INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BUILDING BLOCKS/MATÉRIAUX

- Perception populaire du développement en Afrique occidentale (Environnement et Développement en Afrique, ENDA)
- Réduire la surconsommation (Philippe d'Iribarne, CEREBE)
- Local action for self-reliant development in Bangladesh (B.K. Jahangir)
- Another development for Japan (Nishikawa Jun)
- What to do about housing - Its part in another development (John F.C. Turner)
- Third World commodity policy at the crossroads: some fundamental issues (Carlos Fortin)
- Sovereignty of needs, reversal of unjust enrichment: themes toward another development (José R. Echeverria)

INTERACTIONS

- Selective North-South approaches: a room for mini-NIEO (Helge Hveem)
- General remarks on international financial cooperation and resource transfers (Moinuddin Bagai)
- Les ressources, l'alimentation, le patrimoine commun, l'industrialisation et la technique (Ben Saliah Kouyaté)
- Expériences
- Breast is best (Vic Sutton)
- Luis Echeverria: Forwards and upwards (Francisco Fernandez Mora)
- Development and Human needs (Soedjatmoko)
- Towards an endogenous industrialization geared to satisfying the needs of the poor (Abd-el Rahman Khane)

FOOTNOTES

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The IFDA Dossier appeared twice in 1978, and every month in 1979. The present issue of the Dossier is printed in 8,400 copies, of which 7,200 are directly mailed by IFDA (half to the Third World, half to industrialized countries). Bulk mailing to institutions in various countries amount to 400 copies. Requests for back issues are received daily, and some have had to be reprinted.

The 1979 acceleration was the result of the Third System Project undertaken by IFDA at the request of the Dutch government and with the support of the Dutch, Norwegian and Canadian governments. 119 activities were undertaken in the context of the Project. At the time of writing (28 November), 108 such activities had virtually been completed (66 papers published, 11 approved for publication, 20 activities otherwise completed, 9 reports under consideration by the secretariat, 2 cancellations). Some 50 institutions and ad hoc groups and more than 300 individuals have been or are participating in the Project through carrying out specific activities, contributing to the Dossier or attending meetings. Three fifths of the participants are from the Third World.

The Third System Project having been conceived as a contribution from the Third System to the discussion of the New International Development Strategy (to be approved by the United Nations General Assembly next summer), it operated within strict time constraints. Most of IFDA internal energies are devoted, at this stage, to the analysis of the material generated in the context of the project (of which published papers sometimes represent no more than the tip of the iceberg). The aim of the analysis is to publish a synthesis of the material as a 'final report' (which is not the main output of the Project, the Dossier itself and the on-going discussion being at least of equal importance). Papers still to be published and the final report (which is planned to constitute the bulk of Dossier 17) will probably require four more issues of the Dossier.

The Dossier, which was boosted by the Third System Project, has become a regular activity of IFDA, and will continue to appear regularly, but less often, after the completion of the Project. It will in particular continue to try and give a hearing to unheard voices through the dissemination of relevant and useful material volunteered by the Third System. It will give priority to papers of local and national origin which normally do not have access to the international circuit. Two regular issues are planned for late 1980.

In 1980, the IFDA Dossier will thus appear every two months instead of every month. This implies an appeal to the understanding of its voluntary contributors - and incidentally to those who are writing to us and may not always get a speedy answer or acknowledgement. Having to give priority to papers emanating from the Project, we may be slow in publishing other material, either available in an already long pipeline, or forthcoming. However, please do not stop sending us material, but be patient... We particularly welcome interactions to published papers. Short pieces will be given priority.
POPULAR PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT IN WEST AFRICA

Abstract: What Third World people, and especially the young, think about their future is a component and an important element which political leaders should take into account. It is not easy to know how explicitly or implicitly development is perceived. Contrary to the traditional ‘interview’ approach, ENDA attempted to determine this by employing an approach which gives to men, women and children in some West African countries the possibility to express their views in the minimum amount of constraints, not as they relate to the outside interlocutor, but in relation to their concerns, their daily occupations, the actions in which they find themselves engaged. The perception often indicates a rapid and radical assimilation of life styles and landscape of industrialized cities, an imitation of modern urban civilization. Sometimes it suggests development stemming from the demands, possibilities and cultures existing locally. The report raises the question as to how political and economic leaders and institutions or international organisations concerned with development can in the future really take into account popular perceptions and aspirations. It suggests this is possible firstly through analysis of these perceptions, then being open to a range of possible policies, on the one hand in the face of the mimetic perceptions, and on the other, in light of the aspirations towards endogenous development.

PERCEPCIÓN POPULAR DEL DESARROLLO EN AFRICA DEL OESTE

Resumen: ¿Qué opinan los jóvenes, de su futuro? Este es un elemento clave que los líderes políticos deben tener en cuenta en su planificación y desarrollo, ya sea en forma concreta o implícita. En vez de usar el método tradicional de la entrevista, ENDA se acercó al problema empleando un planteamiento que provocara de los hombres, mujeres y jóvenes de algunos países de África Occidental, una reacción y expresión no en relación con el interlocutor, sino en relación con sus preocupaciones e intereses cotidianos, sus actividades. Los resultados indican a menudo una imitación rápida y radical de estilos de vida y estructuras arquitecturales de ciudades industrializadas en imitación de
PERCEPTION POPULAIRE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT EN AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE

"C'est au bout de l'ancienne corde qu'on tresse la nouvelle" (proverbe Jon, Rénin).

Ce que pensent de leur avenir les hommes du Tiers Monde - et, tout particulièrement, les jeunes - constitue une des composantes de l'évolution en cours et l'un des éléments importants à prendre en compte par les responsables politiques.

Or, il n'est pas aisé de savoir comment, explicitement, ou implicitement, est perçu le développement. Des enquêtes, menées avec enquêteurs et questionnaires, auraient apporté des renseignements plutôt sur les relations entre celui qui est interrogé et celui qui interroge - perçu plus ou moins comme représentant de l'administration - que sur des opinions quant au fond du problème.

Une autre approche s'imposait : donner aux hommes, femmes et enfants de ces pays la possibilité de s'exprimer avec le minimum de contrainte, non par rapport à un interlocuteur extérieur, mais en relation avec leurs préoccupations, leurs soucis quotidiens, les actions dans lesquelles ils se trouvent engagés...

Pour les enfants ou les jeunes - dont beaucoup ne se livrent pas à des activités productives - la page d'écriture ou le croquis libre, à partir d'un thème suggéré, se révèlent des moyens d'expression commodes. Pour les adultes, les discussions en tête à tête ou en groupe, à propos d'un problème actuel, d'un projet, ou d'une action en cours, donnent sans doute un gage suffisant de crédibilité.

Pour les plus jeunes comme pour les plus âgés, en milieu urbain comme en milieu rural, on s'est attaché à ne pas procéder "gratuitement", mais à relier, au contraire, l'interrogation sur le futur aux perspectives d'actions en cours ou envisagées.

1/ L'extension de la recherche à d'autres continents que l'Afrique, envisagée initialement, aurait mis en jeu des acteurs par trop hétérogènes, notamment en termes culturels ; il a paru souhaitable de limiter le champ de l'étude à l'Afrique de l'Ouest francophone. On a utilisé, d'une part, des données déjà rassemblées par ENDA, mais n'ayant pas donné lieu, jusqu'ici, à une exploitation synthétique et, d'autre part, les résultats de recherches menées spécialement dans le cadre de la coopération entre FIPAD et ENDA. La carte ci-après situe les zones dans lesquelles ont été recueillies les données sur lesquelles s'appuient les pages qui suivent.

2/ Dans tous les cas, ont pris part à la démarche des personnes appartenant au même groupe culturel que celles avec qui se nouait le dialogue.
Or, dans les divers environnements, la perception du futur en général et, plus particulièrement, des processus et changements positifs attendus au cours des prochaines décennies - cette vision varie du tout au tout.

La perception, souvent, porte sur une assimilation rapide et radicale aux modes de vie et paysages des pays industriels, sur un mimétisme de la civilisation urbaine moderne. La perception, parfois, s'attache à la perspective d'une évolution à partir des exigences, des possibilités et de la culture locales. Face à ces types incompatibles de vision du futur, un choix s'impose entre plusieurs politiques possibles.

1. PERCEPTION DOMINANTE CHEZ LES JEUNES COMME CHEZ NOMBRE DE CITADINS ET DE RURAUX : LE DÉVELOPPEMENT, C'EST L'ACCES À LA VILLE, À L'AUTOMOBILE, À LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE.

Non seulement le mot "développement" (en français) est connu dans de larges couches de la population, mais il déclenche aussitôt un certain nombre de clichés physiques.

Certes, il se peut qu'on y voie une rupture avec les tatous et les vieux.
Pourtant, le contenu donné le plus fréquemment au terme est autre : le développement n'est-il pas l'accès à un niveau de vie et à un cadre de vie tels qu'on suppose qu'ils sont dans les grandes agglomérations européennes ou dans les beaux quartiers des grandes villes africaines?

1. La manière dont l'enfant ou le jeune perçoit et dessine - en l'idéalisant le plus souvent - le milieu urbain exprime, pour une part, leur façon de voir les changements futurs.

a) Ceci se vérifie dans des dessins d'enfants, en majorité bidonvillois, au Maroc et au Cameroun. Les dessins d'enfants de Douala montrent, notamment, "l'importance accordée à l’adaptation de la ville à la voiture..." Curieusement, "les activités économiques, les usines, les ateliers ne sont jamais représentés". De même, "les hommes et les travailleurs sont en partie exclus de cette ville ou tout au moins sont-ils cachés... il s'agit en fait de la ville moderne et de son centre commercial..." (réf. F).

"Le dessin ne représente pas vraiment l'endroit où vit l'enfant, mais l'endroit où l'école l'appelle à vivre" (réf. F). Ainsi, ce qu'on lit à travers ces dessins, c'est bien une perception du développement en termes d'extension de la ville moderne, de multiplication des immeubles et d'accroissement du trafic automobile.
b) A Dakar, à travers 374 dessins d'élèves du primaire, on note l'importance des arbres d'agrément plantés à espace régulier, des drapeaux, des voitures individuelles (réf. 1). "Les dessins sont en général pauvres dans les quartiers moins favorisés de la ville. Mais la différence est davantage de degré que de nature. Elle manifeste 'l'écart qui existe entre des enfants déjà intégrés (même modestement) à la société de consommation et ceux qui désirent y participer sans y avoir accès" (réf. 1).

c) Pour une même catégorie de la population, l'expression écrite, ou l'interview, ou la discussion de groupe peuvent révéler des problèmes ou des orientations que le dessin à lui seul ne traduisait pas, ou pas suffisamment. En s'exprimant sur leur propre condition de jeunes, ceux-ci se projettent inévitablement, et, avec eux, projettent leur perception de la société future.

Ce qui se dégage de l'opinion de jeunes de la région du Cap Vert, d'un âge se situant entre 12 et 20 ans, c'est d'abord - chez quelques uns - un optimisme réel, lié, peut-être à l'absence de responsabilité. La note dominante, cependant, réside dans le sentiment d'une crise réelle. "Vraiment, les jeunes d'aujourd'hui, ça ne va pas, hein!"

A cette conviction d'être actuellement "en question", s'ajoute, chez les jeunes, le sentiment d'une distance par rapport aux adultes et d'une grande difficulté à se faire comprendre d'une génération dont ils pensent différer fondamentalement. "Les jeunes actuellement veulent effacer les tabous, beaucoup de choses que nos vieux veulent garder" (G. 17).

Dans ce contexte, le développement est perçu à la fois comme une rupture par rapport à la société et aux comportements des adultes - et comme un accomplissement, celui de la société industrielle "moderne" dont on idéalise les formes d'implantations possibles en Afrique.

d) Si, au lieu de s'adresser aux jeunes en général, on concentre l'attention sur ceux qui habitent des quartiers populaires, découvre-t-on une perception fondamentalement différente ? Pour les jeunes interviewés du quartier populaire de Grand Médine (Dakar), le développement s'identifie avec la multiplication des équipements et des infrastructures et une réduction du nombre de chômeurs. "Ce qu'on veut, c'est des lampes, un nombre élevé de robinets, des routes avec un rond-point et un terminus pour les cars, une maternité, une école, un dispensaire, une pharmacie"; "le jour où on aura des routes goudronnées, une clinique, de l'électricité, une grande école, une maternité, Grand Médine sera vraiment développé..." (réf. 0).

Les dessins des enfants entre 8-12 ans expriment la même attitude : Grand Médine, à l'avenir, aura des grandes maisons, l'électricité, la télévision, des cinémas, autant que dans les "beaux quartiers" de la ville.

En dessinant leur quartier, vu maintenant et à vingt ans de distance, c'est en réalité son remplacement par la "ville moderne" qu'ils prévoient.

Ainsi, le développement attendu par les jeunes de Grand Médine n'est pas le produit d'une réflexion basée sur leur propre culture, d'une évolution endogène, mais il est influencé par la publicité, le style de vie des catégories sociales supérieures et des Européens.
2. La perception moderne et mimétique du développement ne se limite pas aux populations urbaines. Véhiculée de cent façons par les médias et les migrants, elle s'impose de plus en plus en milieu rural, jusqu'à faire basculer bon nombre de paysans dans un réel pessimisme sur ce que pourrait signifier, pour eux, le développement sur place.

a) D'observations faites en milieu sérère, dans la zone de Thies (Sénégal), ressort un profond découragement à propos de l'avenir des campagnes. "Le village est mal entretenue; personne ne fait rien pour l'améliorer. Il n'est pas vivant; on s'y ennuie continuellement. Au contraire la ville est grande... apparaît comme le lieu du prestige et de l'efficacité techniques, donc de l'ambiance libératrice, de la facilité, du pouvoir, le lieu où chacun "peut faire ce qu'il veut, où il le veut et quand il le veut", où chacun peut constituer son environnement esthétique, musical, affectif, selon ses désirs. La ville elle-même constitue un symbole évident de réussite et de supériorité..." (réf. L).

Il faut trouver en face d'une insertion anticipée et imaginaire dans la modernité citadine, d'une certaine urbanisation de la population jeune toute entière, largement diffusée jusqu'aux très jeunes enfants par divers mass-media, constitués autant par les récepteurs radio-transistors écoutés de manière quasi-permanente que par les récits idylliques des néo-citadins lorsqu'ils reviennent régulièrement au village, voire par l'institution scolaire qui propose aux élèves un avenir flatteur réalisable uniquement en ville, loin des activités agricoles et du contexte rural" (réf. L)... "Le passé appartient aux anciens qui ont "fait leur temps".

b) Au Zaïre, dans trois zones rurales alimentant l'émigration vers Kinshasa, la résignation et le découragement marquent l'autostéréotype des villageois. Le cultivateur de la brousse se définit comme s'il avait fait sienne l'idée qu'entretient à son égard le citadin. Les villageois... vont à la rencontre de la modernité capitaliste en se donnant battus d'avance..." (réf. N).

"... Le préjugé favorable à l'égard des gens de la ville a sans doute une double origine : premièrement, l'expérience réelle du propre classement, l'habitude des privations et frustrations qui sont le pain quotidien des habitants de la brousse et, deuxièmement, une propagande sociale soutenue qui répète, jour après jour, la nécessité d'un développement économique et social dont on ne voit guère les résultats dans le quotidien villageois... Un développement donc que l'on soupçonne, avec raison, d'être profitable seulement à la capitale lointaine... "La propagande intensive à propos d'un "développement" qu'on a tant de mal à voir arriver en milieu rural... attribue, de surcroît, la lenteur d'apparition des changements prônés à l'inertie et à la mauvaise volonté des paysans eux-mêmes : elle finira, à la longue, par persuader les villageois de leur impuissance..." (réf. N).

1/ A travers une enquête menée sur les stéréotypes de citadines et de ruraux au Zaïre et l'analyse de corrélations entre les réponses que font les uns et les autres, on saisit clairement quelle est leur perception du développement (réf. N).
Dans ces conditions, les possibilités d'un développement à la campagne, à partir de ressources locales, n'ont guère de place dans les perspectives : l'intéressant, c'est ce qui se passe à la ville, et l'exode vers la grande agglomération constitue la seule perspective sérieuse de développement. Se développer, c'est devenir citadin.

3. Entre la perception des citadins et celle des ruraux, l'écart n'est pas aussi large qu'on le croit souvent. À la question : dans vingt ans, quel sera votre avenir? Où vivrez-vous? 11,500 élèves de la dernière année ont répondu, dans l'ensemble du pays, avec une réelle homogénéité.

L'image qui s'impose, plus forte que toute autre, aux jeunes togolais en fin d'études primaires est celle du fonctionnaire. Il incarne le refus du passé rural, le prestige de celui qui a étudié et voyagé, le pouvoir d'achat de quelqu'un qui, chaque fois, reçoit de l'argent frais, qui aura une automobile et habitera dans une maison à étages.

a) Répulsion exercée par le milieu rural et attraction irrésistible de la ville. D'abord, la plupart des métiers intéressants ne peuvent s'exercer à la campagne.

Mais joue, aussi, la volonté de rompre avec tout ce qu'incarnent les campagnes retardées : "parce que la région comporte tant de ferme éloignées des villages, ces gens vivent comme auparavant. Ils craignent les médecins et préfèrent garder les charlatans. Ces hommes vivent comme des bêtes qui ne veulent pas se faire visiter par des infirmiers". Par contraste, la ville apparaît comme le lieu où l'on peut agir et faire quelque chose. "Et puis j'aimerais vivre dans une ville, surtout dans la ville, il y a toujours fête, on peut y aller voir, mais on est dérangé par les camions, les voitures, les automobiles, les moteurs, les vélos. On y va aussi au cinéma, au football chaque dimanche aussi, il y a tout dans la ville et si j'achète quelque chose, c'est propre" (F. 14).

D'autres raisons du départ sont moins explicites. Par exemple, on décèle un refus de la société "close". "J'aimerais vivre dans une ville. J'habiterai dans une maison moderne où nous serions bien à l'aise, libre comme je le voulais depuis mon enfance".

En bref, pour la plupart des élèves, quitter les campagnes est un préalable à toute promotion, en même temps qu'un signe d'entrée dans le monde moderne.

Comme l'écrit une fille de 15 ans : "je serai dans la capitale, c'est-à-dire à Lomé, pour être bien civilisée" (F. 15).

b) Aspirations à un salaire mensuel payé par l'État

Être payé au mois constitue pratiquement un gage de bonheur et de vie tranquille. Mais c'est la fonction publique qui apparaît comme la garantie suprême. "Dans 20 ans - écrit, comme beaucoup de ses condisciples, un garçon de 14 ans - je pense être un bureaucrate" (M. 14); le terme n'est nullement péjoratif, bien au contraire. On sent, à travers le plus grand nombre des réponses, une aspiration fondamentale : "je n'ai qu'une seule idée... obtenir mon B.E.P.C. qui me permettra d'être engagée dans un service tel que l'enseigne-
ment dans lequel je serai payée par le gouvernement" (F. 14). Une fille de 13 ans résume la chose : "je serai fonctionnaire dans un grand bureau" (F. 13).

c) Désir d'une (ou plusieurs) automobile(s).

Les enfants sont fascinés par les moyens de transport moderne. En abolissant la distance, ils les rapprochent des villes. Ces instruments constituent aussi le symbole du pouvoir qui, il n'y a pas si longtemps, était encore exclusivement entre les mains des blancs.

Le thème revient constamment : "j'aurai une voiture que je conduirai au bureau" (F. 13). Les deux termes (le véhicule et le service administratif) sont fréquemment associés. Beaucoup songent qu'ils ne conduiront pas eux-mêmes. "J'achèterai une voiture et j'aurai un chauffeur qui me conduira au service" (M. 12). "J'achèterai une voiture Mercedes Benz et un chauffeur personnel me conduira au service".

d) Une idée fixe : la maison à étages.

Construire constitue pour tous les enfants un objectif essentiel, mais la plupart précisent : "quand j'aurai l'argent, je bâtirai une maison à étages" (M. 16). L'allure générale de l'édifice est vue avec beaucoup de réalisme. "Ma maison sera bien construite et énorme". "Je me trouverai dans un grand château avec ma famille". "Pour me rendre aisé comme les bourgeois américains et français, je bâtirai le gratte-ciel..." (M. 13) : "je construirai une coquette maison qui sera électrisée et carrelée, plus jolie que la maison du Président, et mon plan sera fait en Europe par un grand géomètre" (M. 14). "Les chambres seront climatisées, aérées. Dans un ordre parfait. Les chambres auront un ventilateur que je mettrai en fonction au moment les plus chauds de la journée. Toutes les pièces seront pleines de belles gravures" (M. 14).

Ainsi, le désir d'avoir un logement moderne se trouve-t-il au centre des aspirations des jeunes et le stéréotype de ce type de construction est clairement défini : en matériaux importés, à plusieurs étages, avec ventilation et climatisation. La "modernité", en fait, se présente sous les formes d'un triple mythe : se déplacer rapidement, vivre en ville et être fonctionnaire. L'auto et le building catalysent les désirs plus ou moins vagues des enfants de sortir de leurs difficultés présentes et d'accéder à une existence en rupture avec le milieu d'origine.

Ces propos des écoliers du Togo s'avèrent cohérents avec les tendances que révèlent dessins et entretiens évoqués précédemment. Le développement est perçu par beaucoup comme l'accès rapide à la société de consommation de l'Occident.

4. La distance entre le développement prévisible et le développement perçu, tel qu'il se manifeste dans les propos ou les dessins de citadins ou de ruraux, devient un des aspects préoccupants de la situation présente.

La croissance des pays africains permettra nombre d'entre eux, en dépit d'un fort accroissement de la population, de doubler le produit national brut par habitant au cours des vingt prochaines années - ce qui n'est déjà pas si mal comme performance. Une évolution de cet ordre permettrait alors à
des pays relativement "retardés" de l'Afrique de l'Ouest de dépasser sensible-ment le niveau actuel de la Côte d'Ivoire.

Cependant, cette perception "raisonnable" du développement n'est nullement partagée par une large part de la population urbaine et rurale.

**ECART ENTRE DEVELOPPEMENT PREVISIBLE ET DEVELOPPEMENT PERÇU**

*P.I.B. par personne et par an (en $ U.S.)*

Pour ceux qui perçoivent le développement comme l'urbanisation rapide de l'Europe ou de l'Amérique, l'accès de chacun à l'automobile et à un logement de type building ou villa doit s'opérer dans un bref délai - les cinq ou dix prochaines années.

Dans ce type de perception, le développement, c'est ce qui permettrait de vivre d'ici une vingtaine d'années comme en France, en Allemagne Fédérale ou aux États-Unis.

L'écart qui s'accroît entre les espoirs ou attentes de la majorité de la population et le possible ou le probable va entraîner des conséquences d'une extrême gravité.

Se pourrait-il qu'un des moyens de résoudre la grave crise qui s'annonce, soit de prendre appui sur une autre perception du développement, partagée par diverses catégories de la population, mais, le plus souvent, officiellement ignorée ou occultée?
II. ASPIRATION SENSIBLE CHEZ DE NOMBREUX PAYSANS ET CITADINS : UN DÉVELOPPEMENT À PARTIR DE LEURS BESOINS, DE LEURS POSSIBILITÉS, DE LEUR CULTURE.

Pour de larges couches populaires d'Afrique, le concept de développement évoque bien autre chose que l'imitation des pays industriels.

1. Ceci est patent, déjà, à travers le choix des expressions qu'utilisent les langues africaines pour exprimer "développement".


2. Il existe, cependant, d'autres expressions - directes ou indirectes - de la manière dont beaucoup de jeunes ou d'adultes, voient leur avenir et, par là même, celui de leur région ou de leur pays.

Par exemple, en Casamance, les dessins fournissent nombre d'indications sur la prise en charge communautaire de l'individu, en même temps que sur la connaissance de l'environnement rural (réf. G).

D'entretiens avec divers groupes de Peulhs au Niger et en Haute-Volta (réf. B, C, E, K), se dégagent à la fois la volonté d'améliorer les conditions de vie et de garder l'identité du groupe.

Le premier aspect apparaît, par exemple, dans le dialogue avec les Peulhs du Sahel voltaïque, pour qui "développement" veut dire à la fois produire plus et comprendre mieux.

N - Si quelqu'un vient pour vous aider à apprendre ce que vous voulez savoir, dans quelle langue cet homme-là devrait-il enseigner?

P - Nous voulons le pular (langue des Peulhs), afin de mieux comprendre. Et pour écrire, le pular aussi...

N - Supposons qu'on fasse un puits et qu'il y ait une certaine manière de l'aménager, est-ce qu'il suffit qu'on dise la meilleure manière de procéder? Ou bien est-ce qu'il faut, même si cela prend beaucoup de temps, expliquer aussi pourquoi on doit faire comme cela?

P - Il nous faut dire pourquoi, c'est mieux.

N - Mais c'est plus long. Est-ce que vous pensez que c'est utile quand même?

P - C'est utile, car nous comprendrons. Nous voulons savoir le pourquoi des choses.

On ne se trouve pas devant des attitudes d'attachement exclusif à la tradition
et de refus de toute innovation. Ces pasteurs ou semi-pasteurs perçoivent un développement possible, mais généralement pas celui qu'on leur propose. Ils veulent vivre mieux, mais selon leur culture et leur style de vie propre. Ainsi, se développer, dans ce contexte, c'est avoir un troupeau plus grand, bien réparti en fonction des parcours possibles, éventuellement faire pousser un peu plus de mil, et, en tout cas, avoir la dignité et le respect de ses pairs.

4. Un autre type de perception du développement se manifeste dans des populations pour lesquelles - à la différence de ce qui se passe pour les Touaregs et les Peulhs - le risque que le modernisme n'empêche la survie socio-culturelle du groupe n'est pas aussi marqué.

a) Des paysans ivoiriens, malien, sénégalais, togolais, voltaïques - vivant souvent, il est vrai, dans des zones plus ou moins "retardées" de leur pays - expriment une conception complexe du développement : "être responsable et indépendant vis-à-vis de la grande famille; garder le prestige des pères et être respecté; être connu et se rendre indispensable dans la société; être équilibré". A Konandougou (Haute-Volta), des paysans disent : "celui qui est développé, c'est celui qui est libre, qui possède sa terre, qui est installé sur la terre, qui a du savoir, qui a du pouvoir". Autre perception : "c'est tout un ensemble, une vie dans la liberté, la justice, la santé, le travail dans la paix jusqu'à la vieillesse".

b) Certains aspects de ce que pourrait être le développement sont presque toujours soulignés avec insistance par les populations rurales. Un leit-motiv constant est celui de l'entente : "s'ouvrir aux autres, ne pas se refermer sur soi, pouvoir encourager les autres, savoir gérer pour gagner la confiance des autres. Être un intermédiaire, régler les conflits, être régulateur, créer un groupement, créer l'entente continue".

Cependant, cette entente, qu'on souhaite si fort, on ne la conçoit pas sur n'importe quelle base. "Se développer est ne pas accepter l'injustice; ne plus exoder". "Avoir tout ce que je veux dans mon village, sans aller chercher ailleurs". "Gagner autant qu'à la ville". "C'est que tous les villages à côté prennent l'exemple (sur nous)".

Et, pourtant, se développer, encore, "c'est changer ma manière de vivre". Aussi : "c'est être soi-même, naturel". "Ne pas exagérer l'imitation des autres". "Bien aimer mon travail de paysan (Réf. J).

3. La perception du développement par les paysans ou les pasteurs apparaît aussi, implicitement, à travers les choix qu'ils opèrent lorsqu'ils ont réellement la possibilité d'agir pour se développer eux-mêmes.

Dans la boucle du Niger, près de Mopti, des Peulhs semi-cultivateurs semi-éleveurs ont voulu, avant tout, écrire. Ensuite, c'est vers la santé qu'ils se tournèrent, et, après discussion en groupe avec des médecins, ils publièrent, toujours dans leur langue, un fascicule sur les 14 maladies jugées les plus graves et comment les soigner en utilisant, d'abord, les ressources locales. Des exemples de ce genre démontrent comment, dans l'action, nombre de ruraux perçoivent leur développement comme indissociable de leur culture et, tout en s'intéressant aux accroissements de production et de revenus, ne donnent pas
à ces objectifs de priorité absolue et écartent, en tout cas, l'imitation servile de l'Europe ou des États-Unis. (Réf. R).

4. Entente dans le groupe ou entre groupes, refus de la dépendance, accroissement des aptitudes et connaissances, progrès culturels, santé meilleure et revenus plus élevés, tels sont les termes dont usent nombre de ruraux en Afrique de l'Ouest pour donner un contenu au concept de développement. Chez certains nomades ou semi-nomades ou chez certains groupes humains vivant dans des régions jugées "retardées", l'accent est mis plus nettement sur la survie culturelle tandis que, dans de larges secteurs de la paysannerie pratiquant des cultures de rente, l'augmentation des revenus prend une importance plus grande. Le fait n'en demeure pas moins qu'il existe une proportion importante d'Africains, dans cette partie occidentale du continent, pour voir l'avenir en termes de changements positifs, mais pas uniquement quantitatifs nécessairement conformes aux modèles importés.

5. L'existence de deux types principaux de perception du développement ne doit pourtant pas être interprétée comme une dichotomie nette des opinions et des comportements.

a) D'abord, il serait inexact de présenter les choses comme s'il y avait opposition tranchée entre le milieu urbain et le milieu rural. Dans les villes, si l'on excepte les beaux quartiers où les mentalités sont le plus souvent profondément occidentalisées, il n'est pas rare que l'on rencontre des perceptions ambivalentes du développement.

C'est le cas à Grand Médiène où, s'il est vrai que la référence aux modèles importés domine, le développement est perçu néanmoins comme comportant d'autres aspects. "Ce qui fait que Grand Médiène nous plait, c'est que ses habitants sont calmes, gentils, veulent du bien et sont unis. Car, en fait, c'est ça un quartier : une population unie, des parents unis et bien suivis par les jeunes, unis comme eux, pour que le quartier soit sain".

L'interlocuteur, qui a été au contact des habitants de ce quartier populaire de Dakar a raison de mettre en évidence l'hétérogénéité des perceptions :
"comment résoudre ce conflit, de chercher une meilleure satisfaction des besoins fondamentaux par une évolution en direction des pays industrialisés et, en même temps, de juger nécessaire de conserver les qualités et valeurs immatérielles incompatibles avec une telle évolution?" (réf. 0).

Constituant, pour ainsi dire, une réponse rurale à ce type de situation urbaine, certains cultivateurs manifestent, dans certaines campagnes profondément pénétrées par les flux culturels extérieurs - comme au Zaïre - un attachement à des valeurs que les modèles importés excluent en général. "Les villageois se sentent, beaucoup plus que les citadins, comme partie d'un tout, comme solides et vivant en communautés : une solidarité et un rassemblement..." (réf. N) et ceci reste, à leurs yeux, un point d'appui valuable pour un vrai développement.

Dans la plupart des milieux, la perception dominante n'exclut pas la présence d'autres perceptions, même apparemment contradictoires avec elle.
b) Au demeurant, il ne faudrait pas non plus s’imaginer qu’il existe un partage géographique net des types de perceptions. Certes, on trouve des zones

quartiers poplaires
  - jeunes
  - adultes

quartiers de standing moyen

beaux quartiers

région "retardée"

zone où la perception mimétique du développement est plus ou moins généralisée

zone où la perception endogène du développement est plus ou moins généralisée

où la perception du développement s’est généralisée et d’autres où ce qu’on peut appeler la perception endogène domine plus ou moins. Cependant, la situation dans les divers ensembles spatiaux est beaucoup plus nuancée. En ville, à l’intérieur des quartiers populaires, la perception dominante des jeunes n’est pas nécessairement celle des adultes chez qui on trouve, plus fréquemment, des points de vue composites. Dans l’intérieur du pays, la répartition des différents points de vue est variable : il se peut, ainsi, que certaines régions "retardées" aient viré à la perception mimétique tandis que d’autres, au contraire, constituent des terrains propices pour une perception endogène du développement.

c) Enfin, il n’est nullement exclu que des perceptions contradictoires se manifestent chez les mêmes personnes, suivant le contexte dans lequel se pose la question (cadre scolaire, action productive...), suivant les points de vue prévalant dans des groupes proches, ou suivant l’aptitude que l’on croit déceler chez l’interlocuteur à mieux comprendre telle perception, ou telle autre.

Ce qui est clair, en tout cas, c’est que les flux culturels les plus dynamiques et les plus diffus véhiculent actuellement la perception mimétique du développement. Certains flux culturels, d’origine locale dans la plupart des cas, s’emploient, avec plus ou moins d’intensité, à diffuser les thèmes de l’auto-développement – en général sans un appui suffisant des autorités.

Qui est plus grave, dans les actions ello-mêmes, l’essentiel porte sur des réalisations mimétiques et fort peu, finalement, sur l’appui à des groupes de base contribuant à répondre eux-mêmes à leurs besoins, selon leurs propres
conceptions et à partir de leurs ressources. La plupart de ces actions ont été décidées et réalisées sans même que l'on s'inquiète de la perception du développement chez les groupes humains auxquels elles s'adressaient.

III. PRISÉ EN COMPTE DES PERCEPTIONS DU DÉVELOPPEMENT PAR LA POPULATION

Peut-on mener une politique qui aille à la rencontre de la perception que la majorité de la population ou que la majorité des jeunes a de son avenir? Ou, formulé autrement, comment les responsables politiques ou économiques peuvent-ils, à l'avenir, prendre réellement en compte les perceptions et les aspirations populaires?

Si l'on veut répondre à la question, ce qui s'impose d'abord, c'est une analyse de ces perceptions populaires. Ensuite, s'ouvre la gamme des politiques possibles, d'une part devant les perceptions mimétiques et, d'autre part, devant les aspirations à un progrès endogène.

1. Comprendre vraiment ce que sont les conceptions biaisées du présent et du futur est beaucoup plus important qu'il n'apparaît d'abord.

a) Il est essentiel, pour expliquer les opinions et comportements, de savoir ce qu'une large part de la population et, surtout, les jeunes, "voient", ce qu'ils ne perçoivent pas et ce qu'ils occultent.

b) Il n'est pas aisé de savoir si les gens croient vraiment, ou pas, que la société de consommation industrielle, à l'image de celle que connaissent les pays d'Europe ou d'Amérique du Nord, se trouve à leur portée. La majorité, semble-t-il, croit vraiment avoir une chance d'y accéder un jour. En attendant que se concrétise cette chance, beaucoup vivent dans un environnement imaginaire - ce qu'un film comme celui de Jean Rouch, "Moi, un Noir", ou celui de Ousmane Sembène, "Xala", ont fort bien mis en évidence.

Certains impatiences ou revendications, alors que tard l'accès à la société de consommation, expriment, en fait, une profonde aliénation, au sens sociologique du terme.

c) Ceci explique un consensus beaucoup plus large qu'on ne le croit avec les orientations générales du développement choisies par la plupart des gouvernements de ces pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest. L'industrialisation à l'euro-péenne, l'importation de biens de consommation depuis la voiture de luxe jusqu'à certaines denrées alimentaires, les investissements massifs dans les constructions urbaines de standing, tout cela correspond à la conception que se fait du développement la majorité de la population. Ce n'est pas seulement parce que, précisément, le journal, la radio, les discours font de ces photographies, de ces articles, de ces reportages des témoignages de ce qu'ils appellent "développement" qu'on y adhère; c'est, plus profondément, parce qu'ils concrétisent la réalisation du rêve.

d) En fait, les emplois créés dans l'industrie vont être limités, les profits des opérations d'industrialisation ou d'équipement iront à un petit nombre, les hôpitaux les plus modernes n'accueilleront que peu de
patients, etc. : la perception mimétique du développement, largement partagée par les diverses couches de la population, fait parfaitement l'affaire d'une catégorie sociale restreinte qui, elle, profite directement de ce type de "développement" et entretient ainsi, au yeux du plus grand nombre, l'illusion qu'il pourrait, un jour, y prendre part.

e) Cependant, à la perception du développement mimétique et au concert d'approbations allant au développement à l'occidentale, se mêlent quelques fausses notes. Certains commencent à percevoir qu'on gagne peu à la "loterie", ou que la chance passe toujours pour les mêmes, et ceci alimente des réactions d'aigreur et parfois des comportements de révolte, notamment chez les jeunes qui ne trouvent guère de possibilités d'emploi, même s'ils ont poursuivi leurs études.

Dans l'évocation, plus haut, de l'écart existant entre l'évolution probable des pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest et celle qui serait nécessaire pour répondre aux aspirations de la majorité de la jeunesse et d'une part importante de la population urbaine et rurale, la courbe prévisible du niveau des revenus entre $t_0$ et $t_2$ exprime des moyennes. Si les tendances actuelles se poursuivaient, cette courbe devrait être décomposée en deux éléments : pour 10% de la population, peut-être, une première courbe (e) se caractériserait par une croissance rapide, amenant à un niveau de vie élevé une fraction limitée des citoyens, tandis que l'autre courbe (p) marquerait une tendance à une croissance extrême-ment lente, voire - dans certains pays - à la stagnation. Or, tout se passe actuellement comme si seule la courbe qui s'élève le plus rapidement (e) était visible et comme si l'autre (p) ne l'était pas. Ainsi, bon nombre des habitants d'un pays perçoivent le développement dont un nombre limité de leurs compatriotes va tirer bénéfice au cours des années proches comme s'il leur était promis à tous.

2. Quelle pourrait être, face à cette situation, l'attitude de responsables politico-économiques ou d'institutions souhaitant œuvrer pour "un autre développement"?

a) Résoudre à certains désire ou à certaines aspirations paraît, en tout cas, indispensable.

L'un des risques les plus graves, pour les conceptions endogènes du développement, est qu'elles soient ressenties comme marquées du sceau de l'archaïsme, du "retour" au passé pré-colonial et de la réaction, au sens technique et social du terme. De fait, parmi ceux qui partagent l'optique de l'auto-développement, figurent quelques citadins "d'un certain âge" et nombre de paysans de zones parmi les plus retardées du pays. A l'opposé, la contestation du pouvoir des adultes et des vieux alimente la conception mimétique du développement : elle fait plus novatrice, plus "dans le vent". On sait combien les idées-forces valent non par leur seul contenu rationnel mais bien par leur charge affective. Pour qu'elle s'impose en Afrique de l'Ouest, une conception comme celle de l'écodéveloppement ou de l'autodéveloppement a besoin d'une connotation de progrès, de modernité et de jeunesse qui la rende suffisamment attractive.

Il importe de composer avec le courant moderniste, et sur le fond et sur la
forme. Si l'on ne peut assurer aux jeunes la possession d'un véhicule et d'un habitat modernes, peut-être peut-on, au moins, leur garantir une certaine part aux décisions et un minimum de travail car il est impensable qu'on refuse à la fois aux jeunes l'accès aux biens et l'accès au pouvoir.

On devrait s'attacher à la réalité de certains changements et, aussi, à leur symbolisation. Le développement, c'est aussi une évolution du paysage de la vie quotidienne, de ses points de repère, de ses signes.

b) Ce premier aspect d'une politique possible devrait aller de pair avec une opération de réflexion collective sur les possibilités et les moyens réels du développement, que l'on imagine menée aux échelons locaux, régionaux et nationaux, et orchestrée comme il convient par les mass media.

c) Enfin, on ne voit pas comment on pourrait éviter le filtrage des flux culturels provenant de l'extérieur.

C'est là un des aspects les plus délicats d'une nouvelle politique, tant est grand le danger, d'une part, que s'établisse une censure sectaire, ou xénophobe, ou favorisant un pouvoir personnel, ou bien que l'on aboutisse à une coupure de l'extérieur qui devienne dangereuse pour la vitalité de la culture et pour le développement lui-même. Mais peut-on laisser les mains libres à n'importe quel marchand de perceptions ou d'illusions.

d) Prendre appui sur les aspirations à un progrès endogène constitue une condition sine qua non pour la mise en œuvre d'un "autre développement". Pour contrecarrer la déformation des perceptions et aspirations, les instances s'orientant vers l'auto-développement ou l'éco-développement ont à valoriser l'autre manière de percevoir l'avenir, celle qui consiste à l'identifier comme un progrès à partir des cultures africaines, réalisé pour l'essentiel par ceux qu'il concerne, à partir de leurs besoins et de leurs propres efforts.

Ceci pourrait se traduire par divers types d'action, par exemple : la multiplication de rencontres et d'échanges entre les groupes percevant le développement comme une entreprise endogène, la mise en place de systèmes d'information à la base à l'intérieur des groupes paysans ou citadins (ou endore du groupe à groupe), l'organisation de stages insérés dans les années d'études, de séjours saisonniers volontaires, de liens de parrainage ou de jumelage généralisant les contacts entre les diverses catégories de la population.

En même temps, une révision du discours habituel sur le développement s'impose - dans les écoles, dans la presse, à la radio, dans les cérémonies et réunions - pour prendre des distances par rapport à l'habituel bla-bla moderniste et mimétique.

1/ Parmi les contributions d'ENDA au débat sur l'alternative éducationnelle, on pourra se reporter à la revue Environnement Africain, suppléments "Études et recherches", no. 15, janvier 1977 (J. Bugnicourt - "Education environnementale et développement en Afrique", et no. 31 (V. Altarelli-Herzog et P. Jacolin - "L'école détournée"). ainsi qu'au document ENDA no. 8 (Ben Mady Cisse et J. Bugnicourt - "Quelle formation pour l'aménagement des environnements africains").
Le défi, ici, est de ne pas substituer un centralisme à un autre, et de nouvelles formes de manipulation et de propagande à d'autres. L'adoption d'une perception du développement comme un processus endogène et autonome n'est possible que s'il existe l'amorce de multiples actions participées dans lesquelles la population reconnaît les termes qu'elle emploie dans sa propre langue pour désigner "développement", retrouve les définitions qui sont les siennes et identifie des cheminement dont elle a éprouvé la pertinence. À la différence de la perception mimétique - qui s'alimente de projections lointaines ou différés - la perception endogène tire sa crédibilité de l'environnement immédiat, ne subsiste - semble-t-il - et ne s'étend qu'appuyée sur une réalité lourde déjà des signes du changement.

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(Resumen: cont.)

civilizaciones urbanas modernas. Sólo a veces sugiere que el desarrollo origina de las exigencias, posibilidades y culturas del lugar. El informe plantea el problema - ¿Cómo pueden tener en cuenta los líderes políticos y económicos, las instituciones y los órganos nacionales encargados del desarrollo, las percepciones y aspiraciones populares? Se sugiere que es posible si se analizan estas percepciones y si se abre la problemática a una gama de interpretaciones políticas posibles, tomando apoyo en las aspiraciones por un progreso autóctono, sin rechazar por completo las percepciones imitativas.

Out on the edge you see all kinds of things you can't see from the centre. Big, undreamed-of things - the people on the edge see them first.

Kurt Vonnegut

Eddy Riano (New York: Delacorte Press, 1983)
Résumé: Dans une économie de marché, plusieurs types de mécanismes poussent à la surconsommation. Des ententes entre producteurs peuvent entraîner la commercialisation de produits bon marché ou durables; les consommateurs sont mal informés: l’aspect extérieur des produits (sécurité, hygiène, durabilité, économie d’exploitation) les renseigne mal sur l’aptitude de l’emploi de ce qu’ils achètent. Mais pour l’essentiel, la surconsommation est due à un autre type de mécanisme. Elle provient du fait que le choix des consommateurs sont loin de n’avoir d’influence que sur leur propre vie; ainsi l’utilisation d’une voiture est loin de n’affecter que son utilisateur, mais a affecte également autrui. Même lorsque nous ne sommes pas affectés par les consommations d’autrui dans leurs effets 'utilitaires', nous le sommes presque toujours dans leurs effets "extra-utilitaires". C’est en fait la consommation relative qui est le grand régulateur de la surconsommation. Celle-ci est coûteuse en termes de ressources et de temps, et elle se traduit en définitive par une détérioration de la qualité de la vie.

L’auteur montre que la surconsommation ne correspond pas seulement à un gaspillage, mais qu’en réalité une valeur d’usage équivalente pourrait être obtenue par un modèle de consommation moins dispensieux. Il présente un certain nombre de suggestions qui permettraient d’économiser ressources et temps.

Abstract: Several types of economic and social mechanisms tend to lead to over-consumption in industrialized market economies: producers may tend to succeed in marketing products with built-in obsolescence; consumers may be badly informed regarding hygiene, security, durability of products on the market, and this creates important side effects; certain products (like motor cars) create important diseconomies (noise, congestion, city planning), which encumber the whole society; and the phenomenon of relative consumption becomes prevalent whereby consumers determine their needs on the consumption pattern and levels of other consumers. Over-consumption is very costly in terms of both resources and time: it is characterized by a very intensive use of non-renewable resources, and it imposes sacrifices on society which manifest themselves in a decreasing quality of life.

(Continued on page 10(30).)
Philippe d'Iribarne

REDUIRE LA SURCONSOMMATION

La surconsommation qui règne dans les pays industriels est souvent dénoncée, en fonction de deux types de préoccupations :

- des préoccupations tenant aux inconvénients d'une utilisation intensive des ressources non renouvelables (énergies fossiles, matières premières minérales) ; une telle utilisation obère l'avenir de l'humanité ; de plus elle correspond à un modèle de développement économique qui n'est pas généralisable à l'ensemble de celle-ci et n'est donc pas compatible avec un ordre international plus équitable ;

- des préoccupations tenant à la qualité de la vie de ceux-là même qui "bénéficient" d'un haut niveau de consommation. Celui-ci est obtenu au prix de sacrifices élevés en matière de conditions de travail, de saturation du temps, de perte d'insertion socio-culturelle, et ces sacrifices paraissent disproportionnés par rapport aux avantages qu'ils permettent d'obtenir.

Un examen détaillé du modèle de consommation qui prévaut dans ces pays, et en particulier en France, tend à faire penser que ces critiques sont pertinentes : une qualité de service équivalente en matière de consommation pourrait être obtenue en utilisant moins de ressources en matières premières et en temps.

Ceci saute aux yeux si l'on considère les seuls effets "utilitaires" de la consommation (qualité nutritionnelle de l'alimentation, effets pharmacodynamiques des médicaments, influence des moyens de transports sur l'utilisation du temps). En la matière il paraît clair qu'on pourrait maintenir la qualité de service actuelle en réduisant considérablement les dépenses réalisées (en tout cas de moitié semble-t-il).

De plus cela reste vrai quand on prend également en compte ce qui relève de l'"extra-utilitaire". Une bonne partie des effets correspondants, bien connue des hommes de marketing, est liée aux motivations des individus à obtenir des biens qui leur donnent l'impression d'être "à la hauteur", ou mieux "plus qu'à la hauteur", à ses propres yeux, comme aux yeux des autres. En la matière chacun peut être "plus à la hauteur" en augmentant ses dépenses par rapport à un niveau de consommation "normal" donné. Mais le "normal" est quelque chose d'éminemment relatif, c'est habituel. C'est ce qu'on voit autour de soi, c'est le "moyen" des "gens comme soi". Quand la richesse croît, le "normal" s'élève lui aussi, et en moyenne personne n'avance par rapport à lui. Donc en moyenne, personne n'améliore sa situation. Et un niveau de consommation plus bas pour tous procurerait une situation analogue aux uns et aux autres. Pour d'autres effets, ce qu'on obtient n'est pas lié aux dépenses que l'on réalise, même au niveau individuel. Il en est ainsi pour tout ce qui relève de la variété, de la fantaisie, que par exemple le hippie trouve mieux que le PDG dans son habillement.

Si on raisonne par rapport au véritable but de la production (l'obtention d'une qualité de service élevée) notre économie présente des pertes de rendement considérables. Sa productivité finale est nettement plus basse qu'elle ne pourrait être. Ce qui est obtenu en améliorant sans cesse la productivité de l'appareil productif, est en grande part perdu par la faible productivité obtenue dans le passage de la production à l'usage.

D'où vient la surconsommation ?

Dans une économie de marché, plusieurs types de mécanismes poussent à la surconsommation et si dans nos sociétés une organisation collective est mise en place pour pallier les effets de certains d'entre eux, elle ne le fait pas pour tous.

Des ententes plus ou moins occultes entre producteurs peuvent entraver la commercialisation de produits bon marché ou durables (on cite couramment le cas des bas nylon, des ampoules, des huiles de voiture vendues en vrac). Mais, compte-tenu en particulier de l'action des pouvoirs publics, ce type de phénomène ne paraît concerner sérieusement qu'une part infime de notre consommation.

Les consommateurs sont mal informés. Souvent l'aspect extérieur des produits (sécurité, hygiène, durabilité, économie d'exploitation, etc.) les renseigne mal sur l'aptitude à l'emploi de ce qu'ils achètent. De plus l'information que l'expérience permet d'acquérir est limitée quand il s'agit de produits dont les achats ne se renouvellent qu'à intervalles éloignés (logement, électroménager, voitures, produits durables en général) ou qui ne sont pas standardisés (nombreux produits alimentaires). Toutefois de nombreuses actions tendent à limiter cette sous-information ou ses inconvenients. Toute une réglementation vise à éviter que ne soient mis sur le marché des produits peu satisfaisants pour le consommateur ; elle le fait de manière classique pour tenir compte des questions d'hygiène et de sécurité, mais aussi plus récemment des questions d'économie d'exploitation (Cf. les normes d'isolation des logements). Par ailleurs l'information des consommateurs tend à s'améliorer de multiples manières (développement des essais comparatifs, prescriptions relatives aux informations données par les emballages, etc.).

Pour l'essentiel la surconsommation est due à un autre type de mécanisme. Elle provient du fait que les choix des consommateurs sont loin de n'avoir d'influence que sur leur propre vie.

Ainsi l'utilisation d'une voiture est loin de n'affecter que son utilisateur, mais affecte également autrui. Chacun de nous voit sa vie influencée par les voitures des autres. Nous sommes gênés par les encombrements qu'elles créent sur les routes et dans les rues. Leur bruit trouble souvent notre sommeil. Nous supportons la pollution qu'elles engendrent. Elles nous font courir des dangers. Or, quand chacun décide d'utiliser ou non sa voiture, il ne prend en compte que les effets sur lui-même et non les effets sur les autres. Il peut lui arriver, pour obtenir un transport un peu plus agréable pour lui-même, d'apporter aux autres une gêne qui dépasse de beaucoup les avantages qu'il obtient. Et si tous en font autant,

1/ Cf. le rapport annexe sur Les déterminants de la surconsommation.
tous se trouvent au total perdants. En pareille situation un état satisfaisant pour chacun ne peut résulter du simple concours des actions individuelles. Elle demande une organisation collective créant des zones piétonnières, limitant le bruit et les pollutions, etc.

Ce genre de situation se rencontre très fréquemment. Même lorsque nous ne sommes pas affectés par les consommations d'autrui dans leurs effets "utilitaires", nous le sommes presque toujours dans leurs effets "extra-utilitaires", qui constituent en général l'essentiel. En effet comme ce que chacun obtient en la matière dépend de la manière dont sa consommation se situe par rapport aux consommations "normales" et comme ce "normal" correspond à ce que font les autres, c'est en fait la consommation relative qui compte. On est dans une situation analogue à celle de la course aux armements où c'est l'armement relatif qui compte. Faute d'accords de désarmement chacun réalise des dépenses qui se neutralisent les unes les autres, pendant que demeurent les sacrifices que chacun a consentis en vain de son côté.

Ce dernier mécanisme est le grand régulateur de la surconsommation du temps des individus. Aussi haut que s'élève le niveau de consommation, on peut toujours aller plus loin dans la compétition des signes, sans qu'aucune saturation puisse intervenir. A un instant donné la course à la consommation s'arrête quand le temps des individus est suffisamment saturé et qu'ils sont suffisamment fatigués pour que le jeu cesse d'en valoir la chandelle. Le niveau d'équilibre atteint est fonction de l'intensité de la compétition qui se livre à travers la consommation (et le travail). Il s'abaisse quand la compétition est moins vive, s'élève quand elle est plus vive. A intensité donnée de la compétition toute augmentation de productivité, comme toute diminution des gaspillages "techniques", crée une situation de déséquilibre en augmentant le temps disponible et en réduisant la fatigue. Elle relance en avant le "cycle du meilleur" jusqu'à ce que l'apparition de nouveaux biens qu'il faut produire et consommer recrée un état de saturation. Et cette situation a de grandes conséquences en matière de lutte contre la surconsommation.

Que faire

On peut se proposer d'améliorer la situation actuelle avec des objectifs plus ou moins ambitieux :

- un premier objectif de lutte contre le gaspillage des ressources naturelles (énergies non renouvelables, métaux dont la consommation est forte par rapport aux réserves mondiales);

- un deuxième objectif de lutte contre le gaspillage du temps que les individus perdent dans la production et la consommation d'objets qui n'ajoutent rien ou presque rien à ce que leur procure leur environnement matériel;

- un troisième objectif d'obtention d'une vie meilleure.

La difficulté des problèmes à résoudre, et la nature des mesures qui paraissent opportunes, varient suivant l'objectif que l'on considère ; et améliorer la situation suivant le premier point de vue n'entraîne pas nécessairement d'amélioration suivant le second ou le troisième.

1/ Cf. la théorie économique des effets externes.
Economiser les ressources naturelles

On peut dans un premier stade chercher à diminuer la consommation de ressources naturelles, sans vouloir réduire le temps que les individus consacrent à produire et à consommer. Pareil résultat peut être obtenu en diminuant les consommations qui, à temps donné (temps de production plus temps de consommation) sont les plus voraces en ressources naturelles, sans modifier pour autant la place que la consommation tient globalement dans la vie des individus. Même si l'économie de temps ainsi réalisée relance le "cycle du meilleur", ce sera en développant des consommations utilisant en moyenne moins de ressources naturelles que les consommations supprimées. Ainsi par exemple si on réalise une modification du modèle de consommation diminuant les dépenses de chauffage et de transport, et qu'il se produit corrélativement une relance de cycle du meilleur par la consommation de produits à base d'électronique (magnétoscopes, télévisions à écran géant, informatique domestique, etc.) on aura réalisé des économies d'énergie.

Progresser dans cette voie demande des mesures d'un type relativement classique. La prise de conscience du fait qu'elles ne diminuent pas la qualité de service qu'apporte le modèle de consommation doit faciliter leur mise en œuvre.

Pareilles mesures sont spécialement faciles à appliquer lorsque, diminuant ses dépenses sans altérer ni ce qu'il obtient en matière de qualité de service utilitaire ni en matière de signes, elles améliorent la situation du consommateur individuel, indépendamment de ce que font les autres/. Ainsi en 1974 en France un décret a relevé les normes d'isolation des constructions neufes pour obtenir une isolation "optimale", compte-tenu du coût total représenté par les dépenses d'isolation et les dépenses de chauffage. Pareille mesure a entraîné des diminutions de dépenses à qualité de service utilitaire donnée, sans affecter les effets de signe de la consommation. Bien des mesures du même type sont envisageables. Il serait utile par exemple de développer les obligations des producteurs en matière de service après-vente, et notamment de durée pendant laquelle ils doivent être en état de fournir les pièces de rechange nécessaires à la réparation des biens. En même temps qu'on réglemente on pourra parfois utilement mieux informer les consommateurs sur le caractère inutilement coûteux de certains produits voraces en matières premières et mieux utiliser l'école pour éveiller l'esprit critique des jeunes consommateurs. Mais il faut être conscient des limites des possibilités d'information efficace des individus dans des domaines très techniques. Lorsqu'on a affaire à des gaspillages évidents, sans aucun avantage d'aucune sorte pour les consommateurs, la voie de réglementation paraît se justifier tout autant que lorsqu'il s'agit d'hygiène et de sécurité.

La question se complique lorsqu'on a affaire à des surconsommations qui lorsqu'on ne considère que les seuls effets utilitaires paraissent visibles dès le niveau individuel, mais ne le deviennent qu'à un niveau collectif lorsqu'on prend également en compte les effets de signe (ou même lorsqu'on a affaire à des surconsommations qui ne peuvent être mises en évidence pour l'un et l'autre type d'effets qu'en se

1/ Si elles sont néanmoins utiles, c'est alors parce que l'information des consommateurs est insuffisante. On est dans une perspective classique de "protection du consommateur".
situant à un niveau collectif). Une meilleure information des consommateurs est dans ce cas radicalement insuffisante/. En principe il paraît souhaitable de diminuer les pertes de rendement économique nées de la compétition du "meilleur" entre consommateurs, en fixant certains plafonds aux caractéristiques des biens qui sont mis sur le marché. Lorsque le développement de certaines caractéristiques au-delà d'un certain seuil n'a plus aucun avantage utilitaire appréciable, mais ne joue qu'à titre de signe intervenant par son niveau relatif (par exemple la puissance et la vitesse des automobiles) une telle limitation paraît opportune (sous réserve bien sûr qu'elle soit annoncée suffisamment à l'avance pour que les producteurs aient le temps de s'y adapter). En la matière, ce à quoi les individus sont le plus attachés est "d'être à la hauteur" (par exemple ne pas avoir une voiture qui "fait moche" par rapport à celle d'autrui). Il est beaucoup moins important de "faire mieux". Fixer un plafond assez bas permettrait à un grand nombre d'individus, se trouvant tous au plafond, d'être également "à la hauteur", avec des gaspillages réduits. En augmentant ainsi l'efficacité de notre économie on réduirait du même coup les inégalités entre consommateurs. Cette fixation de plafonds pourrait être complétée par un certain contrôle de l'innovation dans les domaines où il n'est pas facile d'afficher des performances plafonds, de manière à éviter des innovations qui, sans intérêt utilitaire, ne font que relancer une compétition des signes où les actions des uns et des autres se neutralisent. Mais pareille voie ne va pas sans problèmes.

La plupart des individus paraissent en effet peu conscients du fait que, compte-tenu des effets de signe, ce qu'ils tirent de leur consommation dépend largement du niveau relatif de celle-ci. Ils risquent d'être plus sensibles à ce que des mesures fixant des plafonds de consommation leur enlèvent directement, qu'à ce qu'elles leur apportent indirectement. Ces mesures risquent donc de n'être guère populaires. Encore pourront-elles l'être relativement facilement quand la gêne produite par les consommations des autres a un caractère physique, et que limiter les consommations de chacun améliore de manière très visible la situation de tous en matière "utilitaire" (il en est ainsi dans une certaine mesure pour l'usage de l'automobile en zone urbaine). Mais quand la gêne créée par autrui passe uniquement par la dégradation de la valeur de signe des consommations de chacun, on peut s'attendre à des réactions peu favorables à la fixation de plafonds. Pareille gêne n'est en effet pas socialement reconnue comme telle. On aurait tendance en la matière à moins critiquer le généreux qui se plaint (en accusant ce dernier d'être jaloux, envieux, etc.). Pour pouvoir néanmoins avancer il paraît nécessaire de développer dans l'opinion une plus juste perception des voies par lesquelles la consommation influence la qualité de la vie, et des effets positifs de réductions concertées de consommation.

Il importe de voir que, dès lors qu'on tient compte aussi bien de ses effets directs que de ses effets indirects, toute réduction de consommation n'a pas nécessairement des effets favorables en matière d'économie des ressources naturelles. En effet si elle touche des produits peu voraces en matières premières une telle réduction est susceptible d'entraîner, à travers une relance du "cycle du meilleur",

1/ Car l'intérêt d'un individu, à comportement des autres donnés, n'est pas identique à celui de chacun, quand les comportements de tous varient simultanément.
une transformation du modèle de consommation conduisant, au total, à une plus grande consommation de ressources naturelles. Ainsi développer la vente de produits en vrac incorporant peu de services (correspondant aux tâches de présentation, de publicité, de fabrication d'emballages sophistiqués) et donc moins coûteux, est susceptible d'entrainer au total, les économies ainsi faites par les consommateurs leur permettant l'achat d'autres produits, une augmentation de la consommation de ressources naturelles.

Economiser le temps

Les mesures que l'on vient d'évoquer sont susceptibles d'aider, grâce à une réduction du gaspillage de ressources naturelles, à mieux ménager l'avenir de l'humanité et à obtenir un ordre international plus équitable. Mais elles ne conduisent pas à diminuer le temps gaspillé dans la compétition de la consommation (et a fortiori d'améliorer la "qualité de la vie"). Les modifications du modèle de consommation auxquelles elles peuvent conduire sont sans influence sur la réalisation de tels objectifs.

On peut se proposer d'aller plus loin dans la lutte contre la surconsommation, et de chercher à réduire le temps que les individus gaspillent, en produisant et en consommant.

Pour obtenir pareil résultat on pourrait penser à des mesures techniques ou économiques (réglementation, taxation, etc.). Mais une telle voie ne risque guère de conduire bien loin. Comme la publicité n'a guère d'effet sur le volume global de consommation, on ne peut attendre grand chose de sa limitation. Par ailleurs il parait indispensable de fixer de manière autoritaire un modèle global de consommation. De toute manière on n'imagine guère dans nos sociétés, à la fois démocratiques et élitistes, ni qu'on puisse fixer des niveaux de consommation différents pour des segments différents de la population, ni qu'un même niveau soit fixé pour tous. De plus fixer de manière autoritaire une durée de travail nettement plus basse que celle qui se pratique en l'absence de réglementation aurait sans doute comme effet principal d'entraîner un développement massif d'un travail noir alimentant une économie "parallèle" (telle qu'on le trouve en Italie et dans certains pays de l'Est). Non seulement on n'aurait pas, ou guère, diminué le gaspillage du temps, mais on aurait entraîné un développement de la fraude et sans doute de la corruption.

Il paraîtrait plus efficace de chercher à accélérer l'évolution en cours qui tend dans certains groupes à diminuer la valeur sociale de la consommation, et donc à modérer les forces qui poussent en avant le "cycle du meilleur". Si, par exemple, tout le monde savait mieux que ceux qui sont habituellement "en avance" (cadres, jeunes) choisissent souvent de réduire en grande proportion leur consommation de viande, l'attachement pour celle-ci en serait diminué. Il serait alors plus facile aux diététiciens de nous convaincre que son ingestion n'est en rien spécialement utile. Plus largement la diffusion des comportements traduisant moins de sacrifices globaux faits à la consommation (et ne correspondant pas à une simple

\[^1\] Pratique qui a existé dans bien des sociétés, pour certains éléments de consommation, en particulier les vêtements, sous la forme de "lois somptuaires".
déformation du modèle de consommation) pourrait être favorisée par la diffusion
d'informations portant sur les comportements de ceux qui sont "en avance" en la
matière.

Mais il faut bien voir que faire ainsi gagner du temps aux individus ne leur
permettra pas forcément d'obtenir une vie meilleure, (tout en pouvant par contre
être positif en matière de recherche d'une moindre surconsommation de ressources
naturelles). En effet si les rapports entre individus restent marqués par la
compétition, changer le terrain sur lequel se déroule celle-ci, risque de n'entraîner
qu'une modification de la manière dont le temps est gaspillé. Ainsi il pourra
l'être dans des compétitions portant sur des savoirs plus ou moins "culturels",
sur des loisirs sophistiqués même s'ils ne sont pas coûteux en argent, etc.\^/,
tout autant qu'il l'est actuellement dans la consommation (il sera gaspillé
dans la mesure où dans ces compétitions, comme dans la consommation, c'est le
niveau relatif de performance qui compte, et où tout le monde pourrait donc se
retrouver au même point si intervenait une réduction coordonnée du temps que les
uns et les autres dépensent pour "réussir"). La qualité de vie pourra toutefois
être améliorée si la matière sur laquelle porte la compétition est d'un intérêt
intrinsèque plus grand que la consommation ; mais elle pourra au contraire se
dégrader si la matière est moins intéressante, ou est susceptible d'être à l'origine
de dommages plus sévères (par exemple si l'on revient à des affrontements physiques
violents, ou à une recherche de positions de force dans un appareil de pouvoir
très oppressant). De toute manière il paraît exclu que, si l'on reste dans une
logique de compétition, on obtienne la "vie meilleure" dont rêvent nos contemporains.

Obtenir une vie "vraiment meilleure"

Sortir de la surconsommation pour retrouver le temps de vivre, et non pour gas-
piller son temps autrement, voilà ce qui parait désirable en fin de compte ; le
temps de vivre, c'est-à-dire d'exister gratuitement, de rencontrer autrui en
vérité, sans sacrifier son temps et ses énergies à rivaliser avec lui.

Mais vouloir cela c'est poser des problèmes qui dépassent de loin la sphère de
la consommation, ou même ce qui peut être obtenu par une action politique.

Il existe un grand nombre de sociétés où le temps n'est pas dévoré par l'engagement
dans une forme ou une autre de compétition. Mais le résultat ainsi obtenu ne l'est
pas sans coûts. Dans beaucoup d'entre elles (et c'était le cas dans les sociétés
traditionnelles) la compétition est entravée par une forte pression sociale qui
s'exerce à l'encontre de celui qui voudrait échapper à la place que la société
lui assigne et les tensions latentes sont considérables. Dans d'autres, elle
l'est grâce au développement d'une neutralité affective par rapport à ce qui est
susceptible d'être enjeu de conflits, mais les émotions positives tendent à être
neutralisées tout comme les émotions négatives (cette voie, qui a été systématisée
par le Boudhisme, se trouve spécialement dans la zone d'influence de celui-ci et
en Amérique Andine). Une société à la fois libre non compétitive et chaleureuse,
relève largement de l'autopie. Certes, au fil des siècles nos sociétés ont sans
doute fait quelques pas vers elle, mais très lentement, et on ne voit pas très
bien ce qui pourrait accélérer le mouvement.

\^/ Cf. les descriptions de Th. Veblen dans Théorie de la classe de loisirs,
traduction française NRF 1970.
Un ensemble de mesures utiles

Malgré les difficultés que l'on rencontre on peut concevoir un ensemble de mesures permettant de progresser simultanément suivant ces divers objectifs. En France, où l'on sacrifie particulièrement à la surconsommation, au prix d'une durée du travail qui est la plus élevée d'Europe, pareilles mesures seraient spécialement utiles.

On pourrait se fixer comme objectif de faire évoluer le terrain sur lequel les individus dépensent leur temps et leurs énergies dans la recherche de performances. Il s'agirait de les détourner d'activités grosses consommatrices de matière premières, ayant un faible intérêt intrinsèque, et non susceptible de leur faire prendre de la distance par rapport aux attitudes compétitives ; simultanément de les attirer vers des activités moins consommatrices de matières premières, ayant plus d'intérêt intrinsèque, et les aidant à prendre une telle distance. Pour cela des mesures techniques et économiques devraient être prises, en même temps que des mesures tendant à faire évoluer les mentalités.

Ainsi un ensemble de mesures devraient inciter à diminuer les consommations d'énergies non renouvelables servant au chauffage. A côté des mesures techniques (meilleure isolation, utilisation d'énergie solaire) et économiques (compteurs individuels de calories), il serait fort utile d'agir sur les images sociales associées à divers niveaux de température des habitations, et aux moyens de s'adapter à ces niveaux. Il semble que des températures très inférieures à celles qui sont obtenues actuellement en France seraient préférables d'un point de vue physiologique. Mais un tel argument ne portera que si on arrive à valoriser l'image de celui qui dort bien couvert dans une chambre non ou peu chauffée, qui s'habille chaudement chez lui, etc. et corrélativement à modifier l'image de l'intérieur "confortable". Dans l'état actuel des mentalités où une certaine rudesse revient à la mode, au moins chez ceux qui ont largement goûté les charmes d'un confort douillet, il ne paraît pas impossible de peser en ce sens.

De même des économies à la fois d'énergie et surtout de temps (compte tenu du temps de travail nécessaire pour se procurer de quoi payer ce que l'on achète) pourraient être obtenues en matière de transport en favorisant un transfert de l'usage de l'automobile vers celui de la bicyclette. Là encore une combinaison de mesures techniques et économiques (modification de l'affectation de la voirie) et de mesures visant à influencer les mentalités (amélioration de l'image de l'homme qui circule à bicyclette) serait souhaitable. Par ailleurs la fixation de plafonds à la puissance et au coût des automobiles engendrerait des économies de temps précaissibles.

Mais détourner d'un chauffage excessif ou de l'automobile n'est pas l'essentiel en matière de qualité de vie, même si cela l'est en matière d'économies d'énergie. Il est plus important encore d'aider chacun à s'orienter de manière positive (ce qui du reste l'aidera à se détourner de ce qui, en fin de compte, lui apporte peu). Il semble que, en France en tout cas, beaucoup est à faire du côté du développement de "loisirs actifs". Sans doute pour être efficace faudrait-il s'appuyer sur les motivations "impures" que constituent l'esprit de compétition et la recherche de performances. Mais cet esprit et cette recherche existent de toute façon ; les détourner vers des activités susceptibles de fournir des expériences ayant un contenu propre très riche doit inciter chacun à s'intéresser à ce contenu pour
lui-même en s'éloignant de l'esprit de compétition. Sans doute pourrait-on favoriser puissamment le développement de telles activités en consacrant un budget suffisant (pris par exemple sur le budget des routes) à financer des récompenses, matérielles et symboliques, données à un niveau régional et local (car il s'agit d'atteindre un grand nombre) à ceux qui auront réalisé des "performances" sur le plan du théâtre amateur, de la musique de chambre, ou du sport. La demande pour ces activités ayant augmenté, le financement d'animateurs apportant une certaine compétence à des groupes se constituant et se prenant en charge eux-mêmes aurait, lui aussi, un effet très positif. Développer les équipements peut être également souhaitable, bien sûr, mais cela ne constitue pas l'essentiel. Dans cette direction beaucoup est à faire, y compris en matières d'activités "utiles" (de protection de la nature, d'assistance aux malades, etc.).

Dans un pays centralisé comme la France, où les possibilités du pouvoir central d'inciter les collectivités locales sont grandes, la mise en œuvre d'un tel ensemble de mesure paraît possible dans un délai assez court.

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Abstract: continued

The author maintains that overconsumption is not only wasteful, but that equivalent consumption "utilities" could be obtained with a far more restrained, more efficient model of consumption. He suggests a number of ways in which natural resources (including energy) and time (as an indicator of the quality of life) could be economized and developes some useful measures for action.

REDUCIR EL HIPERCONSUMO

Resumen: Varias clases de mecanismos económicos y sociales tienden a conducir al hiperconsumo en economías industrializadas; productores pueden tender a tener éxito en la comercialización y venta de productos con desuso incorporado; consumidores pueden estar mal informados acerca de la higiene, seguridad, y durabilidad de productos en venta, y esto crea importantes efectos secundarios; ciertos productos (como automóviles) crean importantes desequilibrios (ruido, congestion, planificación urbana), que sobrecarga la sociedad entera; y el fenómeno del consumo relativo prevalece en que consumidores determinan sus necesidades basándolas en el modelo y nivel de consumo de otros consumidores. El hiperconsumo es muy costo en cuanto a recursos y tiempo; se caracteriza por el uso muy intenso de recursos no renovables, e impone sacrificios en la sociedad que se manifiestan en la disminución de la calidad de vida.

El autor afirma que el hiperconsumo no sólo resulta en el malgasto, pero que sería posible obtener "servicios" de consumo equivalentes con un modelo de consumo más moderado y eficaz. Sigue varios modos de economizar recursos naturales (inclusive energía) y tiempo (como indicador de la calidad de vida) y desarrolla medidas útiles que se pueden tomar.
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BUILDING BLOCKS

LOCAL ACTION FOR SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

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Abstract: This study is an attempt to understand the significance of local action for self-reliant development and the process of social change. Self-reliance is a value, a goal and also a movement. As a movement it aims at phase-wise elimination of dependency, as a goal it generates collective spirit and as a value it looks for creativity and innovativeness. All these are time-bound and an integral part of a particular country's reality. With these concepts in mind comparative case studies of four initiatives which are each different in character are examined in the context of Bangladesh. The analysis of these cases are reproduced in full; 1) The People's health centre at Savar which has chosen health as an entry point to mobilise the rural poor, 2) Youth initiatives in Comilla to organise youth clubs which in turn are organizing landless labourers for various types of economic co-operation. 3) Self-reliant development programme in Ulashi in the district of Jessore, where people have been mobilised for economic co-operation particularly in the construction of economic infra-structure by voluntary labour, a programme that is being officially highlighted as the 'Tachai' of Bangladesh.

BANGLADESH : ACTIONS LOCALES POUR UN DÉVELOPPEMENT AUTONOME

Résumé: Cette étude constitue une tentative de comprendre la signification de l'action locale pour un développement autonome et le processus de changement social. L'autonomie ('self reliance') est une valeur, un projet, et aussi un mouvement. En tant que mouvement, elle tend à l'élimination progressive de la dépendance; en tant que projet, elle suscite une attitude collective; en tant que valeur, elle aspire à la créativité et à l'innovation. Tous ces éléments ont une dimension temporelle et sont partie intégrante de la réalité spécifique d'un pays. À la lumière de ces concepts, quatre initiatives locales au Bangladesh, de caractère différent, ont été examinées. Trois de ces analyses sont reproduites ici : elles concernent (i) le centre populaire de santé à Savar, où la santé a été choisie comme moyen de mobilisation des masses pauvres; (ii) des actions de jeunes à Comilla qui ont abouti à la formation de clubs de jeunes, qui ont à leur tour organisé des paysans sans terre pour différentes actions; et (iii) le programme de développement autonome à Ulashi dans le district de Jessore, où les paysans se sont mobilisés pour la réalisation de travaux d'infrastructure économique par le travail coopératif volontaire, un programme officiellement qualifié de 'Tachai' du Bangladesh.

(Resumen español en la página 15).
LOCAL ACTION FOR SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

Introduction

This study is an attempt to understand the significance of Local Action for Self-reliant Development and the process of Social Change. Self-reliance is a value, a goal and also a movement. As a movement it aims at phase-wise elimination of dependency, as a goal it generates collective spirit and as a value it looks for creativity and innovativeness. But all these are time-bound and an integral part of a particular country's reality.

On the other hand, historical experiences available to date are suggestive of broad principles and a direction for effort towards Self-Reliant Development and the constraints involved. The Bangladesh state, inheritor of two colonial legacies leans heavily on the administrative apparatus. This leaning is both historical and cumulative. Experiments in self-reliance in one form or another have a long tradition here. The British colonial administration experimented with the concepts of co-operatives and local government. They hoped that co-operatives would be able to protect the peasants from the excesses of merchant-money lenders. They also hoped that the local government would generate feelings of participation and promote initiative. But these concepts conflicted with the central tenets of colonial administration: centralism, elitism and paternalism.

This created an ideological perception about rural development, envisaged a role for the administrators and produced three conceptual legacies: (1) the peasants as ignorant and docile, (2) the officers as guides and friends of the peasants and (3) the rural elite as the peasants' natural leaders. The succeeding governments inherited the conceptual legacies and used the old approach as an alternate to revolution, as a non-revolutionary ideology and technique of rural development.

Built into our social structure are the administrative and cultural processes of domination. Political parties during the colonial days struggled to wrest state power and made no attempts to remould the superstructural front. The same tradition still continues. This negative attitude towards the development of local initiatives, has subdued the creative urges of the people and had legitimised the unequal relationship. This is the background to the development of bureaucratism in the country. As there is no attack on the superstructural front, change of power has replaced one enforcing institution by another. This also is a pointer that the masses are not within the power structure. They are the permanent outsiders.

This non-appreciation of the extra-political dimensions have produced two sets of problems: (a) alienation and (b) distrust and opposition.

Rini Reza, Meghna Guha Thakurata and Shamin Akhtar helped me in the preparation of the study.
Against this backdrop we made comparative case studies of the following three initiatives which are each different in character from the others:

1. Self-reliant development programmes in Ulashi in the district of Jessore, where people have been mobilised for economic co-operation particularly in the construction of economic infra-structure by voluntary labour, a programme that is being officially highlighted as the "Tachai" of Bangladesh.

2. People's Health Centre in Savar which has chosen Health as an entry point to mobilise the rural poor.

3. Youth initiatives in Comilla to organise youth clubs which in turn are organising landless labourers for various types of economic co-operation.

The purpose of the study is:

to increase understanding of the process of development of sustained people's institutions at the grass-roots level for resisting exploitation and mobilising local resources for self-reliant development.

The broad hypothesis to be examined is that for sustained resistance to exploitation and dependency the rural masses need to be mobilised for action that combines economic cooperation with political cooperation.

BUREAUCRATIC INTERVENTION

It was against a backdrop of a strong Martial Law Administration, temporarily extinct political processes, and the consequent high-lighting of the role of the bureaucracy, that the Ulashi-Jadunathpur self-help projects were initiated.

The essentially intermediate nature of the regime made it apparent to its rulers, of the necessity of fortifying themselves with a sufficiently realistic platform from which to reach the people. In the existing political vacuum, the only feasible and effective medium which presented itself at that moment was economic development, and Bangladesh being primarily an agricultural country, it had to be rural development. Significantly enough, the Ulashi-Jadunathpur self-help projects won the direct patronage of the national leadership and consequently all the government agencies were fully mobilised to support this project. Any legal opposition to this plan was ruled out, due to the imposition of strong martial law measures which suspended all constitutional activity. Hence, the absence of constitutional opposition did not necessarily imply support for the project. In considering the possibilities of extra-constitutional opposition however, the attitudes of certain leftist elements become significant. They look upon projects such as Ulashi with distrust and suspicion, initiated and operated as they are by the ruling bourgeoisie, and claim that such plans could only reflect the regimes desire to strengthen the foundation of their rule.

The new approach, of which Ulashi was purported to be a model, aims at the

enrichment of the quality of life of all social classes through emphasising both the fulfilment of their finer values as well as economic aspirations. The method to be followed in such a case has to be a decentralised "bottom-up" planning process, where the people have to be mobilised to participate in the formulation and implementation of development plans. Such mobilisation should be based on the concept of "self-reliance" so that the people can use their own creative energies for the betterment of their own lot. The question naturally arises whether Ulashi does indeed meet such requirements, and an answer to such a question would entail a deeper probe in the organisational and functional aspects of the project, and in the process, separate the reality from the rhetoric.

The Ulashi-Jadunathpur self-help projects consists of two phases. The first phase, formally started on 1st November 1976, and completed on 30th April 1977, was called the Ulashi-Jadunathpur Self-Help Canal Digging Project located in the Sharsha thana of Sadar sub-division of Jessore district. The primary aim of the project was to connect the Betna River at its bend by a man-made canal of about 2.65 miles in length. With this primary aim in mind the outcome of the project was expected to facilitate the draining of excess water from a water-logged area and thus help in reclaiming agri-land where it would be possible to grow three crops a year. Other possible outcomes of the project was to be seen in the introduction of pisciculture and duckery in the remaining ox-bow lake and in the newly dug canal, afforestation of the embankment and redistributing reclaimed land among the landless and the landpoor. Furthermore this project was to be seen as a bid to generate self-confidence among the people on their capability to develop the infrastructural base.

It is evident from the above objectives that despite the rhetorical claims (rhetorical because no legal or political basis existed to support such claims) to redistribute land among the landless and landpoor, and providing them with extra agricultural work, Ulashi remained primarily a production-oriented agricultural programme. The same truth is brought out when the organisational structure for implementing these ambitious plans are considered.

An apex project committee consisting of the Chairman of the local union parishads, the concerned thana and district level officers under the co-ordinationship of the B.C. was formed.

Below the project committee, union project committees were formed consisting of cooperatives, members of union parishads and the natural leaders of the village under the chairmanship of the Union Parishad.

A replica of the union parishad committee was formed at the village level where special effort was made to bring along the landless and the landpoor along with the usual landrich representation in the local bodies. Members of village bodies was used as resource persons to motivate and mobilise the people into participation.

In keeping with the bottom-up approach to developmental planning, the organisational structures were made to extend both up and downwards but one of their unique features was that they had to be set up in conformity with and not parallel to existing local governmental bodies, the underlying motive for this being.
two fold: (1) to approach the villager in a neutral way, without disturbing
the existing power structures, (2) to extend the local governmental bodies to
the village and utilise this link for the benefit of the project. Hence a
clear dissonance results between the redistributional ambitions of Ulashi and
the implementative base upon which it operates, for it is doubtful whether such
redistribution can take place within the context of existing power structures,
both local and national, when it is these very power structures which are per-
petuating the conditions of disparity.

The second phase of the project was extended under the name of the Ulashi-
Jadunathpur Self-Reliant (Swanirvar) Pilot Project into intensive area-
development plans. The project formally announced on May 1st 1977 extends for
two years, and the plan area covers 8 unions, spreads over 2 thanas and 132
villages. In this programme for development, a broad plan for swanirvarisation
(i.e. developing the infrastructure through self-help) was undertaken. It in-
cluded the maintenance of law and order, increase in agricultural production,
eradication of illiteracy and educational extension, improvement of health and
sanitation, adoption of family planning, population control and also distribu-
tive justice. Clearly such aims are production oriented and intended to
build the infrastructure with the simultaneous extension of the social ser-
}\n\nIn the bottom-up formula of decision-making, the villages with the peripheral
help of the D.C. and swanirvar workers surveyed their village requirement po-
tentials, prepared a 2 year plan for each village consolidated these into
union plans and then finally into an area plan.

The implementative base of all these programmes is the village body, composed
of all adult villagers (male and female) represented by an elected head (gram
sarathi) and assisted by a secretary (gram sampadak). The village body elects
4 functional committees one each for law and order, agriculture, health and
education.

In addition, electable from amongst eligible social groups, there are 3 asso-
ciations, one each for the landless, women and youth. This institutional struc-
ture at the village level, like the initial one, depicts the logical extension
of the local government below the union level.

Functional aspects of Ulashi

The whole mobilisation process embraces three groups of people - (1) the
change agents (2) the resource agents and (3) the target groups.

1) The change agents are those who take the responsibility of motivating, pre-
paring and activating the illiterate, inattentive masses to organise them-
selves and participate in the development process. In Ulashi, it was quite
evident that the bureaucracy was made to act as such an agent. Despite the
fact that peoples' participation was deemed essential, formulation of the
plan took place in the hands of the D.C.

2) The resource agents are those people who are used by the change agents to
develop a linkage with those people at the grass-root level. Among the
implementative measures taken by Ulashi, participation of the Union Pari-
shads and village committees was engaged to establish the linkage between
the project work and the people. This responsibility of a resource agent inevitably fell on an articulate rural elite whose vested interests shone forth in the union parishads and village committees. Hence as was to be seen in practice, the participation engendered was not so much voluntary as forced or manipulated - a result of direct or indirect social pressure.

3) The target group implies that group of people whose participation had been especially envisaged in the Uslashi plan. These usually coincided with the group foreseen to be the beneficiaries of the project. Specially included in it are the low-income and socially handicapped group e.g. the landless, landpoor, women and youth.

Concluding remarks:

Whatever the paradoxes that might be evident in the Ulashi-Jadunathpur projects, it cannot be denied that it did succeed in bringing about a considerable amount of dynamism in an otherwise stagnant economy. This dynamism was to be detected in the differences depicted by the comparison of a village within the project area with one outside it. Although it is true that even villages within the project area displayed a differential rate in development due to socio-political factors e.g. in the case of Gatipara and Baripota, it was equally true, that villages outside the project area displayed an even sharper difference.

Dynamism was also to be noted in the massive mobilisation process which resulted in wide-scale participation of a cross-section of the people, even though such participation was not always altogether voluntary.

The question to be asked however is why such dynamism was at all possible. The answer normally leads us to consider the time perspective of the project. Ulashi was essentially a time-bound project which took place under special conditions. It's support from a strong martial-law administration enabled it to bypass the normal legal rules and constitutional processes of the country. It is doubted whether such an effort would be possible in the present (post-79 election period) context of Bangladesh where politicians are not only staging a comeback but where politics tend to be grouped around multi-focal interests. Such a condition would essentially increase the clash of individual interests and consequently fragment the mobilisation process.

Here however, we reach a deadlock. In the foregoing analysis it was brought to light, that the concept of self-reliance would prove to be a myth if it was not backed up with adequate social mobilisation at the grass-root level. It was also evident that "self-reliance" in its true sense, could not stem from a mobilisation process which utilised the existing power structure, local and national. This leaves us in a dilemma of having to choose a change agent backed by an adequate power base which would serve as an alternate to the existing one. The multi-fragmented constitutional opposition party offers us little hope. The extra-constitutional leftist party cadres does not serve any better. According to them, institutional reform helps only to sustain capitalistic growth and hence spell imminent danger for any hope of a structural revolution. Ulashis may bring about possibilities of confrontation and then political support would be deemed essential. On the other hand, political motivation and class consciousness would suffer if there were no economic benefits to go by it.
History of Gonoshasthaya Kendra

Gonoshasthaya Kendra (G.K.) (The People's Health Center) acknowledged the structural gaps creating the problems of disease, overpopulation, starvation and poverty from a socio-economic perspective. The initiators of this micro experimental project were a group of young doctors. As students they were part of a broad left spectrum. During the war of liberation (1971), these doctors came in direct contact with the existing rural socio-economic conditions. This engendered a consciousness for restructuring the frame-work at the rural level. The rhetoric-based left spectrum was a factor of disillusionment in this process. There had to be some other entry point. Since professionally they were doctors, medicine was chosen as the referral point and G.K.'s health project was initiated with the idea of developing an effective health services delivery system. This system would aim at demystifying medicine and the medical profession and at the same time strike out against the assymmetrically dependent relationship existing between the rural patients and the medical profession.

As the project gained in experience, it became more and more apparent that health was not a problem to be dealt with in isolation. For, "health is the individual's symbiotic existence and development on his or her environment". This environment was viewed from the socio-economic perspective by G.K. and tinkering with the problems from this view-point, G.K. began to expand. But this growth did not follow any pre-planned pattern. G.K. branched out at the points it faced situational oppositions to bring about the necessary changes to alleviate the opposition. This on-going expansion has one significant characteristic, the shift of emphasis. As new projects were undertaken in the face of newer realization, the previous ones functioned with a shifted emphasis. In this rank ordering of emphasis, agriculture came to the foreground, with greater practical experience at the grass-root level.

This grass-root level experience also made the initiators decide in accordance with a survey conducted in 1972 by the G.K. workers, that G.K. would dispense to the needs of the following:

a) the landless farmers;

b) the marginal farmers (having maximum 3 bighas of land but which does not provide for 3 meals a day);

c) the poor people of the village and the rural women, the most oppressed and deprived section of the rural society.

Within the existing overall structural set-up, the work continues in an encapsulated manner. Gradually, the realization that it is not possible, for G.K. to proceed further in this set-up has gained ground among the workers. According to the majority of the workers, the answer lies in a revolution. Now, the question arises as to G.K.'s role in the process to this revolution. In this context a consideration of G.K.'s relationship with the existing political parties, specially the left-oriented ones, is necessary. There does not seem

1/ "Toward A New World Health Order" - a draft by Stig Anderson - (IFDA Dossier 6).
to exist any empathy between the two. The political parties are very suspi-
cicious of the work done by these mostly foreign funded projects, whereas these
micro-experiments have a contemptuous regard for the rhetoric-based political
parties. Under these conditions two trends of thought seem to be emerging at
G.K. one advocated waiting out the period, whereas the other suggests going
in for greater concentrated effort along with the other existing micro-
experiments in the country. But the dilemma persists.

The political background of the initiators, along with the experience during
the war (1971), had made them aware of the structural problems existing within
the country. The idea has also developed that any concrete effort to right
these problems had to be initiated at the rural level. Since, the initiators
were a group of doctors, medicine seemed to be viable entry point. From Janu-
ary, 1972, the question of reaching medical facilities to the rural masses had
been the focus of discussion among the working members of the Bangladesh Hos-
pital. These members, associated with the existing medical system in the coun-
try realized its inadequacy in serving the majority living in the rural areas
during the liberation war. After liberation the government programme provided
thana health centres. These centers operated health education and immunization
programmes without any community involvement. The question that arose was how
this "medical facility" could be reached to the villagers effectively. The
achievements of the chinese "barefoot" doctors were a source of inspiration at
this juncture and also provided a basic frame-work for the project programme.

G.K.'s initial objectives were:

a) introduction of preventive medicine in rural areas; b) para-medical
    training; c) family planning; and d) curative medicine.

These objectives were determined on the basis of the aim of introducing effec-
tive medical facilities at the rural level.

This programme had included mass participation of the youth, on a voluntary
basis. There was an idea at that time, that, by paying the volunteers, their
sincerity in labour would be diminished. However, this idea was later found
to be impracticable as the full time workers needed a source of livelihood.

For implementing the medical objectives, Dr. Zaffarullah, the first project
director of G.K. (1972-78), initiated the programme of training para-medics.
The first recruits were from amongst the volunteers working at G.K. Then
recruits came from the surrounding villages. But there is no district barrier,
workers coming from any place in Bangladesh would be accepted. The usual prac-
tice is, however, to recruit a worker, whom another G.K. worker knows.

This training course of three to six months included the following items:
1) Health survey; 2) Basic Human Body and Gray's anatomy; 3) Basic Physiology;
4) Health Education; 5) Environmental Hygiene and Sanitation; 6) Problems of
over-population and the need for family planning; 7) Rural Community Develop-
ment; 8) Practicals.

With these trained para-medics G.K. started its medical care programme for
the rural poor.
Savar did not and as yet does not have any other health complex besides G.K.

The initial difficulty faced by the G.K. workers was in trying to communicate with the villagers at a level to make them respond to their ideas. It was all the more an arduous task as the G.K. workers were not local recruits, in the beginning, whom the villagers could trust. So, the process of gaining the village people's confidence consumed time. But a contradiction still exists. The G.K. workers are mainly from urban and semi-urban middle-class background. Consequently the vision of development is similarly biased even after a conscious effort to de-bias it. This is apparent when efficiency is related to western mode of clothing (the female workers of the workshop and Narikendra wear trousers).

A team, including one male and one female para-medic was sent to each village. The male para-medic talked to the male members of the village while the female para-medic discussed with the women folk the different problems of health faced by them.

As the para-medics went to the villages with their work-programmes, each day it became apparent, that, medicine was not the primary need of these people. So, along with health, the para-medics advised the villagers in matters of agriculture and poultry-farming. At the same time an organizational problem arose at a later stage when it was found out that certain para-medics acted truant after going to the village. So, a supervisor had to be appointed. Along with this superficial remedy, special stress was given in making the para-medic workers conscious of their duty and responsibility through intensive group discussions.

G.K. had conducted a survey of the villages around the center and decided that the poor villagers including the landless farmers, the marginal farmers and others not having more than 3 bighas of land would be the receivers of services. This survey was felt necessary by the working members of G.K. in order to ascertain the real position of the villagers within the village socio-economic structure.

By this time G.K. had conceptualized dependency as being dependent on resources external to the individual, the community. On this basis G.K.'s medical programme aimed at striking at the root of dependency by not providing any medical service free of charge. A nominal initial fee of .50 paisa has to be paid at the clinic. Another programme of medical insurance was started, which provides medical care for a household at the rate of Tk. 2/- per month.

But, the root of the problem lay elsewhere. The prevalent poverty in the villages, made the villagers apathetic towards any health and living conditions.

By April, 1974, a ward of eight (8) beds was established and importance was given to the establishment of a personal link with the villagers. Gradually the hospital building came into existence and with it came another realization. The G.K. workers found out that this monumental structure had built a barrier between them and the village people. The village people found it difficult to identify the interests of the G.K. workers with their own.
Food health and work make a cycle and G.K. decided by 1973, that, a complete health system must also encompass agriculture. In Savar, the land for most part is not suitable for rice cultivation as it is high-land. So, G.K. decided to introduce crops like Sorghum, Soyabeen, Sunflower, Cowpea and Maize on an experimental basis.

It was found that multiple factors interact on a farmer's decision on how to farm:

a) the land he has;

b) the labour and cash capital he can command at a particular time of the year;

c) Seasonal demands of family and religion.

It was necessary at this point to develop a new category of worker to be termed para-agros. So, the Extension Programme initiated by G.K. was also incorporated in the agricultural section. This agricultural section, deploys all the workers, over 200 in number, within the 132 bighas of G.K. in agricultural work every morning, this is a part of the communal living programme at G.K. This section also advise and assist the villagers and help the farmers to form co-operatives and avail the services offered by the government, give injections to live-stocks, keep tube-wells in running order, etc., etc.

To improve the employment conditions existing in the villages, G.K., decided to set-up a vocational training center. This would especially be for the village women so that they could contribute to the family's earning and at the same time develop a bargaining stand within the family structure on an economic basis. This vocational training center, called the "Narikendra" (women's center) started off as a sewing center in mid-1973 and have now expanded to include handicrafts and jute sections and a marketing organ.

G.K. initiated its education programme to orient the village people towards a self-sufficient role. Ms. Nurunnahar Shobha joined G.K. in 1975 and Dr. Zafarullah placed her in charge of evolving a primary non-formal education programme. In the meantime an adult education programme was initiated within G.K. among its increasing number of resident workers and in late 1975 the primary school was established. This school admits the children of the poor and the manner of dispensation of education facilitate the villagers to send their children to school. No fee is required and the children receive one meal a day.

Another resistance came from the vested interest when G.K. started organizing the poor peasants and landless of the villages. This vested interest includes the rich peasants, the professional quack doctors, the rich businessmen, the chairman of the villages, in total the existing power-structure of the village. As a consequence of this resistance Nizam, a para-medic, in charge of Shimulia sub-center, was brutally murdered in 1976. No action has been possible against the murderer till now. Mobarak, a para-agro, in charge of the Mirerchangao sub-center, had to be removed from the post as he had resisted the attempts of the land-donor's (Mirerchangao sub-center's) to interfere in the sub-center's work.
In G.K. there exists certain gaps in the levels of consciousness. These gaps can be viewed from two points, i.e., within G.K. among the differing stratas of workers and, between G.K. and the villagers. Within G.K., there has been a dearth of mid-level workers which has further widened the gaps in consciousness generated by G.K.'s expansion and consequent lessening of communication between the leadership and the workers. This breach is being bridged by organising group discussions to generate a standard level of consciousness and through study programmes. But at the interaction level of G.K.'s and the village's consciousness, it appears there exists an assymetrical relationship. Initially, G.K. had imposed its value-system on the village, but later the concept was readjusted to let inputs pour in from the rural level into G.K. and a feedback process was initiated. But biases still exist within G.K.'s value-system.

Another problem G.K. is facing is the consequence of its expansion, i.e., bureaucratization of the work process within G.K. Paperwork is increasing daily and pressure is being created on the workers, who are feeling strained in maintaining balance between field-work and office-work. Also immediate actions at the field level is being delayed.

G.K. had started an orientation training course in community medicine for a limited number of students from the different medical colleges existing in the country since 1978 in collaboration with the health ministry. This had also been a cause of pressure on the center, because of which the training of the para-medics had been hampered for a short time. But now emphasis is given on the center's training programmes for its own workers.

As a project, G.K. relies 50% on foreign assistance. Foreign agencies like Oxfam and NOVIB have provided the bulk of the assistance. This aid covers the capital expenses as well as part of the current expenses. For the rest of the budget, G.K., utilizes the profit earned through its different trading sections.

Concluding remarks:

The long hours of hard labour by the committed and dedicated workers of G.K. had steered the centre to its present position. At this juncture G.K. is facing difficulties at two levels, the organizational and the structural.

At the organizational level, the urban-biases still existing in G.K.'s value-system has, at points, contradicted the rural value-system. Secondly, the institutionalization process has put a barrier in the two-way communication between G.K. and the surrounding villages. So, instead of being a model of alternative living, G.K. has become a provider of services for them. Thirdly, as a consequence the question of consciousness has become problematic both, within G.K., among its workers, and, outside G.K., among the villagers. Within G.K. in an encapsulated atmosphere without any specific political bias, the emphasis has shifted to building committed workers. As a spill-over effect of this, the villagers are more aware of the services offered by G.K.

At the structural level, the G.K. leaders are grappling with the question, that, even if consciousness is aroused among the G.K. workers and the villagers, what role can G.K. play in channelling that consciousness, which would eventually lead to total structural reorientation, i.e., the necessity of a revolution. In the existing organizational and structural condition in which G.K.
is situated, it would be an improbable demand to make of G.K. to play any de-

YOUTH INITIATIVE

History

The word "Proshika" is a Bangladeshi acronym signifying development education, training and action. These three essential elements are integral to Proshika's approach to rural development. The traditional tendency to place paramount importance on material resources and technology is of secondary concern to "Proshika". Man must be given the opportunity to think for himself, work for himself, and even make mistakes for himself. Proshika thinks this helps him to build self-awareness to see his own problems and to find his own ways and means to solve them; at the same time it helps in an analysis of the society and situation in which he lives and to define his own role in relation to them. Proshika primarily aims at helping individuals and groups to achieve these objectives. For this purpose Proshikas focuses its work on action programmes which enable disadvantaged groups to better organize themselves, also, on locating self-starter individuals and groups with potential organizing or leadership abilities.

Most of the Proshika workers involved in carrying out these work programmes at the extreme grass-root level derive their inspiration for work from a left oriented thought process. Though, for most of the workers, the job at "Proshi-

ka" is a necessity for survival, the job does partly satisfy the ideological inclination of being with the poverty stricken masses and endeavouring to bring about changes at the socio-economic level for bettering living standard.

Work Process

It was initially agreed that the Logistic Centre should offer trainings in such subject as Development, Communication, Group Dynamics, project workshop, accounting and other similar subjects. These subjects were beyond the scope of the laboratory training were facilities were provided for training in subjects like vegetable growing, duck, poultry, fish, wheat, compost, animal husbandry, nurseries, intermediate technology, health, family planning, silos construction etc.

Proshika's concept of development grew out of the extensive field experience and cumulative knowledge gained by the Proshika team workers.

Proshika, at this point, organized the process of rural development at the village level, as follows:

1) It begins with the identification of individuals and, or, groups represen-
ting a community, in whole or in part, who have expressed an interest or shown initiative in sustained development activities. Increasingly, Pro-
shika is approached by such individuals or groups themselves because they have now heard of the work that Proshika is doing.

2) In many cases, the interested individuals or group is simply invited to visit an existing Proshika group engaged in working on a Proshika Project, such as a fish pond. This serves as practical proof of what Proshika is able to offer.
3) The individual or group is then encouraged to attend an introductory course at the nearest Proshika Development centre. At this initial stage of training, the courses offered are usually in leadership and organizational skills, i.e., without going into specific skills training such as pisciculture, agriculture, etc.

4) The individual or group is then encouraged to organize an informal group of disadvantaged people in his own village or area. It has been found that such groups should consist of men or women who have similar socio-economic status, i.e., landless labourers, marginal farmers and women. Mixed groups have not worked. A proshika animateur may join in these group formation discussions.

5) Even before the newly formed group has decided which common problem it wishes to tackle, it is urged to commence a co-operative savings fund. It does not matter how small the original contributions are. The point is soon made that with the collective sum, they can take joint action towards solving their own problems.

6) After many discussions extending over a period of several months, the group finally arrives at a consensus on which common problem it will tackle together. The activity chosen is invariably an income-generating one.

7) Proshika then provides the specific skills training courses required by the group. Proshika also follows this up with regular visits to the group by both the animateur and the professional trainer.

8) At the stage when the group is ready and able to take on an income generating project with its own funds, Proshika will make available a small loan, if required, on a matching grant basis. Such small-scale and repayable financing is very carefully considered by Proshika, who will ensure that the group has itself made a significant contribution, that the project has been carefully planned, and that it is indeed a mutually agreed upon venture leading towards the solution of their common need as they see it.

9) Proshika also encourages people who have received training, to return to the training centre, after a time, for refresher sessions. This is supposed to facilitate the sharing of experiences gained at the field.

The first five preliminary steps have proved to be the most difficult and time-consuming part of the Proshika "Process", this is not so much because the groups have difficulty in defining their common problems (which they know only too well), but because considerable time has to be spent in building an awareness among the group members that they can tackle their problems if they are prepared to do so on a collective basis, i.e., as a group. For many, the thought that it is within their power to change the circumstances that had shaped their lives since birth is, in itself, the major break through required to begin collective group action. Poverty is accepted as a fact of life, or rate, or "the will of God", etc. The idea that it is possible to improve their conditions by their own efforts, take time to develop.

It has been Proshika's general experience that while the establishment of the target groups in a new area is a lengthy process, once they become operational the rate at which new groups are formed increases very rapidly. For example, in the Laksham area, in the Comilla district, it took Proshika four months to
establish the first 15 groups. However, once these became active, they served as an example. Their proven success in projects resulted in the formation of 85 new groups in that area during the succeeding four months period. In fact this multiplier effect is so great, that many groups and projects start with no involvement by Proshika at all. For example, a Proshika-initiated group of 20 landless labourers, having successfully started their own initial two small fish pond projects, persuaded landless people in two nearby villages to join with them in tackling a much larger fish pond re-excavation project, requiring more resources than the original group could muster. They did all the work themselves, using their own collective savings.

Concluding remarks

In assessing the problems facing Proshika as an organization, certain pointers become identifiable. Firstly, Proshika workers are paid job-holders, consequently the amount of dedication and commitment which the nature of the job demands (which is definitely more than social services) is lacking. Second, the groups, which are being organized, will eventually lead to confrontation, an area beyond the scope of Proshika Development Centre. Thirdly, within the present time perspective of Bangladesh in the context of open political participation, it has to be taken into account that Proshika, a foreign-aided experiment, is regarded suspiciously by the existing political parties in the country.

As an organization it would seem that Proshika is temporarily filling in the vacuum created by the absence of the political parties in this strategic and vital arena of mass mobilization process. In the event of the political parties stepping into this area, the necessity of experimental projects like Proshika would cease.

Conclusion

We have examined here three different variations of micro-interventions. These interventions sharpened the contradiction between theory and practice between the role of an initiator and continuous leadership. These interventions also point out the limits of experiment within the existing system and the attempted alternatives.

Since the structure of exploitation is varied in our country, these micro-interventions generate foci of resistance embracing people's action in a particular locality. This again offers insight into the specific and the general realities. This is needed for the formulation of a working ideology and for negating the heritage of rhetorics. These experiments act as a crash-course for the political parties wedded to change. On the other hand these experiments focus on the existing superstructure and the need for combating it along with politics and economics. Conscientization forces the initiators to ponder about the worthwhileness of experiment, makes them realize the limitations of the legal possibilities existing within the system.

In the case of the People's Health Movement the G.K. leaders are confronting a situation which calls for a structural reorientation of the society, but the existing organizational set-up cripples G.K. to play any definitive role. The youth initiative makes us realise that Proshika is playing a temporary role
in the vital arena of mass mobilisation process in the absence of the political parties.

The role of micro-experiments in raising mass consciousness is problematic. No doubt it frees the masses from fatalistic prejudices to a realisation of their power to change reality in their favour; learning through practice helps to synthesise experience and consider alternatives pragmatically. On the other hand it brings to the masses systematic knowledge of the wider social structure and its working - a knowledge which is essential for collective action for social change. But it's encapsulated participation in economic and political struggle limits areas of operation and restrains its possibilities to become a mass movement. It deals basically with the daily problems of the common man and generally speaking keeps silent about the national problems. This generates contradiction, keeps apart economics from politics, leads the process to a dead end. But, again, the process helps to identify the friends and the enemies both individually and collectively, assists people to find their own solutions within the framework of their understanding. The activists of the micro-interventions spread a vision, an alternative vision opposing the existing ones and act as a rallying point against the existing exploitation. They release radicalism but perhaps they are not radical; they help organize political action but they seldom involve in politics; they generate a dialogic process but often does not lead to the ultimate. They are activists, constantly opening multiple fronts in an atmosphere of inertia.

These experiments, in the ultimate analysis, so far failed to combine economic co-operation with political co-operation in order to minimize exploitation and dependency of the rural masses.

INICIATIVAS LOCALES PARA UN DESARROLLO AUTODEPENDIENTE EN BANGLADESH

Resumen: Este informe intenta comprender el significado de iniciativas locales para el desarrollo autodependiente y el proceso de cambio social. La autodependencia es un valor, un objetivo y también un movimiento popular. Como movimiento popular intenta eliminar la dependencia, como objetivo engendra el espíritu colectivo y como valor busca la creatividad y la innovación; todo esto como parte íntegra de la cronología y en relación a la realidad particular de cada país. Teniendo presente estos conceptos se llevó acabo un estudio comparativo de cuatro iniciativas, cada una de carácter diferente, y se examinaron éstas en el contexto de Bangladesh. Se reprodujo el análisis de tres casos en su totalidad; 1) El centro de salud del pueblo en Savar que escogió la salud como punto de entrada para movilizar a los pobres en lugares rurales. 2) Iniciativas de jóvenes en Comilla para la organización de clubes de jóvenes que a su vez organizan labriegos sin tierras para su participación en varios tipos de cooperación económica. 3) El programa para el desarrollo autodependiente en Ulashi en el distrito de Jessore, donde se movilizó al pueblo para la cooperación económica, especialmente en la construcción de una infraestructura económica por trabajadores voluntarios, un programa que oficialmente se hace destacar como el 'Tachai' de Bangladesh.
SOYA BEAN MILK (Tau Chui)

About 1Kg. of beans are soaked in water for 5-6 hours. The soaked beans together with 6 pints of water are then ground in a stone grinder. The grinder consists of 2 round stones placed one on top of the other. Each stone has a diameter of 60 cm. and a thickness of 18 cm. The stone at the bottom has a round canal. The stone on the top has a central channel into which the soaked beans and water can be fed continuously. The upper round stone is rotated and the grounded mixture flows into a round canal and then collects in a container. (See illustration). Meanwhile, a pint of water is boiled in a vessel.

When the water is boiling, the grounded mixture is then poured in. It is boiled for 4-6 minutes. The mixture has to be stirred once in a while to prevent over-burning. (See illustration). Essence or pandanus leaves can be added to give an aroma. When the mixture boils, it is then sieved with a clean piece of cloth preferably muslin laid over a bamboo sieve. This is placed over a container or wooden tub into which the filtered soya bean milk flows. The residue on the cloth is carefully wrapped and the remaining liquid is squeezed by placing a weight on it, preferably a heavy wooden slab, for half an hour or more. Sometimes the residue is simply squeezed with both hands. The dry residue left behind can be used as animal and poultry feed. Sugar can be added to sweeten the milk. Soya bean milk tested on a dry basis was found to contain 30% protein.

Ng Sock Nye: Soya Bean - Nutritious Food for the People (Institut Masyarakat Berhad, 1, Tingkat Mayang Pasir, Bandar Bayan Baru, Penang Malaysia).
Abstract: The era of Japanese growth - with the ensuing destruction of agriculture, of the environment, and the structural violence which accompanied Japanese expansion both domestically and abroad - is coming to an end. The paper calls for another development in Japan and outlines a policy programme based on balance between industry and agriculture, decentralization and participation, rights of minorities, another educational structure, taming of the consumer society, and an end to hegemonic expansion abroad.

UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT POUR LE JAPON

Résumen: L'époque de la croissance japonaise - accompagnée de la destruction de l'agriculture, de l'environnement et de la violence structurelle qui a marqué l'expansion japonaise aussi bien au Japon même qu'à l'extérieur - approche de sa fin. Cette étude suggère un autre développement pour le Japon et esquisse un programme politique reposant sur l'équilibre entre l'industrie et l'agriculture, la décentralisation et la participation, le respect des droits des minorités, un autre système éducatif, la domestication de la société de consommation, et l'arrêt de l'expansion hégémonique à l'étranger.

OTRO DESARROLLO PARA EL JAPÓN

Resumen: La era del crecimiento económico en el Japón llega a su término. Fué un período de desarrollo que tuvo como consecuencia intrínseca la destrucción de la agricultura y del medio ambiente, y que resultó en una deformación violenta de necesidades socio-económicas tanto nacionales como internacionales.

El informe propone otro desarrollo en el Japón y su programa político tiene como puntos claves un equilibrio entre la industria y la agricultura, la descentralización, un aumento en la participación del pueblo, reconocimiento de los derechos de las minorías, otra estructura educativa que no sea elitista, cambiar los valores consumistas de la sociedad y poner fin a la expansión hégemonista en el exterior.
1. The end of the era of high economic growth

After the Second World War, Japan has experienced high economic growth, taking advantage of particular historical conditions for a latecomer in industrialization. Beginning in the middle 1950s Japan attained an annual growth rate of 10% for nearly twenty years. This is due to low military expenditures which have been kept to under 1% of the GNP, enlargement of the domestic market due to democratic reforms after the defeat of Japan, introduction of modern technology that was applied in factories whose capital goods were destroyed during the War and which caused real technological innovations in Japanese industry, development of education and the supply of an abundant labor force of good quality from the countryside. This is also due externally to an economic expansion of market economies under the IMF-GATT system, an abundant supply of raw materials by Third World countries which had achieved political independence after the War and the supply of advanced technology, especially by the United States.

The high economic growth was led by industrialization. The working population engaged in the primary sector accounted for 52% of the total working population in 1951, but this proportion was reduced to only 14% as of 1975. In 1975, secondary industry occupies 36% of the total GNP and primary industry 6.7%. Economic development has been mainly achieved in secondary industry and the service sector associated with it. This industrialization was accomplished especially through heavy and chemical industrialization and strong government finanical support for it. In 1955, the share of heavy and chemical industries in total industrial production amounted to 45%, but by the beginning of the 1970s this share increased to 63%. Also, the governmental formation of fixed capital accounted, through the 1960s, for around 40% of total capital formation (in U.K. and the U.S.A.: 20-22%, West Germany: 16%, and France: 13%) and induced this rapid heavy and chemical industrialization.

As a consequence of industrialization, the national income increased sharply. In 1956, the per capita GNP of Japan was 123 U.S. dollars, which corresponds to one thirteenth of that of the U.S.A., but today the Japanese per capita GNP is more or less equivalent to that of the U.S.: 10,000 dollars in 1979.

A high value is added in industrial production, as seen, for example, by the fact that in 1971 the productivity of per capita agricultural workers is one fourth that of non-agricultural workers.

However, this economic development based on industrialization was not necessarily based on peace and on the welfare of citizens. The accelerated capital formation was accomplished at the expense of many factors. Domestically, agriculture was destroyed; social capital related to citizen's welfare has been enormously delayed; pollution and destruction of the environment occurred;
Human rights of socially weak citizens (women, aged people, children, handicapped people, Buraku people, minority people such as Ainu, permanent foreign residents such as Korean and Chinese, etc.) were systematically ignored. Internationally, Japan was associated with hegemonism of the United States and benefited heavily from successive wars in Asia; Japan also attained a so-called vertical division of labor: her imports consist mainly of raw materials, fuels and food (in 1975, 80%) and her exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods (in 1975, 98%), and benefited enormously from unequal exchange between industrialized and Third World countries.

Precisely because of this distorted development, Japan faced the end of the period of her high economic growth in the first half of the 1970s, especially around 1973. This is due to termination of the main growth factors both domestically and internationally. Let us first look at domestic problems.

First, economic concentration in Japanese industry has been strengthened and oligopolistic behavior by big firms has been alleged. From 1955 to 1970, the share of big firms, whose capital is over 5 billion yen in fixed capital, of incorporated businesses increased from 42.5% to 50.5% and the share of corporations as stockholders in joint stock companies whose stocks are listed on the stock exchange increased from 55% in 1965 to 67% in 1973. Today, 10 big shosha (trading companies) control 55% of Japanese imports. The progress of oligopolization suppressed the dynamism of competitive market and led to administrative prices as well as to speculative behavior that accelerated inflation.

Second, the additional supply of domestic labor was exhausted by the end of the 1960s and wage levels increased. At the same time, overseas investment by private firms progressed rapidly because of the necessity of assuring cheap manpower, plant sites, natural resources and export markets for their products. The government sponsored this overseas investment. However, at the same time industrialization progressed in neighboring Third World countries in Asia, and more and more imports from these countries began to hit Japanese industries, especially in the labor intensive and semi-finished goods sectors. This phenomenon is called the "boomerang effect" and became the origin of "structural depression" in Japanese industries. The very "catch up" process which benefited Japan in her industrialization began for other Third World countries too.

Third, Japanese firms took advantage of external economies which they used at very low cost and this was considered to be one of the reasons for the competitiveness of Japanese businesses, but these practices have heavily damaged the environment and caused victims of pollution. From 1955 to 1971, in the Tokyo metropolitan area, SOx and NOx in per unit superficie (habitable area) increased by 6.3 times. Total solid wastes increased 50% from 1970 to 1975 and reached a level of 1.25 billion tons. Japanese agricultural firms use more and more agricultural chemicals and the amount of weed killers used per unit of cultivated land is four times higher than the West German level. All these result in complex environmental pollution and many people are becoming concerned with its effect on human life.
Fourth, the international environment surrounding Japan has changed enormously. The international order of free movement of goods and capital supposed by the IMF-GATT system was paralyzed due to the rise of economic nationalism in the Third World and to increasingly serious competition among industrialized countries. A "New International Economic Order" is proposed by Third World countries and a "new mercantilism" is becoming prevalent among industrialized countries. The main industries in Japan which led the high economic growth considerably increased the share of exports in their production, but this increase of exports has caused serious conflicts with the U.S.A. and EC, and also with Third World nations. One of the consequences of these conflicts is overseas investment by Japanese enterprises; but, this will lead to a further low growth of the Japanese economy in the long run.

The period of high economic growth is over for the Japanese economy.

2. Possibility of development based on the Peace Constitution

In 1970s people in Japan began to talk of the necessity of changing from a "Growth Japan" to a "Welfare Japan". But what kind of "welfare" state is envisioned? The political majority seems to view "Welfare Japan" as a continuation on the road of Growth. This kind of "Welfare Japan" will further strengthen big organizations, both public and private, increase domination by the elite class, deterioration of the ecological system, alienation of socially weak people and hegemonistic expansion of Japanese businesses overseas, though it will raise the income level of the nation, especially that of organized people, and cause a further inundation of consumers durable goods.

On the other hand, more and more people are becoming aware of the consequences of following the road of Growth and are looking for another path of development. We see the rise of citizens movements to control their own affairs, increasingly strong regulation by local communities against pollution and a strong tide of decentralization throughout the nation. The welfare society which they envision is one that respects the participation of all people, assures the development of human rights in every field, maintains ecological balance, achieves a truly decentralized system and attaches importance to a harmonious relationship with Third World countries. In other words, this is a society in which all the citizens find their lives worth living and in which human and social development is stressed rather than material growth.

What are the elements in attaining this road of another development? Let us first look at the main values that will lead to another type of development for Japan and then at the principal measures of socio-economic reform which should accompany this modification of the values of a Growth society.

We may take, as essential values leading to another way of development, the concept of a Right for Peaceful Existence defined in the Constitution of Japan of 1945; this so-called "Peace Constitution was elaborated as consequence of the Second World War and of the experience with atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This Constitution, written at the same period as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has important, original provisions which are not found in the tradition of modern Constitutions developed in Western countries.
First, the Constitution declares that the Japanese people "have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world" and give up armament. This idea is contrary to the notion of security based on a "balance of power" and is based on the belief that peace should be assured by "trusting" other nations. This idea corresponds to the Ten Principles of Peace adopted at the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in 1955.

Second, it states as follows: "We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want." This is recognition of the so-called "right to peaceful existence". According to this notion, all peoples have the right to have individual dignity secured from war and oppression, to have basic needs guaranteed and to pursue freely their own destiny, liberty and happiness. This universalism surpasses the narrow framework of traditional constitutions tied to national interests and is a further development of the notion of human rights contained in modern occidental constitutions.

The recognition of peace in the Peace Constitution is closely associated with the problem of human rights. As a consequence, Japan can contribute positively to the formation of a peaceful order in the globe and has the responsibility to do so. Nevertheless, the road of Growth which Japan chose brought about violations of basic human rights on both the domestic and international levels. Japan participated in the wars in Asia as a de facto military base: this is contrary to the way of development of "Peace Japan" as designed in the Peace Constitution.

In order for Japan to follow the path of another development, based on the Peace Constitution, respecting peace and human rights and associating herself with the global community of peoples, we must reform some essential features of socio-economic institutions.

First, it is necessary to modify the existing road of high growth based on industrialization and the international division of labor in order to construct a balanced national economy in which agriculture, industry and the service sector develop harmoniously.

Second, the existing centralized system installed since the Meiji era should be reformed; instead a decentralized system with participation of the people in decisions and management of public affairs as well as self-management by workers and producers should be promoted.

Third, it is necessary to respect the rights of socially weak and minority peoples and to integrate women, aged people, handicapped, discriminated against people and foreign residents into society.

Fourth, the existing elitist education system should be modified; a new education system that is based on the total development of human nature, life-long education and the free movement of pupils should be installed.

Fifth, we must reflect sincerely on the consequences of the existing con-
sumption civilization which is associated with the waste of resources, deterioration of the environment and alienation. The Japanese have traditionally led a simple and sober life-style; we may create, based on the traditional life-style and associating it with modern conveniences, a contemporary life-style in which the main elements are saving energy and resources, conserving the ecological balance and endogeneous creativity.

Sixth, hegemonistic expansion of the economy should be stopped. Japan must create equitable relationships based on freedom, equality, justice and mutual benefit with other countries, and contribute positively to general disarmament as well as to the formation of a world community -- this should be considered to be the best measure to assure Japan's security.

If Japan could carry out these measures, this would surely diminish the structural violence inherent in contemporary society and promote self-reliant development by Japan together with the integration of peoples into one world community. We shall now examine each of these points.

3. Balanced development, decentralization and participation

During the period of high economic growth, industries progressed, but agriculture and the primary sector regressed.

The total self-sufficiency percentage of food decreased from 93% in 1960 to 74% in 1974 and the self-sufficiency percentage of cereals from 83% to 37% in the same period.

Japanese agricultural policy adopted protectionism for rice, the principal food, by means of the Food Administration Law, but for other agricultural products it decided to rely upon imports from overseas. Also, the official policy concerning raw materials for industry is not to develop domestic materials but to import them -- the overseas dependence percentage for the ten principal resources used in Japanese industry such as petroleum, iron ore, etc. increased from 70.8% in 1960 to 90.4% in 1970.

During the 1960s the number of Japanese farms decreased from 3 billion to only 660,000, among which two-thirds acquire more income from sources other than from agricultural sources. Today, the average income per agricultural household surpasses that of non-agricultural households, but 67% of their income originates from non-agricultural occupations. A majority of Japanese rural families cannot live only on agriculture.

In recent years the deficit in the Food Administration Law has increased considerably and reached 690 billion yen; people began to talk about reform of the law. Farms are obliged to accept "autonomous" reductions in planted areas. They are encouraged by the government to change from rice to tangerine or livestock production but these products are menaced by the rising demand for liberalization of imports by the U.S.A. Agricultural growth under the Food Administration Law has apparently reached a deadlock.

A new agricultural policy is needed both for producers and consumers. The main elements of the new policy should be as follows: to increase the self-
sufficiency percentage of food and raw materials, to encourage regional development, regional self-sufficiency and the use of idle land (Japanese cultivated land is used only half of the year, though two crops are feasible in most parts of Japan) and rationalization of the distribution system, abolishing the centralized agricultural policy of the Food Administration Law.

First, as for basic agricultural products, a middle term plan for an increase in the self-sufficiency percentage should be established. Multiple plantings of multiple crops and direct regional supply should be promoted within the framework of this plan. For the use of idle land, rent should be paid by the States. Concerning the financial resources, we must abolish the import quota system and install a frontier tax system; in this way, by increasing imports of agricultural products, we may have the resources for the reform of domestic agriculture.

Second, Agricultural Cooperatives should be responsible for land administration and regional agricultural management. Land should be socialized: urban land should be administered by special public corporations and agricultural land by Cooperatives. These Cooperatives would encourage and promote middle-scale management of farms, development of multiple crops, joint use of agricultural machinery, transformation of agricultural products (dairy products, juice or canning) and direct buying of materials and sales of products. The government should encourage agricultural and livestock production which does not use agricultural chemicals or chemical additives.

Third, the supply of agricultural and livestock will increase and prices will decrease under farm management which develops multiple crops. This, together with the abolition of import quotas, provides benefits to consumers. The government should abolish the price compensation system for producers and adopt an income guarantee system. As a means of income guarantee, the government can pay rent and assistance for multiple crop agriculture, discourage high inputs in agriculture (especially high energy consuming agriculture such as hothouses) and establish local factories using local raw materials.

Fourth, the distribution system should be rationalized. Many local products of different regions of Japan are first concentrated in central markets such as Tokyo and then redistributed to each prefecture. This process is accompanied by a heavy waste of energy and costs. Therefore a system of direct regional supply from producers to consumers through local communities should be promoted.

These measures aim to adopt the market mechanism as the distributive system of resources, to put agriculture into the competition of a liberalized economy and to balance development of industry and agriculture as well as that of regional economies and to increase the self-sufficiency percentage through qualitative improvement of domestic agriculture.

That is why this agricultural development must be accompanied with reform of industry.

Until now, industrialization has been heavily concentrated in large-scale,
capital-intensive heavy and chemical industries. These industries have achieved the mass production of homogeneous goods very efficiently, using imported raw materials, polluting the environment and exporting a large part of their products abroad. However these industries will encounter difficulties in the coming decades: first, people become increasingly conscious of pollution and there arises a problem of finding suitable sites for factories; second, the availability of raw materials will pose a problem as producers of primary products push their own industrialization; third, with rising labor costs and social needs the margin of profit in Industrialized countries will decrease, leading to labor-saving new investment, so that big industries will be unable to deal with the problem of increasing unemployment.

The Japanese government now advocates changing the present Japanese industrial structure to a "knowledge-intensive" one, but this move would not resolve the problem of unemployment of "blue collar" workers nor modify the domination-dependence relationship which exists between Japan and Third World countries. Reform of the industrial structure should be developed in four ways.

First, medium and small scale enterprises based on regional economic structures, using raw materials produced locally and finding markets locally should be promoted.

Second, these enterprises would use labor-intensive as well as knowledge-intensive technologies so that they may contribute to resolving the problem of unemployment together with the problem of pollution.

Third, the present financial system is that local banks collect money locally and lend it to big enterprises in financial centers; it is necessary to reverse this trend and encourage local lending.

Fourth, it is necessary to break the monopoly of the ten big trading companies and to modify the flow of goods and resources through the center; each region should develop its own trading company, public or private, and promote the local flow of goods and resources.

By the end of the 1980s the actual share of heavy and chemical industries in total industrial production should be diminished to around 50%.

This reform of both industry and agriculture is feasible only if it is associated with the development of political, administrative and financial decentralization. It is crucial to modify the present centralized public finance system in order to develop local autonomy and decentralization.

In fact, the Constitution of Japan assures "local autonomy", but this autonomy is not respected in practice.

Today, 70% of public expenditures are made by local communities, but among public revenues only 33% are collected by them; the difference is transferred by the central government to local governments (in the form of subsidy or
grant). This financial system based on control by the central government is often called "one-third autonomy" and heavily limits uses of tax and consequently the autonomy of local communities. The latter are heavily dependent on the central government.

In this respect, we must confirm the principle that the costs of building up local communities should be borne by the communities themselves and achieve decentralized development respecting local autonomy and local initiative, giving to the local governments the power to collect taxes as well as the capability to issue bonds, thus increasing the availability of autonomous resources.

In the 1980s it is necessary to reorganize the existing subsidy system in order to transfer more resources to the control of local governments: 70% of revenue should eventually be controlled by them. This kind of respect for local initiative is very important in order to generate a new vitality in the Japanese economy and society as well as to locally resolve the unemployment problem.

Decentralization must be accompanied by participation of the people at each level of local administration. The base of local autonomy may be the town, village or educational division based on secondary schools; peoples councils can be created at this level whose role is to reflect people's opinions in administrative service, public works, conservation of the environment and cultural affairs and to promote people's participation.

This system of direct democracy should be connected with a system of indirect democracy, which is the only representative system today. Regional assemblies (village, town, city, prefecture) should be responsible for the distribution and coordination of work with the central government, approval of the budget, supervision of administration, auditing of accounts or disclosure of information.

Together with the participation of citizens at the local level, participation in enterprises should be promoted: employees, workers, consumers and users would participate in the management of public and private enterprises. On the board of directors of these enterprises, a third of the positions would be allocated to managers and stockholders (in the case of public corporations, to representatives of the State or local government), a third to employees and workers and a third to representatives of community residents, consumers and users. Thus, progress in decentralization, participation and self-management may be made in every part of Japan.

4. Welfare society and total development of human beings

It is often pointed out that in Japan social welfare has been delayed in comparison with economic growth. In recent years there certainly has been considerable progress in the social security system, nevertheless, in 1975, the share of transfer in terms of social security amounts to approximately 8% of the national income, which is a much smaller sum than the 20% or so which prevails in European countries. The Japanese social security system has been concentrated on health insurance and as a result housing, life en-
environment and the completion of a pension system were disregarded. For example, social capital related to the nation's life such as park area, nurseries or sewage per certain number of inhabitants is much smaller compared with other developed nations. This constitutes marked contrast with the general diffusion of consumers durable goods such as automobiles, household electrical appliances, etc.

Also, a real welfare society is not constructed only by increasing the budget for social security or social welfare. It is also formed by integrating the socially weak or people subjected to discrimination into the developmental process of society.

In Japan, aged people were very often considered as an impediment to production. The percentage of aged people who receive subsidies under the Livelihood Protection Law amounts to 35%. In Public Establishments for Aged People, four old men live in one small room (8 mat size) and facilities remain elementary. The pension system is very incomplete. Under the existing health insurance system preventive medicine and rehabilitation are almost neglected.

As for handicapped people, the number is increasing due to work accidents, transportation accidents (a half million people are killed or injured every year) and pollution. The inundation of artificial poisonous additives in food and the use of agricultural chemicals give rise to an increasing number of congenitally handicapped children. But in Japan mentally and physically handicapped persons have been isolated from society. The legal quota for the handicapped is extremely low both in the public and private sectors and is often not filled. The rights of handicapped people, recognized in the United Nations in 1975, are not guaranteed in Japan.

There is also the problem of discrimination against minority groups. There are three types of discrimination.

First, there is discrimination against social groups who have historically been subjected to discrimination such as the buraku people, who number more than two million.

Second, there are small minority ethnic groups such as the Ainu, Wila, Nikbun, naturalized Koreans, etc. who have Japanese nationality. These two categories of people very often encounter social discrimination in employment, marriage, etc.

Third, about 750,000 foreign residents live in Japan (in particular the approximately 650,000 Koreans and 50,000 Chinese) and are discriminated against in many respects. These people obey Japanese law and pay taxes, but are not assured of their rights as citizens and are discriminated against legally and socially in employment, public supply of housing, social security, etc.

Lastly, the rights of women are not respected. In the Constitution equal rights between the sexes are assured, but in practice, in education, employment, participation in the decision-making system and culture, we see widespread gaps and discrimination.
In employment, women account for one-third of the labor force, but they are employed mainly in the office-work, service and professional sectors; in the managerial sector women comprised only 6% of the workers in 1976. In Japanese business enterprises women are given general assistant work, so that their average salary (in 1976) corresponds to only 56% of a man's salary (in France it is 86% and in West Germany it is 72% for the same year) and their average period of employment is 5.6 years as opposed to 10.3 years for men. Housewives are considered as a shock absorber in time of depression. That is why many firms install discriminatory measures against women such as age-limits, forced retirement by marriage or pregnancy, employment with a proviso of "beauty", etc. There also is discrimination in promotion and training. For example, 31% of the manufacturing firms have established different age-limits according to sex.

This kind of discrimination in work corresponds to inequality in education (in 1976, 41% of male graduates of high schools went to universities as opposed to 13% of female graduates) or in the decision-making process (among the 504 members of Parliament only 7 are women as of 1979; women's share of members in prefectural assemblies is 1.2%).

Sex discrimination is supported by a man's culture whose common belief is "Work for men, family for women". This fiction of division of labor originates in a certain difference between the two sexes: women deliver children and raise them. This natural difference is taken by men and transformed into a social difference.

The Japanese government finally ratified the International Covenants of Human Rights in 1979. In order to construct a welfare society starting from the Peace Constitution, it is necessary to implement the rights of freedom as well as social rights defined in the International Covenants and to abolish all kinds of discrimination domestically.

There are three movements important in the implementation of human rights for people subject to discrimination.

First is self-reliance. As long as one depends on others, there is no equal and equitable relationship. Abolition of discrimination is no more than self-liberation from dependence, acquisition of an identity as being discriminated against and oppressed and establishment of a self-reliant spirit. But these should be supported by public policy. Social welfare and participation must be guaranteed for socially weak people. For minority ethnic groups, we may apply, for example, a "Law of Autonomy of Minority Nationalities" instead of the existing "Law of Protection of Indigenous People". For permanent foreign residents we must guarantee their rights as citizens. And for women, an Equal Employment Opportunity Law should be enacted.

Secondly, we must have preferences for promotion and integration of discriminated-against people. Because of historical reasons, these people, even if their rights are guaranteed by laws, cannot be integrated socially. Tradition, custom, practice and culture become serious obstacles. In this case
certain measures for preferences should be applied in favor of discriminated-against people: income guarantees for socially weak people, priority employment or employment quotas for buraku people, minority nationalities, handicapped, permanent foreign residents and women, priority entry in higher education for candidates who are members of discriminated-against groups or who are from remote islands or isolated regions in which educational opportunities are rare, etc.

Thirdly, solidarity of discriminated-against peoples is very important. This is in fact the principal element to break out of the existing system of domination and dependence. People overcome discrimination through solidarity of the oppressed and deliver themselves from social isolation created by social discrimination. Development of such a people's movement may become the seed of a new society: domestically, people oppressed by social systems and big organizations would look for further solidarity with international movements of oppressed peoples. This movement of discriminated-against and oppressed people is a movement of human beings looking for total development.

In education, we can conceive several measures to realize total human development. For this purpose, the existing educational system of elite selection which has contributed to a high growth policy must be reformed. Under the existing system, half of the children in primary school are said to be unable to follow classwork and three-fourth of pupils in high school cannot digest mathematics, so that at the age when they should be engaged in higher education, an absolute majority of young men have already "dropped out" from society. The Growth society formed an elite class and thereby created many dropouts.

Here the reform of higher education is of critical importance, because a fiercely competitive system in all levels of education is aiming at the entry of children into "first-ranked" universities. The main elements of the reform may be as follows:

First, it is necessary to reduce the gap between national universities and private universities and for this purpose a University Corporation should be established to finance all types of higher educational institutions.

Second, universities, both public and private, should adopt a common written examination system based on an international baccalaureat, as the first step of entry examinations, and as the second step they may apply an oral examination or examination based on the presentation of an essay, according to the nature of the institution.

Third, high schools and universities may be reformed on the basis of local society with representation on the boards of directors of these institutions by representatives of local communities, teaching staff, secretariat and students. These institutions would respond to the needs of local communities for science, technology and culture and establish their own personality.

Fourth, the number of students should be limited (2000 to 4000) per university and exchanges of teaching staff and students among the institutions should
be promoted. Also, universities should take charge of the life-long education of community members and open certain courses to the public. The university of a welfare society should be an open university.

Japanese enterprises, especially big ones, have a common practice of recruiting new members only from certain "first-ranked" universities (designation of university system). The entry examination also has a general limitation of age. To end the "diploma disease" prevailing in society, it is necessary that enterprises abolish the examination system based on the designation of universities and limitation of age, together with discrimination by sex or social groups. The existing system of education encourages "diploma disease" at every level of human formation and violates, by centralized and uniform education, the internal richness of the youth, thus limiting many possibilities of human and social development.

5. New life style and external relations

Asked about their level of living, 90% of the Japanese reply that they have a middle standard of life. In spite of a relatively low level of welfare, middle class consciousness is prevalent among Japanese. One of the reasons for this may be the inundation of consumers durable goods. According to an opinion survey made annually by the Prime Minister's Office on the nation's life, people who think that housing and food are not yet satisfactory account for 50% of the total replies in recent several (the question is: "In the future, what aspect of life do you hope to fulfill more?"), but people who replied that they will devote more to consumers durable goods total 10%. In other words, one out of two Japanese is not satisfied with basic needs such as housing and food, is in possession of many consumers goods but is irritated by traffic congestion, and is obliged every year to buy new products whose design is little different from last year's model.

However, it will become increasingly difficult to continue this kind of life-style which consists of the importation of huge amounts of raw materials from abroad, the continuous development of "new" consumer goods which, in fact, have a very limited use in daily life and the emission of huge quantities of waste. This is due to the seriousness of the environmental problem as well as to increasing difficulties in the availability of raw materials and fuels from abroad.

At the same time this sort of life-style accelerates alienation among people, because the aim of life becomes concentrated on the acquisition of material goods. In this society, tourism, one of the main fields of people's leisure, is also commercially organized and package tours diminish the sense of freedom, adventure and encounter with others, which are important components of authentic tourism.

To construct a more autonomous, self-reliant life-style, it is necessary to connect it with the development of local society. Many people live in suburbs and go to work in downtown areas, requiring many hours to commute. We must completely reconsider this kind of life-style which wastes energy.
If in a regional or local society one could find employment together with housing and political and cultural activities, it would contribute to the regeneration of the city, which has become devastated in many parts of the industrial countries, as a citizens community. In this community everything would be found within walking distance. There would be no need for automobiles, old parking lots could be transformed into gardens or vegetable farms and children could play freely among the greenery and flowers. In each bloc of apartments a heating system using solar energy or a power plant using wind power could be installed. There would also be a bakery or supplier of rice. Many household electric machines could be used communally, thus saving considerable energy. There would be no need for publicity. Each person would control his or her inflated desires, so that it would not be necessary to work long hours and people could share jobs. This could constitute an answer to the problem of unemployment. Appropriate technology may be developed in the community according to traditional or local wisdom. At the regional level, each town could exchange its products for food produced in rural areas without agricultural chemicals.

Presently, people's life-styles are overconcentrated on consumption, so it is necessary to develop various life-styles in which human nature can develop. We should avoid direct control by the government, but the government can induce this change from a wasteful society, in which artificial needs are continuously created and satisfied, to a society in which life-styles are more simple and citizens can be more autonomous, by charging for example a 1% tax on each model change in consumer goods (in the case of Japan, if only color TV sets and automobiles are taxed in this way, this would constitute around 200 billion yen - 1 billion U.S. dollars every year) or by extending guarantee period for consumer goods from the current one year to three years.

The Peace Japan of the 1980s, reorganizing its domestic economy and society from a growth-oriented one to one in which welfare and human rights are respected, need not necessarily follow the path of overseas expansion, as Japan has followed until now.

The contribution of Peace Japan to the world community should begin with an initiative in general disarmament; for this purpose Japan must begin with its own disarmament. Currently, the defense expenditure of Japan is around 1% of its GNP, but in absolute terms it amounted to 8.6 billion dollars in 1977 and was the ninth ranking military power in the world. Japan should, as a first step to disarmament, freeze her military expenditures at the existing level and take an active part in regulating arms transfers in the world and in creating a nuclear free zone in Asia and the Pacific.

Secondly, Japan must initiate a program of the removal of all foreign military bases inside Japan within ten years. In particular, Japan must demilitarize the islands of Okinawa, in which 53% of all U.S. military bases in Japan are concentrated. The government should install a North-South Exchange Center on these islands and transform them into a bridge connecting Japan and Asian countries.
Thirdly, the Disarmament Center of the United Nations should be invited to Japan and its Asian Center established. Also, a Peace Documentation Center of Asia can be established jointly with UNESCO. These institutions would serve to monitor the situation of armament and disarmament in Asian countries as well as arms transfers, and to positively work for peace in the Asian region.

Fourth, peaceful Japan should end all military treaties and declare permanent neutrality under the Peace Constitution.

Peace Japan would adopt a free trade policy in enlarging her trade and reform its domestic structure, but, with Third World countries, would apply general preferences together with governmental based long-term treaties by which Japan would offer productive goods and science and technology in exchange for fuels and other commodities at stable prices.

As for private overseas investment, existing measures of governmental support should be abolished. This can be left to the free choice of private enterprises, but the government should conclude a treaty with Third World countries to promote the localization of Japanese enterprises together with technology transfer.

Concerning international currency, internationalization of the yen is now progressing following the decay of the gold exchange standard (in fact, dollar standard). Many experts foresee the coming of an age of a tripolar currency system: U.S. dollar, EC currency and Japanese yen. However, it is not desirable that Japanese yen obtains a special advantage as the key currency of Asia. This would lead to a parasitic life for Japanese and to a decrease in Japan's productivity. Also, a hegemonism associated with a key currency system would cause certain conflicts between Japan and Third World countries. Instead Japan should contribute to the formation of plural international currencies, including SDR, yen or commodities such as petroleum or rubber and of a rational international settlement system, which would resolve the problem of inflation (lack of discipline) caused by the key currency system.

With respect to international cooperation, Japan should contribute to resolve the so-called one-world problems such as population, environment, resources, food, etc., which are vital for world peace, along with North-South issues, in which it is deeply involved. Japan may transfer the resources saved by reorganization of its domestic structure and not gained by exports, in order to construct a one-world community.

In the Third Development Decade of the United Nations, it is vital that Growth Japan is transformed into Peace Japan. If this is not successful Japan will follow the road of expansion and hegemony, which will lead to many conflicts, both on the domestic and international levels. If this is successful, the Japanese people can, following the period of high growth, find a new national objective of constructing the world community, which will
constitute, there is no doubt, the surest means of national security in a changing world. This would constitute at the same time, for each individual, the surest way of finding new objectives in life in the age of post-industrialization.

Bibliographical notes

This policy paper is based essentially on the following recent works of Nishikawa and on discussion with five advisors to this project, to whom the author is deeply indebted.

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The works of Nishikawa are as follows:


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WHAT TO DO ABOUT HOUSING - ITS PART IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

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LA QUESTION DU LOGEMENT ET UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT

Résumé: Cet article résume les implications pour l'action d'une autre approche à la question du logement. Il se base sur l'expérience d'une vie trépidante dans les ouvrages de l'auteur mentionnés à la page 9. Il identifie quelques principes de base et de pratiques générales pour une 'action-logement' par les intéressés eux-mêmes au sein de leurs communautés locales, par ceux qui exercent une influence législative ou administrative, et pour ceux qui peuvent utilement agir en tant qu'intermédiaires entre les deux catégories précédentes. Seules quelques pratiques générales sont esquissées, l'hypothèse étant que les pratiques particulières ne peuvent ni ne sauraient être répétées dans des contextes différents. L'auteur n'offre pas de recettes, mais seulement une contribution à une intelligence meilleure des différentes éléments dans l'espoir d'aider à une vision plus claire de ce qui devrait et pourrait être fait, quelles que soient les conditions locales.

L'article analyse le logement comme une activité, non comme un produit; il constate l'échec du logement pour les masses et la nécessité d'une action-logement par les masses dans le contexte d'un équilibre nouveau entre la communauté locale, le marché de l'Etat, et non d'une hégémonie de l'un de ces trois secteurs. Il examine ensuite les domaines de l'action-logement; les formes du logement; les ressources (sol, travail, techniques); et les institutions (capacité de décision, règles et perception des résultats par les intéressés).

QUE HACER SOBRE LA VIVIENDA - SU PAPEL EN OTRO DESARROLLO

Resumen: Este informe resume las implicaciones para la acción de un otro planteamiento de la cuestión del alojamiento. Se apoya en la experiencia de una vida trápidamente vivida en las obras del autor mencionadas en la página 9. El identifica algunos de los principios de base y de prácticas generales para una "acción-alojamiento" por los interesados, ellos mismos en el seno de sus comunidades locales y por aquellos que ejercen influencia legislativa u administrativa, y por aquellos que pueden actuar como intermediarios entre los dos categorías anteriores. Se los quejan solo algunas prácticas generales.

(Cont. en la página 10).
WHAT TO DO ABOUT HOUSING - ITS PART IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

For fulfilment there must be a resorption of government into the body of the community? How? By cultivating the habit of direct action instead of waiting upon representative agencies.


Where the aims was the resorption of the state by society, we are faced with a desperate attempt to adapt the whole of living society into the crystalline structure of the state. Stratification instead of socialization, in other words socialization in a totally alienated form.


This paper summarises the policy implications of an approach to housing described in the author's most recent publications listed on page 9. It identifies some basic principles and some general practises for housing action by people in their local communities, by those in positions of legislative or administrative influence who can support local action, and by those who can mediate between the other two. Only some basic principles are identified; and only general practises are outlined as it is assumed that most particular practises cannot or should not be repeated in different contexts. Recipes are not offered, only contributions to a clearer understanding of the ingredients in order to see more clearly what should and can be done, whatever the local conditions.

1.0 Housing in Development

The approach outlined can only be seen clearly when 'housing' is understood as an activity: as a complex process of many people and organisations doing many things in order to get many kinds of expected or unexpected results. When the word housing is used to mean a stock of houses, understanding is clouded and actions are likely to be ineffective or even counterproductive. As a mere product, housing is seen as a 'sector' and a 'social overhead cost' dependent on 'directly productive activities' and, therefore, on political, economic and industrial organisation of society. Seen as an activity, involving everyone and much of their time and savings, as a large part of industry and occupying most urban land, housing is obviously an instrument and vehicle for change as well as being partly dependent on changes in other spheres of action. When housing is misunderstood and treated as a commodity serving the interests of commercial or political manipulators, attention is focussed on the end products and diverted from the ways and means by which homes and neighbourhoods are planned, built and maintained. Conventional modern housing policies, the world over, suppose that material standards and quantities are all that matter -- a view that was never shared by anyone trying to improve their homes or neighbourhoods, or even by the 'experts' in their private lives. No actual or prospective householder concerns him or herself solely with the quantity or material quality of the 'housing unit'--one is often more concerned about its location or neighbourhood, one's tenure and rights and freedoms of use and change, as well as the direct and indirect costs of living in it.

What matters about housing is what it does for people, not just what it is materially.

1.2 The disastrous consequences of 'slum clearance', 'redevelopment', industrialised housing systems and of centrally administered modern mass-housing programmes in general are now evident. The simplistic notion that the 'housing problem' is a numbers game exclusive to the industrialists, bankers and government is practically discredited. Even those in charge of the corporate housing production machine can no longer pretend that the 'problem' will be solved by pouring more money into it or with technological or managerial gimmicks (such as Industrialised Building Systems or directed 'Self-Help' housing programmes).

1.3 As it becomes clear that suffering from the consequences of materially poor and mismatched demand and supply of housing goods and services can only be relieved by making better use of available resources, and that more money, machines or managers cannot do this, attention focusses on the ways and means of housing. The immediate ends of housing action are, of course, usable living space for personal, household and community activities along with necessary utilities, services and facilities -- in appropriate places, with adequate security and transferability, and at affordable costs and prices. These immediate ends are generated from the basic resources of which they are made: land, work and technics (or the materials, tools, water and energy for building, use and maintenance). These resources are the means used in ways determined by the basic institutions: the power structure or decision and control system, the (formal and informal, explicit and implicit) rules within which decisions are made and powers exercised, and the exchange values placed on actions and products (governing sales and purchases, loans and credit, barter or 'gifts').

1.4 Changing the governing institutions, or the ways of housing is clearly essential but direct action on them is almost always difficult and often personally dangerous. Changing the locations and technology of housing can have substantial longer-term effects on institutions as well as immediate effects on the quantity and quality of goods and services provided. Changes to the forms of housing have relatively limited effects but they are often the only changes that can be made, especially where centralised powers are overtly oppressive. Although priorities for housing action are self-evident in this view, action in any field can be used tactically, at least, to prepare the ground for strategic action and structural change. Specific fields of action are outlined in the second part of this summary.

2.0 The Failure of Mass Housing & The Necessity of Housing By the Masses.

2.1 The viability of any housing strategy or policy must be judged by the range and freedom of choice it provides, or increases as a result. The immense variety of personal and household needs and priorities are combinations of only three basic 'courses of action' or programmes which anyone dissatisfied or suffering from their housing situation will take or attempt: those threatened with eviction who anticipate worse conditions as a result will try to establish their tenancy; those living in unsatisfactory conditions will try to improve their environment; and those without suitable or improvable homes or neighbourhoods will seek alternatives, whether a new development or accommodation in an existing area. For convenience and because appropriate in most cases in newly urbanising contexts, this third alternative is referred to as development in this and related papers. The often exclusive emphasis given to new developments by governments in their housing policies highlights the vested interests
in conventional government programmes and the misconceptions that justify them. In countries where citizens are free to organise locally, policies are now changing and giving far greater emphasis to the support of local communities and the improvement of their homes and neighbourhoods. At the same time, and also stimulated by local demands, governments are increasingly seeking alternative ways and means of generating both sufficient provision and adequate choice in housing — another kind of development that will relieve them of the burden or pretense of being the principal suppliers.

2.2 Before the resurgence of demands for identity and autonomy at all levels of society and when enthusiasm for corporate urban-industrialism was at its peak, there was a general acceptance of a supposed necessity for mass-production in all spheres, including housing. Such was faith in industrial science and technology that it was commonly assumed that the 'housing problem' was due to the 'backwardness' of the housing construction industry and that once the assumed 'economies of scale' had been achieved through factory production and central planning and distribution, everyone could be decently housed. It is now becoming obvious that technically simple and geographically fixed assemblies (like houses and streets) with highly complex uses and economies cannot be dealt with in the same ways as technically complex movable machines for simple purposes (like motor cars). It is increasingly evident that 'housing by the masses' is far more economic and socially viable than 'mass housing' and that the economic scale for the design, construction and management of housing is small and local. It is also evident that the basic resources from which housing is made — land, work and most readily available materials — are both local and extremely variable and can only be properly used by people and small local organisations which know them well and can match them and their products to personal and local needs. Centrally administered housing tends to be extremely wasteful of both material and human resources.

3.0 The Reassertion of Community.

3.1 Two conditions for changing the nature of development are increasingly common: the reassertion by people of their rights to determine and act upon their own needs and priorities, and government policies of increasing personal and local access to resources so that people in their own communities can, as Patrick Geddes urged: "cultivate the habit of direct action, instead of waiting upon representative agencies". Many involved are still confused by the modern habit of letting the experts decide and the government provide — not the tools but the end products — an ingrained habit in professionalised urban-industrial countries. It is tragically self-defeating when local initiatives are perverted into demands for ready-made, pre-packaged goods and, therefore, counter-productive centralisation. Many seeking fulfilment through social action are afraid that the principles of self-reliance and local autonomy means technological regression and hard labour through having to do it all oneself — or that it is a subtle way of justifying and encouraging capitalist exploitation. These misunderstandings are rooted in authoritarian attitudes and the now collapsing faith in pyramidal structures and centralising technologies.

3.2 The alternative described and which is easy to understand through housing, is the establishment of a new balance between community, market and state, not the hegemony of any one sector or system. The complement and corollary of personal and local freedom to act is the guarantee of access to basic resources which only central government planned industry and controlled markets can provide. The choice is not between total dependency in hierarchic structures and subsistence in archipelagos of totally independent self-sufficient islands.
Autonomy is not the same as autarchy: self-government, acceptance of responsibility for making decisions and for using one's own resources, demands networks of people and small organisations with enough equality to negotiate freely. Such networks, which have been the traditional basis for what we all now see to be or to have been excellent housing, act as vehicles for local development. In housing, for example, networks of autonomous agents negotiate for the acquisition of the elements and components of dwellings or neighbourhoods (for materials, tools and work or for existing properties) within commonly recognised and respected limits set by custom and law. Without rules setting and maintaining limits to what people and organisations may do and without access to locally scarce resources, autonomy cannot survive — it will either drift into an impoverished autarchy or be absorbed by state or market monopolies.

3.3 In the absence of adequate local organisation, the hegemony of the market or the state and the suppression of community seem inevitable. Where the market plays a predominant role in low-income contexts as in most third world cities, the intrusion of corporate commercial and government agents in the sphere of housing contributes to the increasingly general polarisation of highly centralised hierarchic and dependent, or heteronomous systems and marginalised, often physically peripheral and scattered pockets of involuntarily self-sufficient or autarchic settlements

3.4 On the assumption that both the state and the market are necessary in modern society — and can be related in many different ways — alternative responses to community action must be clearly formulated and demanded, preferably and perhaps necessarily from within as from without. The needed government provisions must be made in the form of 'loose parts' instead of 'tight packages'. The most effective and productive demands are for those complements that release or correct the use of unused, underused or misused resources. When people have the land, materials, tools and skills they need, but no water, for instance, and no way of getting it at economic prices for themselves, the provision of a piped water supply can generate a massive amount of building in a short time — housing by the masses. The conventional mass-housing approach has the opposite effect; by responding to officially defined 'housing needs' for 'minimum standard houses' and on the assumption that only the market and the state have the resources and capacity for providing these, the usual government response is to launch a categorical programme of housing projects. Preparations take several years. Minimum standards set by middle-class officials according to their own priorities are very high and, together with the overheads of centrally administered and commercially contracted building, result in prices far higher than the great majority of intended 'beneficiaries' can afford or are willing to pay. When governments of low-income countries with very small budgets subsidize the differences, the number of dwellings built is drastically reduced. The few that are provided are almost always formally or informally re-allocated to the better-off; the resources the original community had are largely wasted, and the government is landed with heavy recurring costs and a debt they are unlikely to recover. All these and other costs can be avoided only when the needed components are provided and in ways that allow the users to adapt them to their own resources. This means separating each component service or provision to the greatest practical extent, thereby maximising local freedom of assembly. Conventional 'housing schemes' or projects and categorical programmes must be phased out and replaced with open service systems as quickly as possible, wherever possible.
4.0 Fields of Housing Action

4.1 Any long-term strategy for change is a composite of short-term tactical actions. For planning and implementation it is essential to have a clear picture of the components of action that can be taken which shows how they relate to each other and to the context. This section identifies a range of discrete fields of action, any one of which can be a starting-point for change. For brevity, each field is still at a rather general level and there are many ways of dealing with each one. There are a huge number of different combinations and permutations and there should be few situations where nothing can be done. The essential differences and more or less independent variability of the three aspects of action are pointed out above; the forms which housing goods and services take, of the means or resources and instruments with which they are produced and of the ways or institutions with which the means are managed. Each of these general aspects must be subdivided into more specific fields of action in order to plan and programme. While many more subdivisions could be made, the principal areas should be distinct and independently variable actual or potential pressure or leverage points.

The Form of Housing

4.2 As observed in 2.3 above, the design of dwellings and neighbourhoods is the least influential aspect of action as forms are largely consequences of the ways and means that generate them. So, although design changes can change the technics and, even, the management, these are usually limited to particular projects or programmes. Changes of style and of form in the deeper sense can have wider consequences, but these are indirect. Direct actions on resource allocation or institutions are politically impractical in many contexts; as design is seen to be politically neutral, this is often the only field of action open where market or state forces suppress overt attempts to make structural changes.

4.3 The key issue in the architecture of housing is the relationship between boundaries, networks and volumes, the three basic elements of built environments. Boundaries are the institutional limits between uses, tenures and responsibilities for management or maintenance; they are generally marked by and coincide with physical barriers, like walls, or changes of surface materials, as between a street and a park. Networks are the infrastructures connecting and servicing areas and volumes defined by the boundaries and buildings. The network of public paths and passages, roads and streets, or all rights-of-way necessarily coincides with certain boundaries. Volumes are the three-dimensional spaces provided by structures, landscaping and planting and, sometimes, by boundaries that cut across open spaces and may even be unmarked. The issue of architectural form is to what extent these three elements are separable and independently variable. They can be largely independent, as in the case of low density dispersed developments composed of separate buildings within plots, or they can be inseparable, as in the case of high-rise monolithic structures or mega-structures.

4.4 Experience and observation suggest that the higher the degree of independent variability, and separateness, of boundaries, networks and volumes, the more responsive the physical environment is to change. But it is also evident that excessive dispersal, like excessive concentration, weakens or perverts relationships between neighbours (taking into account the widely different cultural traditions and behaviour). The worst conditions appear to be those of monolithic structures which subsume most boundaries and most networks — the greater part of both are inseparable from the buildings themselves, making
changes to any one generally impossible without changing the rest. It is clear that the most commonly preferred form of settlements, throughout history, are those now commonly called 'low-rise/high-density'—usually on public streets or semi-public courts formed by contiguous but structurally independent buildings a few stories high with private or semi-private space within. The immense variety of particular forms which these 'concentrated' forms of developments take, and their often great antiquity show how adaptable they are. Both the modern monolithic forms and the modern dispersed suburban forms that they have stimulated, are replacing traditional concentrated forms (although the trend is being reversed in some countries already). Both modern forms are extraordinarily similar everywhere despite climatic and cultural contrasts—they are remarkably insensitive and unresponsive to local differences and the monolithic form, especially, is extremely inflexible and unadaptable. They are already proving to be very short-lived as well as very expensive to build and maintain. Recent analyses and evaluations show that properly designed concentrated forms are by far the most economic, allowing for and even stimulating responsible and cooperative management and maintenance by residents by providing a potentially convivial environment.

Resources: Land, Work and Technics

4.5 As noted above, the basic resources are land, work and technics. (Money, although commonly called a 'resource' is really an institution, and is dealt with below.) Land is now a universally recognised issue, though few governments are yet taking active steps to implement generally agreed principles. It should no longer be necessary to point out that land cannot be marketed as a commodity without severe diseconomies and injustices—if only because it is immovable and the supply does not increase with demand. The dominant issue, however, is still limited to 'public' versus 'private' ownership. Although 20th century experience confirms great advantages in public ownership, state or even municipal monopolisation can make land as inaccessible to citizens and local enterprises as inflated free market prices. The issue that urgently needs active exploration is more complex: between local community ownership or, rather, trusteeship, and the public and private (or semi-private) alternatives.

4.6 If the first consideration in the field of work and its organisation is its usefulness or the production of use-values rather than earnings or profits or of commodities independently of their usefulness, then both organisational and technological changes are indicated by experience. The most useful, creative and enjoyable kinds of work are those in which the worker has high levels of responsibility and scope for the exercise of skill. These are also the most common conditions for economy when this is understood as resourcefulness, or getting more from less. The larger the organisation or the heavier the tools, the more difficult it becomes to maintain high levels of responsibility or skill in the field or at the work bench, drawing board or desk. As large corporations have discovered, even conventional efficiency and productivity demand decentralisation and the increase of personal and small team autonomy. Managerially, work must be organised in ways that maximise personal responsibility and opportunities to develop and exercise skills. Technologically, therefore, work must be a function of materials, tools and forms of energy that can be handled by individuals or small teams. These demand the reinforcement and increase of network structures and intermediate technics. They also demand institutions which maximise personal and local access to land, and the freedom to use it in socially viable ways, and which minimise dependence on centralised banking and finance.
In order to counteract the inflationary, centralising and dependency-creating effects of an increasing proportion of building technics now used, it is essential to increase the use of materials which are: a) very plentiful or easily renewable; b) low in energy (or heat) content and non-polluting; c) durable, require little or no maintenance and can be recycled; d) local and therefore reduce demands on transportation, increase local, regional or national autonomy and which increase cultural identity and diversity; and e) which require only simple or light tools and equipment that can be handled by skilled workers and managed by small organisations. The highest priority in most contexts is to rapidly increase small-scale, local production, reducing demands on fossil fuel for processing and which, by reducing transportation further decrease demands on fuels as well as losses resulting from loading and off-loading, pilferage, warehousing, and over- or under-ordering. Both cement and burnt clay products, for example, can be produced much more economically in small or medium sized local plants than in the huge centralised ones imposed by the market system and bureaucratic centralism. Small local plants may produce lower grades of materials such as cement and steel, but of qualities entirely satisfactory for small and medium-sized structures.

Institutions: Sides, Rules and Scoring.

Like games, all activities depend on three basic institutions: the sides that people take and the decision-making powers they have, the rules within which they act, and the scores they give to actions carried out. The central issue is: Who decides? In housing it is the people in their own communities who must have the power to decide if housing is to be a satisfying and effective vehicle for personal and social development. And, as already argued, this means both auto-generation and government support of grassroots organisation; this, in turn, demands the provision of those goods and services that must be supplied by large, centrally administered organisations in the form of loose parts which small, local organisations can use and assemble in their own ways.

The 'rules of the game' must set the limits to what the various sectors and levels of authority may do; they must not lay down lines that must be followed, anyway by people and local organisations. Prescriptive law liberates, prescriptive law oppresses. Most modern housing, building and planning rules and regulations amount to specifications; many laws are detailed descriptions of categorical programmes stating who shall get what packages of goods and services and, even, where and how. Law-and-planning and planning-and-design have become increasingly confused; only those with vested interests in centralised production, distribution and government have gained. Some progress has been made in the field of construction standards: performance standards, setting the functional limits of building elements and the physical quality of enclosed space, have begun to replace 'specification standards' which predetermine forms. The phrase 'progressive development' is now commonly used, indicating acceptance of the fact that buildings and dwelling environments normally develop over time and must do so if they are to be economic and respond to growing and changing communities. Little work has been done so far on the relationships between tenure and investment, and levels of investment with time and tenure-regulating the uses of temporary, incomplete or naturally decaying structures, for instance. Past and current experience indicate that evaluations and experiments are urgently needed.

As already noted, neither money nor finance, nor other forms of exchange are resources in the proper sense of the word: exchange is the scoring system decided on or generated wholly by society and therefore an institution. The
habit of calling money a resource is dangerous as it can further the interests of those who have it by implanting or reinforcing the notion that those who do not have enough money are powerless to do anything. This habit of mind is complemented by the common assumption that maximum monetisation is both necessary and desirable, increasing the confusion of market and use-values as well as reinforcing divisions between age and sex groups and between socio-economic classes. The recent and growing interest in the 'gift economy', the 'informal sector', household economy and the roles of the sexes revolves around the issue of monetisation as well as institutionalisation, professionalisation and industrialisation. Monetisation should be minimised, not maximised. Increased access to money and credit is, of course, essential for those without it, or without enough to do what they need. Practical alternatives to centralised banking and credit systems which concentrate corporate bankers or state powers are both essential and closely related to the issue of land. The local use of local savings can be maximised when land is in local community hands and can be used as collective collateral.

4.11 The achievement of a proper balance or equilibrium between monetary and non-monetary exchange systems, between the market economy and the gift economy, or between the 'formal' and 'informal' sectors, depends on government policies for taxation, price and income controls and subsidies. Too often, these combine to penalise personal and local initiative, to discourage real economy and to reward extravagance. These characteristics are common in housing: improvement is burdened with taxes, while disinvestment is relieved; the greater the demands on money, the cheaper it is and, worse still, the more scarce resources it consumes, like electricity or water where it is especially scarce, the less one pays. Not only the relative costs but also the absolute costs per unit of housing are inversely proportional to income, in most if not all contexts. Direct action on these inequities can only be made through taxation, and where practical, subsidies and price controls — and these must all be used in ways that increase the scope of non-monetary exchange.

4.12 Firstly and lastly comes the exchange of experience and ideas. There is a paradox in the explosion of modern communications: the actual exchange between persons is greatly reduced; on the one hand by a plethora of second-hand messages and, on the other, by the inaccessibility of documents and people due to the immense production of published material and the excessive speed of modern transportation. The sheer quantity of publications overwhelms those at the center while those at the periphery are starved, partly because of delays, difficulties and costs of obtaining documents and partly because it is so difficult to know what would be useful and worth the effort and expense to obtain. Matters are made worse by the absurdly short periods that can be afforded for interregional visiting — the faster and farther we can travel, the more time we are condemned to spend in vehicles. Counter-information systems are rapidly growing, however, and more and more people are getting useful information and contacting helpful people through the multiplication of overlapping, often world-wide networks of people and small organisations. Only through networks and activities like those for which this summary paper is an intended contribution, can we share knowledge widely and fast enough to carry out Another Development.

EPILOGUE

AHAS is exploring practical ways and means of extending communications to accelerate creative learning and action in housing and neighbourhood improvement by setting up a pilot "Housing Tools Exchange". This paper and the work it summarises aims to generate action, rather than yet more talk and paper. This can only be done by increasing communication between doers and those who have more time to reflect upon their experience. Together they can move toward changes in values, rules and the structure of power and decision-making.

Networks of people committed to understanding and action provide the matrix of creative change. First-hand information needed for local and personal development flows dynamically between such persons and those who seek them out. Hierarchic systems can only issue forth one-way, second-hand messages to which people, seen as 'consumers', cannot respond.

A small number of networkers in different parts of the world are now designing and testing methods for increasing communication between active persons and their access to useful information and resources. This network of regional/local exchanges links with other networks sharing the same principles and dealing with other fields of action and tools. We hope that increasingly compatible methods will develop as a result.

AHAS' pilot project will initially provide a Resources Index of cross-referenced people and organisations, significant cases and a selective number of useful current texts and audio-visual materials. As additional funds become available, AHAS and other Tools Exchanges will be enabled to send information on request, in exchange for evaluative comments or better information.

Simultaneously, small groups of correspondents will be working together on critical issues to identify common principles and specific applications of practical use in particular contexts. The first of these, on alternative systems of land tenure, has already generated a dossier of correspondence of great value to those in three continents who are taking part. An edited bulletin prepared from the material is planned, to be made generally available. A complementary correspondence on the related issue of finance for homes and neighbourhoods is being conducted. AHAS anticipates acting as midwife to other corresponding groups on other vital issues. Although our current capacity for response is very limited and overstretched, we give priority to carefully thought out suggestions and specific requests of kinds we can either respond to or pass along to other network correspondents.

John F. C. Turner directs an annual Special Programme on Housing in Development for people with experience in Third World countries. An annotated version of this paper is being prepared as a background paper for the next SP (April 17 - July 11, 1980). It will be run, like those of previous years, as a seminar for the international exchange of experience and ideas. During the next SP, a workshop is planned (provisionally June 15 - 23) to which field workers and community leaders are invited to discuss with the participants their proposals for ways and means by which their government agencies can support local housing action. Funds are being sought for those who cannot afford the fees and travel costs. A limited number of places are still available for SPH-80 at the time of publication and applications for it as well as for the June Workshop should be made without delay to John F. C. Turner, Development Planning Unit, 9-11 Endsleigh Gardens, London WC1E OED.
The following publications of the author's work develop the themes summarised in this paper:


(Resumen español: cont.)

ya que la hipótesis es que las prácticas particulares no pueden ser ni serán repetidas en contextos diferentes. El autor no ofrece recetas, sino una contribución al mejor entendimiento de diferentes elementos en la esperanza de ayudar en la busca por una visión más clara de lo que se debería y no podía hacer, sean lo que sean las condiciones locales.

El informe analiza al alojamiento como una actividad y no como un producto, establece el fracaso del alojamiento para las masas y la necesidad de una acción — alojamiento por las masas en el contexto de un nuevo equilibrio entre la comunidad local, el mercado y el Estado, y no de una hegemonía de uno de esos tres sectores. Examina entonces los campos de la acción-alojamiento; las formas de alojamiento; los recursos (tierra, trabajo, técnicas); y las instituciones (capacidad para tomar decisiones, reglas y la percepción de los resultados por los interesados).
THE SEVEN DEAD END STREETS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

1. Desintegration of the Third World
   - Nothing for rural areas

2. World Trade
   - With an empty stomach

3. Indebtedness
   - Very unhealthy

4. Official Development Assistance
   - The gap widens

5. Foreign Investment
   - In aid of profit

6. Advanced Technology and Know How
   - Pass it on...

7. System Security and Militarization
   - Defence facing people

Third World commodity policy is facing a major crisis of definition and priorities, following the failure of international attempts at organizing market intervention along the lines of UNCTAD's Integrated Programme for Commodities. This calls for a re-examination of the fundamental nature of the choices open to Third World policy makers. On the basis of a series of commodity studies sponsored by the Third World Forum in the context of the Third System Project of IFDA, this paper attempts a consideration of the basic issues, centered around the relation between commodity policy and the broader development strategies adopted by Third World countries. It argues that policies that see the commodity sector solely as the supplier of foreign exchange tend to correspond to strategies that emphasize integration in the world capitalist economy as a way of assimilating technologies, attracting capital and generating growth within a given pattern of income distribution and consumption; conversely, policies that emphasize the materiality of the commodity and its potential to satisfy — directly or indirectly — basic human needs tend to correlate with strategies that value self-reliance, autonomy and an egalitarian distribution of the social product. The paper discusses three possible lines of policy, i.e. maximizing local consumption and linkages, processing for export and intervening in the international market, and tries to identify the main issues involved in each of them. It argues that the main obstacle to a commodity policy linked to self-reliance is the refusal of the dominant sectors in many Third World societies to accept the fundamental re-structuring of power, wealth and privilege implicit in the notion of self-reliance; in the case of processing for export the main obstacle seems to be the control over productive processes and market exercised by transnational corporations; in the case of market intervention the main difficulty is the inability of the Third World to reach a level of political solidarity high enough to push proposals through the opposition of the industrialized countries.
LA POLÍTICA DE PRODUCTOS BÁSICOS DEL TERCER MUNDO EN LA ENCRUCIJADA: ALGUNAS CUESTIONES FUNDAMENTALES

Resumen: La política del Tercer Mundo en materia de productos básicos está enfrentada a una crisis grave de definición y prioridades como resultado de los intentos internacionales de organizar intervenciones en los mercados según lo propuesto en el Programa Integrado de Productos Básicos de la UNCTAD. Ello ha hecho necesario un re-examen de la naturaleza fundamental de las opciones que se ofrecen a los responsables de las políticas del Tercer Mundo. Sobre la base de una serie de estudios de productos básicos patrocinadas por el Foro del Tercer Mundo en el contexto del Proyecto Tercer Mundo Sistema FIPAD, el presente trabajo intenta analizar los problemas principales en torno a la relación entre la política de productos básicos y las estrategias más amplias de desarrollo adoptadas por los países del Tercer Mundo. El trabajo sostiene que las políticas que van en el sector de productos básicos solamente un proveedor de dólrixos pueden tender a corresponder a estrategias que ponen énfasis en la integración en la economía mundial capitalista como

(cont. en la página 14).
Carlos Fortin

THIRD WORLD COMMODITY POLICY AT THE CROSSROADS: SOME FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

1. Introduction

The international debate on commodity policy in the second half of the 1970s has largely concentrated on issues of price stabilization through market intervention. This is, of course, due to the impact of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, proposed in early 1975 by UNCTAD's Secretariat and which quickly became the focal point for commodity policy discussions and negotiations. To be sure, the Programme - adopted as Resolution 93 (IV) at the Fourth UNCTAD Conference in May 1976 - contained references to elements other than price stabilization: expansion of processing of primary products in developing countries, diversification of exports, stabilization of export earnings through increased compensatory finance and improvements in the competitiveness of natural products facing synthetic competition are all mentioned - among others - in Resolution 93 (IV). But the element that caught the imagination of Third World policy-makers and analysts alike was the possibility of intervention in commodity markets through the setting up of joint producer-consumer buffer stock arrangements, backed by a Common Fund to which both Ind'tial and Third World countries would contribute and which would also be jointly administered.

That this should have been the case is no cause for surprise. Apart from the fact that the Secretariat tended to play up this element to the detriment of the others, the market-intervention component of the Programme - at level of generality at which, of necessity, it was originally formulated - appeared to hold the promise of, at least, a modest repeat of the success of oil producing countries in controlling the world oil market. Improving the terms of trade and export revenue of commodity-producing Third World countries seemed suddenly within reach. Even for those countries of the Third World that do not export the commodities included in the Programme there was the attraction of a Common Fund that looked like a new international financial institution to whose resources they would have access, and whose decision-making, unlike those of the IMF and the World Bank, would be shared between Ind'tial and Third World countries. More significantly, for those Third World governments committed to introducing major changes in the structure of political and economic power at the international level the proposals appeared as a step towards establishing an administered system of world commodity trade in which producers would have a decisive say.

It would be idle to dwell on the extent to which these hopes have been frustrated. Despite the agreement to establish a limited version of the Common Fund, no negotiation on specific commodity agreements, with the exception of natural rubber, has made any progress. This has less to do with alleged flaws in the economics of the proposals - the criticisms of Ind'tial country analysts are themselves often based on just as debatable neoclassical economics - than with their faulty political theory: while Third World countries could readily agree on general objectives, notably on the need to restructure power in international economic relations, their solidarity was much less strong when dealing with
concrete proposals. With the United States, Germany and Japan decidedly opposing any such restructuring of power - albeit with arguments couched in terms of the need not to interfere with the operation of "the free forces of the market" -, the degree of effective solidarity of the Third World was insufficient to sustain meaningful progress in commodity negotiations.

In some sense, UNCTAD V gave express recognition to the fact that the market-intervention path in commodity policy has, at least for the time being, reached a dead-end. But there are already disquieting signs that a comparable replacement - i.e. another single focus for Third World commodity policy - is actively being sought, and might have been found in the notion of processing. The notion, of course, is undoubtedly full of potentialities meriting detailed examination: UNCTAD and generally Third World analysts do well in devoting serious attention to it. But the danger is, again, to fall into a political strategy that seeks to maximize the mobilisation of Third World political will by identifying a single, simple rallying point. Reality has a way of reasserting its complexity in such contexts by showing the inadequacy of simple solutions; the end result is more often than not political impasse.

Thus, with Third World commodity policy facing a major crisis of definition and priorities, it would appear that the most promising avenue is a return to the examination of the fundamental nature of the choices that Third World policy makers face, and of the full implications of preferring certain options to others. The exercise is, therefore, less one of suggesting specific policy prescriptions than of clarifying precisely what is involved in identifying and selecting policy options. For these purposes, a recent series of commodity studies sponsored by the Third World Forum with the financial support of the International Foundation for Development Alternatives* provides some useful empirical data and analytical approaches. The remainder of this paper will offer some considerations on these basic issues, using the Third World Forum studies to illustrate the complexity of the questions and the diversity of the possible responses.

2. Commodity Policy and Third World Development

If it is agreed that the ultimate objective of Third World commodity policy is to contribute to the development - in some sense of the term - of Third World economies and societies, the most fruitful starting point for the discussion seems to be the recognition of the phenomenon - well known to classical political economy - of the dual nature of commodities. A commodity is, on the one hand, a bundle of material properties which, after processes of transformation of varying degrees of complexity, is capable of satisfying human needs; on the other hand, a commodity can be thought of as the embodiment of an amount of value that can be realized through exchange in the market.

Applying this distinction to the analysis of the question at hand, a primary commodity sector in a Third World country can be basically conceived as either a supplier of foreign exchange that will provide the resources for development, or as a chain of economic and social processes and relations leading to the production of goods necessary for development and linked in various ways to other sectors equally producing necessary goods. In the first case emphasis is put on the circulation of commodities, in the second on commodity production. Obviously, the distinction is only a convenient simplification of a more
complicated set of problems: in practice any commodity policy will take into account both aspects, if only because even the production of simple commodities solely for export entails material processes and social relations that cannot be ignored. But the emphasis on one or the other aspect implies - we suggest - some very fundamental choices.

Let us begin by noting that the two faces of the commodity seem to correspond to the two broad policy options - market intervention and processing - mentioned above. The correspondence is, however, only partial: it is perfectly conceivable that a policy of primary commodity processing in a Third World country be undertaken essentially in order to increase the exchange value of the commodity or otherwise improve its competitiveness in the international market. In fact, this seems to be very much the rationale behind current discussions of, and efforts at, primary commodity processing in the Third World (and, of course, as will be discussed below, in many cases the alternatives are very problematic, given the economic and technical characteristics of the commodities in question).

But there is a more profound implication to the question of emphasis on the exchange value as distinct from the use value of the commodities. It can be argued that commodity policies that emphasize the ability of the commodity sector to generate foreign exchange may tend to correlate with national development strategies that at least accept, if not positively favour, a high level of integration in the world economy and of commercial, financial and technological dependence on the advanced capitalist centres. Conversely, policies that place fundamental emphasis on the commodity as a good potentially capable of satisfying human needs tend, in turn, to correlate with development strategies that center around self-reliance, the integration of the commodity sector in the national economy and a degree of de-linking from the central capitalist economy and of re-linking within the Third World. Once again, the correlation is not complete. One can certainly conceive of policies aimed at maximizing the exchange value of export commodities in the world market in the context of efforts at self-reliance undertaken elsewhere in the economy - and, indeed, for the purpose of financing the latter; this was, for instance, the case of copper policy under the Allende government in Chile in 1970-73, and is also the basic definition of the oil policies of some of the OPEC countries. As in the case of processing, furthermore, in a number of instances it is simply not viable to think of a given commodity as being easily integrated in a process of increasing self-reliance and de-linking. But, as already suggested, the distinction retains importance as a starting point for the kind of fundamental reappraisal of commodity policy thinking that is being argued here, and we shall therefore explore some of its implications further.

2.1. Commodity Policy and Self-Reliant Development Strategies

Self-reliance - it is by now very clear - is not coextensive with autarchy; it refers rather to the effort of a society to maximize the use of its own natural, human and man-made resources towards the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of its population. Relations and transactions with the rest of the world are not ruled out, although autonomy is postulated as a goal; indeed the notion of collective self-reliance emphasizes the strengthening of links among Third World countries both for the purpose of jointly attempting the satisfaction of the needs of their populations and of dealing collectively with the
Initial countries. The crucial element in self-reliance is, thus the re-definition of patterns of social production, distribution, consumption and external relations in terms of the needs of the population as a whole.

The clearest link between a self-reliant approach and commodity policy would be the attempt at consuming the bulk of the commodity output locally and through a pattern of distribution based on effective need. Turning for a moment to the Third World Forum studies referred to above, precisely such a strategy of re-directing a substantial part of production towards internal consumption is advocated for cotton (not surprisingly, since, taken as a whole, the Third World is a sufficiently large market to absorb the total cotton production of the Third World countries). The relation in such cases between a self-reliant strategy and cotton policy is described as a two-way street: a strategy of self-reliance would expand the potential internal market for cotton, while a concomitant cotton policy would privilege the satisfaction of internal demand with respect to exports.

Even in cotton, though, and certainly in the other commodities studied, this kind of scenario is under present circumstances clearly unrealistic. For one thing, this approach would only make sense if applied by the Third World as a whole: the size of the market of individual commodity producing countries is in general insufficient to absorb their own output. (Conversely, there are significant possibilities of expanding the markets of jute, rubber and copper in the Third World). But even if such an integrated Third World market could be established, significant problems remain. In some commodities - e.g. cocoa - a simple re-direction of consumption towards the internal market does not seem necessarily to entail significant progress towards the satisfaction of basic needs; in others, such as sugar, the re-direction, if it is to affect favourably the standard of nutrition of the population must be accompanied by an increase in protein and vitamin intakes, i.e. an improvement in the general standard of living; yet in others, such as rubber, jute and copper, an expansion of the economic base appears as a pre-requisite to make an increase in domestic consumption possible (although undoubtedly systematic policies to promote local use of those industrial raw materials might, in turn, help bring about some expansion of the industrial base). A paradox seems, therefore, to confront us, whereby the commodity sectors can only make their contribution to self-reliant development after development has largely taken place.

There are, on the other hand, ways around the problem of the inability of the Third World economies to absorb their commodity output, and the vicious circle that this apparently causes. A radical approach, in the case of non-renewable commodities, would be simply to limit the level of extraction so as to save the materials in the ground for such time in the future when they will be needed. Such strategy has, on occasion, been argued by Third World country analysts. This, however, is only possible when substantial foreign exchange reserves make it less than imperative for Third World governments to try and maximize their current revenue; such privileged position is today only enjoyed by a few of the oil producers of the Third World.

A more attractive form of increasing the self-reliance impact of the commodity sector in the national economy is, of course, processing. Let us observe that the further downstream processing goes, the more it approximates a situation of local consumption of the raw commodity; depending on its physical and technical
features, the commodity is at a certain point productively consumed in processing and manufacturing even though it might not have reached its final end-use. Even at relatively low levels, however, processing might have a significant effect in terms of increasing the integration of the economy and reducing its external vulnerability. Linkages with other sectors of the economy may help generate new activities of a self-reliant kind; integration upstream, for instance, might lead to the production of inputs for the commodity sector to replace previously imported ones. Again, the cotton study suggests that some of the producers could profitably move into production of fertilizers - a finding contained in a number of other studies. In general, the possibility of joint production of inputs for commodity industries in the Third World is a central component of a self-reliant commodity policy. The copper study suggests that joint ventures for processing or for the production of inputs could be undertaken by the major Latin American and the major African producers (Chile/Peru and Zaire/Zambia respectively); similar suggestions can be made for India and Bangladesh in jute, for Jamaica and Guyana in bauxite, for Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia in rubber, etc.

Another possible contribution of processing to self-reliance strategies might be in the development of new products from the primary commodities that can be incorporated in the process of operation and expansion of the local economy. The sugar study gives examples of possible industrial complexes deriving from the sugar sector, ranging from the production of live-stock and dairy products with sugar cane and molasses as the basic inputs, to the use of bagasse - suitably processed - as building material, to the production of alcohol fuel for combustion engines.

Other policy proposals that can fit a strategy of self-reliance concern the issue of the internal distribution of benefits in the commodity sector. Self-reliance strategies are, as already suggested, essentially attempts at maximizing the sharing of the social product in the population as a whole. Particularly in the case of agricultural commodities, whether food and beverages or industrial raw materials - an important issue is that of the share of the total surplus generated that accrues to the grower, particularly in cases where - as in cotton, jute, rubber and, to a somewhat lesser extent, cocoa - production is organized through small peasant units. Particularly low shares are reported in the cases of cocoa and cotton. An improvement in the share of growers would in such cases not only improve income distribution generally - a pre-requisite for the re-structuring of the productive apparatus implied in the strategy of collective self-reliance - but would also probably help increase the productivity of the operations, particularly if accompanied by additional incentives to investment. This, however, might have some unfa- vorable effects: employment might be negatively affected and as a result income distribution in real terms might become more regressive.

It should be clear from the preceding that raising the question of commodity policy from the perspective of a self-reliant strategy of development allows a fresh look at some of the standard policy prescriptions contained in the current commodity debate. It should also be clear that it entails some very difficult problems; in particular, processing, although less problematic when linked to a self-reliant strategy than when oriented towards exports, nevertheless raises complex questions regarding the efficiency of the generation
of indigenous technologies as against the incorporation of technical progress from abroad, and others; some of them will be discussed in the next section, that deals with export-oriented commodity-based development strategies. But the main problem is, undoubtedly, not technico-economic but socio-political. The adoption of self-reliance development strategy requires some fundamental changes in the way in which social relations are defined, production and distribution are organized and consumption is oriented. From the available evidence, it would appear that the dominant sectors in a majority of Third World countries are not prepared to undertake the fundamental re-structuring of power, wealth and privilege that is involved. Commodity policy is, therefore, in most cases defined by reference to development strategies that, rather than disengaging from the world economy, seek to find a more favourable accommodation for the national economy - or for the ruling sectors in the Third World countries - within it. The next sections will briefly discuss two sets of implications of that development approach for commodity policy.

2.2 Processing for Export

Processing of primary commodities in the Third World countries can - it has already been suggested - be undertaken essentially to improve the relative position of the producing country in the world market. Processing not only increases the value added of the primary commodity, but in some cases it might allow the producing country to move away from an oligopsonistic market into a more competitive one, thus increasing its bargaining power. This is clearly the case in copper, for instance, where the market for blister copper is significantly more concentrated than that for refined copper. An even more extreme example is that of bauxite/aluminium, where the markets for bauxite and alumina are highly oligopsonistic while that for refined aluminium ingots is fairly competitive (in other cases, though, it is necessary to move quite far downstream before the market ceases to be oligopsonistic, e.g. rubber). By both improving the returns to the producing country and strengthening its position in the world market, processing is said to contribute to achieving an increased degree of autonomy. If to that one adds that even processing oriented towards export can be introduced with a view to maximizing local linkages and stimulating growth in other sectors of the economy, the attractiveness of this policy is understandable.

There are, however, serious problems in the application of a policy of increasing processing of exportable primary commodities as a part of a comprehensive development strategy. To begin with, a number of processing operations have relatively high capital intensity, and therefore pose for Third World countries problems of availability of capital and of labour absorption. Interestingly enough, in some mineral commodities the situation seems to be different; in copper the capital intensity of the operations and the capital cost per unit of output decrease as processing increases. On the whole, however, Third World policymakers considering moving into processing of commodities are faced with choices concerning alternative investments that might have better employment-creation effects. A choice of further processing in such cases might run - as hinted at in the preceding section - against the possibility of autonomous, broad-based development. On the other hand, direct employment effects do not tell the whole story; we have already suggested that an important element in a policy of commodity processing might be the linkage effects and the generation of connected economic activities.
A second area worth exploring is that of the transport cost effects of processing. Two trends in opposite directions seem to operate here: one is the reduction in transport cost derived from weight reduction as a result of processing, the other is the effect of ocean liner freight rates, which apparently discriminate against processed commodities.

By far the most serious problem in processing, though, is the question of the barriers to entry posed by the dominance of multinational corporations in production, marketing and technology, and the protectionist policies of advanced capitalist countries. The Third World Forum studies provide some striking illustrations of these problems. In cocoa, attempts by Ecuador to process the bulk of its output into cocoa butter and powder are being thwarted by confectioners who feel that the Ecuadorian liquor is inferior in quality, and have replaced the Ecuadorian component of their blend with West Indian and Papua New Guinea coca, which they buy as beans. Other obstacles in the way of cocoa producers entering the processed market are the higher efficiency of industrial country plants and their control over trade secrets and manufacturing techniques. In the case of sugar, Brazil's long-standing efforts to derive motor fuel from sugar cane have not yet produced economic results, while in England, following a shorter period of research and development, the announcement has already been made of the installation in the near future of a plant near Liverpool using considerably more advanced technology (this does not necessarily affect the Brazilian plans since their eventual fuel output is meant for the internal market). Further processing in bauxite and in rubber also has to face barriers derived from the highly concentrated nature of the world aluminium and tyre industry respectively. In the latter case - as well as in jute and cotton - an additional problem is, of course, the oligopolistic features of the synthetic substitutes industry, and their links with the final consumer industries. A policy of improving productivity in order to compete with the synthetic product in the world market, while obviously advisable in these kinds of commodity industries, might find obstacles beyond the purely technico-economic ones. Increasing protectionism in developed capitalist countries has led the governments of Chile and Zambia to eschew the benefits of processing in terms of linkages and to go ahead with setting up plants for the continuous casting of copper rod through joint ventures with European refiners and located in Germany and France respectively. Further processing is thus achieved only at the cost of intensified integration of the copper industries of the two Third World countries into the world capitalist economy. This is justified in terms of the fact that continuous casting capacity is being installed within a clearly oligopolistic pattern: a few major refiners control the bulk of the European capacity. As continuous casting presents technical advantages over conventional processes, it is likely that the oligopoly will displace the much more fragmented and competitive sector of conventional mills, and therefore the producers of raw copper will be faced with a situation of oligopsony unless they themselves move into rod production.

Generally speaking, a way to overcome some of the preceding difficulties is to enter into joint venture with multinational firms that can provide access to markets, processing technology and in some cases finance for investment. The problems associated with the operation of joint ventures are, however, well known, and will have in each case to be weighed by Third World policy-makers as against the advantages of moving into further processing of their commodi-
ties. And this highlights the last problem to be mentioned in connection with the policy of processing for export: it seems fairly well established that in many cases its immediate effect is to increase the Third World country's external dependence in financial terms - because of the need for relatively high investment - and in technological terms - because of the need to compete in the world market and therefore to increase productivity. Conversely, market dependence might in some cases be reduced, as indicated above in connection with copper. Also in some commodity industries where processing can take place through small units and simple technologies, a small scale capital goods sector could be stimulated, thus conceivably reducing technological dependence.

The problems of processing for export as a commodity policy are, therefore, quite serious. A line of policy that is proposed jointly or alternatively suggests to dispense altogether - at least in the first instance - with the materiality of the commodity and concentrate on getting the most out of its exchange value. It is an approach centered around commodity circulation and market manipulation, and we shall briefly discuss it in the next section.

2.3. Markets and Market Intervention

The range of policies included under this heading is, of course, vast, and has been discussed rather extensively, partly because of the phenomenon - mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this paper - of the focusing of commodity policy discussions in recent years on market intervention. We shall not, therefore, attempt a comprehensive treatment but rather will highlight points that seem important from the viewpoint of the fundamental policy choices that have been presented above.

Let us start by recalling that emphasis on market intervention assumes a particular kind of theory of international trade and of price formation in the world market which emphasizes the power aspect of international economic relations, and whose most recent expression is the "unequal exchange" hypothesis proposed by Arghiri Emmanuel and developed by Amin, Braun, Saigal and others. An earlier expression of this approach was the Prebisch-Singer explanation of the deterioration of the terms of trade of primary commodities in terms of the ability of the working class in the advanced countries - exporters of manufactured products - to appropriate the fruits of technical progress, an ability not matched by the workers and peasants in the Third World countries that export primary commodities (so that increases in productivity in the latter are effectively passed on to industrial country consumers via lower prices). The point to note in this connection is simply that this particular kind of approach is by no means generally accepted, and that alternative approaches might lead into entirely different policy conclusions. In fact, yet another version of the Prebisch-Singer thesis - according to which the deterioration of the terms of trade of primary commodities is due to their lower income elasticity of demand as compared to manufactured products - would suggest that it is the "primariness" of commodities that condemns them to have ever deteriorating terms of trade. The policy conclusion is, obviously, not to attempt an impossible process of redress but to get out of primary commodities altogether: hence the import-substitution prescription of the 1950s and 1960s in Latin America and elsewhere. A similar reasoning could today be used to justify emphasis on processing with preference to market intervention in commodities.
One does not, of course, have to adopt a fully coherent and comprehensive theory of international trade to suggest some policy options whose benefits - and problems - can be assessed on the basis of empirical evidence and past experience. But awareness of the theoretical underpinnings of various policy approaches seems to be a useful component of a re-appraisal of policy options by Third World decision-makers and analysts.

Within this broad framework, a meaningful discussion of specific market strategies can proceed on a more concrete basis, one that will have to refer to particular commodities at given points in time. The Third World Forum studies contain a fairly comprehensive list of such strategies, including: 1) greater participation of the producer countries in marketing world-wide (common to all cases); 2) improved supply management (particularly stressed in the case of cocoa, where it revolves around the issue of improved storage facilities); 3) increased use of future markets by producers (cocoa and rubber), with the internationalization of terminal markets as a medium term goal; 4) expansion of markets outside the developed capitalist centres (argued in all cases); 5) the introduction or improvement of administered forms of market, by means of long-term sales agreements, producer-consumer buffer stock stabilization arrangements or highly regulated international regimes, such as those co-existing in sugar (which the study felt, however, to be in need of radical revision to improve the position of Third World producers); 6) increasing the solidarity of Third World exporters with a view to strengthening their bargaining position in matters such as tariff or quota barriers in the developed countries, and (in the case of copper) to explore even the possibility of unilateral price-fixation.

The list is, clearly, both long and well known; it contains the kind of measures advocated by Third World spokesmen and international organizations ever since the Havana Charter of 1948 raised the question of Third World commodity policy for the first time as an issue of concern for the international community. It would be outside the boundaries of this paper to review the whole debate around these policy options; our purpose here is only to provide a framework within which they can be analysed and evaluated. A few general comments, however, seem in order.

To begin with, even though all the measures proposed under this general heading imply a high level of integration of the commodity producing countries in the world economy - in most cases, in the world capitalist economy - they entail varying degrees of conflict and contradiction with the world capitalist system, and can be conveniently placed along a continuum running from minimal conflict that is furthermore channelled through existing mechanisms (e.g. increased use by producers of existing terminal markets) to rather more fundamental attempts at re-structuring the rules of operation of the system (buffers stock stabilization arrangements, producers cartels, regulated markets).

It can be further argued that the more one moves towards the conflictive end of the continuum, the more the viability of the strategy becomes dependent on Third World producers developing a high degree of solidarity and common political will, and the more, consequently, the approach begins to approximate the collective self-reliance strategy. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the success or failure of attempts at stabilizing the market through buffer stock
operations is less a function of the technico-economic features of the commodity in question - although they have an undoubtedly important bearing in the final outcome - than of the ability of the Third World producers involved to reach a level of solidarity high enough to push the proposals through the opposition of individual countries and to maintain the joint front even in the presence of disruptive factors - such as violent fluctuations in prices, consumer retaliation, etc. The same reasoning applies with even more force to the question of cartelization or of bargaining on tariffs and on market regulation.

To what extent the dynamic of solidarity that is required to sustain the conflictive measures can itself develop into a more general dynamic of collective self-reliance is not easy to assess; but the connection between the two, again, be recognised if proposals for market regulation in the commodity field are to have any viability.

3. Whither Third World Commodity Policy? Some Concluding Remarks

The argument of this paper can now be summarized in a few sentences. A fundamental re-appraisal of commodity policy options - which is called for by the unsettled state of Third World commodity policy following the failure of attempts at organizing market intervention along the lines of UNCTAD's Integrated Programme - requires a serious exploration of the relation between commodity development and the broader strategies for social and economic development adopted by Third World countries. Policies that tend to see the commodity sector as the supplier of foreign exchange might tend to correspond to development strategies that emphasize integration in the world capitalist economy as the way of assimilating technologies, attracting capital and generating growth within a given pattern of distribution of power and wealth of a less than egalitarian character. Conversely, policies that view the commodities as a materiality having the potential to satisfy - directly or indirectly - the needs of men tend to correlate with development strategies that value self-reliance, autonomy and an egalitarian distribution of the social product. The choice between the two broad development strategies is a matter of fundamental political and ideological definitions; but once that choice is made, certain consequences - not, of course, mechanistic, but nonetheless real - follow in terms of commodity policy.

This paper has tried to explore some of these consequences. While favouring - as a matter of irreducible political and personal choice - the strategy of self-reliance, section 2.1 attempted to identify some of the very serious difficulties in the adoption and subsequent implementation of such a general strategy and its associated commodity policy. The main difficulty was detected in the structure of power in Third World societies, and the degree to which the dominant sectors perceive a self-reliance project as incompatible with the perpetuation of their social rule.

Commodity policies not requiring a fundamental re-structuring of internal power relations were then discussed in sections 2.2. and 2.3. Again, problems in the attempt at advancing in the path of processing and resource-based industrialization without effecting a decisive break with external dependence were discussed in connection with the strategy of processing for export, and its potentially (but not necessarily) dependence-intensifying impact explored briefly.
A similar review of the seemingly most "integrationist" set of policy options - those dealing with market manipulation - led to the somewhat surprising conclusion that the more meaningful among those measures required, as an inescapable pre-condition for success, a degree of solidarity among Third World commodity producers that approximates a high level of collective self-reliance. Once again, the serious problems the Third World has had in sustaining any degree of joint action in the commodities field - other than at the level of rhetoric - were seen as the major obstacle to progress in the field of the assertion of Third World market power.

Where does all this leave us in terms of commodity policy options? Basically with a series of questions, rather than with ready-made answers. But that is in the nature of critical periods. With Third World commodity policy at the crossroads, raising, hopefully, the right questions might well be more than half-way towards finding answers that help - as they should - to free the Third World from poverty, injustice and international exploitation.

FOOTNOTES

* The project is entitled A conceptual Framework for Improving the Structure of World Trade in Primary Commodities, and included several empirical studies on individual commodities of which the following are available as Occasional Papers of the Third World Forum:

Third World Countries in the International Cotton Economy, by the Egyptian Institute of National Planning (OP no. 6).

World Trade in a Primary Commodity: The Case of Jute, by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (OP no. 7).

World Trade in Natural Rubber, by the Malaysian Rubber Research and Development Board (OP no. 8).

The International Sugar Industry and the Third World, by D.H.N. Alleyne (OP no. 9).

The Structure of World Trade in Cocoa, by Tetteh A. Kofi (OP no. 10).

NB. (Copper is therefore excluded; tea is still a draft; bauxite will be available only in December.)

SEEDS OF THE EARTH

The Issues

Some Third World farmers are opting out of the Green Revolution and returning to traditional crop varieties, because the so-called greening of the Third World is not working for the poor of many countries. Moreover, the Green Revolution is only the most visible part of a much larger agricultural revolution involving farmers and consumers everywhere - the "Seed Revolution". This revolution is guided by a relatively small number of multinational agrichemical/pharmaceutical enterprises who are now moving rapidly into the seed industry. Because seed is so pivotal to the entire food system, the intervention of these international firms and their natural bias towards chemical inputs is of profound importance to the future food security of the world. The "Seed Revolution" is being aided by two key trends: the move in the Third World towards a second phase of the Green Revolution, which will leave plant breeding to the multinationals; and, an attempt in the First World to create patent-equivalent protection and market control of seeds for the same multinational interests. Both trends are heavily influenced by private enterprise.
Much more needs to be known about the "Seed Revolution". The pace of change is rapid and difficult to analyze. Right now, national governments are making policy decisions related to a revolution which they have not planned and do not really perceive. The following is a summary of our findings, offered as a basis for further discussion and study:

a) The world looks to a handful of plants for its survival. Be it wheat, maize or rice, each of the earth’s major crops has its genetic home in the Vavilov Centres of genetic diversity, located in the Third World. Although everyone draws from the germ plasm in these areas to maintain food supplies, the gene-hungry nations of the First World are especially dependent upon the Third World for their crop survival;

b) The mythology of the "population explosion" has led to the spread of "high-response" plant varieties via the Green Revolution. New varieties are replacing traditional cultivars and wild relatives in the centres of genetic diversity, wiping out sources for future plant breeding and leaving traditional farmers wholly dependent upon expensive new varieties;

c) Global companies have virtual control over the second phase of the Green Revolution, allowing them to "package" inputs of seeds and chemicals with the help of government subsidies, foreign aid and higher farm prices;

d) As a result, agrichemical firms have constructed a global distribution system and marketing strategy for their seed and chemical products, at the same time as competition from traditional crop varieties has been reduced;

e) There is a widely-held illusion that vanishing germ plasm is being safely stored in regional and global gene banks. In fact, these banks are poorly funded and have experienced disastrous equipment failures resulting in the loss of precious genetic resources. More collections are urgently required in almost every part of the world;

f) The emerging network of gene banks takes national genetic treasures from the Third World to be stored abroad. In effect, these national resources cross a technological frontier, robbing the world’s original plant breeders - subsistent farmers - of their rightful heritage, and leaving Third World governments dependent upon the First World for access to their own germ plasm. In Africa, examples already exist where nations have paid to import the immediate genetic offspring of their national resources;

g) An unknown factor in genetic conservation programmes is the extent of corporate collections. It is known that in some crops a single enterprise dominates total world germ plasm holdings;

h) Protected by restrictive varietal legislation (patents), agrichemical/pharmaceutical firms in the First World are moving aggressively to achieve variety control in major markets. Smaller seed companies are quickly disappearing. Public sector plant breeding is being virtually forced into doing basic research in areas of interest to the dominant companies;

i) Agrichemical corporations seek the development of plant varieties best able to stimulate chemical sales. The resulting bias can lead to greater crop uniformity and disease vulnerability as well as increased financial and environmental costs. The largest enterprises have created genetic research centres, cross referencing plant, animal and human chemical research;
j) Because of their involvement in several phases of the total food system, agribusiness plant breeders look to profits from several sectors. This enables them to breed seed suitable to their chemical, processing or retail interests, but not necessarily suitable to the profitability of the farmer or the nutrition of the consumer.

Conclusions

The "Seed Revolution" has been discovered - and is being debated - at a time when it can still be halted and turned around. The financial resources and technical expertise required to collect and conserve endangered germ plasm is well within the political reach of governments and agencies. Knowledgeable governments can act to protect public breeding programmes and curtail the expansion of the global seed industry into their own territory.

The key to mobilizing the political "will" required to protect the world's genetic base lies in understanding some major myths:

a) the myth that the "population explosion" threatens our food resources and makes necessary the kind of draconian development strategies evidenced by the Green Revolution;

b) the myth that the First World has the answer to increased food security through high energy-input production technologies; and,

c) the myth that agrichemical companies will bring innovation and creativity to plant breeding rather than uniformity and chemical dependence.

The creativity and genius of agriculture continues to lie where it has always been - with farming families. We do not propose a retreat to old technologies or a withdrawal of scientific expertise. but we do affirm that the long-term security of a global food supply and the basis for plant breeding programmes must rest with the viability of subsistent farmers to maintain their rural life. These families will protect our plant genetic resources better than gene banks and data centres.

This document does not so much arrive at a "watershed" time when the crises has reached a peak, as a time when the myths can be more clearly revealed. The very nature of plant breeding and the pace of government legislation will undoubtedly spread the crisis over decades. We are in the midst of the "revolution". We can still stop it and develop a way to achieve increased crop genetic diversity and greater public involvement in conservation and breeding. It is not too late. However, whereas it has taken humanity ten thousand years to bring our food supply to its present state, we could do irreparable damage within the next decade.

(This is the summary, pp. 101-103, of P.R. Mooney, Seeds of the Earth, A private or public resource? (International Coalition for Development Action, Bedford Chambers, Covent Garden, London W.C.2, United Kingdom).
Abstract: The general principles of law and the potential of international law are explored in terms of another development. Sovereignty of needs is described as a new right flowing from the ancient principle of the general right of association. Its potential for consumers and producers is demonstrated in terms of local as well as national action against injustice and exploitation. At the international level, Third World countries could make use of the law in the face of injustice inflicted by industrialized countries. They could demand restoration, breach of contract by frustration, and develop related legitimate instruments to reverse unjust enrichment.

LA SOVEREIGNETÉ DES BESOINS, LE RENVERSEMENT DE L'ENRICHISSEMENT INJUSTE: THÉORIES VERS UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT

Résumé: Les principaux généraux de la loi et le potentiel du droit international sont envisagés sous l'angle d'un autre développement. La souveraineté des besoins est décrite comme un droit nouveau dérivé du principe ancien du droit d'association. Son potentiel pour les consommateurs et les producteurs est démontré en termes d'action locale et nationale contre l'injustice et l'exploitation. Au plan international, les pays du Tiers Monde pourraient utiliser le droit contre l'injustice causée par les pays industrialisés. Ils pourraient demander des compensations, la rupture de contrats et développer des instruments légaux pour renverser l'enrichissement injuste.

LA SOBERANÍA DE NECESIDADES, LA RESTITUCIÓN POR ENRIQUECIMIENTO INJUSTO: TEORÍAS HACÍA OTRO DESARROLLO

Resumen: Los principios generales del derecho y el potencial del derecho internacional se exploran en cuanto a otro desarrollo. La soberanía de necesidades se describe como un nuevo derecho que tiene su origen en el principio antiguo del derecho general de asociación. Su potencial para consumidores y productores se demuestra en condiciones de iniciativas locales tanto como nacionales en contra de la injusticia y la explotación. A niveles internacionales, los países del Tercer Mundo podrían utilizar la ley frente a injusticias causadas por los países industrializados. Podrían exigir restitución, incumplimiento de contratos por frustración, y desarrollar instrumentos legítimos para la restitución del enriquecimiento injusto.
SOVEREIGNTY OF NEEDS, REVERSAL OF UNJUST ENRICHMENT:
THEMES TOWARD ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

Needs and Justice

Briefly, my proposal for what could become a UN strategy for the 1980s and beyond would be to use the joint decision-making of producers and consumers as the driving force for development in both industrialized and Third World countries and in the New International Economic Order. While it is true that the organization of associations of producers has long been a part of political theory and practice, the idea of such associations entering into contractual arrangements with associations of users has not received the attention and practical application it deserves. My recommendations will therefore emphasize this aspect.

Viewed closely, this proposition implies in political terms that the people will exercise their sovereignty in two different capacities and two complementary social functions: that of the worker and that of the user or consumer. It also implies a shift away from indirect democracy by representation to democracy by direct participation in numerous aspects including, of course, the process of orienting and planning the production and distribution of goods and services. Only then can needs be dominant. Decisions by producers alone or by bureaucratic socialism cannot end alienation and manipulation of needs. Alienation is faced by the user as well as by the worker. To end it there must be joint control by people as consumers and as workers.

The exercise of this proposition together with the exercise of the right to work, duly amplified to include a voice in the adoption of decisions concerning the enterprise, must be supported at every level by a general juridical principle which declares enrichment at another's expense unjust and unlawful and, as a corollary, that enrichment by this means is to be abstained from or due restitution made.

Objections may also be made to the view which is defended here that it is not necessary to bring about social mutation, to invoke the idea of justice, which is implicit in the very name of the principle we are considering when it is designated as the "theory of unjust enrichment".

On the contrary, it is essential particularly because the mere reference to justice invests the law with its critical and challenging qualities which are equivalent to political effectiveness. What leads people to aspire to far-reaching changes in the established pattern of social organization is not, in the last analysis, the poverty they endure - in the sense of the want of goods - as a result of that pattern of organization. They would put up with their sufferings without rebelling, even quite passively, so long as those sufferings are made to seem the result of acts of God or natural facts, in

* The author expresses his thanks to Professor Reginald H. Green for his cooperation and editorial suggestions.
other words, so long as they are presented as governed by natural or superna-

tural laws to which submission is the only course. It is only the conviction that they are the victims of a historical injustice, which is therefore historically reparable, that will lead them to experience an awakening of consciousness and, ultimately, to a radical change in the status quo. This is why theoretical writings and manifestos have an extremely important part to play as agents of major social change.

In fact, justice is not merely an "idea" - however one understands this latter word; it is, above all, a fundamental human need.

Beside the international community (a term which usually includes only government representatives and officials of the United Nations and other related bodies) world public opinion, that is the public opinion of all countries, must be kept informed of these two principles - the sovereignty of needs and the reversal of unjust enrichment - and of actual struggles and negotiations to enforce them so that the peoples themselves will put pressure on their governments to promote their own interests and those of other peoples. In this way it is possible once more to create an international solidarity of workers and consumers which will take the form of concrete action. It is possible, in fact, that mankind itself may be able to decide by consensus on its historical destiny.

Toward the Sovereignty of Needs

Without discussing yet the problems connected with the internationalization of the class struggle and the consequent existence of a dispossessed Third World, emphasis must be laid on the path to be taken and the principles to be observed in order to put an end to profit-making by the capitalist system at the national level. The first requirement is to bring about social change so as to complete the work left undone by the liberal revolutions, by extending the sovereignty of the people into the realm of "economic affairs". However, in this domain exploitation exists as much in production as in distribution, in the purchase of labour-power as much as in the sale of all that is produced by labour-power. It will be necessary not only to strengthen the organization of the workers in trade unions but to complement that form of organization by uniting users and consumers in associations that reflect their interests.

The combination of these two forces could offer society a way of transforming itself. When this transformation has taken place, the same two forces may become the agents through which society intervenes more extensively in its own affairs. Through negotiation and agreements between the workers' associations and those of consumers and users, it will be possible to regulate from within society itself the main processes involved in the production and distribution of goods and services. This will imply the extension of popular sovereignty to the areas of social life which are regarded as economic rather than political.

The conversion of the user into an agent for social change makes it possible to give trade union struggles their true historical dimension, by removing a limiting feature of theirs, which is their concern only with the interests immediately at stake. It also introduces true rationality into social and political struggles by restoring the relationship between the means and the end, that is between labour and the satisfaction of needs. It makes possible the culminating phase of socialist organization-distribution according to needs - to begin, if only in an inchoate form.
But users must apply other techniques for social action than those suitable for workers: the formation of neighbourhood consumer associations in federations with others like them to enhance their impact; boycott of certain business or products, and concentration of purchase in others; systematic and concerted withholding or unilateral reduction of rents and charges for certain services; the declaration of a moratorium on certain debts; renegotiation with entrepreneurs, carried out with the workers of the enterprise to reduce the function of those entrepreneurs from that of owners to that of administrators, within a system of successive delegations of power subject to the constant control of the social base. The local neighbourhood can obviously be only a point of departure. Several such neighbourhoods acting together constitute a city; just as many cities, together with the adjacent rural areas, make up the rational organization of the territory of a nation. Nations have the dual capacity which we have previously recognized in individuals: on the one hand, they are producers in respect of foreign nations; on the other hand, they are users.

Moreover, as each worker is necessarily a user or consumer as well, the two parties to the dialogue are, in actual fact, the same persons in two different roles. The dialogue will transcend the economic level and be transformed into a significant cultural innovation - the achievement of self-awareness by each individual in relation to society, and the view taken by society as a whole of itself.

In order to put the proposed strategy into effect, it is necessary to promote the recognition and exercise of a new right, which has not been explicitly enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or in the Covenants which supplement it, although it forms part of the general right of association. This new right may be expressed as follows: "Anyone who succeeds in having one of his own needs accepted by others as a communal need shall have the right to take joint action with them to obtain the satisfaction of any such need, and to participate - also in conjunction with them and in concert with persons working in the respective enterprises - in the promotion, organization, management and orientation of the production and distribution processes specifically intended to satisfy the need in question. From the point of view of entitlement, this is the most general of the human rights; everyone is entitled to it, since living is, first and foremost, needing - needing things, energy, relations with others, services, affection and company. Nevertheless, the needs involved in the exercise of this right, as seen from the provisional definition given above, should be considered as more or less general and social in nature.

Certain approaches apparently similar to the one sketched above are either inherently contradictory or integrally inadequate. These include "consumerism", direct production of use values, the cooperative movement, and bureaucratic socialism.

The movement known as "consumerism", such as that promoted by Ralph Nader in the United States suffers from the lack of a global vision of society, and, in particular, the lack of will to make systematic historical changes. It does not go beyond the level of the purchase by the basic consumer, the price paid by him in the market, the good or bad quality of the merchandise, etc. Above all, being peripheral and marginal, it cannot aspire to the one thing which could make it politically effective: dialogue and negotiation with the workers, and eventually, its coordination with their activities. The widespread trend towards granting statutory, administrative or judicial protection to consumers, starts by accepting precisely the situation which needs to be changed - a
situation in which the consumer lacks those conditions which are necessary if he is to impose his rights and ensure that they are respected, by re-arranging and directing the processes of production and distribution towards the satisfaction of his needs.

There has recently been a tendency to promote or strengthen the formation of a sector of production which would be added to that involved in the generation of exchange values, whether these are distributed by the market or by the State. This sector would be intended to make use values directly available to families or local neighbourhoods. Unfortunately, this form of self-help production cannot be expected to meet the basic needs of the population. Further it is marginal - it does not seek to end alienated production and consumption but to set up a new non-alienated sector parallel to it.

One cannot overlook the theoretical and practical importance in the past and present of the cooperative movement. In the capitalist countries it has performed a dual function partially off-setting the effects of exploitation while at the same time serving as a screen or alibi for it. It proposes, simultaneously, two patterns of organization which are contradictory: the production cooperative and the consumer cooperative, without deciding whether the process of the production and distribution of goods and services should, in the long run and as a whole, be managed by the producers or the consumers.

This contradiction can be overcome if the productive stage, for which the first arrangement would be used, can be separated from the phase of distribution, to which the second would be applied. But in that case, either production would take place without regard to needs, or some means would have to be found for the producers and users of each enterprise to come together and reach a negotiated agreement. It is the latter point which is peculiar to the project advanced in this study. It is alien to the cooperative tradition. It is also subject to the reproach made about community-based self-help production which we have considered above: the fact that, in relation to the dominant present forms of production and distribution, it is marginal and dependent.

There is no truth in the statement that plans drawn up by specialized organs of the State in the socialist countries are a satisfactory substitute for the capitalist market. Either the plan is as much a market as the market itself as an allocator of goals, or there is no real capitalist market to replace as an arena of consumer control or producer competition. In actual fact, the State plan, as the provider of resources and the allocator of tasks and functions, creates a situation which constrains most people to sell their labour-power on the conditions laid down in the plan and to use and consume whatever is decided by it at the price it specifies. The power to draw up the plan consequently confers the prerogative to buy the labour-power of others and to benefit from the use made of that labour-power and the distribution of goods and services on the terms laid down in the plan itself, which the users and consumers have had little say in determining. Through the price fixed for each good and service, users and consumers must pay for maintaining the State apparatus and thus the salaries of public officials on the basis of calculations that have been made by those same officials.

It may well be asked how progress is to be made towards sovereignty of needs in the countries that consider themselves to be socialist and marxist but which in practice depend on centralized and authoritarian State planning or have a limited system of self-management in which the workers have decision-making powers only with respect to the management of enterprises. It should
be easier if it were not for the ideological inflexibility from which they suffer. All the works of Marx advocate the replacement of production for profit by production for use, and it is undoubtedly the users themselves who are both entitled and best equipped to define the use they wish to make of what is produced and to chart the course the production process should take. Marx makes the distinction in his Critique of the Gotha Programme between the two successive stages by which socialism is established. The first stage, which is provisional and still bears the stigma of the old order from which it sprang, is characterized by a pattern of distribution in accordance with the work done, while for the second and definitive stage, when socialism is fully established, Marx adopts the formula which has its roots in Saint Simon's school of thought: "to each according to his needs". Until these needs have been defined by mutual agreement of all those who feel them, and until all the users have been given the necessary legal powers to enable them to orient the production process towards the satisfaction of their needs, or, to look at this from the opposite side, so long as some others, call them capitalists, State-planners or workers participating in the management of their enterprise, undertake this work of definition and policy-making, the reification of the human being, in the sense in which Marx employs this term, will continue to exist.

In contradiction to the solutions that have been briefly sketched above, the socialism of genuine self-management, for which a plea is made here, transfers decision-making power with respect to what has to be produced and supplied to an agreement or contract that is the fruit of negotiation between the consumers or users on the one hand, and the workers on the other. Those consumers and users express their needs and priorities in socially concerted terms, that is, after individual preferences have been filtered out. Through this approximation to the collective will, the wishes of each individual are raised to a first degree of rationality. But complete rationality is attainable only when desires, aspirations and preferences encounter the inevitable constraints of what is possible and attainable, of what can be done in a given situation in the light of existing resources, the degree of technological development achieved and the abilities and skills that really exist. Those who are knowledgeable on these matters are the persons who have learnt from experience what the land and the mine will yield, who handle the machines and use the production tools, in other words, the workers themselves including in this concept technicians, specialists and professionals. What is envisaged therefore is a species of dialogue between what might be termed the principle of desire and the principle of reality. Each of these principles has a specific spokesman to represent it in the decision-making of society: the user and consumer for the first and the worker for the second. Maximum rationality in decision-making will be achieved when, through the social interaction of these two contrasting principles, what is desired is moulded by the constraints of what is attainable and this, in its turn, endeavours to develop its potentialities until it can be equated with what is desired. The mutual improvement that is made possible by this dialogue is a twofold educational process: the consumers and users, by identifying themselves with difficulties and limitations brought to the fore by the workers, learn to seek more rational goals, while the workers, who must respond to the demands made upon them by the consumers and users, become conscious of the relationship between the activities of the enterprise in which they are employed and the ends it serves and are thus able to harmonize those activities with the growth of human needs.

What is the nature of the society which is the goal of this progress? In it the consumers would form associations to manage the enterprises, by agreement with the workers employed in them, in such a way as to receive the goods and
services they really need. These enterprises, however, are also users of other enterprises, for example wholesale distributors, and various industries which in turn rely on heavy industry or mining, and so on. The sovereignty of the users would thus extend to the entire economic process, directly or by representation, requiring that agreement be reached with the workers involved in each enterprise or service. In this way, that sovereignty could pass through the health services to reach the pharmaceutical industry, and, from there, to certain chemical industries; through the educational centres it could extend to the local libraries and bookshops, then to the publishing industry and from there to the production of paper, etc.

Besides this functional progression through various enterprises, from users to suppliers, it is essential to promote a territorial expansion also: from the neighbourhood to the community, to the province, to the region, and then to the nation or the geographic-economic zone in which it is situated, etc. In either case the point of departure is the neighbourhood, based not merely on a community of economic interests but also on personal, emotional and cultural ties inherent in the notion of neighbourhood itself, especially in the working-class districts, where these ties are often closer than family relations. The dual step-by-step progression which has its point of departure in the neighbourhood tends to organize and structure the people by means of the solidarity which the various steps on each of these scales can provide each other, at different levels and in keeping with whatever modalities are rendered advisable by practical experience, so that the sovereignty ascribed to the people in the legal texts may come to be exercised effectively and through popular participation.

The course of events in Chile, especially during the presidency of Salvador Allende, is instructive in this respect. For several decades, up to the end of the democratic régime in 1973, a policy of protecting the user was followed in Chile. This is evidenced by the legislation to protect the tenants of rented property, and the establishment in the 1930s of the Office of the Commissioner for Prices, whose functions were subsequently taken over by the Directorate of Industry and Trade (DIRINCO). It was soon discovered that, for this policy to be really effective, it had to be supported by action on the part of the community itself. In mid-1971, during the Housewives' Assembly held in Santiago, the Minister of Economic Affairs proposed that Supply and Price Control Boards (JAPs) be set up. These Boards were organized and spread rapidly, and later served as a means of defense against the anti-government strike of truck drivers, tradesmen and professionals in October 1972. By the beginning of 1973, 54.4 per cent of the housewives of Santiago were buying their food in or through the JAPs. A survey reported that the majority of the people were in favour of them and wanted them to remain in force ("Las JAPs rompen el empate", in Chile Hoy 33, week of 26 January to 1 February 1973, p.9). In a meeting on popular power, which was held in August 1973, proposals were made to give the JAPs the power of fining rebellious tradesmen and even of confiscating their stock ("Foro sobre poder popular", in Chile Hoy 61, week of 10 to 16 August 1973, pp.19 et seq.). The same course of events was observable in the health field, with the establishment of the Neighbourhood Health Councils. (Michel Raptis, Quel Socialisme au Chili? (Paris, Anthropos, 1973) pp.129-145, describes the JAPs, and on pp.85-91 the management of services by their users, in detail).

This social model does not claim the merit of avoiding conflicts. These are inevitable. The intention in elaborating this model has not been to suggest
ways of making the diverse and heterogeneous become uniform, but rather to stress the radical "otherness" of human beings, even at the risk of promoting or even aggravating conflicts. It is intended that such conflicts shall be brought out into the open, resolved and possibly eliminated through numerous institutions. In this way, it is possible to avoid the undercurrents of rancour which, failing to find some way to express themselves, then burst out in the form of irrational attacks, revolts, repressive acts, civil or international wars, etc. This study, in other words, is designed to assign to conflictive tension its proper role, as the basis of a peace which is the hard-won conquest of mutual respect.

The human right to form associations of users to steer the process of production and distribution toward the satisfaction of their needs will certainly acquire great importance in the new international law. This right is, of course, already being exercised by the industrialized countries when they confront the dependent countries from which they get the raw materials they need for their industries. The counterpart, however, is lacking: that is, the dependent countries need to associate among themselves not only as producers - the most powerful case of which is, of course, OPEC since 1973 - but at the same time as users and consumers of what the industrialized countries produce.

Each dependent national entity must conduct an analysis which will enable it to reply to these questions: what are my needs, on the basis of a rational development plan? What are my productive capacities? With what I produce, to what extent can I satisfy my needs, as determined by that criterion? A certain proportion of needs could, of course, not be met by domestic production, with the consequent need for imports: it is also probable that some amount of production be exported. The important thing, if the aim is to achieve a certain level of initial self-reliance, is above all to ensure that whatever can be produced is used on the basis of a priority given to domestic needs. As for the balance (imports and exports) a distinct preference should be given to neighbouring countries with a view to forming blocks of such countries. This is what has been called the South-South relationship.

A political criterion, which will bring economic advantages only over the long term, must prevail over the desire for immediate profit. Each regional unit thus formed - the Andean Pact, the Central American Common Market - is an outline of what is intended; each one of the blocks which may be formed must carry out the analyses that are required to reply to the questions which have already been formulated in order to achieve relative collective self-reliance. Then, and only then, would these countries have greater negotiating power in their dealings with the industrialized countries. The proposal which could be put by the South groups could be as follows: If you allow our exportable manufactures or semi-manufactures - current and future - to have access to your domestic markets (to the advantage of your own consumers since our costs would then be lower) we would allow your products to enter our markets in order to satisfy the considerably increased needs of our population, including our planned development needs (to the advantage of your own producers).

Reversing Unjust Enrichment

When the nations of the dependent world, or the periphery, manage to break out of the compartmentalization imposed on them by the metropolitan centres, when they conduct an effective dialogue and negotiations among themselves, they will
in turn prove capable of harmonizing their policies in order to negotiate jointly and as powerful blocks with those centres, demanding prices for the products needed by those centres which bear some relationship to what they regard as their rationally defined import needs. The principle that unjust enrichment must be avoided or restitution made can be turned into a powerful weapon which can rescue the sovereignty of individuals and of the groups, peoples or nations which they form. The very fact that this principle is enshrined in much positive legislation, and that it is, in any case, applied by the courts of all nations when dealing with relations between the powerful, makes it particularly well suited to the needs of those suffering from the greatest form of impoverishment: that of having their conduct reduced to the status of an object owned by someone else. Since the general principles of law are one of the recognized sources of international law, the principle of imposing the obligation to avoid or make restitution for unjust enrichment can and must be raised to the category of a concept governing the new international relations which need to be established.

It is useful to stress the antiquity of this principle, which existing legal systems and jurisprudence have inherited from Roman law in uninterrupted succession, and the fact that it is recognized throughout the world. What is important today is to ensure that it is effectively enforced.

A case in point is the noteworthy theoretical development with regard to what may be considered as "causes" (in the sense in which Italian and French authors use this term, meaning by it the titles) that are thought to justify the maintenance of enrichment obtained at another's expense - and which consequently prevent its restitution - and in a more general fashion with the theory of contracts.

It would not be appropriate to go into legal technicalities here. Suffice it to say that in most nations there is a tendency to extend the possibility of a discharge founded on the harm or frustration sustained by one of the parties and to attach a measure of importance to the idea that every contract should tacitly contain the rebus sic standibus clause, ending by admitting that the unjust consequences of the contract, such as the excessive enrichment of one party at the expense of the other, are a presumption of its invalidity and allow for the restoration, by one means or another, of the contributions rendered. The notion of a "cause" that justifies enrichment - which is derived from the very name used in some countries to designate this principle as the "theory of causeless enrichment" - lessens its scope and importance as a result.

It is not enough, however, to make use of remedies or rules that already exist and are in force. It will be desirable and necessary to make imaginative and constructive innovations, and to pass from one juridical level to another in order to ensure that the terms of the principles are fulfilled, even if this requires the disruption of the established system of property and the abolition of certain acquired rights.

The juridical principle which requires unjust enrichment to be avoided or restituted would not be a suitable instrument for amending the current practices with regard to the national and international distribution of resources, if they are considered solely from the patrimonial or economic point of view. In almost every country the jurisprudence has extended the concept of injury from the purely economic domain to non-monetary realms, thus giving rise to the concept of moral injury.
A similar analogy should be made, not only with respect to the damage imputable to the action of another party, but to such action when there is a benefit involved. That is, in cases of unjust enrichment. In these cases, impoverishment, and its corollary enrichment, must therefore be considered not only from the economic standpoint but also in terms of a more intangible quality which may be defined as well-being, or on the contrary malaise.

Something has already been done in this direction, notably in the field of the supply of labour at the national level in the industrialized countries. Its main driving force has been the activities of the labour unions. As it was pointed out before, their efforts need to be broadened and in particular coordinated with similar and parallel efforts of the users and consumers of the same enterprises. In addition, these principles must be applied internationally, so that the sovereignty of the peoples will cease to be a mere fictitious juris, and will become a reality, rectifying the unequal terms of trade and the unjust international division of labour imposed by the industrialized and imperialist countries.

In short, for the reasons already given, it may sometimes be possible to take advantage of the laws in force in a class society for the benefit of the least privileged class in it in order to lighten their exploitation or even to bring about the disappearance of the class system. This is also true in respect to the international law.

What has been said might perhaps be described as mere "reformism", a label which could destroy its credibility in the eyes of revolutionary elements. It is therefore critical to try to put the question in a clearer light.

Social mutation may take place either in the gradual fashion that is typical of the process of "reform" or in the abrupt and generalized fashion that may truly be termed a "revolution". These terms are not mutually exclusive; what begins as a reform may end as a revolution, or a revolution may require a series of reforms to continue and to complete it before it can be truly effective. To describe social mutation as reformist or revolutionary is thus a question of degree and judgement. In any case, it is necessary to point out in order to avoid the dangers of "dogmatization" on the ways in which social change can best be achieved - that what gives the term "revolution" its true sense is not the violence of the means employed, and still less the mobilization of armed and vociferating crowds, but the tempo, the extent and the profundity of the legal exercise that is involved.

It is evident in any case that, at the historico-world level, the impoverishment of the large majority of people in connexion with the enrichment of a privileged minority at their expense is a challenge to the conditions in which the process of production and distribution takes place and justifies a social mutation which finally abolishes the titles of ownership invoked by the beneficiaries of those conditions.

So far the use which the dependent countries have made of international law has largely been confined to those two sources of such law - custom and treaties which are least well suited to their purpose. Custom, being a concrete expression in the form of general norms of past conduct, cannot be favourable to the demands of those countries since by its very nature it is conservative
and tends to keep the status quo. The truth of this observations becomes evident if one considers that the past conduct of States has been based on power and exploitation and is unlikely to contain precedents favourable to the weak and the exploited. The same is true of most treaties already concluded. As far as concerns those which may yet be concluded, their terms will depend on the negotiating power of the parties. Negotiations take place between powerful countries and others which depend on them or whose governments are generated by them. Mere equality between States which are supposed to be "sovereign" cannot mask the actual inequality of the potential parties to an international treaty as they meet head-on over the negotiating table: they are unequal in terms of power, their technical capacity for information, and also their ability to make reasonably accurate long-term forecasts. It is therefore not surprising that, in the circumstances, pessimism prevails as to the chances of setting up a new international economic order (NIEO) by such means.

The sources of international law are mentioned in Article 38 of the Statutes of the International Court of Justice, which is an integral part of the United Nations Charter, under Article 92 of that Charter. The text mentions, in this order: a) international conventions; b) international custom; c) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; d) judicial decisions for the case in question and with regard to the contending parties, and the opinion of the most highly qualified authors from the various nations, as an auxiliary means of determining the rules of law.

The problem has been raised as to whether this text provides only a list or whether it establishes the priority of the sources, in keeping with the order in which they are mentioned. Doctrine has tended to favour the first of these solutions, so that a treaty or a custom could be amended or completed with reference to a general principle of law. This is confirmed when one considers that the value ascribed in the first place to conventions derives precisely from that general principle of law which is expressed in the formula pacta sunt servanda (treaties must be honored).

These general principles of law, as expressed in texts or jurisprudence for more than two thousand years, happen to include the principle whereby unjust enrichment obtained at the expense of others must be avoided or restitution made. The validity of this principle has been explicitly recognized in international jurisprudence. It would be, at the very least uncomfortable, for a powerful nation which aspires to enjoy prestige in the eyes of others, to refuse to apply in its relations or conflicts with weaker and dependent nations a principle enshrined in its own domestic law and regularly applied by its own courts.

It is true that this principle could, in some cases, harm interests which appear to be acquired rights, in other words whose legitimacy derives from previous treaties or property titles. However, respect for acquired rights must yield to the idea of justice and to the principle whereby, in any case, the acquisition and the exercise of such rights must be marked by good faith. It seems difficult to reconcile this good faith which the permanent, mounting and proven enrichment which the powerful nations obtain in their dealings with dependent nations and at the expense of those nations.

The reservations in respect of a contract which benefits one of the parties to the detriment of the other which have already been mentioned, in particular that which consists of the tacit clause rebus sic stantibus (to restore the initial position) must also be applied in international law. It is true that
this clause - or the corresponding breach by frustration - has been recognized with hesitation by some national courts. Yet such hesitation has ceased whenever a community or social interest has been at stake. There is all the more reason to recognize it when what is at stake is the very life of a nation and its development.

In the application of this legal principle one should not concentrate exclusively on the recovery of natural resources, i.e. the nationalization of foreign investment in tangible, clearly definable or material things. On the contrary, it is essential to regard as the sole object of one's demands that series of successive phenomena which take the form of unequal terms of trade (including what is known as "invisibles": freight, insurance, commissions, etc.), in the transfer of technology, in the "brain drain". In the last analysis all of this constitutes a breach of the sovereignty of the nation or people which is on the losing side in such processes.

Injustice and the absence of good faith are here all the more powerful in that the industrialized countries apply a protectionist policy (through tariffs, import quotas and other measures) to manufactures or semi-manufactures from the dependent countries which might compete with those of their own industries, while on the other hand imposing on these countries, directly or indirectly, a policy of absolute free trade, thus compelling them to receive what they produce and to dismantle their nascent industries.

In order to give full effect in international law to the legal principle that unjust enrichment obtained at the expense of others is unlawful it is important to emphasize: a) its very long history and the fact that it has been recognized by the law of all nations; b) the international jurisprudence which has applied it; c) the provisions or resolutions which enshrine it in international law in a more or less explicit manner, or, in some cases, only implicitly; d) the neutral nature of the principle which, depending on circumstances, may operate as a regulator of investments, international trade, etc. for the benefit of either of the investing countries or of the host countries; e) the limitation implied by the consistent application of the principle for the continuation of acquired rights, etc. A similar procedure can be followed in respect of the cancellation of debts by means of compensation in international law. It is also possible to complete a body of jurisprudence on such institutions by means of test cases brought by a single country, in a carefully chosen situation, before the International Court of Justice. The process could culminate in the adoption of declarations on the matter by the United Nations General Assembly. A declaration can and must be passed by that Assembly recommending the amendment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the related Covenants so as to include the right to set up, both nationally and internationally, associations of users and consumers, with well defined and precise powers, to express and realise the sovereignty of needs. Lastly, it is very important that the present system of industrial property should be revised, as demanded by the Group of 77, and that a time-limit not exceeding the lifetime of the inventor should be set for the duration of industrial property rights. On this point it is necessary to stress that such rights are usually beneficial not to the inventor himself, but to powerful companies which have used his services or bought his rights from him.

NB: Two annexes (in Spanish and in English) examining these themes in detail are available from IFDA on request.
SELECTIVE NORTH-SOUTH APPROACHES: A ROOM FOR MINI-NIEO?

by Helge Hveem

We assume that it is of some importance to the continued NIEO negotiations and the North-South dialogue that the Scandinavian countries, preferably with the support of other likeminded countries, maintain their relative pro-NIEO line. We also assume that although current trends point to the opposite, there is still enough support for such a line in Scandinavia that a discussion of alternatives of action is feasible. Finally, we postulate that new ways of breaking the deadlock of NIEO negotiations must be discussed and considered seriously. In this final chapter, we will point to some possible ways in that respect.

As we noted above, it has been a key principle in the policy of the Scandinavians and of the likeminded group to stick to multilateral solutions in implementing the NIEO. The caucusing that has taken place e.g. within the Group B and OECD, has only occurred - and deliberately so - at the level of discussions of principles and voting at this level. In some circles, the idea of implementing parts of the NIEO package on a selective basis has been discussed. A few high-ranking Scandinavian politicians have taken part in these circles informally. Through new channels such as the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) and established ones such as the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, they have met with official and semi-official representatives of Third World countries.

Building on these deliberations and on our own preliminary ideas (Hveem, 1977), we may suggest three different schemes, each of which could be implemented on a one-sector or a multi-sector basis:

1. a strictly bilateral arrangement between one Scandinavian country and one or a few Third World countries.
2. an arrangement between one Scandinavian country and all Third World countries, and
3. an arrangement that includes several Scandinavian and/or likeminded countries and several or all Third World countries.

The purpose of alternative 1 would be to present a model or an initiative that might act as a trigger to other industrialized countries. The alternative obviously presents a number of political and other difficulties: it may smack of paternalism, it is unacceptably selective to other Third World countries and it may break too much with internationally accepted non-discrimination principles.

International Peace Research Institute, Oslo. The following pages are excerpted from a paper prepared for the UNITAR/CEESTM project “Progress in the Establishment of a NIEO”, to be published in Errin Laszlo & Joel Kurtman (eds), Europe and the NIEO (Oxford: Pergaman Press, 1979)
Alternative 2 would be less subject to such criticism, but only from the point of view of the Third World countries. To the extent it contains concessionary elements which affect the international position of industry in the Scandinavian country negatively, industry would oppose the scheme for reasons given above. If it contains elements which favour the country vis-a-vis other industrialized countries, these countries will oppose it with reference to the non-discrimination clause.

Both these alternatives nevertheless find precedents in e.g. the field of development aid, the Lomé convention, the GSP system etc. One might, for instance, extend the present ODA programme to cover fields other than technical and financial assistance. To the extent ODA is linked to trade, investment and other issues, this is de facto taking place. It seems quite possible to finance higher prices for raw materials imports by appropriating a share of funds which would otherwise go to ODA, for that purpose. In other words, the difference between capital's expectations for fair profitability competitiveness in comparison with foreign competitors and Third World countries' expectations of price and other concessions could be covered by state intervention.

This suggestion, which is no news to either capital or government, invites a number of questions on criteria for what sort of agreement is just to the Third World country and remunerative to the industrialized one or its agent. Such questions would have to be answered through negotiations. Even tentative answers to them would be beyond the scope of this contribution, but we would like to insist that they can be solved if the necessary political will is there.

The third alternative is the preferred one among the three. It comes closer than the other in meeting the principle of universalism. It builds on the premise, questionable though as it is, that a grouping like the likeminded countries possess greater political will to move to the stage of implementation than do other industrialized countries. It also reduces somewhat the fear of capital and labour that the particular country from which they operate will have to shoulder new burdens that put them in a disadvantageous position. To Third World countries, finally, it is the most interesting alternative since it involves several industrialized countries.

NIEO has got a firm backing formally and legally. The Lomé convention also is a precedent for a scheme of the type envisaged here. The barriers to a mini-NIEO along the lines suggested in alternative 3 therefore should by no means be insurmountable. In other words, they are mostly of a political nature - which in fact does not make them easy to pass.

The practical implications of the scheme and its concrete content would be a matter of negotiation. We suggest, however, that an important means to break the present deadlock over NIEO would be for the Scandinavian countries to initiate discussions of such a scheme. If it were to be selective in the sense that only a few of the Third World countries were to take part, it might be politically difficult to make the selection. The countries with which the Scandinavian governments mostly deal through their ODA programmes would probably be a natural first choice. Many of them meet the two principles of selection which both Norway and Sweden employ - that the recipient is among the (least developed or) poorest countries, and that there is a political will to carry out a socially
responsible development policy at home. Given the limited size and resources of the Scandinavian countries, or of the core of 6-7 likeminded countries if some non-Scandinavian countries could be added to the scheme, a selective, not a universal approach seems warranted. It would not mean a decisive step forward in its practical, concrete results in the short term. It may however, set the pace in making it politically difficult for other OECD countries not to follow suit.

As it was put as late as early 1978:

The challenge in front of us now is to translate this understanding (of the mutual dependence of developed and developing countries) into a framework of mutual commitments and obligations. (Stoltenberg, 1979).

A mini-NIEO.

We suggest that Sweden and Norway take the initiative to discuss and later implement a selective scheme with four to five other industrialized countries—the Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium from EC and Finland and possibly Austria from outside. No final list of Third World countries to be invited to join can be made at this point. But considering the criteria that were set out above, we would suggest that Tanzania, Algeria, Sri Lanka, Jamaica and Nicaragua were among the invited countries.

As a starting basis, restructuring and ODA could be chosen. These are areas were some initiatives have already been taken, where other groupings (EC) do not yet pose a serious obstacle to action and where some minimum unity of policy has been achieved. Clearly, the Belgian adjustment policy is not the same as that contemplated by Norway; on the other hand, it is not far from the Dutch (Tharakan and others, 1978). On the basis of experiences in these areas, some scheme for

- coordination of industrialization policy, policy on development aid and on technology (science and technology for development) could be worked out (parallel legislation).

Assuming that this could be done among the six-seven industrialized countries in the first place and then modified by the invited Third World countries, a scheme for applying the agreed principles, along the lines set down in the multilateral NIEO negotiations that have taken place, will be worked out. This would take the form of a

- comprehensive development cooperation programme.

Such a programme could be implemented on a multi-bi or a bilateral basis, the former implying that several countries (or all) on both "sides" jointly applied it, the latter implying that it was applied in country-to-country projects where only two countries take part. Nordic governments already carry out joint projects of technical and financial assistance in Third World countries. Hence, the former alternative is not unthinkable, although the latter normally will be preferred.

In such a programme, not only new development concepts and thinking but even new channels and ways of cooperation should be explored. One example is the
technology field. Existing R&D as well as productive facilities should be explored with a view to tap their development assistance potential. The idea would be to enter into work that secures employment in the industrialized countries while at the same time - and this is the primary goal - it creates new creative and productive capacities in Third World countries. By playing deliberately on small and medium-size firms which are not internationalized but which have a potential for development assistance that is so far untapped (because mainly it has not been marketed), such a programme might also help reducing the strong position of TNCs in the North-South system.

In the other issue areas that were selected for special analysis, coordination would seem to be more difficult. Market access and natural resources are community responsibility in the case of the EC countries. And while it may be possible to agree on trying out small and medium-sized firms in transfer of resources schemes, it will be difficult to get the Netherlands and Sweden to reduce sizeably the position of their big TNCs not to speak of regulating them. They are bound to continue to play a dominant role in Nort-South relations, given the present character of the Northern economies and of these relations. The question is whether the likeminded countries may be able to initiate new forms of TNC presence in the South that tap the best out of their performance, control their profit and market strategies so as to balance these strategies against the needs of the people of the South for basic needs satisfaction, self-reliance and thus development.

One may in this connection think of reorganizing direct investments by like-minded country TNCs into "fade out" joint enterprises, an idea that has been taken up in the Andean Pact. Also, likeminded country TNCs should be asked to enter into social contracts with workers in Third World countries on the lines suggested inter alia by Swedish labour (social clause). This might take the form of the likeminded governments agreeing on a "code of conduct" for the operations of their private sectors in the South. With no economic incentives attached, such a code could hardly become more binding and hence operative than the one introduced in the OECD. But the possibility could and should be explored.

Besides secure jobs, labour in the North wants secure supplies of vital input to production - a concern they share with capital - and as consumers they want secure supplies of vital consumer goods. One possible way of implementing the intentions of the IPC, especially as it was set out before and during UNCTAD IV, is to enter into long-term supply and price agreements for raw materials and food commodities. By tying such agreements explicitly to the Second Window content of the IPC and providing financial and technical assistance to diversification and industrialization projects in Third World countries, they would get a clearer orientation to development goals and the NIEO.

It is important to stress that the total impact of such a programme should be first of all beneficial to Third World countries, but that it would also in all probability not carry a strong negative impact on the participating industrialized countries. In economic terms, such a programme would most probably mean by any comparison as much to the economic viability of the Northern economies as would the process of automation (micro-processors) and adjustment due to inter-OECD competition.
The issue, in final analysis, is a political one and one of getting the information through. So far, the political will to implement NIEO is not strong enough. And the information about its effects - negative as well as positive - is not penetrating the community of workers and consumers. The social and political processes at work in the Industrialized societies must take new directions before the will, and presumably before the will is created - the information - is present and accepted. The success or failure of the NIEO - if one may speak in such terms - may eventually depend on whether this vicious circle is broken or not.

GENERAL REMARKS ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL COOPERATION AND RESOURCE TRANSFERS

by Moinuddin Baqai

Foreign assistance dominated the discussion on international economic cooperation for a long period. With the advantage of hindsight one can easily see the fallacy in the approach. Development was not perceived as a total multi-front advance of a society - but more narrowly conceived as economic progress in terms of a broadening per capita use of capital resulting in improved productivity. With this perception of the development process, foreign assistance was the easy solution for those involved in the mechanics of growth in the Third World countries. The Third World elites were so dazzled by the glitter of Western life-style that their perception did not go far beyond acquiring through economic growth the means to "imitate" these life styles.

The industrialized countries on the other hand, failed to perceive that even narrowly conceived economic growth shared by a large number of Third World countries simultaneously, would require a major change in international trading and financing institutions. In a wider sense, a world-wide movement towards standards of living and life styles previously shared by a select minority or world's population would create tremendous pressure on world's resources.

Concessional official loans supplemented or supplanted by the direct involvement of transnationals created a framework for economic relations between the North and the South singularly unsuited to accommodate (even to grasp its magnitude) the required change. When most successful, it gave rise to situations of mal-development and dependency syndrome. Concessional assistance for large donors with global political interests remain an instrument of wider foreign policy. The distribution of limited foreign assistance funds among recipients had to be coordinated with foreign policy and military interests. Changes in country programmes followed variations in global interests, giving rise to destabilizing factors in the recipient countries - distracting attention from major domestic policy issues. A larger part of concessionality involved in the assumed grant

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elements, involved a subsidy to transnational suppliers of commodities purchased under aid programmes. Net benefit of assistance to the recipients declines much faster than the net national transfer, mainly because gross flow of assistance and debt service payments against past assistance are qualitatively of highly different character.

In the case of both assistance tied to physical surpluses of goods and services in the industrial nations and development based on cooperation through transnationals pressures are built to import and produce goods which are regarded as mass consumption items in the industrialized nations and standards are set for investment, consumption and public services which cannot be sustained with the production possibilities in the Third World countries. The waste of internal resource built into the development pattern of industrial nations is attempted to be universalized, creating strains which have led the industrial nations to seek solutions of their problems in isolation of the impact on the world economic system.

A broader view of development strategy for the eighties and beyond would require a change in the frame of thought processes which has determined action in the preceding three decades. First a bolder attempt at integrating the Third World countries in the international economic system would be a timely move. This has to be different from the traditional view of interdependence which has been based on an international version of the trickle-down theory (found to be a baseless theory within Third World countries). Interdependence has to be mutual and on equal basis and should move towards proper integration of the constituents in a system. This requires a move from decisions based on purely national interest towards greater realization of international obligations.

Secondly it would be necessary to find ways of incorporating longer-term view in the present decision-making which focusses attention on measures the results of which can be obtained before the next election.

The Third World countries on their part, need to acquire attitudes which would correspond more closely to the role they are demanding as equal members of the world community. This may need greater effort at self-reliance and seeking to evolve development strategies more directly, contributing to integrated and broad-based national progress. They need not appear to be demanding unilateral concessions, but seeking changes which demonstrably advance the universally accepted objectives in a balanced manner.

The issues relating to mobilization of resources, financing of development efforts in the Third World countries and international financial cooperation have to be seen in the New International Development Strategy in the light of the parameters defined above. Financial arrangements are a shadow of the reality. The present financial arrangements in the world reflect a reality which has been changing to a considerable extent in the recent years. New financial arrangements for international cooperation should reflect the change that has already taken place and the deliberate change in real economic relationships which can realistically be expected to be accommodated in the interest of healthy global progress.
Availability of finance is not the real constraint on development in the world at this stage. The rise in energy prices, reflecting the growing shortage of energy resources in the world, has provided quasi-rent to OPEC countries and has imposed forced savings on the world community. The existing institutional bias in favour of recycling these resources back to the countries where the availability of financing had the effect of delaying required adjustment to energy policies. Some of the industrial nations, notably Japan, also continue to have a surplus of savings (for different reasons) reflected in the balance of payment surpluses. From the point of view of savers and holders of surplus funds, the present institutional framework provides limited opportunities for investment—at extremely low if not actually negative interest rates. On the other hand, Third World countries who can use the capital productivity are not able to participate in the market because the international money and capital markets generally behave in relation to international lending on the pattern set by money-lenders in primitive economies. Excess of caution on their part, dictated no doubt by the prevailing situation, can only be corrected by an institutional advance of the type which has turned domestic money and capital markets into guided instruments of socially responsible economic policies.

Concessionality in the terms of lending resulting from institutional progress (lending by the World Bank and Regional Development Banks), though apparently less than in the case of most concessional bilateral ODA, is likely to prove more reliable, as it would be independent of individual country decisions. The limits would be set by normal prudence in the management of development credit and finance, and the collective credit-worthiness of the Third World countries.

To allow the international financial institutions to play an active and expanding role particularly in relation to low-income countries, it would be necessary to provide adequate flow of concessional funds like IDA replenishment or Special Funds in the Asian Development Bank. Some elements of voluntarily accepted international taxation (probably a contradiction in terms) has already started taking place. Further resources have to be built around this experience.

There would be a number of questions regarding whether and how much to provide for the expansion of existing institutions against setting up of new specialized financing institution changing patterns of policy management control reflecting new international financial relations, and more innovative approaches to be adopted by the existing or new institutions in respect of co-financing, guarantees and non project lending. These can be resolved through the normal process of negotiation and measured adjustment, once the basic objective of moving from a mixture of money market and aid financing to institutional financing of development has been fully defined.

This institutional progress needs to be linked with (a) a more explicit system of international taxation and grants, (b) a reform of the world monetary system which seeks to use the world credit resources (generated in the process of meeting the growing requirements of foreign exchange resources for expanding world trade) to augment the supply of financial resources for Third World countries.

Both points have proved sticky in international negotiations. However, in principle, to a limited extent both are conceded. Foreign assistance as a
proportion of GNP is accepted as an obligation by a number of countries, though not by all. It has been urged upon OPEC countries - not in relation to GNP - but in relation to foreign exchange surpluses. Possibly a combination of GNP and foreign exchange holdings as a basis could help combine the divergent interests of various industrialized countries, to lay down the basis for an international fund which could be used for outright grants to countries for supporting their programmes seeking to implement globally accepted priorities. Such funds could also be used to finance regional multi-national projects for area development, encouraging greater cooperation among the countries of the South.

Taxation at very low rates could move on whatever is considered less desirable international activity - armaments expenditure, pollution-creating industries, destabilizing large foreign exchange reserves - as also on global commons to finance globally high-priority activities. This may sound ambitious and unrealistic. However, some movement along these lines would be necessary to realize the objective of internationally responsible attitude for national development policies both in the North and South.

International monetary reform needs to be revived as a global theme from the limbo where it was placed after the compromise at Kingston, Jamaica. Formal links between development, finance, international reserve creation, may still be resisted, but some progress is possible building on the principle of the Trust Fund based on the sale of IMF gold. It was probably a mistake from the point of view of Third World countries to place this soft money in the hands of the IMF for use only as conditional balance of payments support for the medium period.

The major thrust of the argument in this note is to replace the demand for acceptance of qualified assistance targets with a move towards greater institutionalization of the resource transfer mechanism. This would require a meaningful reform of international monetary system, strengthening and expansion of international development financing institutions, and some move towards explicit international taxation. In this system, each Third World country would learn to use commercial finance and market borrowing in combination with institutional loans as part of its own debt management policy. To make this a practical proposition, it may be necessary to have an orderly phasing out of repayments due on past concessional loans.
LES RESSOURCES, L’ALIMENTATION, PATRIMOINE COMMUN, L’INDUSTRIALISATION ET LA TECHNIQUE

Ben Saliah Kouyaté *

La stratégie internationale de développement pour les années 70, retenait un taux de croissance annuelle de 4% pour l'agriculture et de 3% pour l'industrie. Malgré tout, nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui à la fin de cette 2e Stratégie avec un taux moyen de croissance du PNB de 5,6% dans les pays du Tiers-Monde où le revenu annuel par habitant n'a même pas exédié le seuil de croissance fatidique de 3%. Ainsi, en considérant que la NSID a pour objectif, entre autres, de promouvoir un développement et une croissance économique autonomes au niveau national et international à l'intérieur de chaque région géographique du monde en général, de chaque région des pays du Tiers-Monde en particulier, en tenant compte de ces objectifs de la NSID, il y a lieu de mettre accent sur les liaisons intersectorielles d’une part, sur les relations entre l'agriculture et l'industrie d’autre part. En effet, l’expérience prouve par exemple qu’il existe un lien étroit entre les taux de croissance dans l’agriculture et dans l’industrie.

Ce sur quoi je voudrais insister ici est que :

1) L'agriculture et la production alimentaire doivent occuper la première place parmi les divers éléments sectoriels et fonctionnels de la NSID; la famine et la malnutrition menacent de vastes régions du monde.

Partant des faits, je me bornerai à rappeler dans ce contexte qu’au cours de la période 1960-1975, la production agricole mondiale s’était élevée à un taux annuel de 1,8% alors que, pour la même période, les pays du Tiers-Monde ont réalisé un taux de croissance de 2,8%. Pire, au cours de la 2e Stratégie, ce taux de croissance était à peu près de 2,2%, c'est-à-dire bien inférieur au taux de croissance de 4% prévu. Ainsi en fait, pour à seulement des pays du Tiers-Monde, le taux de croissance a été supérieur à 4%, pour un autre quart, par contre, il a décru en valeur absolue, et pour la majorité des autres pays, il a oscillé entre 0 et 2%. Dans ce groupe se trouve fort malheureusement l’Afrique qui, bien que représentant 10,1% de la population mondiale enregistre à peine le taux de 2,7%. C’est là une perspective catastrophique pour l’Afrique.

2) Pendant que la demande alimentaire dans le monde ira croissant dans les dix prochaines années, nous devrions accorder l'attention voulue aux structures de la consommation. Car, pendant que les niveaux de revenu s'élèveront, le pauvre du Tiers-Monde dépensera presque tout revenu additionnel en alimentation alors que le pourcentage d'accroissement du revenu consacré à l'alimentation par les pays qui se suffisent en matière alimentaire sera plus bas encore qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui. Autrement dit, la demande alimentaire augmentera beaucoup plus rapidement que le revenu moyen général par tête d'habitants. Et même en l'absence d'une augmentation de ce revenu, la demande alimentaire s'accroîtra avec

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une redistribution du revenu du riche au pauvre. D'où, même dans le cas du manque d'accroissement démographique, les besoins alimentaires iront croissant plus rapidement. Il importe donc d'élargir la base alimentaire du monde, tout en gardant à l'esprit que la croissance démographique a tout de même un impact direct sur les besoins alimentaires et que l'on observe avec préoccupation la réduction relative du nombre de pays exportateurs de biens alimentaires. Mais l'important dans la NSID est d'envisager des mesures visant à la modernisation du secteur agro-pastoral dans le Tiers-Monde, chose sans laquelle la pratique de l'autonomie individuelle et collective serait un jeu illusoire pour le Sud. C'est ici qu'apparaît à mes yeux la pertinence de la notion de la responsabilité internationale pour le développement national.

3) La solution à long terme aux problèmes alimentaires dans le Sud est ainsi liée à l'augmentation de la production agricole par le biais de techniques de productions modernes comportant à la fois des apports industriels, une infrastructure moderne et de meilleures installations pour la transformation industrielle et la distribution des produits agricoles. Tout ceci appelle donc une industrialisation rapide du Sud en général, de l'Afrique sigulièrement dont les performances dans ce domaine sont très en-deçà de toutes les prévisions. L'industrialisation doit être considérée donc comme un instrument dynamique de croissance, entraînant un développement économique et social rapide. D'où la nécessité d'une approche intégrée. Car si l'augmentation de la production alimentaire est nécessaire et urgente, elle serait cependant incomplète sans un développement concomitant des transports, de l'infrastructure administrative et institutionnelle et sans une liaison de l'école à la vie des peuples de nos pays.

Pour ainsi dire, alors que l'industrie lourde fournirait à l'agriculture ses biens d'équipement modernes pour une augmentation de la production agricole, l'industrialisation adéquate des zones rurales correspondrait mieux aux politiques de développement intégré, puisqu'elle créerait de nouveaux emplois et répondrait aux besoins essentiels de la masse rurale.

4) Pendant que l'on semble s'acheminer vers un consensus au niveau international qui voudrait que l'interdépendance dans la réciprocité serait le concept viable pour la NSID, nous remarquons cependant qu'en 1973, les pays du Tiers-Monde ont dû faire des emprunts importants sur le marché des capitaux afin de soutenir leur taux de croissance industrielle. Ainsi, le montant des crédits alloués à des conditions commerciales a dépassé de manière significative en 1975 celui des transferts officiels, et l'écart continue depuis de s'élargir sans cesse. C'est ainsi que la dette des pays du Tiers-Monde s'est accrue de 120 milliards de dollars US au cours des quatre dernières années pour ce chiffre de nos jours à plus de 200 milliards de dollars US. Quand on ajoute à cela le coûteux service des investissements étrangers directement réalisés dans l'industrie, il apparait clairement la nécessité de suggérer, dans le cadre de la NSID, un autre moyen de financement qui ignorerait les pratiques et conditions actuelles. C'est là en tout cas une tâche commune au Nord et au Sud et qui est d'un intérêt commun aux deux dans la mesure où pour la période 1980-2000, les pays du Tiers-Monde représenteront près du 1/3 des nouvelles capacités de production industrielle et leur faisant jouer ainsi un rôle non négligeable dans l'économie mondiale.
Dans ce cadre, l'augmentation de l'Aide Publique au Développement est une recommandation fort utile, de même qu'il serait souhaitable, pour la formulation de la future Stratégie, de disposer le plus tôt possible des conclusions du "Lima Industrial Development Objective" (ou LIDO) portant sur des scénarios macro-économiques pluri-sectoriels et pluri-régionaux décrivant les changements fondamentaux que devront subir les structures économiques mondiales si l'on veut atteindre l'objectif de Lima.

Peut-être aussi que notre symposium en faisant toute suggestion dans ce domaine de l'industrialisation n'omettra pas le fait qu'il va falloir lier nos démarches et prévisions avec les résultats qui nous viendront des assises de la Conférence de révision de la Convention de Paris sur la propriété industrielle organisée par l'OMPI.

Ce sont là, Messieurs, quelques remarques et suggestions que j'ai tenu à vous soumettre pour qu'à l'issue de ce Symposium nous puissions être à même, au regard de la Résolution pertinente 33/193 et grâce à un travail de synthèse, de répondre en toute connaissance de cause à la question posée par la FIPAD, à savoir "quelle stratégie voulons-nous?"

EXPERIENCES

Un certain nombre d'activités entreprises dans le cadre du projet Tiers Système de la FIPAD ont été liées, directement ou indirectement, à des groupes engagés, sur le terrain, dans la recherche concrète d'un autre développement et d'autres styles de vie dans des domaines divers et dans des pays industrialisés aussi bien que dans le Tiers Monde. Faisant suite à l'article de Michel Schirad (Dossier 14) qui envisageait la problématique de ces expériences, nous ouvrirons dans ce numéro une rubrique "expériences" qui s'efforcera de présenter, sommairement, quelques expériences en cours dans des pays industrialisés.

INTRODUCTION DU PROJET DEMAIN-AUJOURD'HUI

Il ne s'agit pas de prétendre, dans cette série dresser un inventaire des expérimentations sociales, qui sont à la fois trop nombreuses et mal connues. On s'attacherà surtout à procéder à une illustration à l'aide de quelques exemples en les ordonnant en fonction de la prise en charge de différents domaines touchant aux styles de vie et de développement, pour montrer le champ, non des possibles, mais des réels.

Attachés à ne retenir que des cas qui paraissent les plus porteurs d'avenir, on a délibérément laissé de côté les expériences qui cèdent au mirage de

l'éclatement de la société industrielle complexe en un archipel de communautés autosuffisantes, renfermées sur elles-mêmes. Les mouvements de contre-culture et les expériences de repli communautaire restent cependant un phénomène important de notre temps. Les sociétés pluralistes se doivent de leur laisser une place. Mais ceci ne signifie nullement qu'ils offrent des solutions généralisables, sans mēsestimer toutefois, leur influence ne serait-ce que sur le plan idéologique, sur l'ensemble de la société.

Il nous semble, en effet, qu'un changement durable passe par l'instauration d'une dynamique institutionnelle nouvelle qui change les rapports de pouvoir entre les forces du Marché, l'Etat, au profit de la Société civile.

Ainsi, dans chaque cas décrit, l'expérience est à l'initiative de la société civile et l'on assiste à un nouvel équilibre dans ses rapports de force avec le Marché ou l'Etat.

Les classifications sont forcément très arbitraires et dépendent des objectifs visés. Il aurait été possible de distinguer les cas selon des catégories d'acteurs intervenant, les domaines initiaux d'intervention, des types de processus mis en œuvre ou des institutions créées. Nous nous contenterons d'ordonner les expériences selon les domaines qui nous apparaissent privilégiés dans le déroulement de l'expérience:

- les techniques appropriées présentées dans ce numéro, puis successivement,
- l'habitat et l'aménagement urbain et régional,
- la qualité de la vie au travail,
- la consommation, la santé, l'éducation et la formation.

Il est pourtant évident que beaucoup de ces thèmes se recoupent à travers les diverses expériences, à des niveaux divers. De même, la plupart ont en commun d'autres domaines aussi importants que l'emploi, l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie ou une meilleure gestion des ressources et du milieu, par exemple.

Ce qu'il importe surtout de noter, c'est qu'à partir de la prise en charge d'un champ de la vie aussi varié que l'habitat, l'emploi, la formation, la consommation, la santé, les conditions de travail, etc..., se développe un processus social qui, à travers une dynamique fondée sur la participation des populations concernées, tend à s'étendre sur des champs nouveaux d'intervention.

**TECHNIQUES APPROPRIÉES**

Le premier domaine abordé porte sur le développement de techniques appropriées, qu'il s'agisse de techniques non polluantes, moins intensives en énergie et matières premières et valorisant les ressources abondantes, ou plus généralement des techniques génératrices d'emplois, améliorant la qualité de la vie au travail, maîtrisables à un niveau décentralisé et correspondant mieux aux besoins sociaux.

Dans tous les cas, ces techniques ont été identifiées ou développées à travers des actions collectives à l'initiative de la société civile, qu'il s'agisse de
syndicats et de travailleurs ou de groupes de personnes réunies autour d'un projet. Les processus et les biais par lesquels ils se sont engagés sont totalement différents: dans un cas, il s'agit d'abord de la défense de l'emploi; dans un deuxième, d'une recherche de nouvelles formes d'éducation liées à de nouveaux styles de vie; dans un troisième, plus simplement, la recherche d'économies.

a) Lucas Aerospace, En Grande-Bretagne

L'expérience récente des travailleurs de l'entreprise Lucas Aerospace nous semble tout à fait favorable pour introduire notre propos (1); une des plus grandes firmes britanniques de l'aéronautique, appartenant au groupe multinational Lucas Industries, c'est-à-dire dans un système complexe où les rapports de pouvoir sont particulièrement solides.

La lutte contre les licenciements constitue le point de départ de l'action. Les treize syndicats de l'entreprise commencent par se regrouper au sein d'un comité, le "Combine Shop Steward Committee", pour renforcer leur pouvoir à l'égard de la direction. L'action défensive s'avère inefficace face à la liquidation en cours de secteurs entiers d'activité. Le comité engage alors un processus offensif, d'élaboration d'un plan pour définir de nouvelles activités à l'entreprise, le "Corporate Plan", publié en janvier 1976.

Après une phase de consultations auprès d'organismes extérieurs spécialisés qui se reconnaissent finalement incapables de définir une reconversion globale de l'entreprise, l'initiative est prise d'engager le travail à l'intérieur de l'entreprise. Une vaste enquête auprès de 14000 travailleurs répartis dans les dix-sept unités de production, pour connaître et maîtriser l'appareil de production et son aptitude à fabriquer de nouveaux produits. Un débat interne est instauré. À l'issue de dix-huit mois, le plan est élaboré. Il retient en particulier une douzaine des 150 suggestions de produits nouveaux, concernant des domaines aussi variés que des techniques de valorisation des ressources de l'océan, de l'agriculture marine en particulier, des systèmes économiques et alternatifs de transport, les énergies renouvelables, comme le solaire, et leur application à des secteurs nouveaux comme les transports.

D'emblée, a été posé l'objectif de définir des produits "socialement utiles". Les critères privilégiés concernaient, en particulier, l'économie d'énergie, les technologies non polluantes, une durabilité accrue des biens et, si possible, l'aptitude à être maîtrisé par les utilisateurs, en particulier pour en faciliter l'entretien.

En même temps, au cours de l'élaboration du plan, pour le choix de produits, de techniques et d'organisation de la production, étaient pris en compte, non seulement la création d'emplois, objectif initial, mais aussi l'ensemble des aspects de la qualité de la vie au travail. De nouvelles formes d'organisation

du travail sont proposées, à commencer par l'éclatement des systèmes de production existants en unités plus décentralisées et plus autogérées.

Quelle a été l'issue du plan?

A première vue, relativement à l'ampleur de l'énorme transformation profonde à la fois des rapports de pouvoirs internes à l'entreprise avec une participation active des travailleurs à l'élaboration de la politique générale de l'entreprise et à la fois de la logique même de l'entreprise en privilégiant l'emploi, la qualité de la vie au travail et l'utilité sociale de la production à la recherche de profits maximaux à court terme, le bilan de ce mouvement peut s'avérer modeste. Il n'a abouti qu'à permettre le redémarrage de deux unités de production à partir de certaines des propositions du plan.

La force de cette expérience sociale ne peut être mesurée seulement ainsi.

En démontrant la capacité d'intervention des travailleurs, elle a entraîné une dynamique nouvelle au-delà même de l'entreprise. Des expériences semblables se sont amorcées récemment, dans d'autres firmes, chez Rolls Royce, BAC (à Preston), Chrysler, Clarke Chapman Vickers et d'autres.

A l'initiative du Comité de travailleurs de la Lucas Aerospace et à l'aide d'un don d'une institution charitable, a été constitué, en février 1978, un Centre de recherche (1) pour promouvoir le développement et l'application de produits "sociétalement utiles", et l'assistance pour la formation d'industries coopératives. Ce Centre bénéficie évidemment de l'appui des syndicats, mais aussi d'autres groupes, et même du Parlement.

b) T vind, au Danemark

A une autre échelle, n'est-il pas étonnant qu'à l'époque de la "crise de l'énergie" et de la crise de l'environnement, où des moyens considérables sont mis en œuvre par les États et les plus grandes firmes transnationales, pour le développement de sources d'énergie alternatives au pétrole, que ce soit à T vind, petite localité du Danemark, où est tentée une expérience inédite d'enseignement, qu'a été réalisé un des plus grands moulins à vent du monde (2).

Les responsables de l'expérience démontraient en outre que 20% de l'énergie nécessaire au pays pouvaient être produits par un millier d'éoliennes de ce type, ce qui constitue un véritable défi aux choix énergétiques du gouvernement.

(1) Voir la présentation du Center for Alternative Technological and Industrial Systems dans Science for People, no.39, Spring 1978.

La portée de cette expérience doit être cependant mesurée par rapport à son contexte que l'on peut rappeler rapidement.

C'est en 1970 qu'un instituteur en chômage et cinq professeurs se rassemblent pour fonder une École populaire itinérante et rompre avec un système d'enseignement clos en développant une formation ouverte à la vie et au monde extérieur. L'objectif est de développer une vie collective où toutes les tâches sont réalisées par l'ensemble des professeurs et étudiants, à la fois maçons, ingénieurs, agriculteurs, marins, ouvriers, mécaniciens ou cuisiniers. Le travail manuel y occupe une place aussi importante que le travail intellectuel.

Débuté avec quarante étudiants, le groupe s'est élargi en créant une école normale d'instituteurs et un cours complémentaire pour des jeunes exclus du système d'enseignement traditionnel, et comprend aujourd'hui 800 étudiants.

Alors qu'il n'y avait au début qu'une vieille ferme, la trentaine de bâtiments, tous les ateliers et équipements ont été construits par les étudiants et professeurs.

La construction de capteurs solaires et les deux moulins à vent devraient permettre, non seulement de couvrir l'ensemble de la consommation énergétique du groupe, mais même de dégager un surplus pour le vendre au réseau régional d'électricité.

Il n'est, par ailleurs, pas indifférent de rappeler que l'école prépare en même temps aux examens officiels et que ses résultats sont très bons. C'est pourquoi le Parlement danois apporte un soutien financier au Centre, à concurrence d'une partie seulement des coûts de fonctionnement.

L'école populaire itinérante est très ouverte. Elle accueille des étudiants étrangers et organise, pour une part importante de l'enseignement, des voyages d'études à l'étranger, à l'aide de vieux autobus aménagés, en Europe et même en Asie, en Afrique et en Amérique latine.

c) Cedar County, du Nebraska, aux États-Unis.

C'est aussi à travers des processus beaucoup plus exceptionnels que des groupes de population prennent l'initiative de développer des techniques nouvelles, liées en particulier à une meilleure gestion de l'environnement ou mieux maîtrisables, comme celles concernant les énergies renouvelables, pour laquelle nous ne citerons qu'un cas parmi les innombrables qui se sont réalisés dans pratiquement tous les pays.

Dans le pays de CEDAR (CEDAR county), une des régions les plus pauvres du Nebraska, c'est essentiellement pour des raisons d'économie sur les coûts qu'un groupe local a mis au point, à partir de l'énergie solaire et éolienne, des systèmes permettant aux petites fermes d'accroître leur autonomie énergétique.

Cette initiative, qui a provoqué un intérêt certain au niveau local, mais s'est heurtée à l'hostilité de certaines administrations, comme le Ministère de l'Agriculture, peu intéressé par les petites exploitations agricoles, a finalement obtenu un soutien d'un organisme fédéral (Community Service Administration) pour entreprendre, à travers le "Projet sur l'énergie pour petites fermes" (Small Farm Energy Project), une action de diffusion des techniques mises au point. Le groupe publie aujourd'hui un manuel d'initiation largement répandu.

Il existe ainsi dans la société civile un mouvement croissant d'initiatives locales pour développer des systèmes de production à petite échelle, décentralisée, moins intensive en capital et demandant plus de travail, mais un travail qui s'effectue certainement dans des conditions qualitativement meilleures (1). À un niveau beaucoup plus important, rappelons l'expérience initiée par le projet Sudbury 2001, au Canada, qui vise à promouvoir une diversification du développement économique d'une communauté groupant 170 000 habitants à travers les technologies appropriées (2).

**BREAST IS BEST**

by Vic Sutton*/

The promotion of industrial baby foods, long suspected by experts to be an important factor in persuading mothers not to breastfeed their children, is to be banned.

The decision, taken in Geneva in October by International representatives of medical experts, governments, the industry and non-governmental organisations, forms part of a series of recommendations on infant and young child feeding which include the proposal for a "code of conduct" on the promotion and marketing of baby foods.

This was the major result of an experts meeting organised by the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF. Its basic goal was to produce guidelines for


*/ Inter Press Service, Third World News Agency.
governments on the action needed to improve nutrition practices. WHO, which
hosted the meeting, presented it as part of its drive to provide basic health
care for all by the year 2000. Their thesis is simple: breastfeeding is best
for babies in terms of nourishment, health risks and love.

The chief nutritional and practical reason are already printed on every can of
"dawn" powdered milk sold in Zambia. The label, "breast feed your child. The
best food for your child is the mother's milk".

"Do not feed your child artificially unless you are sure that you have the mo-
ney to buy enough milk. By the time that your child is four months old, he
will want five pounds of milk powder each month. Are you sure that you have
enough money to buy this?

Feed your child with a cup and spoon and not with a feeding bottle. Ask in
the shop where you bought this tin for a paper telling you how to feed your
child".

Even with such warnings, there are those experts who call for more drastic ac-
tion. Dr. John Biddulph, professor of child health at the University of Papua
New Guinea, claims that a feeding bottle "can be more dangerous than a gun". Ex-
plaining why, he comments that most mothers in Third World countries have
"neither the knowledge, money, time, sanitary conditions nor basic facilities
to bottle feed their babies safely".

Papua New Guinea is one of several countries which have acted decisively to
halt a trend away from breastfeeding. The causes for concern were two trends:
a marked decrease in breastfeeding, and a worrying increase in diarrhoeal di-
seases among infants.

Dr. Biddulph admits that there is no way of proving the connection, but points
to a cycle in which feeding bottles become heavily contaminated with bacteria,
while the expense of artificial preparations leads mothers to over-dilute the
milk. The result, according to Dr. Biddulph, is a "lethal concoction of di-
luted milk with concentrated bacterial content".

Government action in Papua New Guinea, since independence in 1975, has resul-
ted both in an extensive educational campaign and in legislation. Breastfeed-
ing is widely promoted, through the hospital and health service structure and
through teaching packages and media publicity.

In addition, radio advertisements for feeding bottles, teats, specific breast-
milk substitutes and infant formulas are banned. The milk companies volunta-
rily agreed not to advertise their products. Thus the only milk advertised
for babies is breastmilk.

More recently still, in 1977, the supply of feeding bottles was made illegal
except on prescription. The result, 20 months later, was that the number of
artificially fed babies in Papua New Guinea capital Port Moresby had plummeted
from one-third to one in eight.
The WHO/UNICEF meeting called for a code of conduct to be formulated which would regulate the promotion and marketing of baby foods and feeding bottles. It is likely, however, that this will be only a first step, and that government legislation will be introduced in most countries to back up a voluntary code.

The health and commonsense reasons ought to suffice to convince governments of the wisdom of such regulation. In addition, informal estimates have been made that by 1980 the Third World countries could be spending a billion US dollars a year on powdered baby milk. This represents an enormous potential drain on national resources, and on scarce reserves of foreign exchange.

Papua New Guinea again provides an example. The law banning the supply of feeding bottles except on prescription was passed by private member's bill, in response to community pressure. It obtained government support after the Health Department had calculated some of the costs involved in artificial feeding.

The government worked out that if every child in Papua New Guinea were artificially fed it would cost the country some 20 million US dollars a year in imports, or more than half the amount of the country's total health budget. In terms of each family, too, the costs are high. Feeding a baby artificially with even the cheapest formula could be costed nowadays at around 4 US dollars a week in feeds and equipment.

Guinea Bissau, Nigeria, Jamaica, Guyana, Kenya, Niger, Barbados, Algeria and Zambia are among the countries which all now have a measure of state control over baby milk sales. Venezuela and Gambia are considering legislation, and many more countries are taking steps to promote breast-feeding.

Yet, in the course of the meeting itself, a substantial campaign was launched by the Baby Foods Industry to convince experts and public that, whatever the dubiousness of past marketing practices, artificial milk and weaning products have an essential role to play in infant nutrition.

Infant foods are part of a multi-million dollar industry. According to Dr. Pierre Borgholtz, a consultant with the United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations in New York, the total volume of infant formula sales in 1978 was an estimated 1,050 million dollars by Western and Japanese companies.

Sales in Third World countries made up a third to a half of this turnover.

The bulk of these sales are made by major transnational enterprises with wide interests in the food or drug industries. The products are manufactured, by and large, in the industrialised countries with a well-developed dairy sector. A small number of companies, most of them operating internationally, control 95% of the total sales of infant formula in market economies.

There is moreover little competition between companies. In six industrialised countries studied by Dr. Borgholtz over ninety percent of sales are made by only two companies (in Denmark, France and the U.S.A.) or by three companies (in Britain, Japan and West Germany). In a dozen Third World countries for which he has been able to find figures, the picture is the same. In Venezuela in 1978, the Swiss based giant Nestlé and the American Wyeth laboratories controlled 95 percent of the market. In the Philippines the same two companies, plus
the American Bristol-Myers, controlled 99 percent of the market, in 1975.

Borgholtz further suggests that, with Industrialised country markets saturated, overseas sales have become an important part of the growth strategies of the infant formula companies. Both widespread public advertising, and promotion to the medical profession so as to try and get products endorsed or even recommended direct to mothers by hospital and clinic staff, can be seen as part of a normal business approach to the need for growth in sales. At stake are profit levels which Borgholtz informally estimates to approach an annual level of 45-50 percent of assets.

Mr. Ian Barter of the British firm "Cow and Gate", who is president of the International council of infant food industries (ICIFI), pledged after the meeting that ICIFI members would carefully respect the spirit of the agreement reached at the meeting, and not just the letter. This will therefore be binding on such ICIFI members as Nestlé, Wyeth, the French "Bon-Gervais Danone", Cow and Gate itself, the Danish Dumex, and seven other European and Japanese companies.

Non-governmental organisations, which were very active at the meeting, decided, as a follow up to set up an INTERNATIONAL BABY FOODS COALITION in order to continue pressure on industry to end unethical marketing practices and coordinate international monitoring. While the recommendations formulated at the WHO/UNICEF meeting are encouraging, implementation seems possible only if groups and individuals from all over the world cooperate.

(The Statement and Recommendations adopted by the meeting may be obtained from UN offices or directly from WHO, 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland).

LUIS ECHEVERRIA: FORWARDS AND UPWARDS

by Francisco Fernandez Mora*

"We must go forwards and upwards": this slogan, formulated by former Mexican President, Luis Echeverria (1970-6), provoked a great deal of comment when it was made. It was then that Mexico first gave a hint of its imminent emergence as a power on the world stage and a leader of the Third World nations. Echeverria explains his view of the world and Mexico's position in it, in a book to be published in the near future. The book has been compiled by journalist Luis Suarez, and extracts were recently published by the Mexican magazine "Siempre".

In it, Echeverria explains that a whole philosophy is behind the phrase, and that this philosophy is the product of Mexican history and geography, and of the country's relationship and proximity to the United States.

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Mexico is the only Latin American country to have a common border with a Superpower. "The fact that the United States is our neighbour means that in Latin America the situation is not propitious for the carrying out of progressive changes", says Echeverria. "They do not understand that we are countries in formation, that we are struggling against an old colonial oligarchy, that as countries of the Third World we have to assert ourselves in every aspect of our lives against the development models and interests of the great Industrialized Capitalist countries and the Socialist countries themselves.

"When I said that we must go "forwards and upwards", I was indicating that we, as countries of the Third World, have to find different solutions - not a sterile centrist but a position equidistant from the extremes as we have in the world today. We must find an independent and nationalist path of self-improvement with an equidistant dynamism not a passive centrist", says Echeverria.

The former President considers that this is a realistic possibility for Mexico because of its oil. The government can invest in agriculture and industry without having either to borrow capital or force the people's living standards down in the interests of capital accumulation.

In this way, state investment can speed economic development and at the same time diminish the country's dependence on the Industrialized countries.

Echeverria emphasizes the importance of the traditional cultural values in Mexico, both Spanish and Indigenous. He contrasts the consciousness of national identity with the narrow colonial attitudes of the oligarchies, and their model of economic dependence. He points out that the growth of populist movements in Latin America was a response to the political and economic attitudes of these oligarchies. Echeverria sees the development of populism as a healthy trend destined to introduce an independent model of development and a national economy at the service of the people.

"Populism was also the political consequence of the insertion of Latin America into the world market before true national revolutions had taken place", asserts the former President. As social contradictions have become more acute, the worker and peasant movements have organised outside the limits imposed by populism.

Echeverria goes on to refer to the threats to independent national development posed by foreign interests and the national oligarchy. He reveals the destabilization campaign to which his government was subjected towards the end of his period in office. A flight of capital, and a rumour campaign that forced the devaluation of the peso were the weapons used by foreign and national interests opposed to his path of economic development. This sort of thing "has occurred more than once in other Third World countries especially in Latin America", he says.

Echeverria considers that although the world may be in for a long period of instability, there are some grounds for optimism in the fact that European social democracy and some progressive sectors in the United States are disposed to co-operate with Third World on a more equal basis. The case of
Nicaragua, where Somoza was overthrown with the help of International Solidarity, including that of Social Democratic governments, is evidence of this trend. It is in this context that the countries of the Third World will continue their search for peace and independence and above all "the ideal of social justice".

DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN NEEDS

by Soedjatmoko* /

It is impossible to view with any degree of equanimity the statistical indications, reflected in the 1978 World Development Report of the IBRD, that by the year 2000, the total number in the world of the absolutely poor will be 600 million, of which 540 million will live in the low income countries. If one then thinks of its human implications and of what such a situation will do to the possibilities for the growth of open societies in the future, the prospect simply becomes too appalling to contemplate. (...)

It is against the background of the incapacity of earlier development strategies to deal with the problem of poverty through the trickle down effect of economic growth, that the so called "basic needs" approach to development was developed as a direct attack on poverty. Rejecting the implications for the Third World countries of the "Limits to Growth" report to the Club of Rome, the Bariloche Foundation in Argentina, was the first to develop, on the basis of certain assumptions regarding resource availability and environmental constraints, a world model which tried to show the feasibility of meeting the basic needs of people all over the world. This approach was subsequently taken up by the ILO in 1976 in the document "Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A one world problem", and has since become part of the accepted phraseology of the international development community. The basic needs approach then constitutes an attempt to come to grips directly with world poverty by meeting the basic needs of the lowest 40% income group, in the fields of food, nutrition, health, education and housing, as well as through employment and income generating activities, coupled with family planning. It is predicated on a policy package consisting of a relatively high growth rate (6 - 8%), redistribution of income and - up to a point - wealth, reorientation of investment, and a review of consumption and production patterns. Subsequently, the concept has been broadened, so as to include certain non-material human needs which together can be taken as determining, in a quantifiable way, the quality of life among the poor.

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Even though the basic needs approach originated in the Third World, recently a strong trend has development in the Third World rejecting the concept of basic needs. This reversal in attitude has not so much to do with the concept itself, as with the manner in which the concept was perceived and used by industrial countries in their dealings with Third World countries. The supply of social services to meet basic needs does in fact require mainly domestic and not foreign financing.

The basic needs approach was therefore perceived by many in the Third World, and not without some justification, as a means for some industrial countries to reduce their aid levels by tying, and thus limiting, foreign aid resources to basic needs projects. It also provided them at the same time with an excuse to do so while being able to sound a high moralistic note, as if they had discovered poverty in the Third World, and as if they were more concerned about the poor than the elites in the Third World countries themselves. It allowed for an easy cop-out in a setting that was characterized by a general disillusionment among major donor nations with the results of foreign aid over the past two decades, and by the growing deterioration of the economic situation in their own countries as well as internationally. This was creating difficulties in maintaining sufficient domestic political support for existing foreign aid levels. The suspicion also arose that the popularity of the basic needs approach in industrial countries reflected an unexpressed desire on their part to keep the Third World as non-competitive, largely pastoral societies, although maybe a little better fed, housed and educated.

The Primacy of Absolute Poverty Elimination: I

Irrespective of whether such perceptions are correct or constitute too unfair a dismissal of genuine concern with world poverty, the basic needs approach has undoubtedly added to the conceptual and operational tools of development. But even in terms of its own stated goal, as well as in relation to the question of freedom, the basic needs approach has serious deficiencies when it comes to reaching the absolutely poor. Although certainly not so intended (by its authors) basic needs could be met in authoritarian or paternalistic ways, which do nothing to remove the sense of powerlessness and dependency of the poor.

After all, a zoo is also a place where basic needs are being met. But it should also be possible - and it certainly is necessary - to meet these needs in ways that release their creative energies, that build up their selfreliance, and their confidence in themselves, making them in this way freer persons. It has, fortunately in a way, turned out that the simple provision of basic social services does not automatically lead to their use by the poor in general. Only if the poorer communities organize themselves and participate actively in their planning and utilization, there is a chance that the facilities provided will actually be used and assume their place in the life of the community. However, even community
participation, experience has shown, does not ensure participation by the poorest among them. Often the relevant information about new facilities or opportunities does not reach them. What is more difficult to remedy, however, is that many of them are tied up, during the whole day and part of the night, with all the members of the family who are old enough to work, in very lowpaying, very unproductive work, simply in order to ensure their continued subsistence. They have not time to spare to go to the village healthpost, or to participate in any voluntary type of community activity, nor can they afford to take the risks involved in any new opportunities which are opened by a variety of government programmes in rural development or food production. Only assured higher income from work or from welfare support would enable them to abandon the mere survival-strategy which they have had to adopt to stay alive. We know in fact very little about the dynamics of the survival strategy which enables the absolutely poor and their families to survive after a fashion. We do know how totally dependent they are on the fluctuations of wages and foodprices. They cannot afford to reject any wages offered, however low, nor to postpone purchase of foodstuff when prices are high. But we really do not know enough about the social structures and the cultures of absolute poverty, to enable us to break the pattern of powerlessness, of exploitation and permanent indebtedness that keeps them in a state of dependency bordering on slavery. Still, this has to be done, if the larger amount of external resources made available to them is not to flow back to people in the city or their richer fellow villagers.

We also do not know enough about the geography of poverty: where the absolutely poor are exactly, nor do we know enough about the specific causes of each particular situation. Often the absolutely poor are to be found in small isolated islands, or in remote mountain valleys, where history has passed them by. But sometimes they live close by in places not too far removed from more developed areas, but isolated by the poverty of their natural resource endowment. They are also, generally in quite large numbers, to be found among the landless in the countryside, many of them women. They live with their destitution unrecognized, because of the persistence of the myths about village life among the urban elite, in which social harmony, mutual help and spirit of shared poverty is assumed to prevail, while in reality sharp distinctions in social stratification have developed, and traditional mutual obligations have been replaced by contractual monetary relationships. And there are of course the very poor in the shanty towns and city slums, and those who sleep on the sidewalks and under the bridge. Each situation requires different ways of reaching them. In many cases breaking the isolation through linkage with the wider transportation and communication network will be enough to activate them. In other cases the key lies in breaking the pattern of exploitation and dependency, through releasing people from their indebtedness, while at the same time providing them with alternative, and less exploitative ways of financing their activities, or through opening alternative employment opportunities. But quite often too, the land on which they live is so poor and so remote, and the resignation of its people so great, that no obvious solutions present themselves. It will require specific concentrated efforts and the application of the best minds of the
country, from the universities, from the voluntary associations, or from the business-world, applying their entrepreneurial eyes, in order to find the less obvious solutions that are still within the reach of these people. And as a last resort, there is of course the possibility of resettlement.

It is clear, therefore, that the absolutely poor cannot be reached and helped through a generalized basic needs approach. It will require the laying-on of a special track before they can overcome the specific mental, physical and social debilities associated with absolute poverty, and become responsive to the opportunities offered through the basic needs approach, and to the community activities which make these facilities meaningful. Such a special track in the development strategy must have first claim on the total national resources of the country, if the attack on absolute poverty is to be effective at all, and if the persistence of absolute poverty is not to have a permanent effect on the nature of the society that development is supposed to bring forth. It also requires of course, a special effort on the part of economists and social scientists to help us understand the phenomenon of absolute poverty in its various manifestations better, and to get an operational handle on the problem.

The Basic Needs Approach: II

It goes without saying that the special track has to lead into the more general effort of overcoming rural and urban poverty and backwardness, thus also reducing the dualistic character of the economy, through a general basic needs approach. I have dealt elsewhere at some length with the various programmes that this approach involves, and will therefore on this occasion only stress those aspects which have a bearing on our general topic.

The limited experience in various countries thus far has shown that the supply of basic services only are fully utilized if they become integral parts of the self-organisation and self-management capacity of the urban and rural poor. But it is with this revitalisation of the countryside and the informal sector in the cities that the modernizing bureaucratic state has the greatest difficulty. It has proven to be extremely difficult to reverse the trends towards overbureaucratization of the countryside in favour of an essentially hands-off policy which allows, with or without the help of non-governmental voluntary organizations, grassroots organizations to develop, for cooperative effort in the marketing of agricultural produce, the purchase of fertilizers and pesticides and other needed commodities, in water management, in developing credit unions and building associations, or non-agricultural enterprises. It takes a while for the rural bureaucracy to realize that accountability to their members of the informal leaders elected to hold formal positions in such organizations, constitute the greatest educational and self-corrective mechanism, and the greatest force towards rural emancipation. It also takes time for a traditionally paternalistic bureaucracy to realize the crucial importance of decentralisation. Also that it should not feel threatened by the growing capacity for self-organization and self-management, and that the security risks perceived are outweighed by the developmental dynamics released in this way. It opens the way towards village autonomy and active village participation in development planning and implementation. Another obstacle in this regard is the fact that many governmental programmes towards increase in food production and the supply of
Credit facilities, aimed at income and employment generation, are directed towards individual villagers. This tends to further atomize the village rather than to stimulate organisation. They also tend to ignore existing patterns of social stratification, and the desirability for the poorest villagers to organize themselves separately, as an essential step towards improving their local bargaining position in the defence, or the promotion, of their own specific interests.

Just like the attempts to reach and help the absolutely poor require the breaking up of traditional social structures that keep them in a state of permanent indebtedness and dependency, the more general effort at integrated rural development through a basic needs approach, also requires structural reform in order to overcome the impediments standing in the way of its effective implementation. This implies land reform, improved land tenure practices, and the consolidation of fragmented mini holdings towards the establishment of higher yielding farm systems through group and cooperative organisations. Also the adoption of price policies for different foodstuffs which favour the rural area as against the urban, in a manner which stimulates food production and increases rural income, while at the same time ensuring improved calory and protein intake among the urban poor and rural landless labour. In general, the economic revitalisation of the countryside through realignment of import and export duties, and a review of the exchange rate in order to change the relative valuation of labour and capital in favour of labour.

The basic needs approach also requires industrial policies giving priority to labour intensive industries and labour intensive production processes that are compatible with the requirement of efficiency: policies favouring capital intensive industries serving small rural enterprises (e.g. processing plants, cold storage facilities, motorized fishing boats, owned or destined to be owned by cooperatives of primary producers); locational policies ensuring proper geographical distribution of industries throughout the rural areas, and where possible with forward and backward linkages to local production and services capabilities. Also policies which prevent modern sector enterprises to compete unduly with local enterprises in the rural areas, using local materials, And finally, policies directing new investments in the modern sector in support of these policies.

In addition, it needs an increase of the number of non-exploitative linkages between the modern and the rural sector, once rural institutions and capabilities have become strong enough, also development of a network of agricultural support service, road systems and transportation facilities.

The basic needs approach therefore calls for institutional reform at the national level and macro economic policies that are supportive of it. Without them, any achievement in rural development will eventually be wiped out again. It is therefore a fallacy to assume that the basic needs approach could ever be a development strategy by itself. At best it is an essential element of one which requires fundamental changes in the pattern of growth underlying the development strategy.
The basic needs approach is often seen and presented, as a means towards more equitable distribution of income as well as of the development burden. Shifts in the patterns of growth coupled with an emphasis on basic needs, undoubtedly has an improved distributive effect.

There are however some cases when income distribution will not be adequate to lead to a more equitable society. The initial distribution of wealth may be so skewed, or base line productive capacity may be so low, that redistribution of assets may be inevitable. Even then in large populous Third World countries an unusually high growth rate and a rapidly expanding modern sector may still not be able to absorb the large labour surplus resulting from the modernisation of agriculture. Therefore, irrespective whether a strategy is pursued of growth before distribution, growth with distribution, or distribution before growth, in these countries a separate effort successfully to eliminate absolute poverty with a first claim on national resources, will still be necessary. No development strategy which treats absolute poverty as a residual problem will do. We will have to turn development thinking upside down.

Once absolute poverty is overcome, and the physical and mental debilities that go with it, a great deal of developmental energy among the poor may be released. In those regions in India where this has happened, we are also witnessing major shifts in the distribution of economic as well as political power between the lower and the higher casts, amounting to a quiet social revolution. Because it is almost an autonomous process, it is accompanied by a great deal of rural violence. Nevertheless it is an on going process which undoubtedly will profoundly change both Indian politics and culture. As the Indian experience shows, the emergence of the poor into the political and economic life of the country, is a process that is uneven, very much dependent on the local coincidence of protective and stimulating political leadership, and aptitudes, drives and organizing capacity among the poor.

Obviously even when absolute poverty has been overcome, the basic needs approach among the poor is still essential. Income, food, nutrition and health, including clean water, might be the most urgent ingredients of such an approach. Then efforts at a combination of legislation on the national and regional level, and the development of organisational capability. Community organisation and activities should not only have access to relevant information in sufficient quantity, but should become part of an informational universe at the local and regional level. The amount and kinds of information usually dispensed through extension workers or the village headman simply will not be enough to provide the mental stimulation and the awareness of opportunities that the revitalisation of the poor require. This includes access to information as well as information channels but also shared control over information channels. The decentralisation of information networks, and the democratisation of their control would be essential preconditions for such success.
TOWARDS AN ENDOGENOUS INDUSTRIALIZATION GEARED TO SATISFYING THE NEEDS OF THE POOR

by Abd-el Rahman Khane*1

The needs of the poor, with negligible purchasing power, have not been reflected to any marked degree in the production structure of the modern manufacturing sector, while the consumption preferences of the higher income groups, as seen in the patterns of consumer goods outputs, have been moulded substantially by the tastes and values of Northern populations. The final mix of modern industry, which has determined the choice of technologies, has worked in favour of imported processes based on large-scale production, heavy use of capital and only limited call on the greatest resources of the Third World countries, people, and on locally available skills and raw materials. The patterns of industrial resource allocation has significantly weakened linkages between industry and other sectors of the economy, notably agriculture, contributing little to a general increase in productivity and exacerbating urban-rural, traditional-modern and agriculture-industry dichotomies instead of encouraging interaction among them.

True interaction implies that agriculture needs to be both an input and output of industry. The endless variety of ways in which sugar cane can be used as an input for industry offers a good example. The production of food, paper and energy out of sugar cane will continue to play an important role in the industrial development of Third World countries endowed with land, water and sun for the cultivation of sugar cane. If agricultural production in Third World countries is to reach a gross output rate of 4% per annum in the next two decades, their industry would have to provide more fertilizers, better agricultural machinery and other industrial outputs which can reinforce the development of both agriculture and industry. Investments in one or another of these sectors should not therefore be considered as devoting a lower priority to the other major sector. The path of accelerated development of any Third World country is conditioned upon a balanced and integrated growth of agriculture and industry bearing in mind that the other sectors as well, such as infrastructure, transport and communications and education will also have to grow at the same accelerated pace.

The record of industrialisation in the Third World countries would seem to suggest that in following an export promotion or import substitution strategy, neither has accommodated successfully the human needs of the bulk of the population, because lack of purchasing power has prevented these needs from being transformed into effective demand. A new approach, which we would call "endogenous industrialization", is therefore prescribed which would anticipate needs of the population and tailor the industrial production structure to produce goods to fulfill them. The dynamics of growth would come from within

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the country calling for a much greater emphasis on self-help or self-reliance. In carrying out this strategy, income would be generated directly in the hands of the rural and urban poor to help them satisfy their minimum needs for food, clothing, shelter and medical care. Projects would stress a low capital/labour ratio, use less energy, and encourage greater use of local skills, entrepreneurial resources, materials, capital goods, and technology. The role of small and medium-sized as well as agro-based industry would be expanded. There would be a close interaction between farms and industry at the rural level and a positive economic role for the government in the production of industrial and public goods. Yet an endogenous industrialization approach is not to be equated with a closed door policy or autarchy. Trade exchanges should be based on free access and on fair and remunerative prices to producers of raw materials who should not be the unwilling recipients of exported inflation. The international exchange of goods and services is assumed to constitute an important element in the process of development, but care should be given to fitting the international flows of finance, technology, imported materials and components to the productive structure deemed most suited for furthering the social objectives in the Third World countries. This strategy, based on human needs, emphasizes the role of industrial development in alleviating the poverty that prevails in the urban and rural areas of most Third World countries.


Hacia una nueva estrategia Internacional de Desarrollo, el Informe de Copenhague. Este informe que se publicó en inglés en los Documentos FIFAD 13, está ahora disponible en Español (Documento de las Naciones Unidas, No. A/34/467). Se puede obtener de las oficinas de las Naciones Unidas o escribiendo a la FIFAD.

К новой стратегии международного развития, доклад о работе симпозиума в Шевенгенге. В настоящее время имеется русский текст этого доклада, который вышел на английском языке в доске FIFAD 13 (Документ Организации Объединенных наций A/34/407). Этот документ можно получить в агентствах ООН или заказать в FIFAD.

新国际发展战略座谈会报告（联合国文件号 A/34/467）的中文本已有，载于本杂志（Dossier）第十三期，需要者可向联合国各办事处或研究发展办法国际基金会索取。
Books:


- James W. Botkin, Mahdi Elmandjra, Mircea Malitza, No limits to learning, Bridging the human gap (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979). A report to the Club of Rome of a new kind. The question raised by the authors is whether humanity can shift from a mode of learning characterized by unconscious adaptation to one of conscious anticipation; they propose the development of "anticipatory and participatory learning".


Abby Rubin Riddell, *Restructuring British Industry: The Third World dimension* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1979). Greater consideration of the TW dimension in domestic policies is necessary if British interests are to be served since there are mutual benefits in incorporating the needs of TW economies in British economic decision-making.


Farmers Assistance Board, *Green revolution and imperialism and Liberation* (P.O. Box AC-623, Quezon City, Philippines). Mimeographed documents. **Libe**ration - the struggle of the Filipino Peasant movement toward self-reliance - asserts that only the Filipino peasant can provide the necessary motive force for social change.

*Alternatives, A journal of world policy*. As IFDA Council member Rajni Kothari puts it, "this journal should have started at least 20 years earlier". Vol. 5 no. 1, it enters its fifth year with an issue including papers by Rajni Kothari ("Towards a just world") and Silviu Brucan ("Europe in the global strategic game"). (Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, 29 Rajpur Rd., Delhi 110054, India.)

*Revue internationale d'action communautaire /International review of community development*. 41e numéro d'une revue publiée jusqu'ici en Italie et premier numéro d'une nouvelle série, publiée au Canada (Case postale 1655, Montréal). Thème de ce numéro: La prise en charge communautaire de la santé (Québec, France, Belgique, Suisse, Italie, Zaïre, Chine et Californie).

**Meetings**

An alternate approach to the management of research, development and education in science and technology, a workshop at the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore 560 027, Índia (June 1980). Enquiries to Prof. J. Bandyopadhyay.