet the basic needs of the population.

It was generally accepted that food self-sufficiency should be pursued as an objective, wherever feasible. It would help provide, inter alia, a more stable basis for meeting the most essential basic needs of the people. Industrial production of basic goods had the advantages of linkage with agriculture, labour intensiveness, low energy content, small size of units and flexibility in location. More decentralized location of the basic industries could lead to technological progress in the production of basic necessities.

Social services, with the standards determined to suit the local environment, could be provided in a decentralized fashion through the mobilization of local resources, with necessary supplementation from outside action as a catalyst. A major need would be the development of appropriate local organization and the mobilization of community action.

There might remain a hard core of those who could not be reached through the employment and productivity approach. It would, therefore, still be necessary to devise appropriate distribution policies with state participation to ensure supplies.

Natural resource management for supplying basic needs, while at the same time ensuring technological progress, had to be interwoven with appropriate technological development policy and institutions. That would be an important element providing a link between development planning and environmental considerations both in human and physical terms.

Adaptation and diffusion of technology called for communication linkages. The weaknesses in the transfer of technology to the farm were well known: in the transfer of information on the farmers' needs for new technology to the research system, in the transfer of research results to development agencies and in the transfer of those results to the farmers in the form of new agricultural development programmes. Co-ordination networks were needed also for establishing communication linkages between agriculture and rural industry and between rural industry and urban-based industry.

The technological dynamism of a society depends on its capacity not only to absorb techniques developed elsewhere but also to innovate by associating
the farmers' and workers' day-to-day experience with the production process, and the expression of their day-to-day needs with the high-level export in the laboratory and in the field, with theoretical knowledge and the ability to conceptualize. The socio-political framework of the country would influence the forms such association could take.

The Group observed that the basic needs approach should be fully integrated with the development process and need not be at the cost of over-all economic progress which must include balanced industrial and agricultural advance, with the application of modern technology with appropriate adaptations. An important role might be played by state agencies co-ordinating over-all technological development.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

The Group emphasized the need for continued progress towards strengthening mechanisms for international collaboration between the Third World and Industrialized countries. The basis of that collaboration would have to be expanded and accommodate changes in the world economy, the relative position of Third World countries in world trade and the growth of the manufacturing sector.

The main element of collaboration emphasized in the earlier stages of development was the transfer of financial resources and the supply of capital. A significant part of that transfer was on concessional terms. However, since the late 1960s when a target for official development assistance (ODA) was suggested at the level of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product (GNP) of the industrial nations, it had declined to less than half the suggested level for the member countries of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. A substantial number of Third World countries had relied on market borrowing on commercial terms. Those with low income levels which were not in a position to use market borrowing, had generally experienced low growth rates for a variety of reasons, including limited availability of external capital resources. Given current indications of the political will among major suppliers of ODA to increase the flow of their assistance, the limited availability of such funds would require concentration of that type of collaboration for low-income countries. It would also be desirable if progress towards improving the quality of aid could prove feasible to provide an increasing proportion of ODA to low-income Third World countries in the form of grants, since a substantial part was required for new-style activities where returns could be expected over much longer periods and which were more diffused than in the case of traditional production-oriented projects.

At the same time, it would be necessary, in order effectively to recycle funds from capital surplus countries to Third World countries on a basis compatible with long pay-off periods, to improve the terms, elongate maturity periods and provide greater stability than was possible under direct-greater stability than was possible under direct borrowing arrangements from existing money markets. One approach to that would be to strengthen the existing international financial institutions. It might also be possible to improve institutional arrangements within the Third World countries to encourage direct
flow of funds from developing capital surplus countries on the basis of mutuality of interests. In the longer run, expected progress towards internalization of reserve creation would influence opportunities for increasing the transfer of resources to the Third World countries.

The Group noted that much more effective collaboration was required in trade relations. There was a need to develop a mechanism which would allow steady pursuit of the objective of trade adjustment resulting from the growing competitive expansion of export capability for manufactured goods in the Third World countries. That was expected to become in the 1980s the more crucial element in mutual collaboration, overshadowing other aspects, and would determine whether orderly and mutually interdependent growth was a feasible proposition. In the long run, adjustment was both desirable and feasible. It would improve efficiency in the use of resources and open up prospects for expansion in world trade. It was, however, necessary to have more effective mechanisms to facilitate the process of adjustment.

The transfer of technology would continue to be a crucial element for the Third World countries in their development plans. Some countries had found it convenient to use the instrumentality of transnational corporations (TNCs) to acquire a comprehensive package of technology, finance, management and expertise for marketing. It was pointed out by some members of the Group that TNCs also had an advantage in terms of over-all efficiency in the use of resources. However, the limitations under which individual Third World countries had to bargain with the TNCs and some of the social, economic and political dangers involved were also pointed out. There was therefore a need for continuing attention to international codes of conduct for TNCs as well as for extension of alternative arrangements for the transfer of technology.

SEARCH FOR POLICY LEVERAGE

The Group emphasized the continuing need for innovation in the technology of economic and social policy. There was also a need for the development of a climate of innovation at focal points within the administrative system. Public debate on critical developmental issues was useful in highlighting major areas of public concern and building up pressure for innovation. It would induce responsiveness of local administrators to emerging new requirements.

Development - in contrast to mere growth - was a long-drawn-out process. It had to be viewed in a long-term perspective from various vantage points - legal, social, cultural, economic. Long-term and alternate profiles of development in the context of an individual country had to be drawn up for effective policy analysis and formulation in the short and medium term.

In the developing mixed economies, the task of unified and comprehensive policy analysis and development had been overwhelmingly difficult as the economies exhibited non-homogeneous characteristics which were a historical legacy from the past and co-existence of traditional relationships with market economy and with areas of public policy. It was the co-existence of varied characteristics which made it difficult to comprehend and operate on the interactions between economic and social factors in the process of development.
The Group felt that there was an increasing need for policy orientation and capabilities to prepare unified policy proposals at different levels. Attemps could be made by including, at the stage of project formulation and evaluation, some main social implications and their interconnections with economic and social sectoral targets.

A process of development which combined the elements of dynamic interrelationships among countries and a more comprehensive approach to internal growth dynamics, together with an increased rate of development and application of technology, opened up new dimensions in the generation, exchange and use of information. A variety of information flows relating to markets, techniques, social conditions and development plans was involved. An improved capacity to cope with those information needs would play an important role in successful implementation of a development strategy which sought to integrate all the elements referred to.

The Group felt that what were needed were policy instruments which were not undimensional with respect to targets but would achieve multiple targets, as in the search for instruments which would achieve better distribution of income in the process of economic growth. The policy instruments also needed multidimensional viability in the complex socio-economic environment in which they must work.

The Group underlined the by now well-recognized need for broad-based popular participation for reinforcing the range and effectiveness of policy instruments and for accelerating the speed of their operations. Popular participation could also lead to new and imaginative policy instruments. There had so far been no evidence that the required organizational structure came into being spontaneously. The stimulus to organizational changes could come from various sources: from national administration, youth, fuller female participation or the military. Ultimately, the Group emphasized, the problems had to be resolved in the socio-political milieu of each country. However, there were great advantages in the study and mutual exchange of experience among Third World countries.

NEED FOR CONTINUING WORK

The Group took note of the intensive debate that was currently taking place on the formulation of an international development strategy in various forums, including the regional commissions of the United Nations. The Group was informed by the secretariat of the detailed studies sponsored in that connexion by ESCAP for South Asia and for South-east and East Asia which were expected to be completed during the year.

The Group stressed that in the context of the dynamics of development there was a continuing need for basic work in conceptualization of the multi-dimensional development issues and policy development required. There was a specific need for moving on the basis of experience in the regional and national context. ESCAP could and should provide a lead in encouraging interaction of ideas among policy-makers and intellectuals on as wide a scale as possible, keeping in view their direct relevance to the situation in the region and appropriateness for examination of policy response.
FUND-BANK: THE EMPEROR HAS NO CLOTHES

by Chakravarthi Raghavan

The annual meetings of the Fund-Bank institutions, unlike those of other UN Agencies, are largely uneventful - no decisions are or have to be taken at these meetings. Finance Ministers, Central Bankers, and private bankers and financiers, gather together and talk privately, often taxing the liver rather than the brain. Belgrade was no exception. But perhaps the meetings could have invited the child of the Anderson Fairy tales and would have benefited by its remark "The Emperor has no clothes".

The simple fact is that the International Monetary System, founded at Bretton Woods, has collapsed, but no one seems ready to recognise this or face up to the tasks of creating a new one. Instead, the Fund-Bank officials and Finance leaders of the industrialised countries are merely whistling in the dark, repeating past incantations and clutching at straws in the hope that the crisis of the system will somehow disappear and the good old days will be back again.

But there were differences this time at the Belgrade Fund-Bank meetings. The group of ten (industrialised countries who have been running the institutions for over three decades for their own benefit) are now very much divided. Also, the Third World countries realised that they have some leverage, and if they consort meaningfully with each other and apply their joint pressures they could begin to move things their way.

For the first time in the history of the G77, Third World Finance Ministers met together, in the context of the Fund-Bank meetings, to forge a common strategy. This was the result of the Arusha meeting of the Group of 77. At Lima in 1972, the G77 had set up a group of 24 to follow monetary and financial matters; but this group has largely functioned autonomously and without any cohesive overall framework (despite all the talk of the G77 about inter-dependence of trade, money, finance and development). Finance Ministers, even of Third World countries, are naturally conservative and not leaders of any revolution. They have always been reluctant to act together. But one hopes that both the compulsions of their individual situations and the realisation of their collective leverage, would result in the G77 functioning together as a group within the Fund-Bank too.

The impact of G77 was seen in the communique of the Interim Committee and the move to create a "substitution account". This is a mechanism to enable countries to deposit their dollar holdings in the IMF and get in return SDR-de-
nominated securities. The move is aimed at helping the US to deal with the dollar crisis -- with nearly a trillion dollars held outside the country, some 250 billion in official reserves and about 650 billion held by banks, funds move around from country to country, creating turmoils on exchange markets and everyday threaten to bring nearer the crash of the 1930s. Apart from helping the US, it will also help the Germans, the Swiss and the Japanese who do not want their (surplus) currencies to become reserve currencies.

If past practices were precedents, the Interim Committee, after a proforma meeting where the Third World countries could have made some noises, would have come up with a decision formally recording what the Group of IO have already decided. And that was what the Group of IO and the IMF international bureaucracy attempted at Belgrade when a previously drafted communique endorsing further study of the "substitution account" was sought to be pushed through. But this time the G24, and later G77, had come to some conclusions on the substitution account, based largely on a study done for them through a UNDP-UNCTAD project. And the G77 insisted on the further IMF study, and the communique reflecting their concern on the substitution account. The IMF Executive Board has now been asked to design an account that would satisfy the needs of both Third World and industrialised countries, whose costs and benefits would be fairly shared among all parties, and which should contain satisfactory provisions with respect to the liquidity of the claims, their rates of interest and preservation of their capital value. None of these can be really achieved unless the industrialised countries and specially the USA undergo an adjustment process, not only between themselves, but vis-à-vis the Third World. The G77 have prodded the North to move in a desirable direction but they must persevere and continue their pressure to ensure that the "substitution account" does not become an ersatz solution to provide liquidity to the North or subvert the more important restructuring and reform of the International Monetary System.

The fact that the North is groping in the dark and clutching at straws is clear from other decisions that came out of Belgrade. Some of the ideas rejected in the past were now accepted. These included:

- Increased programme lending by the World Bank. The Development Committee approved this and Bank President McNamara announced a new policy of increased programme lending to enable Third World countries to undertake, both preventively and curatively, structural adjustments. Hitherto such programme lending was done only by the IMF with strict conditionality that took no account of consequent disruption of development.

- Changes in the present IMF facilities, including the idea of medium-term financing, liberalization of compensatory financing facility, and willingness to consider further export earnings stabilization measures, in the light of the working of the CFF, the negotiations on the Common Fund, and the current UNCTAD studies on additional compensatory financing facility for commodities. The last idea was not even countenanced at the Paris dialogue, was resolutely opposed by the IMF and the North at Manila (and voted for UNCTAD study by majority). At Belgrade, the IMF promised technical collaboration with UNCTAD in the study.
These are small steps and perhaps should induce some caution in the South, lest their ideas get the kiss of death through co-option. But they undoubtedly show what the South can get through pressures in the present environment.

But for this, the G77 must put their own house in order. They must show a sense of urgency and put together a think-tank and support team for negotiations - the Foreign Ministers at New York virtually jettisoned the very limited proposals put forward by the G77 group at Geneva - and force their delegates in every fora to act together and within an overall framework.

Even more, Finance Ministers must abandon their traditional reserve and speak out more openly. At Belgrade there were only very muted references to the debt problem and the problems of preserving the real earnings. As Bernard Shaw remarked, only the poor are afraid of talking about money; the rich do it all the time. The ills of the global economy cannot be cured by past palliatives. Radical solutions are needed and must be demanded and persevered with.

SALAH AL-SHAIKHLY:

WESTERN INNOVATIVE CAPACITY IS THE LATEST FORM OF DOMINATION

Developing indigenous capacity for progress and innovation is the fundamental problem of the Third World, according to Salah Al-Shaikhly of Iraq, Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for the Arab States of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

In a recent interview with Inter Press Service, Third World News Agency, Salah Al-Shaikhly stressed the need “to get across to the South that their problems do not lie in sudden wealth acquired. They lie in the fact that they are dependent for every single innovation on the North”. According to Al-Shaikhly, this continued dependence, especially in the field of scientific and technological information, is simply the latest and the newest way of maintaining Northern domination.

Now that the South has gained the lead in the field of energy, being able to control the rate of oil production and its price, Al-Shaikhly speculated that the North “could well be envisaging - though I have no definite reports in mind - going into massive research to invent new and renewable sources of energy for the simple reason that it has lost its domination in this field, though it still dominates in every other innovative area. While the South sits discussing all these things, the industrialized countries are going ahead in fields like biology, in fields like electronics, in research and development in many other areas, and before you know where you are the gap will be so wide that the North is going to succeed in maintaining its domination".

Colonialism, according to Al-Shaikhly, was no longer a matter of getting an army and invading someone else’s territory. “Colonialism now is a continuing dependence for every single item on the North. The unity of the South lies, therefore, in the development of an indigenous capacity. I am not advocating

/*/ Salah Al-Shaikhly was a participant in the CONICIT-IFDA seminar on Development Alternatives for the new Venezuela (Macuto, September 1978).
competition or conflict, but rather that the Argentinians, the Brazilians, the Yugoslavs, the Indians, or other countries who are known to be leaders in this area, should be looking carefully at the South to find ways of developing its indigenous capacity for science and technology, to add to what innovation there is already in the North."

Salah Al-Shaikhly was pessimistic about the present prospects for progress in the North-South dialogue, drawing attention to the internal differences in both camps. As regards the South, he stressed that it was urgent to overcome the division between oil-producing and non-oil-producing countries, even if in a sense this was imposed from outside, "because they have so many more things in common: they are subjected to a new colonialism and a new form of economic domination by the North. The fact that a portion of this South has suddenly come to realize that it has certain resources that continue to give it some financial stability is no reason for the South to split". In addition, Al-Shaikhly pointed out, the OPEC countries were themselves "far from monolithic", sometimes to the detriment of the whole Southern approach.

As regards the industrialized countries, Al-Shaikhly saw conflicts between countries like the USA, in one respect, countries like Germany and Japan, in other respects, and the rest of the Northern camp. "The United States", he stated, "has its own problems. Its politicians are subjected to seasonal shocks by the electorate. The press media is directed in such a way that the ordinary man in the street is denied real information about what goes on in the outside world, so that American public opinion is sort of cocooned by what it receives from the media, and more or less refuses to listen to anyone else. Countries like Japan and Germany have made significant headway both in technology and trade relations with the Third World, so they are in a better position and willing - when they have the opportunity - to negotiate in a unilateral basis with the South. So even in the Northern countries there is a lack of unity."

Salah Al-Shaikhly stated that he was "definitely one of the supporters of the creation of a secretariat for the Third World", convened outside the United Nations system, which could serve not as a research institution - of which there are a number already - but to co-ordinate political activities, and to disseminate information, especially at the time of negotiations.

Finally, the UNDP Regional Director for the Arab States stated that, in his view, the Northern countries were intentionally raising the problem of energy in every possible international gathering. "First", he remarked, "nothing at all is being mentioned about the volume of assistance. It has been played down so much, in fact, that it is absolutely ridiculous. Because the oil-producing countries have so far given over 12% - these are facts - of their total revenue in assistance and grants, and over 8% of their total GNP in assistance and grants. If you look at any figure published by the OECD, you find OECD official development assistance does not even reach 1% in the Western countries. Second, I think that there is a moral question, and nobody yet has been able to answer me on this. Why on earth does the world think that OPEC owes everybody a debt? Have they exploited anybody? Have they colonialized anybody? Have they stolen this wealth? It is something that they have been using and it is a lifeline for each of these countries. This fact has never been put to the world. The only reason that people think OPEC is rich is because some countries have surpluses, and the reason they have surpluses is because they are under-developed. If the economies of countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi were industrialized countries, or at least if they had the absorptive capacity, you would never have heard of surpluses and therefore you would never have heard the word rich.
The economic growth of nations has been associated with far-reaching changes in their social and economic structures. Modern economic development comprises a set of interrelated processes that transform essentially rural, agricultural societies into more urban, industrialized nations. Of particular significance are the processes of industrialization, urbanization and the sectoral redeployment of labour.

The analysis highlights the crucial role of development strategies and policies in creating productive employment and alleviating poverty in developing countries. But it also shows that for these policies to yield their full potential, support from a liberal international environment is essential.

I. Development of a report

The 1979 World Development Report is a considerable step up from its 1978 predecessor (see "The IBRD World Development Report" Dossier No. 2). As one has reason to expect from the Bank (and from its principal author Shankar Achariya), it is intellectually competent with a number of insightful pieces of analysis and useful comments. The case for using markets where applicable and the case that bureaucratic intervention is often expensive and usually against the interests of the poor is made well and balanced (to a degree) with a set of interventionist proposals which - taken together - show some grasp of the limits of the market mechanism. The concern about poverty and for poor people is integral and rings true.

However, the Report still has the weaknesses of its institution (and author). It is rather intellectually abstracted and economistic. There really is no comprehension of the nature or process of a transition to socialism and its internal requirements. The faith in the market - while quite different from the Friedmannesque variant - is breathtaking and to any non-believer rather naïve. But, that said, this is a serious document and a serious attempt to integrate concern for economic efficiency and assisting the poor to escape from poverty. In terms of the very large number of peripheral political economies which neither are embarked on - nor are likely in the near future to embark on - a transition to socialism it offers a more economically rational and more humane set of guidelines than most now follow. Whether they will take much heed of it is another matter; the Bank's target audience of Third World political/capitalist elites are not, in general, well intentioned Platonic Guardians (as the Bank and author aspire to be) and do see very good reason to "keep the worker in his place".

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II. Market, workplace, factory, town

The 1979 Report concentrates on middle income ($300 per capita productive forces - not OECD, not CMEA, not structural surplus oil-exporting) economies. Therefore it focuses on international trade, employment, industrialisation and urbanisation as the aspects of structural change most relevant to them and to their poorer citizens.

The projections to 2000 are less optimistic than in 1978. In fact this is even truer than it appears - the "base" scenario assumes OECD return to late 1960s/early 1970s type of growth; the "low" assumes continuation (not worsening) of the 1974-78 phase of the New International Economic Disorder. Nothing in the survey of 1978 events as interpreted in WDR '79 gives ground for supposing the "base" scenario to be probable, or the "low" unlikely.

Manufactured export growth is vital to the development of the middle income countries. Their South-South trade is a vital component because it is largely in different, more sophisticated goods and is key to breakthroughs into capital goods production and domestic technological capacity. But it is no substitute for more South-North trade, especially in respect to foreign exchange, to buy goods and knowledge not available in the South and in respect to employment creation. Barring a systematic, planned break with the capitalist (and probably the industrial socialist) economic world order, that analysis is broadly correct.

Therefore, the two-sided case built up for greater access (i.e. halting and reversing the New Protectionism) by the North and for phased moves from protected import substitution, through protected plus export oriented industrialisation, to homogenous competitive industrial sectors in middle income countries is a cogent one. The adjustment scenario side for the North is relatively convincing and people-oriented; that for the South (oddly) is rather sketchy.

Employment is the centre piece of overcoming poverty for the Report - the World Employment Programme approach has made some converts, it would seem. The case for decent agricultural prices (and thus demand for industrial output and supply of food for urban workers), for labour intensive manufacturing, for ending North barriers to processed raw materials, for ending dual wage structures protecting "labour aristocracies" but biasing investment patterns against jobs - all do flow from and relate to the primacy of employment at decent wages validated by reasonable productivity. The emphasis on health and education (not seen as cases for market allocation) are based squarely on raising productivity to validate higher incomes.

Urbanisation - like industrialisation - is treated as a necessary part of structural change. "Bright lights", services burden, unemployed myths used to exclude or repress poor urban residents are gunned down. (Gunned down with a bit of overkill - it is really not plausible to say basic waste disposal, water, transport and housing in large cities may be no more costly than in rural areas. Nor is urban absolute poverty outside low income Asia by any means as limited as the author would appear to believe.)
The bias toward huge agglomerations and against middle towns is handed somewhat gingerly — presumably because both market ("good") and bureaucratic ("bad") forces are at play. The endorsement of selective decentralisation (apart from some odd snippets on rural manufacturing citing China and Taiwan) is rather hesitant and limited. The biases against providing basic services and against letting the poor get on with building decent houses receive short shrift. This is a far cry from the elitist, poor people clearance model urban development conceptions circulating in Bank working papers a few years back.

III. Of markets, monsters, and messiahs

It is no surprise that the Bank believes in the market and in competition — capitalists who do not profess to do so are about as common as unicorns. Why, against what, for whom and with what exceptions are more interesting?

The Report sees the market as less biased against the newcomer — globally, nationally or urbanly — than the regulations and restrictions set up by those who have arrived and want to kick away the ladder by which they climbed. This is far from nonsense as the New Protectionism globally and people clearance and dumping policies at urban level make brutally clear.

Regulations are expensive, make mistakes, become entrenched just when they should be removed (e.g. infant industrial sector protection), are often designed for and always more readily exploited by the middle classes and/or rich than by the poor. So away with them, or at least most of them, argues WDR 1979. And in a very large number of cases it is quite right even if it does seem to run the risk of dumping quite a lot of babies with the tubs of dirty regulation papers.

Unlike the stainless steel face of Friedmanism or the inherently inequalitarian visage of neo-capitalism's human face, WDR '79 really does place access to education, health, housing and — above all — productive employment at decent wages (or agricultural prices) at the center. The market is to save the poor by slaying the elitist, inefficient monsters of bureaucratic regulation and incompetent, scheming landlords and businessmen who shelter behind them. There is certainly something in this — if the so-called peasants' associations which are the backbone of the political clout of Charan ("Chair") Singh were stripped of the state protection and support that helps them exploit and engross marginal peasants, landless labourers and "tribals", the market could hardly do worse by the true peasants of India.

Exclusions from the market — with two exceptions — are the ones a humane capitalist (say a Whig Reformer or John Stuart Mill) would applaud and a supporter of transition to socialism (including Marx of the Herald Tribune articles and Lenin) might well endorse both as genuinely assisting workers and peasants now and as demonstrating for the future the limits of bourgeois reformism. Education, access to urban services, irrigation, health are not seen as well handled by the market. Temporary exclusions — e.g. infant sector protection — to give newcomers a chance to learn before competing with the established are also endorsed. So are guidelines (e.g. rehousing) to
prevent the rich and privileged from distorting the market.

The first exception is by silence - trade unions (including unions of land-
less labour and marginal peasants) are not listed as a market force or as
an exception to be backed. Surely in this neo-capitalist, poor person
oriented market strategy (which does endorse land reform), they should be.
The second is population planning. To argue that provision of access to
information and material should complement access to education, health and
income is impeccable on either market or socialist grounds. But the calls
for national policy go further and have odd overtones, one begins to wonder
whether the author is a secret mourner at the political funeral of Sanjay
Ghandhi.

Just how selective market rigging to benefit the poor is to be achieved is not
analysed. Nor are the nature of the power and profit nexus behind the re-
gulations and interventions. They seem to be perceived as paper Jabberwocks
to be slain with the vorpal sword of market oriented logic not boojums like
the Smirk whose hunters were never seen again.

IV. A plea for political economy

The Bank's (or at least the author's) political economy remains naive to the
point of self immolation. In one sense it is fairly true to Adam Smith. The
wealth of nations is seen as that of their people. Economic advocacy is per-
ceived, if not as a branch of moral philosophy, at least as constrained by
the elements of distributive justice. The escape of the vast majority from
misery and poverty is presented both as an end and as a means to national
prosperity. The benign market is seen as a competitive one - Smith's dictum
that the economically powerful rarely meet but to conspire against the common
good has echos in some of the criticisms of elitist, inegalitarian trade,
protection, agricultural, services and urbanisation practices of rich and
poor countries.

This is not the "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost" economic
philosophy of Los Chicago cowboys. But - unlike the cowboys' vision which
is programmable, even if at a rather high price for the excluded, exploited
and repressed, vide Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil - WDR '79 has no
operational political economy at its core. On the one hand it is abstractedly
economistic and on the other its desire to demonstrate mutual interests (often
very real ones) has resulted in expunging any real perception of the nature
of political economic conflict whether perceived in locational, interest
group or class terms. We seem to wander with Daniel Bell and the other ghosts
of the short-lived age of the end of ideology when Candide was to be the
wiseman and Voltaire the fool.

Unfortunately, the consequences are serious. Adjustment to protect workers
and communities from the price of Neanderthal Free Trade (or Barreism) is
handled with sensitivity. But elsewhere the bureaucracy of entrenched pri-
vice, populism and social democracy all seem to be targets with precious
little discrimination among them despite grudging references to useful results
of actual concern for the poorest aspects of bourgeois populism in Sri Lanka.
Even more striking is the total lack of comprehension - to the point of lack of mention - of transition to socialism strategies and practice. The positive references to China are artifactual; the socialist state with an export of manufactures based on local raw materials socialist development strategy (Korean Peoples Republic) is never cited. Algeria and even Yugoslavia are not taken to be seriously different from Brazil, South Korea or Taiwan in economic strategic or conquest of poverty terms.

Worse, there is no analysis of why sensible Keynesian "general interest" action on urbanisation, education, health, industrialisation, protectionism, agricultural prices, land reform is not taken (and will in most cases not be taken despite WDR '79). The policies condemned usually do pay for somebody (class, area, interest group, TNC, individual) over some time period. The gainer has the power to enforce them.

Very true, the Bank cannot become an advocate of bourgeois democratic revolutions let alone of transition to socialism. But it can - and must if its aspirations to being the 20th Century's institutionalised Whig Reform Club are to be realised - analyse conflicts seriously. Knowing who thinks he gains what is vital to transcending conflict by finding a mutual interest way out and equally vital to demonstrating to an elite that it must initiate reform now or perish later.

V. A smudged mirror and its place

The report has some distinctly odd micro assertions. Tanzania is an example of a dual wage system (with most informal urban incomes clustered around 75 - 125% of the minimum wage and typical peasant purchasing power 2/3 the minimum wage, it is quite the opposite!) There is no absolute poverty and there is relative urban income equality in South Korea (Korea's violently repressed would-be unionists say very different things). Land in Malaysia is relatively equally distributed (if one cuts out the 50% in plantations and individual estates, perhaps so). There is little urban absolute poverty in Africa (Dakar's dumping ground of Pikine? Lagos' northern suburbs? Kinshasa?) Tanzania's subsidies to public enterprises are a heavy burden on the budget (6% of GDP is public enterprise operating surplus, 10% of revenue is company tax on them, subsidies are under 1% of recurrent expenditure). Colombia has suffered from too much industrial protection too long and now its exports are uncompetitive (true as to the first part but it has a number of competitive exports - clothing, textiles, garments were allowed to compete).

These have a certain family resemblance. Most of the surprisingly favourable ones are about states which have followed models rather like those proposed in WDR '79 and vice versa. Perhaps this smudged mirror of reality effect is inevitable - observers rarely go out of their way to espy warts on those who agree with them or virtues in those who reject their reports. But it does detract from the reader's confidence in the general pattern of examples he does not know first hand and would like to assume were empirically correct whether he agreed with the interpretations put on them or not.

The 1979 report is a technical, intellectual and human advance on its prede-
cessor; a trend one can only hope continues. The World Bank matters. Capitalist road peripheral polities will continue to exist and people in them matter. The Bank - if it continues its crusade against poverty and looks a little harder at why elites resist it, has the muscle to move them: grudgingly, limtedly but perhaps appreciably in some cases, on some issues, to the benefit of some poor people.

As contrasted with Interfutures' Facing the Future ("Interfutures' Alternative Futures", Dossier No. 13), the World Development Report is narrower in scope and less rigorous intellectually. Born again Bretton Woods, the last best hope for capitalism with a human face is too cold and conservative a trumpet call for it to answer wholeheartedly. That is to the Bank's credit (humanly at any rate). But it requires the future WDR authors to take a harder look at the integral reality of conflict and of struggle so that their would be political economy of (fairly) radical reformism has a harder cutting edge. In that of course the WDR keeps company with the "Solidarity Contract" line of analysis ("Towards solidarity contracts - the Tiéfoédiè concept articu-
ted", Dossier No. 6) - a placement which pays real tribute to the existence of its heart and openness to innovation of its brain if not necessarily to the overall coherence and rigour of its worldview.

VI. An annex on an annex

The Annex, World Development Indicators, deserves separate mention. It is a highly useful source of reasonably comparable data. Within the limits of the possible it is a job well done - with one glaring exception. The exclusion of countries with less than a million people - for whom data is hard to get from other sources - is a grave limitation on the Annex's use. One can only hope the Bank's 29 excluded members will protest strongly that the money saved by shortening the lists is a very clear case of penny wise pound foolish discrimination.

REACTIONS TO A PREVIOUS DOSSIER: EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER

from Gordon Hoke*

Re: Publication no. 11, September 1979, "MARKINGS"

I was much impressed by the presentation offered by President Nyerere to the FAO World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development. Its basic points strike me as valid for rural areas in all nations.

1. The "trickle down" policy. Yes, the great esteem for cost/benefit ratios in developed countries frequently neglects such obvious questions as, "who is benefitting?" "Who is paying the (social/economic) costs?"

2. The section on land reform underscores Schumacher's warning that policy only comes in the implementation stage. And, as President Nyerere cautions,

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it (reform) will not occur "painlessly".

3. The extensive paragraph on pg.5 concerning the need for comprehensive rural activities, along with comments on "use of surpluses", pg.6-7, is superb! For example, in some cases the school system may function as a target of development; in other instances it can serve as an instrumentality for social/economic development. We are working in a rural site where both processes are simultaneously occurring.

4. Indeed, rural development should be part of a national commitment. In particular, it will be crucial to stay abreast of advances in communications because the same areas, nations, regions that were bypassed by innovations in transportation are in danger of retaining that same disadvantage in the coming era of telecommunications.

5. Finally, a reordering of priorities will not take place without "a revolution in the present patterns of government expenditure and of taxation". This dilemma is true for the United States and for the Third World. In 1970 a distinguished political analyst in this country noted: "the greater the powers exercised by government the harsher become the costs of being neglected or overlooked". Also, President Nyerere's remarks on pg.13 go to the heart of the issue.

Again, thanks for printing a fine address, an eloquent testimonial to the problems and possibilities we confront.

LET ME SPEAK

by Domitila Barrios de Chungara, with Moema Viezer

"I don't want anyone at any moment to interpret the story I'm about to tell as something that is only personal. Because I think that my life is related to my people ... I want to testify about all the experience we've acquired during so many years of struggle in Bolivia ... I want to reach the poorest people, the people who don't have any money, but who need some orientation, some example which can serve them in their future life. It's for them that I agree that what I am going to tell be written down ... not only for intellectuals or for people who only make a business of this sort of thing."

Domitila Barrios de Chungara is the wife of a tin miner in southern Bolivia, the mother of seven children who are still living, and a street vendor (to supplement her husband's income). She has also led the women in the Housewife's Committee of her town, Siglo XX, to become a significant resistance movement alongside the FSTMB (Union Federation of the Mine Workers of Bolivia). In 1975, Domitila was invited to speak at the International Women's Year

1/ From the LAWG Newsletter, Vol.6, no.2. Latin American Working Group (LAWG), Box 2207, Station F, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2T2
Book review by Susan Beech.

Tribunal in Mexico. From the trip came the idea to set down her experience and ideas in a more complete form, as one record of her people's experience.

In *Let Me Speak*, Domitila vividly describes the daily life of the people of the mines, from the inhuman working conditions of the miners, to the lack of any sanitary facilities and sufficient housing in the company towns. She tells the common story of watching husbands who develop silicosis until they vomit pieces of black lung and die. The widow and children are immediately evicted and given 90 days to go somewhere else. However, even when one's husband is still working, a miner's wife begins her day at 4am and works until midnight. Domitila's companero earns 28 pesos a day now, one of the higher wages, but not enough to feed and clothe the family. So, along with caring for seven children and doing all her housework by hand, Domitila makes little vegetable pies (saltenas) to sell. Food staples are only available on a daily basis, and the line-ups for each essential item are two or three hours long. Her children take turns standing in line while Domitila sells her wares. Sometimes, when meat doesn't come in for three or four days, the line-ups last for 12 hours. Once or twice a year, children die in the crush to get meat while keeping their mother's place in the line.

Domitila knows the great extent to which her country is rich in mineral resources. She has seen her people work to extract that mineral wealth until they are destroyed. She knows that none of the wealth comes back to them, not even for making the job easier and safer. Knowing this has given her the commitment to fight for a decent life for her people. Domitila knows of no power greater than the wisdom and strength of workers and peasants. This conviction is borne out by over forty years of experience.

Anyone who wants to know the history of resistance in Bolivia will find more complete accounts elsewhere; Domitila speaks only of the people she knows, but, in doing so she adds human flesh, pain and humour to the bones of political and economic history. When COMIBOL refused to raise Siglo XX's COLA to the level of other mining towns, she describes how the women demanded to speak to the manager of COMIBOL, and how much the regular soldiers enjoyed hearing a small group of women fluster such a powerful man. She tells of the colonel's son who kicked her about in prison until she miscarried; of the women who decided to feed the hungry soldier-boys sent into Siglo XX for "clean-up" operations days after the San Juan Massacre; of how she convinced her husband to let her continue her organizing work. She tells of the students, factory workers, peasants and miners who rallied to demand her release from prison; and how she learned that the most important solidarity work is done when a leader returns from prison to find that people have fed and clothed her children while she was gone.

Scattered throughout the book are Domitila's reflections on the role of leadership, the effectiveness of guerrilla warfare, political parties, the role of the women's movement, the church and international solidarity work. All of these reflections are based on the experiences she relates. Speaking as a woman, mother, wife and leader, and without a lot of emotion, Domitila draws clear connections between the lives of ordinary working people, the contradictions of capitalism and the women's struggle. The book is excellent for lending to one's friends and relatives who don't understand why one is doing solidarity work, or why capitalism is such a bad thing. Her people's experience is not easy to refute.
Notes from the Preface and Introduction

The ideas arose within the context of the IFDA Third System project to try to find out what young Americans think about the future of their society. From the beginning of the undergraduate course "An Introduction to World Order" at Princeton University in the autumn of the 1978/79 academic year, some ninety students were told about the IFDA project and asked to reflect about the future of the United States of America - its civilization and its values in the context of world affairs. This selection of essays comprises ten of the best and most relevant contributions that resulted from this experiment.

As Richard Falk points out in the Preface, students and faculty at Princeton are, of course, conditioned by the élite status of the University within the American society. It may therefore be difficult to say how representative or relevant these essays are for the views of young Americans.

But does "representativity" really matter? In this context, it may well not be a primary concern; nor was it evidently the objective of this effort. More important was the sharpening of awareness of fears and hopes. Other Americans should be alerted to the depth of troubles in their society and to the prospects for a future.

Elite status in university and society does not necessarily mean acceptance of the status quo, and these essays indeed suggest overwhelmingly a rejection of what it has meant to succeed in America. In the foreground is an indictment of materialism. There is a clear sense that the order elements of American success and power are now a menace to America and to others, that American wealth is linked to poverty and exploitation of others, and that the bad effects of this civilizational pattern are being registered in the lives of Americans.

The essays include analyses of and thoughts on specific patterns of under- and maldevelopment in America; there is even "a requiem for an era", but there are also visions of American transformation; among the fears and the hopes.

emerges the conclusion that health, in this terminal phase of an American civilization, may still be possible, but that it calls for radical surgery.

These young authors' perspectives, which go deep and are very rich indeed, confirm the view that young Americans are deeply alienated from the dominant pattern and practices of American life, both internally and externally. They feel that the Third World is both at home and abroad and that, as one author puts it, dominant America has "raped the world and left us bastards".

They feel that the 1980s will be a period of renewed struggle. They stress the need for overcoming passivity and acceptance of the present situation and institutions; the need for spiritual and religious renewal (not to be confused with support of organized religion); and searching for indigenous traditions to prevent further decay and to discover a solid basis for a new American civilization.

This selection of essays is presently being prepared for publication and dissemination in the United States of America. Enquiries should be addressed to Richard Falk or to IFDA.

THE CORPORATE CRIME OF THE CENTURY

by Jill Severn*

MOTHER JONES, an American magazine of investigative journalism, has released in its November issue an exposé of corporate "dumping" of unsafe products ranging from contraceptives to pesticides to baby pacifiers.

"Dumping" is the term 'Mother Jones' writers use to describe the practice of exporting - usually to Third World countries - those products which have been banned as too unsafe for American consumers. Calling it the "corporate crime of the century" the MOTHER JONES investigative team details the deaths and health hazards that have resulted from these sales:

. 400 Iraqis died in 1972 and 5,000 were hospitalized after consuming the by-products of grains treated with an organic mercury fungicide whose use had been banned in the US;

. an undisclosed number of farmers and over 1,000 water buffalos died suddenly in Egypt after being exposed to leptophos, a chemical pesticide which was never registered for use in the US but was exported to at least 30 countries;

. infants' and children's pajamas treated with a fire-retardant chemical called 'tris' were banned from sale in the US when it was shown that the chemical was a powerful carcinogen. Several million of these garments were shipped overseas after being forced off the domestic market;

. several drugs available in the US only under strict medical super-

*/ Of IPS Third World News Agency.
vision are sold over-the-counter in other countries. One is Lomotil, an anti-diarrhea medicine that is fatal in amounts just slightly over the recommended doses. Another is Winstrol, a synthetic male hormone which was found to stunt the growth of children, and which is sold in Brazil as an appetite stimulant for children.

450,000 baby pacifiers that were proposed to be banned from the US market because they caused choking deaths have been exported by five different manufacturers;

Depo Provera, an injectable contraceptive banned for such use in the US because it caused malignant tumours in test animals, is sold by the Upjohn Company in 70 other countries, where it is widely used in US-sponsored population control programs.

The MOTHER JONES' story also alleges that whole factories are shipped out of the US when their machinery is found to violate health and safety standards here. The factories are then reassembled in countries where there is less regulation on workers' health and safety.

While acknowledging that such "dumping" is also carried out by European firms, the MOTHER JONES article calls for criminal penalties for this 1.2 billion US dollars annual traffic in unsafe goods leaving the US, and clear notification to foreign officials when a product is banned in the US. It also demands that regulatory authority be withdrawn from the Departments of State and Commerce. Since their job is to promote trade, there is an obvious conflict of interest when it comes to regulating what foods are traded.

Contraceptives

According to MOTHER JONES, the US government and US drug companies maintain a systematic and intentional double standard for the sale of contraceptives unsafe (intrauterine device, (IUD's) dangerous high estrogen birth control pills, and most recently Depo Provera, an injectable contraceptive not approved for American use, are bought wholesale by the US government for mass consumption in the Third World.

This double standard, according to the MOTHER JONES article, is justified by officials because the risks of dying in childbirth are so much greater in the Third World than in the United States any contraceptive is justified. But the article goes on to expose the humanitarianism embodied by the policy of exporting the least safe contraceptives to Third World women, and charges the US Agency for International Development (AID) and the drug companies with global genocide.

The AID office of population headed by Dr. R.T. Ravenholt agreed in 1972 to buy Dalkon shields for distribution in Third World countries even while publicity about the thousands of serious infections contracted by women using the Dalkon shield filled the American press. The Dalkon shield manufacturer, A.H. Robbins Co., sold the shield to AID unsterilized, a practice that would never have been tolerated on the domestic market, and even though the manufacturer claimed that the problems American women were having with the Dalkon shields were due to inexpert insertion by doctors who had inadequate training, they enclosed only one set of printed instructions per 1,000 shields in those they exported. Furthermore they included only ten inserters for every 100
shields, thus adding immeasurably to the likelihood of serious life threatening infections.

Birth control pills which are widely known to cause serious side effects in some women are also distributed in Third World countries with little or no medical supervision in what officials call the "inundation approach" to population control. The pill also causes depletion of the body's supplies of vitamins A, B, C, D and folic acid, when the pill is taken irregularly it can increase fertility rather than prevent pregnancy and studies of nursing mothers have shown that the babies of nursing mothers who take the pill grow at an average of only two thirds the rate of babies nursed by non-pill users.

In addition, the high dosage pills that were abandoned in the US when it was found that lower dosages were equally effective and less dangerous were bought up by the AID program specifically for distribution in the Third World.

The newest and possibly the most threatening contraceptive now being exported from the US is Depo Provera. This drug has not been approved for use in the US because it has caused malignant tumors in test animals, irregular bleeding disturbances described in one journal as "menstrual chaos", and reduces the body's resistance to infection. Its effects are not readily reversible, use may be followed by long term or even permanent sterility. This drug is not yet officially approved for distribution by AID, but its manufacturer, the Upjohn Company, has already begun distribution of the drug form its subsidiary in Belgium.

According to MOTHER JONES, Dr. Ravenholt claimed in a 1977 interview that US export policies were a matter of necessary foreign policy because "population explosion, unless stopped would lead to revolutions", and that population control is required to maintain "the normal operation of US commercial interests around the world". Dr. Ravenholt has since been moved from his post of AID's office of population and is now head of population training.

Resistance to unsafe contraceptives is growing among women however, and American feminists have made the population control tactics an immediate target, "we can fight some problems here, only to see them exported to women overseas, but we're not going to sit by while a victory at home turns into a tragedy abroad", said Carol Downer, a director of the Los Angeles Women's Health Centre. Still the feminists acknowledge that at this stage the international network among women for sharing information about dangerous contraceptives is no match for the international network AID runs or the efforts of the well funded public relations departments of the drug companies, but they say the word is getting out and women are increasing their efforts to organize and communicate with each other about these and other hazards to their health.

Pesticides

Approximately 500,000 people a year are poisoned by pesticides exported to Third World countries from Europe, and the United States, according to MOTHER JONES.

Many of the pesticides have been declared unsafe for use inside the United States, the article says, but US law does not restrict the export. Nearly 40 per cent of the 1.6 billion pounds of pesticides sold annually in the US are
destined for export, and among the exports the investigators found not just a few, but every one of the pesticides banned in the USA.

Many of these dangerous chemicals are sold in Third World countries without caution about how to use them, or information about their dangers. The risk of death, serious illness, or genetic damage from these poisons is highest among farmworkers who must apply them, or who work and live in areas where the pesticides are applied.

According to MOTHER JONES writers, one central American farm survey found the levels of the pesticide Aldrin on cabbages to be nearly 2,000 times the level allowed in food sold in the US. They also found that the average content of DDT in the blood of people in Guatemala and Nicaragua is over 30 times the US average.

When pesticides are applied from airplanes, farmworkers are not likely to leave the fields because they will lose a day's pay, and so they are routinely contaminated, as are their houses, their children, and their food.

Not only are American firms exporting these chemicals, they are also acting as importers in the receiving countries. In Costa Rica, for instance, the main importer for seven heavily restricted US pesticides is Ortho, a division of Chevron Chemical Company, which is in turn, an arm of Standard Oil of California.

Ironically, the researchers found that the majority of foodstuffs on which these pesticides are used have been imported back into the United States and Europe, where residues of pesticides may be affecting the health of millions more people. This fact, the research says, belies the chemical companies justification for exporting these chemicals because "they are needed to feed a hungry world". Resistance to these practices is growing, however, and leaders of the Third World countries have called for a better notification system so that they will be informed when a pesticide is found to be unsafe and banned from use in the US. The US Environmental Protection Agency has devised a new plan which will require exporters to obtain written acknowledgement from importers that they know they are buying a hazardous pesticide, but there will be no penalty against the companies if they refuse to follow this new procedure. The companies are already complaining bitterly about government "over regulation", and, as evidence for that argument, they note that they spend 44 per cent less on pollution control at their overseas operations than they are required to inside the United States.

It is widely believed that even if the US government does succeed in more closely regulating the export of hazardous pesticides, the corporations that produce them will simply manufacture them elsewhere - possibly in the Third World countries that now import them. And when the name of any given pesticide becomes too closely associated with health dangers or disease, the corporations can change its name, or alter the formula for its production slightly and claim that it is no longer dangerous.

Mother Jones, 625 Third Street, San Francisco, CA 94107, USA.
LATIN AMERICA: COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE AND INTERNATIONAL PURCHASING POWER

Fernando Sanchez Albavera, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales

Efforts in Collective self-reliance aimed at increasing the region's negotiating power in the field of trade, should support the objective of another development as it is presently taking place in Latin American societies.

Latin America's reduced capacity to negotiate stems from the type of production structure prevalent in its economies. Thus, it is not feasible to eliminate the so-called "external vulnerability" unless the patterns of such production structures are changed. Further, the asymmetrical trade relations which prevail in the present international economic order are explained not only by the differences in the economic power of states but also by the types of agreements groups and factions of Latin American enterprises hold with the present power structure, and in addition, by the growing denationalisation of the production system. Clearly then, as long as the production structure is oriented and subject to international interests, it will not be feasible to obtain any significant reduction in trade asymmetries. Efforts in national buying and selling must therefore correspond to an authentic national design and not to a transnational project. As it is, traditionally Latin American integration and cooperation efforts have mostly benefitted transnational co-operations (TNCs) and nationals serving their interests.

At this juncture it becomes important to increase the region's negotiating power as a result of three major events:

1. Loss of dynamism of Latin American trade at the world level.
2. Frequent economic-financial disequilibria
3. Deterioration in the balance of payments situation and increases in foreign debt resulting from the foreign exchange requirements necessary to sustain the growth of the present production structure.

Reversing this external vulnerability of the economies would require, countering the transfer of inflation from the principal supply countries, curbing "transfer pricing", limiting the transfer of profits and gifts abroad, coordinating activities between different associations of raw material producing countries, defining more autonomous channels of access to world markets as well as the transformation of present mechanisms for establishing contributions to international agencies.

This in order to succeed, would require coordinated efforts of Third World countries in two areas. Firstly it would suggest outlining policies directed at increasing their negotiating power vis-a-vis industrialised countries.

*/ Resumen of a longer paper in Spanish, available from ILFT, Apartado 05-025, Mexico 20, D.F.
Secondly, this would mean strengthening trade and financial links between Third World countries.

At the national level it suggests; patterns of consumption which can be satisfied with a minimum of external links; a reorientation of the allocation of resources and production priorities, effecting a strict programme for foreign trade.

A look at the present situation, the amount, source and content of Latin America purchases, points to the need for a new strategy. In 1978 imports amounted to U.S. $53,000 million, 80% in the form of manufactured goods. The U.S.A. supplied 29% of the total, EEC 13%, Japan 8% and the region itself 14%. Estimates would indicate that probably more than 80% of the region's imports are controlled directly or indirectly by Third World countries.

A new strategy, urgent as it is, poses certain difficulties resulting from the heterogeneity of the production structure, the concentration of international purchasing power in the more "developed" Latin American countries (e.g. Brazil, Venezuela), the significant proportion of "captive" foreign trade due to the presence of Third World countries and denationalisation, as well as the absence of national channels of international trade.

Thus, the viability of regional economic cooperation agreements is dependent on a political capacity to rationalise and reduce the diversifications of industrial production so as to attain a certain level of homogeneity in its imports. It further depends on the capacity to replace the intermediary function which the Third World countries now assume.

For that reason also, structural transformations at the national level is dependent, sine qua non, on strengthening the process of regional cooperation.

To all the other difficulties, some of which are mentioned above, may be added the political instability of Latin American regimes which places constraints on the definition of permanent regional objectives. Further, it would be important to counteract the bilateral tendencies of the more "developed" countries of the region - of which the presence of at least two in cooperative agreements is essential. In this connexion, Mexico and Venezuela may be good candidates, not only because they represent 31% of the region's purchasing power, but more importantly due to the power of oil as a negotiating weapon.

Finally, any new regional strategy must answer the following three questions:

. against whom is the action directed: capitalist industrialised countries and Third World countries.

. areas of concern: products critical to the satisfaction of basic needs (grain, milk, meat) and perhaps in a later stage, the most relevant manufactured goods.
actors and mechanisms: in the short and medium term the concentration should perhaps be on state trading organizations.

Phase I of a strategy could see an exchange of trade experiences, the harmonization of methods of commercial operations, building up of trade information services, reciprocal assistance in increasing efficiency, joint training of management personnel. Phase II: coordination of purchasing calendars and joint purchases as a plot project. Phase III, depending on the results of the above: organization and establishment of multinational trade enterprises made up of two or more states in the region.

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MOTHER TERESA: A LIGHT THAT SHINES

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Mother Teresa is not only a recognition of her noble deeds but also a tribute to the entire fraternity of voluntary workers dispersed all over the Third World, who suffer hardship and poverty in the cause of the poor. They are the soldiers of peace. She has lived amidst those awful slums of Calcutta and brought relief and some little hope for the thousands who die "unhonoured, unwept, and unsung". Mother Teresa reached the hearts and minds of the poorest people, by-passed both by governmental bureaucracies supposedly geared towards social welfare and the established forms of religion. She is a major innovator of appropriate mechanisms to provide succour for the poor - combining a minimum of material needs with a spiritual solace that has evoked happiness in hearts which never knew it before.

The commitment of Mother Teresa to the relief of grave social problems within the existing social and economic structures has a lesson for all of us. While we go on with the task of reform of social and economic institutions, and even their total abolition and replacement with others, some thought has to be spared to those who need relief urgently lest they die. In the long-run we are all dead, but in the short-run some die, and they are the poor. We could do more to assist Mother Teresa and her like.

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IFDA DOSSIER 14  .  DECEMBER 1979

FOOTNOTES / NOTES


. Development Dialogue, 1979:2, features the full reports of two IFDA Third System Project papers, 'Bhoomi Sena: A struggle for people's power' (cf. IFDA Dossier 5) and 'Can Sweden by shrunk' by Nordal Akerman (cf. IFDA Dossier 7). Plus a fascinating account, by Hélan Jaworski, who was its chief editor, of the period during which El Comercio, the major Peruvian daily, was under the control of peasants' organisations. Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Ovre Slottsgatan 2, S-752 20 Uppsala, Sweden.
Amulya Kumar N. Reddy, Technology, Development and the Environment: A Re-Appraisal (Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme, 1979). The Convenor of ASTRA (cell for Application of Science and Technology to Rural Areas at the Indian Institute of Sciences, Bangalore) has put together a number of his reports to UNEP. They constitute a whole, dealing with criticisms of modern technology; a conceptual framework; criteria for and methodology of selection of environmentally sound and appropriate technologies. The booklet can be obtained from UNEP, P.O. Box 30552, Nairobi, Kenya.

CARE IN SOCIETY - A PROJECT PRESENTATION

In spite of the constantly growing flow of public funds into social care during the last few decades, the demand for social welfare and medical treatment does not seem to have abated. What changes have taken place in society to explain this growing need of treatment and care? What impact have changes like efficiency improvement in industry, higher performance demands and such-like on workers' health and social adjustment? Is the pressure on the welfare apparatus due to the fact that people are no longer able to look after one another? Does Grandma live too far away?

There is no doubt that the community is being increasingly required to look after children and old people, the unemployed, alcoholics or groups who are vulnerable in other ways. What kind of care are these people getting? Can it truly be described as "care" in the sense of caring?

The Swedish Secretariat for Future Studies has started a study on the subject of "Care in Society"; a booklet describes the background of the project. It may be obtained from, and any ideas or comments you may have on the subject will be welcomed by:

The Futures Study "Care in Society"
Secretariat for Future Studies
P.O. Box 7502
S-103 92 Stockholm, Sweden.

LORD CARRINGTON ON THE NIEO

"Successive Governments have been opposed to the New International Economic Order, as advocated by the Group of 77, on the grounds that its implementation would do serious damage to the world economic systems, and hence to both developed and developing countries. That remains the position of Her Majesty's Government. But, together with the other major industrialized countries, the Government recognizes that constructive relations between developed and developing countries are important to the health of the world economy."

Lord Carrington's (UK Foreign Minister) written answer to the House of Lords, 18 July 1979, quoted in Maria Elena Hurtado, UNCTAD V: The Stumbling Blocks in the North-South Dialogue; paper written for the Development Cooperation Study Group of the British Labour Party (World Development Movement, Bedford Chambers, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8HA, UK.)