YEAR FIVE

With this issue starts the fifth year of the IFDA Dossier. Two issues were published in 1978, twelve in 1979 (to accommodate the abundant material generated by the third system project) and, since 1980, the Dossier has settled into its cruising speed of six issues a year. This issue has been printed in 11,000 copies and mailed to some 10,000 individuals and institutions in virtually every country of the planet.

The Dossier, we believe, provides a useful, even if modest, tribune for a number of unheard voices from the third system as well as a link between those who, whatever the space where they act, take part in the search for alternatives to maldevelopment and to an international system dominated by a few political-military or economic powers.

The Dossier is made possible by those who contribute papers, by the daily work of the small part-time team which constitutes the IFDA secretariat, and by those who support us financially. The cost of the Dossier, in 1982, will be around 230,000 Swiss francs. The bulk of it will come from IFDA regular resources - granted by Algeria, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Venezuela. Subscriptions have so far represented only a symbolic income.

The political situation in which we live is no longer what it was when IFDA was set up, in 1976, and it is now more difficult to raise the necessary resources. Further, it is a basic operational tenet of IFDA to endeavour to apply in its own work the principles it advocates, starting with self-reliance. In 1981, some 12% of IFDA's income has been generated by its own activities, and our aim is to bring this proportion to one third in 1982.

We should like to ask those who use the Dossier to share the burden with us. We must get more subscriptions. The subscription fee for the Third World and for students represents what each issue costs, and is twice that amount for people in the North. It is fair, we believe, that those who have a higher income should pay more.

At the outset of our fifth year, we ask those who can afford it to participate in the funding of the Dossier: first, those who already subscribe, to renew their subscription. Second, those who have not yet done so, to subscribe. Third, the more affluent, to contribute more.

Only your response will help the IFDA Dossier to move along the narrow path to self-reliance.
Resumen: La transformación de una sociedad no depende solamente de la elaboración de planes y proyectos técnicamente bien elaborados, sino fundamentalmente de la capacidad que tienen algunos sectores de la sociedad de introducir cambios.

Dicho de otra manera, además de preguntarnos sobre la transformación para quién y para qué debemos responder a la pregunta; quienes implementan la transformación propuesta? Una visión tecnocrática indicaría que los únicos capaces de presentar alternativas viables y hacerlas posibles serán los especialistas, sea de la universidad, sea de la tecnoburocracia. Para otros, todo dependería de jefes políticos capaces de liderar un proceso y promover el consenso alrededor de sus propuestas y de su carisma personal. Sin negar la necesidad de un grupo profesional técnicamente habilitado, ni la importancia del trabajo de articulación de los políticos, queremos aquí insistir en que el proceso de cambio depende muy particularmente de la existencia de sectores de la sociedad capaces de tomar iniciativa y de implementar nuevas experiencias.

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Abstract: Social transformation does not depend as much on the elaboration of technically correct plans and projects as, fundamentally, on the capacity of specific social groups to bring about change. In other words, besides the question "transformation for whom and for what", one must answer the question "transformation by whom".

The technocratic vision would suggest that the only sectors able to offer and implement viable alternatives would be the experts from either the universities or the techno-bureaucracies. For others, everything would rest on political leaders able to lead the process and ensure the consensus around their project, and on their personal charisma.

Without denying the need for technical competence nor for political orientation, this paper emphasizes that the process of change occurs essentially through social groups able to take initiatives and to carry out successfully new experiments.

(Français à la page 13(15))
EMERGENCIA Y ORGANIZACIÓN DE LOS SECTORES POPULARES

La transformación de una sociedad no depende solamente de la elaboración de planes y proyectos técnicamente bien elaborados, sino fundamentalmente de la capacidad que tienen algunos sectores de la sociedad de introducir cambios.

Dicho de otra manera, además de preguntarnos sobre la transformación para quién y para qué debemos comenzar a responder a la pregunta: ¿quienes implementan la transformación propuesta? Una visión tecnocrática indicaría que los únicos capaces de presentar alternativas viables y hacerlas posibles serán los especialistas, sea de la universidad, sea de la tecnoburocracia. Para otros, todo dependería de jefes políticos capaces de liderar un proceso y promover el consenso alrededor de sus propuestas y de su carisma personal. Sin negar la necesidad de un grupo profesional técnicamente habilitado, ni la importancia del trabajo de articulación de los políticos, queremos aquí insistir en que el proceso de cambio depende muy particularmente de la existencia de sectores de la sociedad capaces de tomar iniciativa y de implementar nuevas experiencias.

Hay una creciente perplejidad delante de la magnitud de las crisis económicas, políticas y sociales. Pero, al mismo tiempo, y esto es muy importante, una observación cuidadosa de lo que ocurre a nivel local en los países detecta un sinnúmero de acciones, experiencias, proyectos que, sin resolver el problema global del desarrollo desequilibrado, pueden preparar posibles direcciones alternativas. El técnico, abocado a la formulación de soluciones a nivel nacional no siempre dio importancia a esas realidades, frecuentemente disímiles, contradictorias y aisladas, pero algunas de gran fecundidad en un proceso histórico más prolongado.

Al mismo tiempo que se impone la formulación de programas y estrategias amplios – más políticos que técnicos – hay que preguntarse si, a nivel local, no se están dando acciones anticipadoras, a partir de sectores populares, con experiencias portadoras de futuro. Hay que evitar, por supuesto, caer en la ilusión de una transformación gradual y progresiva a partir de la simple acumulación de pequeños proyectos aislados.

Más bien se plantea aquí que algunos de esos proyectos pueden llegar a ser laboratorios sociales y lugares de experimentación. Muchos de ellos no dieron resultados positivos, pero otros podrán tener un efecto multiplicador y de irradiación. El desafío es saber detectar, en situaciones concretas, cuáles tienen realmente dinamismo creador.

Partes 2 y 3 de una presentación hecha a la Consulta internacional de la Campana mundial contra el hambre – acción pro desarrollo, FAO, Roma, 1980 (documento DDA: CMCH/AD/80-5).
Los problemas del desarrollo - desde el tiempo de los años 50 - han sido, casi siempre, estudiados a partir de los centros de decisión política y administrativa. ¿No sería el momento de desplazar el lugar social del análisis y de las políticas? Eso nos obliga a una breve incursión en el análisis de la estructura social.

Algunos autores han distinguido en la sociedad global, la sociedad política y la sociedad civil. La primera estaría constituida por el aparato de Estado y sus elementos legales, administrativos y de coerción. Ahí se ubica el mundo de la planificación, de las políticas económicas y sociales, etc. En este aparato de Estado están presentes los sectores hegemónicos de la sociedad, que detentan el poder económico, político, social y cultural. Son al mismo tiempo los que se benefician de la situación vigente. Una transformación profunda de la sociedad frecuentemente hiere sus intereses. Por esa razón, muchas veces reducen los cambios a programas que, si bien tratan de favorecer a otros sectores rezagados, no llegan a imponer a ellos mismo sacrificios o a poner en riesgo sus privilegios. Hay, pues, un condicionamiento de influencia política dentro del mismo aparato de Estado que reduce la capacidad de implementar planes alternativos de cambios de cierta radicalidad. De esta manera, se proponen políticas para reducir la gravedad de la "problema crítica" que llega a grados cada vez más intolerables, pero frecuentemente sin relacionar esa problema con el modelo de concentración de riqueza. Es como si fueran dos fenómenos aislados y como si buscar una solución a la problema se redujera a encontrar recursos para implementar ciertos proyectos asistenciales o a la ampliación de servicios sociales, sin tocar en la estructura productiva y en los mecanismos de concentración del ingreso y de la propiedad.

Sería un simplismo decir que solamente los sectores dominantes se expresan en la sociedad política. La tradición de experiencias populistas en la región indica la presencia en áreas del Estado, de sectores populares. Pero frecuentemente ahí están en posiciones subordinadas o como receptores de beneficios, casi nunca como agentes capaces de generar nuevas políticas.

La situación de la sociedad civil es un poco más compleja. Por sociedad civil entendemos el conjunto de organismos donde se socializan valores, se expresan demandas y se articulan intereses. Allí se encuentran toda suerte de asociaciones locales, sindicatos, escuelas, partidos, medios de comunicación, iglesias, etc. Es innegable, también, el peso de los sectores de mayor poder e influencia en la sociedad. Pero se puede detectar, al mismo tiempo, la emergencia creciente de nuevos sectores sociales que se van organizando alrededor de otros valores, demandas e intereses y que preparan otros modelos de sociedad. La sociedad civil es una amplia arena donde propuestas alternativas se cruzan, alianzas y conflictos se hacen y se deshacen. Así, al mismo tiempo que ocurre una concentración del poder económico y, en
algunos casos, un creciente autoritarismo de estructuras políticas, al nivel de las organizaciones sociales locales - a pesar de las trabas y dificultades - crecen iniciativas de participación y de organización de la población. Y es posiblemente a partir de esas nuevas formas de organizaciones sociales que se pueden estar ofreciendo caminos alternativos al proceso de modernización concentradora y excluyente.

Esto nos indica la necesidad de detectar experiencias de participación, que se están dando en los diferentes países de la región, condicionadas por los grados de mayor o menor democracia o autoritarismo. 3/

La participación no se puede referir a una población indiferenciada y abstracta. La estructura social es un complejo tejido de clases y de sectores sociales que se articulan, se oponen, buscan alianzas, a partir de intereses distintos. En el caso de este trabajo, interesa indicar la presencia de experiencias de participación en sectores que no se han beneficiado con los efectos de la modernización vigente, pero que al mismo tiempo tienen capacidad de organizarse y plantean con cierta fuerza sus demandas y necesidades reales. Los pobres, solamente como grupo social rezagado, no pueden ser sujetos de un proceso histórico alternativo si se mantienen apenas como categoría pasiva y carenciente. Sólo aquellos sectores con conciencia de sus intereses y práctica de organización y de reivindicaciones pueden tener una presencia activa y de real significación social y política.

Eso supone, además, un cierto grado de autonomía y de iniciativa de esos sectores. De esta manera, distinguimos entre movilización, esfuerzo desde afuera de los sectores a partir de líderes, dirigentes políticos o miembros del aparato del Estado, y participación, movimiento de la base a partir de líderes y dirigentes de los mismos sectores sociales.

La participación puede tener diferentes niveles. Puede darse a nivel económico, con la presencia activa en la toma de decisiones de las unidades de producción y en la propiedad de las mismas, y se pueden detectar un sinnúmero de experiencias de co-gestión, empresas comunitarias, cooperativas, etc. La participación en el área social y cultural abarca acciones en diferentes instituciones de la sociedad donde se articulan intereses de clases o grupos, circulan valores, normas, pautas de conducta, se manifiesta la creatividad artística (sindicatos, escuelas, asociaciones, clubes, etc.). La participación en el área política corresponde a la presencia en el proceso de toma de decisiones, desde las estructuras de poder local hasta el plan nacional (partidos y movimientos).

En América Latina se habla frecuentemente de participación popular, queriéndose privilegiar, de esta manera, a sectores emergentes, especialmente obreros y campesinos que, postergados en el proceso de desarrollo modernizador, plantean nuevas metas y
nuevas políticas. La categoría de lo popular no siempre tiene fronteras definidas, pero abarca una amplia gama de sectores, clases o fracciones de clase que sufren algún tipo de explotación o dominación.

En países de altos índices demográficos, adquiere especial importancia la participación de los movimientos juveniles, que constituyen núcleos significativos y creadores, minoritarios entre su mismo sector de edad, pero frecuentemente dinámicos e innovadores. 4/

Otra área que ha merecido especial atención es la de la participación de la mujer, a partir de la constatación de la situación de inferioridad de la misma en la participación en la fuerza de trabajo, acceso a bienes y servicios y, principalmente, presencia en los mecanismos de toma de decisiones. En los últimos años, hay una articulación creciente a partir de movimientos y asociaciones, para hacer presente y activa a la mujer en una sociedad hasta entonces con pautas fundamentalmente masculinas.

Frecuentemente se ha dicho que la sociedad civil latinoamericana es amorfa y las organizaciones locales y mecanismos de participación no tienen mayor relevancia. Eso parece indicar un enorme desconocimiento del sinnúmero de iniciativas dotadas de originalidad y de creatividad. Los análisis cuantitativos o de políticas nacionales dejan escapar una realidad mucho más dinámica de lo que aparece a primera vista. Hay incluso que revisar los mecanismos acostumbrados de análisis y de evaluación de proyectos, como se indicará más adelante. En los puntos siguientes presentamos experiencias en algunos países de la región dejando de lado por sus características muy especiales, a Cuba, con un sistema socio-económico distinto. 5/ El proceso de reconstrucción de Nicaragua es demasiado reciente y también plantea un tipo particular de participación popular masiva que merecería estudio aparte. Pero todo parece indicar que en este país se abren pistas muy interesantes de trabajo, innovadoras y adaptadas a la especificidad de la situación.

Desde los años 60 se han multiplicado, por ejemplo, en las grandes ciudades múltiples organizaciones de base vecinal, especialmente en barrios populares en proceso de urbanización para obtener servicios de luz, agua, alcantarillado y vivienda. Larga es la lista de ciudades en que eso se da. Iniciativas de significación se detectan en las últimas décadas en Lima, Caracas, México, Sao Paulo, Guayaquil, Cali, Bogotá, Santiago, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, etc. Son organizaciones de barriadas, favelas, villas miseria, campamentos. 6/ Buena parte de ellas son de iniciativa local o de grupos privados. Los planes a partir del Estado han quedado muchas veces en un nivel asistencialista.
Clubes de madres, juntas de vecinos, movimientos del costo de vida, juntas de abastecimiento, aparecen como iniciativas más o menos espontáneas, frente al problema económico, a las dificultades de transporte, a la comercialización, etc. Muchas de ellas están ligadas a grupos políticos o religiosos, pero frecuentemente son bastante autónomas y se defienden de posibles manipulaciones desde afuera. Dependiendo, por supuesto, de coyunturas políticas favorables y, a veces, desaparecen en situaciones autoritarias, para emergir nuevamente en momentos de apertura política. Es difícil generalizar ya que responden a situaciones muy diversas, pero una característica relativamente general es el esfuerzo por mantenerse libres de influencias externas.

En el área de la educación y la cultura popular se han dado experiencias extremadamente creadoras. Después de los movimientos de cultura popular en Brasil, a principios de los años 60, en diversos países de la región fueron apareciendo experiencias de educación de adultos, teatro popular, centros de artesanía, plazas de cultura, a partir de asociaciones privadas, movimientos estudiantiles, iglesias, hasta alcaldías y gobiernos de estados o provincias. Aún la dependencia de las coyunturas políticas es aún mayor y desaparecen en momentos de crisis de los mecanismos de participación democrática.

Varías experiencias de medicina popular han contado con la participación de la población, en campañas de medicina preventiva y en nuevas experiencias de equipos médicos y para-médicos, tratando de desarrollar una nueva educación sanitaria a partir de los valores autóctonos de las medicinas tradicionales. Los resultados se han hecho sentir tanto a nivel de la organización de la comunidad en función de los problemas de salud, como en cambios de índices de morbilidad y de mortalidad. El asesoramiento de la Organización Mundial de la Salud y de la Organización Panamericana de la Salud ha sido bastante significativo.

Las experiencias de sindicalización urbana son bastante antiguas en América Latina. Comenzaron a fines del siglo pasado, especialmente con inmigrantes, italianos y españoles, que introdujeron una tradición europea de luchas sociales. Resurgieron considerablemente fuertes en los años 20, para desarrollarse o decayer después según las coyunturas políticas. Pero, igualmente en los períodos de gobiernos autoritarios, se mantuvieron de manera más o menos latente. De otra forma no se explicaría su rápida reorganización cuando las condiciones de participación política pasaban a ser más favorables. Países como Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, entre otros, han tenido una experiencia sindical urbana y minera bastante significativa. En el caso de Brasil, a pesar de que el movimiento sindical fue creado en forma corporativa desde el aparato de Estado y los sindicatos oficiales tuvieron poco margen de autonomía, hubo un movimiento de renovación a partir de las bases, incluso en momentos políticamente menos favorables. Se amplió en los últimos años debido al fuerte au-
mento de la participación y el surgimiento de nuevos cuadros y de liderazgos dinámicos que cuestionan la actual estructura sindical.

La organización en el campo, en sindicatos rurales, ligas o asociaciones también tiene una historia significativa aunque más reciente, en países como Chile, Honduras o México. En ciertos casos, la disputa entre estado y movimientos rurales ha llegado a enfrentamientos serios, y la represión ha sido especialmente fuerte. Experiencias de acción comunitaria, como en el caso de Ecuador, indican la vitalidad de organizaciones y federaciones campesinas. 

En estos sectores se nota el dinamismo de diferentes tipos de iniciativas locales o regionales y, al mismo tiempo, la rápida crisis de modelos que han sido importados desde el exterior o impuestos desde el aparato de Estado. De esta manera, grandes programas de desarrollo de la comunidad, con apoyo de agencias internacionales, amplio financiamiento y asesoramiento técnico, han tenido bajos resultados y muchas veces desaparecieron sin dejar huellas.

El movimiento cooperativo ha sido bastante estudiado en la región, pero sus resultados son muy distintos según los países. De acuerdo con datos recogidos entre 1962 y 1970, los porcentajes de incremento de cooperativas - con excepción de Brasil y de México - han sido muy altos, superando en algunos casos el 300%. Especialmente significativo ha sido el crecimiento de las cooperativas agropecuarias. Si por un lado las cooperativas han significado muchas veces la posibilidad concreta de autodefensa de pequeños propietarios y una ocasión de real participación y de solidaridad, otras veces se han transformado en verdaderas empresas modernas con sus ejecutivos y asalariados. Pasan a tener, entonces, objetivos capitalistas de maximación de lucros, muy diversos de lo que se suele conocer como los de la doctrina cooperativista. Una investigación hecha por una oficina de Naciones Unidas en Venezuela, Ecuador y Colombia, mostró la ambigüedad de muchas de las experiencias. El coordinador de la investigación, en un estudio posterior, hizo severas críticas a muchas de las experiencias de cooperativas rurales. Así, concluye:

"en América Latina generalmente las cooperativas han estado impulsadas por motivos políticos como un medio para pacificar un campesinado en despertar, para calmar los efectos adversos de las depresiones.... Las mayores campañas de promoción del movimiento cooperativo en América Latina han ocurrido por lo general en períodos de crisis económica, violencia, amenaza de violencia rural."
Si las críticas no pueden ser generalizables, y hay experiencias que indican una real participación, como en caso del Uruguay, y también de Ecuador, ellas no dejan de apuntar a algunos de los problemas centrales del movimiento cooperativista que necesitaria revisarse permanentemente.

Hay que señalar la importancia de las organizaciones no-gubernamentales (ONG) tanto nacionales como internacionales, presentes en la promoción de distintas experiencias de participación popular. En algunos casos no se han adaptado a las realidades locales, trayendo desde fuera modelos de organización que quedaron marginales de la realidad social más dinámica (clubes de jóvenes, técnicas de desarrollo comunitario, etc.). Sin embargo, en larga medida, han tenido carácter innovador y la multiplicidad de iniciativas, lejos de confundir, ha sido frecuentemente la ocasión de buscar diferentes maneras de articularse con realidades locales difusas y cambiantes. Hace falta una investigación detallada de la presencia de las ONG y del resultado de sus actividades.

En América Latina merece una mencion especial el caso de las iglesias cristianas en general y la iglesia católica en particular. En momentos críticos en que la sociedad civil se ha cerrado, por presiones de la misma sociedad política, uno de los pocos espacios de participación y de organización locales han sido las llamadas comunidades eclesiales de base, donde sectores campesinos, obreros y subempleados de las periferias urbanas han encontrado ocasión de reunirse para tratar sus intereses concretos de trabajo, servicios, etc., además de sus actividades específicamente religiosas. Un cierto número de organizaciones vecinales, movimientos por costo de la vida, organizaciones de pequeños propietarios rurales, han surgido a partir de organizaciones eclesiales. Eso ha estado ocurriendo especialmente en Brasil, Perú y El Salvador.

Un reciente informe de una consultoría de la FAO indica proyectos significativos en Colombia, Perú y Brasil que parten "de la comunidad como agente de transformaciones y no como objeto de un plan ofrecido desde arriba hacia abajo..... en una concepción esencialmente anti-tecnocrática". Un caso particular, el del municipio de Boa Esperança, en Brasil, indica además una interesante articulación entre las organizaciones comunitarias de todo el territorio y la estructura administrativa local (alcaldía), donde el poder comunitario, a partir de un buen número de organizaciones de base y el poder municipal, con su consejo de desarrollo, lejos de enfrentarse, combinan sus esfuerzos. Eso permitió que el municipio, el más retrasado del Estado de Espíritu Santo, en situación económica crítica, en dos años se recuperara, iniciando un proceso de desarrollo agroindustrial de bases comunitarias. Ello constituye un ejemplo concreto de la viabilidad practica de procesos de desarrollo auto-sostenidos, basados en la iniciativa comunitaria (de las bases) y en la práctica de la democracia.
La Conferencia Mundial sobre Reforma Agraria y Desarrollo Rural de 1979 es bastante explícita en lo que se refiere a la participación:

"La participación de la población en las instituciones y sistemas que regulan su vida es un derecho humano fundamental, así como una condición indispensable para el reajuste del poder político en favor de los grupos desfavorecidos y para el desarrollo social y económico. Las estrategias para el desarrollo rural sólo pueden hacer realidad todas sus posibilidades si se logra la motivación, la participación activa y la organización a nivel popular de la población rural, con especial referencia a los estratos menos favorecidos, para que intervenga en la elaboración y formulación de políticas y programas y en la creación de instituciones administrativas, sociales y económicas, incluidas las cooperativas y otras formas voluntarias de organización, para aplicar y evaluar dichos programas y políticas". 10/.

Busqueda de criterios para la elaboración y la evaluación de proyectos

En el capítulo anterior hemos analizado el surgimiento de un número significativo de experiencias de participación a nivel local. Puede parecer paradójico que, frente a los complejos problemas a nivel nacional e internacional, se haga hincapié en experiencias concretas. Lo que aquí se quiere indicar es que, la solución de los problemas de desarrollo no está sólo en los planes globales, sino principalmente en diferentes proyectos que buscan caminos alternativos a los procesos en crisis. No se trata de poner de lado el esfuerzo de planificación ni de elaboración de proyectos integrados. El énfasis está dado en la necesidad de crear nuevas experiencias que puedan alimentar futuros procesos de planificación renovados donde se recojan planes y proyectos realmente dinámicos e innovadores. La elaboración e implementación de planes y proyectos rutinarios y tradicionales ha llevado a un agotamiento del mismo proceso de planificación y a una crisis de confiabilidad en el mismo.

Hay que señalar, además, que los criterios para juzgar a los proyectos sociales que se basan en la participación popular no pueden ser los mismos aplicables para proyectos en el área económica. Así, el criterio de rentabilidad debería ser revisado, ya que los resultados al nivel social son de mediano o largo plazo y difícilmente medibles. Un proyecto educativo modificará los niveles de conocimiento y de capacitación, tendrá impacto sobre la productividad de las personas afectadas, pero no siempre los resultados son posibles de detectar inmediatamente ni a partir de índices cuantificables. Además, la relación costo-beneficio no se puede determinar con exactitud debido a los
multiples y diversos beneficios que se pueden alcanzar. Los elementos cualitativos en esos proyectos son los más relevantes.

Un criterio a tener en cuenta es la modificación en las pautas de participación, capacitación e iniciativa de la población afectada por los proyectos, al buscar detectar el surgimiento de un mayor dinamismo y los posibles efectos favorables sobre otras actividades en el área.

Sin embargo, también los criterios de participación y capacitación no están dados desde fuera, ni desde los países o áreas más "desarrollados", sino más bien a partir de las pautas de comportamiento, valores y estilo de vida de la misma población. Esto es especialmente importante en las áreas rurales y mucho más si hay culturas autóctonas con características particulares. Las poblaciones indígenas indo-americanas tienen pautas tradicionales de participación y una manera de vida comunitaria que inducen naturalmente a la acción en común, pero dentro de ciertos patrones, ritos y costumbres. La introducción de canales nuevos de participación desde afuera puede producir una reacción desfavorable, que no representa un rechazo a la participación como tal, sino a un cierto estilo de la misma. También los criterios de eficiencia en las culturas rurales e indígenas son bien distintos de aquellos del mundo industrial urbano.

Ya el informe de la reunión de Frascati, co-patrocinada por la CMCH/AD de la FAO, insistía sobre la participación de la población en todos los niveles de la planificación y del desarrollo, como precondición del mismo desarrollo, pero al mismo tiempo advirtió que el Tercer Mundo debe encontrar "sus propios conceptos, criterios y formas de acción frente a los fines del desarrollo". 11/

A partir de estos elementos se deben analizar, entonces, los problemas del financiamiento de proyectos sociales y de participación popular. Es de desear que los proyectos locales alcancen a mediano plazo un autofinanciamiento y que los costos sean recobrados por ellos mismos, con los resultados de sus mismas actividades. Sin embargo, ello no puede ser generalizado ni transformado en norma permanente. Hay proyectos que, por su carácter educativo o de organización social, dificilmente podrán recuperar lo que fue invertido en ellos. O, dicho de otra manera, los beneficios directos e indirectos no tienen un resultado económico dentro del mismo proyecto, sino que se ubican en diferentes espacios sociales, no siempre de manera visible. Al no tomar esto en cuenta se eliminarían proyectos "no rentables", pero que son indispensables a nivel de la promoción popular e incluso benéficos a la economía de una región, pero con un impacto indirecto o mediato.
De esto deviene el problema de la ayuda a los proyectos. En el pasado se denunciaron mecanismos de ayuda que tenían como resultado imponer determinadas políticas, favorecer la penetración de empresas transnacionales o reforzar los mecanismos de dependencia. Se ha enfatizado la necesidad de una relación lo más equilibrada posible entre los organismos donantes y los que reciben ayuda, a partir del principio de la solidaridad. Sin embargo, no hay que ocultar la dificultad de esa relación, ya que la situación del que recibe delante del que ofrece recursos siempre es desigual. Por eso mismo se hace necesario tomar conciencia de que se trata de una relación inevitablemente tensa, para buscar, luego, mecanismos de diálogo que minimicen las distancias que se crean.

No se puede olvidar tampoco que la eficiencia de los proyectos no depende de la cantidad de recursos invertidos en él. En el caso de Brasil se han podido comparar proyectos que recibieron elevados recursos y tuvieron pobres resultados, con otros que alcanzaron gran impacto aunque casi sin ayuda. Estos últimos, por lo general, tienen como punto de partida la iniciativa de la población local y saben aprovechar su capacidad de creación, su interés y su dinamismo.

Se ha constatado, además, que existen momentos en que una ayuda excesiva puede incluso traer resultados negativos, burocratizando la experiencia y multiplicando acciones a partir de la obligación de utilizar los recursos no en relación con sus necesidades reales. Debemos considerar, además, la capacidad de los proyectos y experiencias de absorber recursos que reciben.

Para las organizaciones donantes no es fácil revisar criterios de relevancia, eficiencia y rentabilidad a partir de situaciones nacionales y locales tan diversas. Para que ello ocurra es necesario un diálogo permanente con los sectores más dinámicos de cada sociedad y con las experiencias que realmente aparecen como "portadoras de futuro". Un problema previo es el de saber cuáles son las experiencias con las cuales hay que entablar el diálogo y, para eso, se debe recurrir a un análisis socio-político, ya que los elementos puramente técnicos son insuficientes.

Nuevamente nos enfrentamos con los límites de lo técnico y su inserción dentro de un proceso histórico más global. Y se repiten las preguntas: ¿desarrollo para qué y para quién?, ¿desarrollo a partir de quiénes?

Estas observaciones son el resultado de algunos años de experiencias de trabajo en el área del desarrollo social de las Naciones Unidas y de una actividad de consultoría que permitió la familiarización con un gran número de informes de trabajo y de experiencias locales de participación en el desarrollo. Este informe pretende describir esas experiencias - por ser distintas entre
sí, y responder a diferentes situaciones —, sino extraer algunas conclusiones a partir de ellas.

Para finalizar queremos enfatizar un aspecto al que hemos hecho referencia más atrás. Los problemas del desarrollo no se resuelven ni en la elaboración de planes demasiado generales y tradicionales, ni tampoco en la suma y acumulación de proyectos locales aislados. Su solución histórica y a mediano plazo puede ser el resultado del efecto multiplicador de acciones, proyectos y experiencias innovadoras que en un cierto momento necesitan ser articulados entre sí y en un plan regional y nacional, a partir de una voluntad política de transformación social capaz de elaborar un modelo alternativo de sociedad futura. Mientras esta última situación no se dé, es a partir de iniciativas concretas que el camino puede ser preparado, para alcanzar el momento en que los planes globales e integrados puedan recoger toda esa experiencia y darle una mayor cohesión. Es necesario insistir, también, en que durante todo el proceso histórico, la participación de la población en la elaboración, implementación y evaluación de proyectos y planes es absolutamente indispensable. Esto en la medida en que se piense que tales proyectos y planes pueden estar vitalmente ligados a las expectativas y necesidades de la población y sean capaces de captar su energía creadora y transformadora.

1/ Marshall Wolfe, La pobreza como fenómeno social y como problema central de la política de desarrollo, (Santiago; CEPAL, 1976), mimeo.


3/ Para lo que sigue nos basamos en parte en L.A. Gomez de Souza y M. Teresira de Barbieri, Notas para una evaluación de las experiencias de participación en América Latina, (Santiago; CEPAL, 1973), mimeo.


5/ Para el caso de Cuba, en su contexto político específico ver CEPAL, Apreciaciones sobre el estilo de desarrollo y sobre las principales políticas sociales en Cuba, (México; Mayo 19.8), mimeo.

6/ Para un análisis crítico ver G. Riofrío y A. Rodríguez, De invasores a invadidos: 10 años de autodesarrollo en una barriada, (Lima; Desco, 1980).
Ver Carlos Arrobo, "Organización campesina y acción comunitaria", en Información sobre CESA y la actual situación del sector campesino, (Quito; CESA, 1978), mimeo.

UNRISD, Estudios de la realidad campesina: cooperación y cambio, (Ginebra; UNRISD, 1970); para los datos ver OEA, El Movimiento cooperativista en los países latinoamericanos, (Washington; OEA, 1971).


Report on a Western European Workshop jointly sponsored by FFHC/Action for Development-FAO and the Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX), Funding agencies and development education, FFH/AD/EUR/72/3, agosto 1972.

(suite de la page 1(3))

LA PARTICIPATION POPULAIRE EN AMÉRIQUE LATINE

Résumé: La transformation d'une société ne dépend pas tellement de l'élaboration de plans et de projets techniquement corrects, mais, fondamentalement, de la capacité de certains groupes sociaux d'amener le changement. En d'autres termes, outre la question "transformation pour qui et pour quoi?" il faut répondre à la question "transformation par qui?". Une vision technocratique suggérerait que les seuls secteurs capables d'offrir des alternatives viables et de les réaliser seraient les spécialistes, universitaires ou technobureaucrates. Pour d'autres, tout dépendrait de dirigeants politiques capables de conduire le processus et d'assurer le consensus autour de leur projet, et de leur charisme personnel.

Sans nier la nécessité de la compétence technique ni celle de l'orientation politique, cet article insiste sur le fait que le processus de changement dépend tout particulièrement de groupes sociaux capables de prendre des initiatives et de mener à bien des expériences nouvelles.
a microfiche collection

20'784 pages on 213 fiches

Included in this microfiche collection is:

a) the complete set of IFDA Dossier from January 1978 to December 1980

b) the complete set of supporting and background papers, in total 347 documents

Printed finding-aids

1. A list of all (347) papers arranged according to the four broad levels of development (local, national, Third World, global). For ease of reference the policy conclusions papers, as published in the Dossier, are reproduced a second time on top of the supporting papers (53 pages).

2. A list of the 20 Dossiers with their date of publication

3. Index by author (16 pages)

4. Index by country (8 pages)

Updating

A regular annual updating is foreseen

Price

The microfiche collection costs SFr. 950 including the indices and binders

ORDERS FROM: Inter Documentation Company AG, Poststrasse 14
6300 Zug, Switzerland
Abstract: Experience of the last quarter century has shown the critical role of socio-cultural factors in the development process. It is being increasingly recognized that many constraints to rural development have much to do with an inadequate understanding of the people experiencing change. Large investments are being made in rural development. It would be a human failure of the worst kind, and not just some financial loss, if rural development were to be further hindered because of ignorance about the life and perception of the poorest groups. Participation of anthropologists will ease this constraint.

LE ROLE DES ANTHROPOLOGUES DANS LE DEVELOPPEMENT RURAL

Résumé: L’expérience du dernier quart de siècle a montré le rôle central des facteurs socio-culturels dans le processus de développement. On voit de mieux en mieux que nombre d’obstacles au développement rural proviennent du peu d’attention accordé par les "développeurs" à ceux qui vivent le changement. L’ampleur des investissements effectués dans le développement rural est considérable. Ce serait un échec grave, allant bien au-delà d’un gaspillage financier, si le développement rural continuait à se heurter à l’ignorance de la façon de vivre et de penser des groupes les plus pauvres. La participation des anthropologues est un moyen de réduire cet obstacle.

EL PADEL DE LOS ANTROPOLOGOS EN EL DESARROLLO RURAL

Resumen: La experiencia del último cuarto de siglo ha mostrado el papel crítico de los factores socio-culturales en el proceso de desarrollo. Se ve cada vez más que un gran número de obstáculos al desarrollo rural proviene de que no se sabe bastante de la gente que está viviendo el cambio. Se ha invertido mucho en el desarrollo rural. Sería un fracaso humano grave, más desbastador aún que el financiero, si el desarrollo rural continuara teniendo dificultades a causa de la ignorancia sobre la manera de vivir y de pensar de los más pobres. La participación de los antropólogos aliviaria este obstáculo.
As mankind reaches out for the stars, there remain on the home planet earth large numbers of the seriously poor who are unable to live a fully human life. Indeed the Third World today is characterized by pervasive degrading poverty of its millions. Development which all these years should have focussed on the poor seems simply to have bypassed them.

The challenge of rural poverty

Nationally as well as internationally organized development effort has been undertaken in recent years to alleviate this widespread poverty in the rural areas. The number and variety of development programmes that seek to reach the rural poor have fast multiplied. A high priority has begun to be given to the programmes that seek improvement in the productive capabilities of, and the public services for, the poor especially those living in the rural areas.

Development of the rural poor is emerging as the main target of all current rural development efforts, and the strategy of launching a direct attack on mass poverty has now become widely acceptable.

However, experience with rural development has brought to light cases of both successes and failures. Unfortunately the number of successful development cases reported remains small. It is the haltingly moving programmes and projects that dominate the rural development scene. It would appear that poverty has firmly withstood attacks made against it so far. Instead of retreating, rural poverty seems rather to have made further advances.

On the basis of a study utilizing data from 74 Third World countries, Adelman and Morris came to the conclusion that development has only made things worse for the poor. They state that "hundreds of millions of desperately poor throughout the world have been hurt rather than helped by economic development." Some studies recently conducted in rural Asia tend to confirm that the standard of living of the absolute poor has declined over time. Expected benefits from the growth process as measured in terms of GNP seem not to be spreading widely to cover all sections of the society. By and large, the poor have tended to stay poor.

It is now becoming increasingly clear that this deadlock in development is attributable to the sole preoccupation of the planners with the issues related to accelerating the pace of economic growth. Simultaneously it is also being recognized that socio-cultural dimension which has not received...
sufficient attention in the earlier planning exercises is an important factor in the development equation 3/. Development is a complex, multi-layered subject.

Current rural development literature is replete with stories of how well-meaning development projects frequently fail to reach the target population. Further, as anthropological studies of the development process show, this is not purely accidental. Most such rural projects which end in failure go against deeply ingrained social and cultural patterns and processes 4/.

If pastoral nomads are given agricultural lands to settle in the newly irrigated desert region and expected to change over to a sedentarized way of living which irrigated farming system demands, development will at best proceed at a slower pace. If efforts are made to increase enrolment in rural primary schools during the busy agricultural season when children are most in need at the farms to lend a helping hand to their parents, the results are bound to be disappointing. If training programmes to improve skills in certain crafts are directed at men in societies where women do the work, there is unlikely to be any considerable improvement in the situation.

Improving access of the poor to public services

Reaching to the poor has turned out to be a much more complex task than was earlier visualized. Planners and administrators here are on an unfamiliar ground. There is no previous experience to guide them in their operations. Often they are therefore unable both to anticipate socio-cultural hurdles which arise during the plan implementation phase, and to try to overcome them.

Since human factors in the rural development process have not traditionally been accorded due importance, knowledge in these matters has not developed to the required degree. An Asian Development Bank document recently noted that "very little is known about the socio-economic milieu in which the poor live and operate" 5/. Frequently planners of rural development make assumptions about village life and the rural poor which are not always tenable.

Often differences among villages in different regions are not considered significant enough. Villages across regions are thought as an entity possessing certain common characteristics. However the fact is that even neighbouring villages manifest differences in many important respects. Charles A. Murray has recounted as follows the readily visible differences among neighbouring villages in Thailand which he studied:

- Thai villages indeed differ, as any villager will confirm. Some are tranquil; some have a history of feuds. Some are pious and sober; others have a jug of moonshine under every porch and card games every night. Some villages are proud of themselves, and proclaim that they grow the sweetest tamarind or the biggest durian or the most beautiful women in the country. Other villages are a collection of houses with only a name for a common bond, and no pride at all.

- Some villages are interminably curious. If a stranger strolls through them, he will be asked at every second house to stop and chat. In another village just down the road, he can walk an hour with hardly a greeting. If he stays for a few days, some villages will prove to be ceremonious in their treatment of him, others relaxed and unbuttoned, still others suspicious and afoof.
Some villages are clean, others are dirty. Some are spread out over several kilometers, each house hidden from its neighbours. In others, the house will be crammed together until their porches touch.

Villages are unpredictable. In one village located a few minutes away from a large town, the visitor still has to explain that the world is round; in another, hours from anywhere, the headman will let him listen to a recording of a Mozart quintet, played on a wind-up Victrola.

But most importantly, some villages seem able to solve their problems while others cannot. Some villages are victimized by conmen, their daughters seduced by recruiters from the city's brothels, plagued by police looking for a rake-off, unable to stop the river from flooding the fields every year - while other villages ignore the conmen, keep out the recruiters, get the district office to rein in the police, and build an earthen dam to hold back the river.

All of them are everyday aspects of life, and together they shape the quality of life in the village. There are limits, of course. An impoverished village living on the edge of starvation is an unpleasant place to live regardless of any other conditions. But given a typical (for Thailand) level of natural resources, the nature of the village - its gestalt, if you will - is a crucial factor in determining whether its inhabitants' daily existence is generally pleasant or generally unpleasant.

It is perhaps the most commonly overlooked fact of life in Third World countries.$^6$. Rural development plans which are unable to capture the intervention-relevant essence of the differences in villages cannot hope to fully aid in their development.

The community development programme of 1950s was based on the premise that the village communities were closely knit, harmonious entities and that in response to exhortations of the community development officials all people from the villages would come out to build roads, schools, wells, tanks and other community assets. It was believed that people would work together and equitably share in the benefits of development. Planners visualized a 'Panchayati Raj' and under the scheme of democratic decentralization devolved responsibility for local development on the village leaders. What happened to the Panchayati Raj which was introduced with great fanfare to bring development and people closer together was described some time ago in the following terms:

When Panchayati Raj came great hopes were aroused and it was expected that Panchayats would be in a position to involve all the people in local efforts to build the village community on a pattern in which disparities would quickly vanish. But the people who were elected to the Panchayats and the people who failed to get elected ranged themselves into strong warring factions, usually along the castelines. Soon they became so busy in fighting among themselves - not always on issues relating to improvement of the village life - that the task of development simply got relegated into the background. In fact this situation did not allow much development to occur, and where development did occur it only benefitted the powerful and the influential members of the Panchayat or their relatives and friends. The benefits did not trickle down to the lowliest in the village$^7$. 

Failure to see village life as it is with distinct caste groups, forms of cooperative living, factions and their frequent fights has only meant planning divorced from reality on the ground.

Among the planners a widely held belief is that peasants do not like to change and that they offer resistance to whatever plans are made for their development. Some have even gone to the extent of branding them as lazy, stupid, incapable of either attaining or enjoying higher standards of living. According to a common stereotype, "farmers are ultra-conservative individuals, steeped in tradition, hemmed in by custom, lacking in motivation and incentive, captives of age-old methods, and lacking in ability to make wise decisions" 8/.

To those who blamed the conservative farmers for the slow development of agriculture only a few years ago, the current agitations of the same conservative farmers for more fertilizers, for more water, for more electricity etc. must be a great puzzlement. Anthropological studies have by now firmly established that the farmers have all these years been wrongly characterized as lazy, conservative, bound up by traditions and superstitions 9/. Such characterization has been and continues to be helpful only to the planners and the administrators - they are absolved from responsibilities for the project failures.

Evidence on the adoption of innovations among farmers from different parts of the world seems to indicate that farmers are willing to change if advantages of the recommended practices can be conclusively demonstrated. They are in fact vocal in demanding changes. On the other hand, it is the dominant groups and individuals who work hard to see that the poor farmers do not go far ahead on the road to development. They are always looking for occasions to exploit the situation to their own exclusive advantage.

Development affects different groups differently. Its avowed aim is to benefit the poor most of all. Therefore the rich are not likely to view the process favourably. As they stand to lose once the development gets going, their whole effort is to see that at least the status quo is not upset. From his studies W.F. Wertheim concludes that the true obstacles to development come not from the poor who are willing to change, but from the rich who are opposed to change 10/.

It is the inadequate understanding of village life which primarily accounts for poor planning and slow implementation of most rural development programmes. Unfortunately planners and administrators do not even have a desire to know more about the rural poor. Often it is stated that while some knowledge of village life may be necessary for the experts from abroad, this would be unnecessary for local experts as they are expected to know all about life in their own countries.

The fallacy of this argument is increasingly becoming apparent. Possibly the local expert may know something about villages from his area, but he cannot be expected to automatically possess complete knowledge of village life relevant to his work as a rural development planner and administrator. In India, a country of continental diversity, the differences in lifestyle in various regions are so marked that even an expert on rural life cannot be expected to know about the entire country.

Then, most planners and administrators in the Third World come from an urban background. Their world and the world of the rural poor are quite dissimilar.
Therefore there is no escape from the fact that unless those responsible for
development of the poor know about their condition, the programmes will miss
their targets completely. In most Third World countries, as the World Develop-
ment Report, 1980 points out "administration is not properly geared to iden-
tifying the people to be served, increasing their access to services, adapting
services until they are appropriate, delivering them efficiently and observing
(and reacting to) the public's response". This sequence requires administra-
tors who can gain the confidence of the rural poor and who would be willing to
learn from them. Clearly there is great scope for strengthening administra-
tive capability in this direction 11/.

Reluctance in participation

On the part of the poor there are no compulsions of any kind to stay poor. If
they could help it, they certainly would like to shed their poverty. Why then
does poverty persist? A simple answer is that the poor cannot lift themselves
above the poverty line through their own individual efforts. The odds are
heavily against the poor on this battlefront.

The poor live in highly stratified societies, with clearly demarcated classes,
castes and other groupings, having their own interests to pursue. The system
has been so worked out that the higher groups are prevented by religion, by
tradition, and by other social forces to unite and to challenge the estab-
lished position of the affluent groups. This is true of most Third World
countries.

Governments are anxious to see that benefits from public services begin rea-
ching to the poor directly, and that the poor actively take part in programmes
designed to promote their development. However, the poor are prevented from
getting most out of these development programmes. Many factors account for
this situation.

For one thing, the rural poor do not enthusiastically come forward to receive
the assistance which the development personnel offer them. At the back of
their mind are old memories of officials who in the past visited them only to
collect taxes. Many in the interior rural areas are still not prepared to
believe that the officials can ever have a different role, that of promoting
their development.

Finally, there is the question of social distance between the officials and
the poor. Often the officials are from higher caste groups, whereas the poor
in the village represent the lower caste groups. Thus social background does
not allow mixing of the two groups on a basis and with a frequency necessary
for development to get fully started. Officials then have the option to meet
and to work only among the high caste villagers. When that happens it helps
development programmes to move further along. But this partnership of the
officials and the elites makes the rural poor more suspicious of the officials,
with unfavourable repercussions on the entire development process 12/.

Participation by the poor in the development process has been talked about
endlessly, but this does not seem to have been realized except partially and
in some favoured show-piece project villages. It is not easy for the poor to
organize and to raise their voice against all the vested interests that so
far have exploited them and kept them down in their present low positions.
A point to remember is that the poor do not constitute a single category with
all the people below a particular income level having a common objective in fighting the affluent. Individually most poor are so heavily dependent upon the rich (usually the moneylender) that the protest as a way of demanding their share in development may not be considered the most practicable in the circumstances.

The poor have very little access to information. Often they know next to nothing about plans and programmes designed only to promote their development. Information systems of the kind that may be of educational value to the rural poor still have not developed to the required extent.

The way development is designed and administered does not much enthuse the poor people. Everything comes from above. In some places tinned food received as aid from the affluent countries for distribution amongst victims of famine instantly found its way in the foodstores of the bigger cities. The poor just have no use for this food; their food habits are different.

People in the Third World have their own ideas of what constitutes development. These merit careful consideration if the poor are to participate in the development process of their own accord. Development planning of the top-down kind excludes, not invites, participation of the poor in the development process.

Tradition and Development

For a long time tradition, which still remains a dominant factor in the lives of the rural poor in the Third World, has been seen as something totally opposed to development and change. Therefore planners and administrators have tended to minimize its significance in rural development planning and implementation. Difficulties encountered in specifically assisting development of the poorer groups and in securing their voluntary association in development programmes designed to provide direct benefit to them have now brought to surface inadequacies of the past approaches.

Contrary to the earlier beliefs, anthropological research from a wide range of traditional societies has shown that tradition and modernity are not in conflict. Rather they may be mutually reinforcing.

Traditional social and cultural patterns can well be utilized to promote the overall goals of development. Farmers may be encouraged to adopt modern agricultural practices in the belief that from the resultant gains in additional incomes they will be better placed to meet their family and kinship obligations. The authority of the traditionally respected leaders can be invoked in aid of many development programmes at the village level. Summing up experiences in the Arab region, Jurgen von Mural says:

One of the most important policy questions in the introduction of social change and development at the local level is the problem of how traditional values and institutions can be harnessed to the purpose of development. The problem is to identify more precisely those practices, values and institutions that can be used for constructive social change, together with the strategies appropriate to different kinds of situations, and to incorporate this knowledge in specific programmes of development. Popular participation in development is facilitated where there is a strong tradition of local organization. This is especially true since group action undoubtedly needs more than a perceived coincidence of individual self-
interests; there must also be a certain sense of solidarity and mutual trust among the members of a group. When rational economic incentives can be successfully implanted in still functioning traditional associations, then there is a chance of transforming them into modern societies 13/.

Awareness is rapidly growing that socio-cultural forces play a significant role, and that their neglect will have an adverse effect on the outcome of all developmental activity. Reporting on the Nigerian experience, S.K. Taiye Williams concludes:

... It is now becoming increasingly clear that possession of technical knowledge alone is not enough in getting agricultural development moving on its path of contributing to overall economic development. This has to be buttressed with knowledge of some of the sociological factors such as land tenure system, family and village organizations, values and norms, systems of sanction and assignment of roles, and the role of strong solidarity among the people 14/.

In working with the rural poor for their development, it is of the greatest importance that the concerned personnel are aware of special characteristics of the traditional village society. They can then work effectively with the people to produce the intended results.

What can anthropologists do?

Many anthropologists lament that they are not getting a fair deal from others in the development world, and that the importance of what they have to offer is not fully appreciated.

But if anthropologists think that they are getting excluded from participation in decision-making and action in the field of development they perhaps cannot blame anybody except themselves. Traditional village societies in the Third World, on which are currently focussed major development efforts, have all along been the subject of exclusive professional interest to anthropologists. The knowledge concerning the poor which anthropology has built up over the years should therefore be critically important to rural development. Unfortunately, anthropologists themselves have not given enough thought to working for rural development.

There is nothing in the field of anthropology which makes any aspect of it irrelevant to development, kinship studies included. Reporting on Ghana, Janice Jiggins recently noted:

West Africa generally and Ghana in particular is the locus classicus of British social anthropological kinship studies, a subject many development specialists would regard as an arcane academic matter of little relevance to development policy and practice. I would argue, on the contrary, that understanding patterns of family relationship and inheritance - what has been called the domestic domain - is necessary, and practically relevant to development practitioners 15/.

To be useful as members of the interdisciplinary development terms, anthropologists need to be better prepared. They should be familiar with the issues in development, the methods of administration, the role of other disciplines etc. Anthropologists are frequently not equipped to play their part as
development experts. Development agencies do need the services of anthropologists, but not of the kind which universities have traditionally been producing.

Reluctance on the part of anthropologist to come out openly to assist rural development, and to adapt teaching on the campuses to the requirements of development agencies explains why anthropologists have so little experience of rural development administration. When they get opportunities to work, they are unable to contribute much because of any previous background. On assignments to evaluate the projects (not an easy job in the best of circumstances) anthropologists, usually without sufficient prior experience of governmental agencies to be able to tell what sort of criticism would be acceptable and influential in future plans, have been found to be merely critical.

What is the nature of the distinctive anthropological contribution to development? Mandelbaum in a recent article sets out to indicate the special resources of anthropology as follows 16/:

(i) **Holistic view:** An important lesson of anthropology is to view the man in his totality. The insistence on seeing the whole, interconnections among parts, etc. has enabled anthropologists to gain insights into the traditional societies which otherwise is not possible.

(ii) **Field work:** Anthropology has a long tradition of field work in villages across the Third World. It is mainly through participant observation technique that anthropologists obtain data and other information for their writings. Living among the people in far away villages, they come to know of details which it is not possible to get through any other research method 17/.

(iii) **Relating Microview to Macroview:** With their knowledge of local conditions as also the wider national culture, anthropologists are in a unique position to relate microview to the macroview.

(iv) **Comparative Perspective:** Often studies done by anthropologists in a comparative frame cover a wide range of societies. In an increasingly interdependent world, most problems acquire a global dimension. A comparative perspective emerging from anthropological studies can be useful.

In order to view the anthropological contribution in a proper perspective, it would be helpful to be aware of its weaknesses as well. Some of the criticism against anthropological methods particularly must be noted.

Adian Southall finds fault with the holistic approach of anthropology. The argument runs as follows:

... One reason why anthropology cuts little ice is because it insists on the whole and the general in an age devoted to specialization. It is all right, simply because not very relevant or important, for anthropologists to attempt the study of remote and small-scale socio-cultural systems as wholes, but when large-scale and modern situations are studies, anthropology must surely give way to the more precise, narrow, specialized disciplines; to economics, sociology, political science, and, indeed, the new subspecializations to which even they give place: econometrics, public administration, regional science, and the rest 18/.
In a generally critical way, Glynn Cochrane suggests that anthropology still has a long way to go before its conclusions can be acceptable to the development agencies:

"... Different economists will be able, independently, to arrive at the conclusion that there will be roughly similar rates of return on an economic investment project. But will several anthropologists give the same advice, if consulted, about a particular investment project? I suspect that most potential users of anthropology think the answer is 'no', intuitively sensing that the cherished individualism of the anthropologist is at variance with the degree of uniformity of judgement and predictability that characterize the objectivity and verifiability of professional statements. Anthropology needs to convince potential users of the discipline that it can be a profession whose members can be relied on to perform with the degree of uniformity and reliability associated with engineers, doctors and lawyers."

The value of anthropological studies of village communities for purposes of national planning is often debated. A question that constantly arises is: How can such studies be used to make nationwide plans of development? On the basis of his study of two Indonesian towns, Clifford Geertz observes:

"In the main, the value of systematic studies of particular communities for the understanding of the national economic development lies (1) in their more intensive probing of particular dynamics which are, nevertheless, of broader general significance; and (2) in their more circumstantial depiction of the nature of the social and cultural context within which development inevitably will have to take place."

As a basis of prediction, T. Scarlett Epstein thinks, studies by anthropologists offer a sounder basis than do many of the unreliable macro-economic surveys in the Third World countries. Macro-predictions require statistical data of a sophistication which is often unavailable. But the limitations of macro-predictions are not inconsiderable, she admits:

There is, for example, the question of "representativeness" and the problems of generalizing from a situation in which there can be no guarantee that all the relevant variables are present. There is the further and related issue that the more restricted the form of observation, the greater the likelihood of the local situation under study being affected by intrusive factors.

Ideally, the macroapproach of the economist and the microapproach of the anthropologist must combine if planning is to be more realistic. Anthropologists will also need to modify some of their time-consuming field-work methods to be able to assist the planners at a short notice. Consideration needs to be given to so change the method of village studies that their generalizations become valid for the region, if not the whole country. A single village study can be supplemented by visits to a number of villages in the region to gain first-hand knowledge of relevant developments.

At the present moment accurate, intimate knowledge of the people and their culture acquired through a field-work method remains the main strength of anthropology. This knowledge is directly relevant to rural development planning and operations. While anthropological theory and methods still are in
their own developmental stage, the insights of anthropologists can nevertheless contribute significantly to overall development planning and administration.

On the uniquely anthropological contribution to development, Glynn Cochrane emphatically states as follows:

The Third World badly needs the kinds of expertise that only anthropologists posses. What special attributes does anthropology have? What would be the utility of an anthropological dimension in development work? My own experience suggests some obvious strengths: first, anthropological methods of data collection are capable of producing unique information of high quality; second, anthropologists have an interest in human motivation which is of inestimable value in making calculations about development policies and their consequences; third, anthropologists have a humanistic orientation which usually causes them to examine the ethical and moral basis for change against the needs of the people whose wants those changes are supposed to serve.

Notes


13/ Jurgen von Muralt, "Rural Institutions and Planned Change in the Middle East and North Africa", in Orlando Fals Borda and Inayatullah (eds), A Review of Rural Cooperation in Developing Areas (Geneva: UNRISD).


17/ Other disciplines also are now getting increasingly involved in village studies. See, Biplap Dasgupta (ed), Village Studies in the Third World (Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation (India), 1978), and in particular G. Parthasarthy, "Indian Village Studies and the Village Poor", pp. 149-164.


Abstract: In coping with the recent evolution of the world economy, especially with restructuration and internationalization of production, the bargaining position of trade unions has weakened throughout the world. Unions have also failed to free themselves from the preponderance of short-term interests and to focus on the long-term aspirations of the working class. The paper provides examples of questionable and absent union solidarity owing to short-term considerations. International strategies of trade unions exist to eliminate wage differentials among countries, as well as within countries, but internationally they have seldom worked. The development charter of the ICFTU has attempted to counter this evolution by recommending that the Third World should pursue development strategies aimed at the satisfaction of fundamental human needs. But this is not enough. More should be said about the actors who can prevent or enforce such a strategy.

Résumé: L'évolution récente de l'économie mondiale, notamment sa restructuration et l'internationalisation de la production ont affaibli le pouvoir de négociation des syndicats dans presque tous les pays du monde. Les syndicats, pour leur part, n'ont pas réussi à se libérer de la prépondérance des intérêts nationaux à court terme, ni à bien percevoir les aspirations à long terme des travailleurs. Cet article cite un certain nombre d'exemples à cet égard. Il y a bien des stratégies syndicales internationales pour réduire ou éliminer des différences de salaire entre pays, aussi bien qu'à l'intérieur de chaque pays, mais, internationalement, elles ont rarement opéré; la charte de développement de la CISL a essayé de résister à cette évolution, en recommandant que le Tiers Monde poursuive des stratégies de développement axées sur la satisfaction des besoins humains fondamentaux. Mais il faut aller plus loin; il importe d'identifier les acteurs sociaux qui s'opposent à de telles stratégies ou, au contraire, peuvent en faciliter la mise en œuvre.
1. The structural changes which have come about in the world economy since the late sixties and early seventies have confronted the trade union movement with new problems throughout the world.

The steady growth of the world economy, which had gone on for two decades, and through which the trade unions in industrialised countries had been able to obtain growing negotiating power at plant and supra-plant level, came to an end. The continuation of these developments and indeed in many cases simply the protection of acquired rights and advantages was clearly jeopardised.

In some countries (and this is particularly the case in Italy, England and France) the rights and advantages which the trade unions managed to achieve at the turning point in these developments - in the late sixties - after a hard-won social battle are now in fact being called into question. Restructuring processes in enterprises, structural crises in an increasing number of branches of industry and a persistently high overall unemployment rate are restricting the trade unions' scope for representing workers' interests.

Since the end of the sixties, it is not only the trade unions in industrialised countries which are having to contend with growing pressure of problems; this is also the case with the trade unions in Third World countries. New terms of reference were laid down, also for the trade unions, when the policy of import substitution, particularly in Latin America, came to an end - a policy which was combined with an attempt to integrate politically the industrial labour force and the urban middle classes in the form of populism. The transition of many Third World countries to industrialisation geared to exports and to markets open to foreign capital in fact made the suppression of trade union rights the precondition for this integration into the world economy. As the result of increasing state intervention, it has become incomparably more difficult for strong and independent trade unions to develop in Third World countries. Even traditionally strong trade union movements (such as those in Tunisia, Argentina, Brazil and Bolivia) have been subject to open regimentation and repression.

Although the repercussions differ in intensity from one country to another, this general panorama shows that over the past decade the development of the world economy has caused the position of the trade unions to be weakened throughout the world. This thesis could be illustrated in the frame of reference of the world economy - which is the only appropriate frame of reference at the present time. It may well have been possible in a German parent company to maintain the level of trade union organisation and at least to guarantee through collective bargaining that what has
been achieved for those still employed in that company will be protected. However, when compared to conditions in the enterprise as a whole at world level - including those in all of the subsidiaries, which have also been expanding in Third World countries in the past ten years, the average level of trade union organisation, the average working conditions and wages, the average trade union rights have decreased considerably. In the German textile and garment industry, the unions have managed to maintain worker level organisation and to guarantee the rights and advantages which have been obtained for a considerably reduced number of persons still employed in that sector. In the textile and clothing industry at world level, there has been a significant reduction in worker unionisation, working conditions and wages, and trade union rights; this phenomenon is world-wide and is the result of the reorganisation of this branch of industry.

If the present trends persist, this world-wide weakening of the position of trade unions can become a crucial question in the trade unions' conception of themselves. With persistent unemployment the question in industrialised countries will be whether trade union representation of interests can be reduced to protecting the acquired rights and advantages of those who are still employed (a task which is also becoming more difficult), and in Third World countries the question will be to what extent trade union representation of interests can marginalise the large portions of the "new labour force" in exporting branches of industry on a permanent basis.

2. Right from the outset of this period of structural change in the world economy, trade unionists working at international level repeatedly stated that in view of this development the internationalisation of trade unions had become the survival issue of the trade union movement. "The problems of trade unions in individual countries will become more and more acute and the pressure will come from the internationalisation of industry. The ability to build up truly international strength has become the survival issue of the trade union movement."

In the past ten years the trade unions have endeavoured in many different ways to consolidate the organisational bonds between the national segments of the world-wide trade union movement. New organisational forms emerged at company and regional level, and trade union activities were stepped up at both world and European level. There is no doubt that the trade unions managed in the process to reconcile traditional differences on policy to a certain extent and to improve cross-frontier communications and exchange of trade union information. They failed, however, to free themselves from the "leaden weight of short-term national interests", which is liable to become even more acute precisely in circumstances of economic crisis and unemployment.

This can be illustrated with a few examples:
- In the course of the labour dispute in the Akzo group in 1972, in which there was wide response to the unions' call for solidarity action in the plants of Breda and Wuppertal, which
were threatened with closure, the trade unions nevertheless were unable to persuade the labour force in other plants where there was no immediate danger of closure to join in the action in solidarity - not even at national level.

- Since the end of the sixties, the Union of Automobile Workers in the United States of America has advocated that world group committees be set up through which wage parity between USA and foreign plants would be achieved. There would thus be no further justification for operating the manufacturing plants of the USA automobile groups in foreign countries. Hardly ten years later - in the circumstances of a much deteriorated employment situation in the USA automobile industry - the UAW is now demanding that Japanese manufacturers be encouraged by import restrictions to effect direct investments in the USA.

- In the protest action which the European Textile and Garment Workers' Unions carried out in December 1980, the German Textile and Garment Workers' Union advocated that increases in the imports of finished products from Third World countries be restricted, but at the same time it was advocated that subcontracting be continued whereby materials are exported for processing abroad and then re-imported into Germany, since it enables enterprises to offset costs and thus means that "a certain degree of job security can be maintained".

It can be seen once again from present trends that in periods of economic stagnation the pressure which is brought to bear on trade unions to internationalise trade union action is considerably stronger, whereas on the other hand their actual capacity for action is just as considerably restricted by "the leaden weight of short-term national interests". Expresed in organisational terms, this means that the international trade union federations at plant, sectoral and regional level are only as "international" as the interests of the autonomous national member organisations will allow. Political connections with national interests have by no means been dissolved by the process of the internationalisation of production over the past ten years. It is not only the internationalisation of the trade unions which has proved to be more far-reaching and complex; this is also true of the economic reality of re-organising the world economy.

3. The period of stagnation in the world economy which began in the late sixties and early seventies induced far-reaching structural changes in the world economy which have parallels in economic history. The present issue is that of creating the conditions for a new model of optimal utilisation of capital by combining innovations concerning location, products and processes.

This process includes at least three structural changes at regional level:

- new models of hierarchy amongst the dominating industrialised countries;
- territorial expansion of paid labour, which is created by industrial capital, at new locations whereby the Third World countries are fully included;
emergence of new industrialised countries in the Third World.

These location conditions which have changed throughout the world have clearly influenced the location innovations of industrial enterprises in the past ten years: there has been a considerable increase in direct industrial investments throughout the world precisely in this period of development in the world economy, models of in-company work-sharing and inter-plant cooperation have expanded, and in new locations new providers of internationally competitive production units have emerged.

This world-wide reorganisation of production locations has considerably influenced employment development in industrialised countries. It would however be unsystematic to assess the repercussions of this development on employment as purely the result of production transfers and job export - a term which is highly inadequate. Just as all of the possible adaptation strategies for each individual enterprise are calculated as a whole, so the discussion on employment policy must relate to the overall complex of location, product and process innovation. It is by no means a question of merely parallel processes; the processes are casually inter-related. It was not until production sites had been organised on a world-wide basis that the wave of product and process innovation of the past ten years followed as an economic inevitability.

Company reports from a large number of branches of industry - from the textile and garment industry to the steel and shipbuilding industries - prove that product programmes have been adjusted in the past few years because production is cheaper in other locations (i.e. either their own production units can operate cheaper there or they buy up other plants which are cheaper to run). And company reports from a large number of branches of industry also show that in the past few years manufacturing processes have been rationalised and automated - particularly through the mass industrial utilisation of electronic components - because production can be carried out cheaper elsewhere.

The relation between location, product and process innovation can also be developed in the reverse order. The revolutionisation of process technology towards a high degree of flexibility and greater versatility of application is accompanied by a tremendous drop in the prices of electronic component parts, which was made possible mainly by changes in location of plants manufacturing electronic goods (export-oriented production units in Third World countries).

It would be wrong to attribute location exclusivity to increased process innovation - as is often done in the case of the textile and garment industry. Developments in these branches of industry show that Third World countries are being forced to continue to rationalise and automate. A choice of technology is only conceivable in utopian circumstances, but not under the conditions of international competition. It is thus not to be expected that in the technological innovation of manufacturing processes which has been predicted for the next few years in the textile and garment
industry processing will be "transferred back" from Third World countries; what is likely to happen is that the differences between Third World countries will become more distinct and there will be more pressure towards export-oriented industrialisation.

From the point of view of employment policy - as the most decisive precondition for trade union action - the internationalisation of production, as part of the process of the current reorganisation of the world economy, comprises much more than a form of job export limited to a particular sector (in the sense of the purely quantitative "emigration" of specific jobs) or, in other branches of industry, the loss of jobs due to foreign trade and increased import surpluses. Rather, the level and structure of employment as a whole are strongly influenced in such a way that in the next few years - both in industrialised countries and in Third World countries - more job insecurity is to be expected; in industrialised countries the high unemployment rate can at least be expected to continue, and in the majority of Third World countries the mass poverty can be expected to intensify.

4. In view of the structural changes in the world economy, the international trade union movement has formulated two strategies in particular over the past ten years: harmonisation and restricted protection. Both of these proposals are based fairly pragmatically on prominent forms of the internationalisation of production. (Transnational groups of companies and/or imports from Third World countries).

- The harmonisation approach was first proposed by USA trade unions to prevent the transfer of production units of USA groups to Western Europe. The central idea was to permanently eliminate the material causes of production transfers by approximating wages and working conditions at plant level. From the mid sixties onwards, the International Metalworkers' Federation and the International Chemical Workers' Federation set up so-called world group committees for a number of transnational groups, which were to become the protagonists of this harmonisation strategy. However, they only succeeded in achieving the objective of wage parity between US and Canadian plants of the large automobile groups. They never managed to extend this harmonisation approach in the form of international group collective agreements; this was partly for economic reasons and partly due to trade union differences of opinion.

- This harmonisation effort which was confined to location innovations of transnational groups operating amongst industrialised countries was made with regard to production transfers to and/or imports from developing countries, the overall objective being to guarantee certain minimum standards concerning working conditions and wages, (code of conduct for transnational groups of companies - social clause in trade agreements).

- In industrialised countries and branches of industry, however, a strategy of limited protection also gained ground during the seventies, the aim being to prevent the loss of more jobs as the result of increasing import surpluses. The limitation of
increases in imports from Third World countries in the context of the world textile agreement is the most obvious example here, but it is by no means the only example.

Experience in the past ten years has shown that where harmonisation efforts cannot be carried to a successful conclusion, one possible remedy is to resort to a strategy of limited protection. The further expansion of this alternative strategy in the eighties is not to be ruled out.

5. A great deal will depend on whether the trade unions will manage to have those demands met under which pragmatic strategies are also to be classified if they are to constitute a convincing political alternative. Two factors are necessary here in particular:

- the re-weighting of the traditional dual strategy to benefit trade union activities;

- proof of the fact that the strategic options of the trade unions can combine the employment interests of the trade unions in industrialised countries with the development interests of the poorest regions in the world.

The trade unions have repeatedly pointed out that for them it is a question of combining a framework of conditions which are laid down by the state with trade union activities. However, if the authorities are not successful in their efforts to impose codes of conduct (involving penalties in the event of non-observance) governing the activities of transnational groups of companies, the trade unions' efforts to step up their influence on a worldwide scale through information, cooperation and joint action become even more significant. This is not a problem of technical organisation; it is first and foremost a problem of trade union policy. This presupposes that the strong trade union movements in industrialised countries critically assess the worldwide activities of their "own" enterprises and exhaust all existing possibilities of obtaining information (such as those offered in co-determination bodies).

The same can be said of the social clause. It is not to be expected that social clauses involving penalties will be ratified. This is a further factor which demonstrates how urgently necessary it is for the trade unions to step up their efforts to improve living standards and working conditions in Third World countries. However, the trade unions in industrial countries devote little attention as yet to North-South relations in the trade union field, and indeed such activities are often marked by a tendency to "win over" the trade unions in Third World countries.

Trade union documents (such as the Development Charter of the ICFTU) and trade union demands (such as those concerning the world textile agreement) endeavour to combine the employment interests of industrialised countries and the development interests of the poorest region in the world. But this attempted combination has not as yet been convincing.
It is not enough - as is the case, for example, in the ICFTU Development Charter - to recommend that Third World countries pursue a development strategy which is geared to their basic needs, unless the structures and agents (in both Third World and industrialised countries), which prevent the implementation of such a strategy, are also pointed out at the same time and steps are also taken to formulate trade union action. It is not enough to rely on the presumption that the redistribution of increases in imports will benefit the poorest regions in the world (as is the case, for instance, in the trade union demands concerning the new world textile agreement) without at the same time surveying the experience which has been gained as regards development policy since the conclusion of the first world textile agreement in 1974.

6. The trade unions will in fact only be able to formulate an alternative which is politically convincing if more far-reaching assessment standards are adopted which are over and above short-term national interests and pragmatic strategies. The trade unions cannot be expected to "sacrifice" jobs for the reorganisation of the world economy when the agents of this reorganisation and those who benefit from it are private enterprises. But they can be expected to defend not only jobs in general but employment possibilities for socially meaningful production. The unions cannot be expected to approve of the reduction of working time in a specific company when the result is that some of the workers are laid off. But they can be expected to continue the fight for the reduction of working time for everyone and not to postpone these efforts because of short-term interests.

Unless economic growth is redefined in qualitative terms, and unless incomes and working time are redistributed internally, it will not be possible in the foreseeable future to solve either the employment problems of industrialised countries or the development problems of the poorest regions in the world. Defending today at all costs could mean sacrificing tomorrow.

It is from this fundamental aspect that the internationalisation of production as part of the process of reorganising the world economy presents "one of the greatest challenges which the trade unions have ever had to face". It is certain that the trade unions' self-concept is at stake, and perhaps also the status of the trade union movement.
Abstract: In response to the discussions surrounding the NIEO, the Eastern European countries have so far adopted a passive attitude, mostly blaming Western industrialized countries for the underdevelopment of the Third World. But there should be greater participation of Eastern Europe in the reorganization of North-South economic relations. Eastern Europe assumes a middle position between the North and the South; both East and South have many objectives in common, such as better access to markets and higher stakes in world trade. On the other hand, much difference and competition may accompany such similarities, some of which are explored in this paper. It is concluded that the Eastern European countries are expected not only to specify their own revised doctrine concerning the NIEO, but also to indicate a forum in which these ideas could be discussed.

LE NOEI: UN POINT DE VUE EST-EUROPEEN

Résumé: L'attitude des pays de l'Est européen, dans les discussions sur le NOEI, a été, jusqu'à présent, passive. Ils se sont, en général, contentés de faire peser la responsabilité du sous-développement sur l'Ouest industrialisé. Une attitude plus positive est nécessaire et une plus grande participation de l'Europe de l'Est dans le réaménagement des relations économiques Nord-Sud. L'Europe de l'Est occupe une position intermédiaire entre le Nord et le Sud; elle a des intérêts communs avec le Sud (accès aux marchés par exemple) et, par là même, des intérêts divergents (compétition sur les marchés occidentaux). La question de la participation de l'Est européen à l'aide internationale est également discutée. Les pays de l'Europe de l'Est devraient préciser leur doctrine quant au NOEI, et également indiquer dans quel forum leurs idées pourraient être discutées.

(Resumen en Español pag.46(10))
The question of how the Eastern European countries are going to respond to the proposal of the New International Economic Order and the related initiatives of the Group of 77 is certainly a very intriguing and important one. By formulating the problem in this way the author rather wants to focus not upon strictly political statements but to concentrate on the economic aspects of the controversial issue. Being unable to predict accurately the future position of the Eastern European countries with respect to the problem of the Third World we want in the following remarks to present the main conditions determining the attitude to be taken.

Let us start with some obvious generalizations. It should be stressed that without active participation of the East, the mere North-South dialogue loses considerable political and economic significance. The centrally planned economies have grown quite rapidly in the post-war era. Their experience and resources proved useful while aiding in the industrialization of other countries which have adopted centrally planned systems like Cuba, quasi-socialist systems such as Algeria, or India. It must be noted also that generally speaking the Eastern European countries take now the middle position between the West and South in the respect that they have founded their growth on the import of western technology and credits and additionally also for that reason they find advantageous outlets for their industrial products in the Third World markets. Already for that reason the Eastern European countries are supposed to take a firmer position towards the NIEO. The issue is getting more urgent because of the fact that even the modest concessions granted by the West to the Third World countries (eg. the provisions of the Lome II agreement) leave the Eastern countries in a certain isolation and limit their influence in the Third World. Moreover, in consequence thereof, the Eastern European states have the most difficult access to the markets of the industrialized West. On the other hand one can infer that Third World tactics are quite severe vis-a-vis the Eastern European countries in order to ensure that their interests in the West are not burdened by the application of the reduced tariffs and other preferences for the East.

It appears that the whole problem of claims addressed to the Eastern European countries by the Third World and the question of the genuine response to them is additionally complicated. It might be argued that as far as the general economic mechanisms are concerned there are more similarities between the Eastern European countries on the one hand and the Third World countries on the other, than between the East and West. The analogies refer to the gap between the social demand and insufficient productive capacities as one cannot ignore the fact that both types of economies usually operate in the situation where no idle capacities exist. It results therefrom that in contrast to the intersystemic differences between West and South, certain intersystemic similarities of the East and South must be taken into account in order to find out the most efficient and feasible way in which the Eastern European countries may assist the Third World. Also, speaking in most general terms the aims and targets formulated by the Eastern European and Third World countries are similar - they both strive for better access to the world markets and want to get a higher stake in the international trade (of course
for the Third World countries the rapid expansion of their own production is a precondition to it. This expresses itself in a struggle to overcome the protectionist barriers in the markets of the industrialised capitalist countries. On the other hand, in the present international situation, the aims of the East and South may prove contradictory as there is not so much room left in the world markets.

Up until now the Eastern European countries have not yet presented their own global program for the regulation of the international economic relations, merely restricting themselves to the elaboration of certain mechanisms for regional integration. However, the value of the latter is limited to countries of similar socio-political systems. Nonetheless, even if the East expresses much criticism concerning the imperfections of presently operating foreign trade mechanisms they notice at the same time the lack of constructive proposals for real improvements, including the NIEO.

Coming to the main point it might be stressed that the appealing slogan of joint responsibility for the fate of the world economy and politics requires that the Eastern European countries also bear their share of the international aid burden. The question arises - and this argument is repeatedly quoted by the Eastern European state officials - however, since the East is not responsible for the historical past of the Third World (or in any case much less responsible than the West), is the East responsible then - in financial terms - for the future of the Third World to the same extent as the West is? Does inseparability of the political and economic factor reach so far? On the other hand, one can justifiably argue that a superpower like the USSR, which devotes considerable funds to the military expenditure has in fact great potential resources to increase its economic aid to the Third World.1/ During the seventies the Eastern European countries adopted a rather passive and wait-and-see attitude as far as the NIEO was concerned. Wasn't it somehow motivated by the conviction that the North-South still proves to be for the Third World much more important than the East-South relations and that, in addition to this, the West will in general reject those claims put forward by the Third World countries, which are on the other hand also unacceptable for the Eastern European countries? This approach exposes the Eastern European countries themselves to a certain danger. This risk is somehow strengthened by the view quoted previously, according to which the economic aid to the Third World should, in the first instance, be considered as a means of clearing accounts for the losses incurred by the former colonies years ago.

---

1/ Next, China's departure from virtual isolation with the external world has created a new element in the international economic relations. This is the more significant that although there is neither the time nor the place here to resolve the question as to what extent the Sino-Soviet conflict illustrates the contradictions between North and South in the Eastern bloc, one cannot ignore the resemblance of the Maoist ideology and the position taken by the Third World as a whole. According to both of them the antagonists of the Third World countries are the rich industrialized countries, including East European socialist states. This reasoning, however, does not take into account either the intersystemic or social differences or the discrepancies in the standard of living within such defined North.
and as a compensation for present neo-colonial exploitation. By taking such a position, the Eastern European countries leave the question of Third World development to the West and, in a sense “attach” the Third World countries to the industrialized capitalist countries. However, one forgets in the Eastern European bloc too easily that such a policy means in fact full acceptance of the reinforcement of the links between the Third World and the most industrialized market economies. The question arises as to whether such a trend is advantageous to the East as well.

The Eastern European countries strongly emphasize the significance of their cooperation with the Third World tailored to the model of bilateral country-to-country relations assuring equal treatment and mutual benefits. However, the Third World countries in general clearly reject this point of view. This by the way results quite logically from their strategy aiming at the achievement of the privileged position in world trade and observing the negative effects of protectionism in international trade only from their own point of view.

In any case one should notice that within the bloc of the Eastern European countries different attitudes toward the claims of the South in general and the NIEO in particular may take place. For instance the Soviet Union is least dependent upon the economic exchange with the outside world. This country should also be potentially interested in the proposals of regulating the markets of raw materials and price indexation. For that reason the position of the USSR towards the NIEO is earmarked by rather political than economic considerations - the role of superpower ponders as well. One can presume that those Eastern European countries which to a greater extent depend upon the imports of raw materials and fuels (eg. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, GDR) should, for purely economic reasons, take a more critical view of at least some of the stipulations of the Third World countries. This is particularly well reflected as far as Hungary is concerned. Further objections may refer as to whether the NIEO is really of such an anti-imperialist nature as originally some comments claimed. Of course one cannot deny its radical character, nevertheless some of the stipulations which it contains may suggest that instead of introducing a truly new order, the proposal of the Third World countries in fact rather tends to make the old regime more tolerable to the Third World. Maybe this is just the natural and inevitable course of events; however, this situation must have repercussions on the reaction of the East.

Another and still more interesting problem results from the fact that also some of the centrally planned countries are to be considered “underdeveloped”, including several Soviet Union republics. These countries like Cuba, Vietnam, Mongolia and, in Eastern Europe, Romania, face the following dilemma: whether to represent the interests of the non-aligned Third World countries in their relations with the richer Eastern European countries or to behave the other way round and to defend the interests of the Eastern bloc in front of the remaining Third World countries. Although with rare exceptions the latter attitude prevails, the question still remains open. On the other hand, the fact that both the poorer and the richer European countries participate in one organization CMEA (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance) does not help much to solve the problem.

All in all it ought to be remembered that also for the Eastern European countries the question of the development assistance to the Third World is to be considered not only as a human obligation but as a problem of maintaining precarious world political and economic balance. This must be taken into account when not just
in moral but in, so-to-say, real terms, one is going to analyze the crucial issue emerging in view of transformation of the internal economic relations. The problem is to determine who should render the economic assistance, to whom and to what extent. The question about the willingness to grant specific aid up to a given amount should anyhow precede the question of the methods which will prove helpful in restructuring the global economic system in favour of the Third World countries.

Notwithstanding the necessity of assisting the Third World countries, it seems indispensable to discuss the problem of the distribution of this aid from the point of view of the Eastern economies. One of the most difficult and delicate issues is to distinguish on a global scale between the potential sources and beneficiaries of the international aid flows. As it is commonly known, the Third World countries use on many occasions the oversimplified distinction between the North and South whereby the Eastern European countries are included in the first group. It cannot be overlooked in this context that in the eyes of the Third World the Eastern European countries have an image of success economies. Somehow by stressing their economic achievements the Eastern countries have by themselves strengthened this impression. No wonder then that the poor Third World countries address the East asking for aid while pointing to the fact that their economic development has been successful enough to be able to share some results with others. Indeed looking from the point of view of a starving Indian, the discussion of the income gap between the average Swede and the average Hungarian income earner is useless intellectual entertainment.

If the changes in the world economic system are to be treated not only as a rescue line thrown to the Third World countries, bringing about a safety valve securing the all-world political stabilization, but are supposedly to perform a still more ambitious role, then some additional provisions should be kept in mind. If one is looking for a program to provide the working people all over the world with a certain well-being, then one has to take into account the aspirations to raise the present standard of living prevailing in all countries. While applying this reasoning directly to the societies living in Eastern Europe it might be observed that despite the economic achievements during the after-war period these countries are still far from assuring their citizens the living conditions corresponding to the socialist ideals. What is more, if expressed in absolute terms, the discrepancy between the per capita income in the West and East has widened. And it is also self-evident that the level of welfare and the differences resulting therefrom are not only determined by current incomes but also by the accumulated wealth derived from the past income.

This leads to the question of the development aid criteria, which shows quite clearly with respect to the so-called "development tax" supplying funds for direct and constant assistance to the Third World. The acceptance of a rate which is equal and consequently proportionate to the country's GNP (be it 0.7% or 1% or whatever percentage of the GNP) is seemingly fair, for this principle provides that each country listed among the "rich" is going to render a certain quota corresponding to its possibilities. However, in order to complete the analysis it is necessary to think of the upper limit, expressed e.g. in terms of per capita national income, up to which a given country will be eligible - at least from the moral point of view - for international aid. According to this procedure one could exclude the countries which are in a position to continue the development by their own means. Yet such criteria still seem to be too weak to help to decide who should be
obliged by the world community to grant aid to the poor countries.

It appears that the present rules determining the scope and character of the international development aid are still quite arbitrary. Hence the elaboration and the general acceptance of guidelines fitting properly the complex economic situation of different regions is of utmost importance. Only in that way the duties of the Eastern European countries concerning development aid can be determined accurately and objectively. Consequently the fulfilment of these obligations can be verified by the world community.

The question involves not only the Eastern European countries but also some Third World countries (e.g. Brazil, Argentina, some of the South Asian states). The purpose of these remarks, however, is not to prove that such medium-income countries are to be exempted from any development aid, but to emphasize that the natural course of events is that the main bulk of this aid, in absolute as well as in relative terms, should be carried by the richest countries of the world. This reasoning might be supplemented by the argument that the lower the income level of the source country, the more difficult it is to spare even a small proportion of the GNP for the development assistance. It implies that some sort of graduated scale regarding the rate of development aid in relation to the GNP of the source countries ought to be advocated.

Still another paramount question needs to be answered. Namely whether the scope of foreign aid granted to the poor countries should be adjusted, and if so in what proportion to their per-capita GNP. At this moment it should be kept in mind that the non-European centrally planned countries (except China) obtain external foreign aid predominantly, if not exclusively, from industrialized Eastern European states. This phenomenon deserves mentioning not only to give evidence to the involvement of the Eastern European countries in the development of the poor regions, but also to point to the fact that in practice various forms of discrimination (or preferences) take place in the realm of the development assistance in the divided world.

It goes perhaps without saying that, both for the source and the beneficiary countries, the main preoccupation is how the foreign aid can be used most effectively. For that reason spendings on military purposes are contrary to the idea of development. It is therefore regrettable that armaments usually accompany in the present day situation the economic growth of poor countries. Apart from that still other important question marks appear. One cannot neglect the dilemma whether the country, whose government has wasted the aid granted previously, should still compete on equal terms with other countries for new assistance. How to decide then which country should be helped first? Be it temporarily provoked by the world inflation or be it due to some long-term factors acting in the same direction, hard credit terms are forcing the Third World countries to improve the economic effectiveness of investment decision making. This applies not only to individual projects but increasingly to the modus operandi of the entire economy. The Eastern European countries on many occasions argue that the rush economic growth initiated in the low income countries requires some sort of national planning,

1/ Let us at this point observe that according to UNCTAD the per capita aid receipts of the "least developed" countries are not the highest among the Third World. And yet nobody questions that these countries are the weakest and the poorest.
restriction of the monopoly power of foreign and local capital and possibly
the state management of the means of production. While the practical ex-
perience seems in many cases to confirm the above thesis, the question of
the distribution of the international development aid becomes more acute.

Finally one of the clinching arguments put forward not only by the Eastern
European governments, but also by other groupings and organizations like the
free trade unions, is that there exists a fundamental clash between the
demands of the Third World to close the welfare gap between the rich
and the poor regions of the world on one side, and the unwillingness to adopt
a similar policy regarding the local situation within particular countries.
These seemingly local problems cannot, however, be considered just purely
domestic issues in view of the Third World demands for new international
aid.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that it is very naive to expect that aid
and cooperation with the Third World be free of the ideological struggle. In
this context the idealistic approach and wishful thinking of some reformers,
including the Brandt Commission, might be pointed at. The ideological
rivalry starts already at the moment when the alternative source of aid
appears, different life-styles are spread, and various principles of income
distribution adopted. It is quite evident that these factors can have a
strong impact upon the effectiveness of the utilization of the foreign aid.
The Third World constitutes an area where different ideological and economic
concepts compete with each other just to appeal and gain support. This
rivalry is not limited to the models typical of the industrialized capitalist
countries on the one hand and the Eastern European states on the other.
Equally important proves to be the influence of the extra-European religions
and philosophies like Islam or Buddhism. Therefore, parallel with the
material aid one can witness a significant transfer of experience and modes
of economic administration to the Third World. Which of them finally appeals
mostly to the Third World countries depends upon two criteria: the results
achieved previously by the states representing a given socio-economic system
and the degree to which a given country considers itself ripe to introduce
appropriate reforms. Anyhow it might be interesting to note that the centrally
planned countries do, at least theoretically, put at the Third World's
disposal a model based upon the principle of internal economic equality.

It appears that from the point of view of the Eastern European countries all
the initiatives aiming at the elimination of the monopoly practices in the
international economic relations and leading to the stabilization of the
world market prices should be supported. Of course, the question still re-
mains open how to achieve this aim as the demands of new regulations cannot
always be enforced in view of the real power relations. For instance it
proves quite difficult for the Third World to control to the larger extent
the transnational corporations at the moment when they still seem to be of
some use, be it because of their financial means, technical monopoly or
organizational and managerial skills. It might be noted that also a sub-
stantial part of the economic exchange between the Eastern Europeans and the
Third World countries passes through the intermediary of transnational cor-
porations. In order to reverse this tendency the mere declarations of good
will are simply insufficient. Appropriate attempts to create a new organ-
ization of trade, at least as far as the East-South relations are concerned,
seem indispensable.
For the moment the share of the Third World countries in the overall imports of Eastern Europe is very modest as is the corresponding share of Eastern Europe in the total exports of the Third World. What is more, the balance of the mutual trade is negative for the Third World countries. The Third World countries insist upon the expansion of trade with the East. At first glance it is just the Eastern European countries which by virtue of their all-state planning and management system are in a position to adjust their production structure leaving room for the inflow of industrial produce made in the Third World. This re-arrangement would by the way somehow anticipate the inevitable course of events and growing competitiveness of the Third World manufacturers in some branches of the economy. Simultaneously, the appropriate policy of the Eastern European countries in this field might counterbalance the stipulations of direct financial and material aid, which for practical reasons mentioned previously are hardly to be met by the East. However, this constitutes a pretty difficult task. The structural changes in the centrally planned industries will certainly take time. In particular it seems indispensable to re-orient the foreign trade of the Eastern European countries to make sure that it serves not only its own economic needs as far as investment processes and input in current production (raw materials, components, semi-finished products etc.) are concerned, but also for the sake of the growth of the individual consumption at home.

This reveals another interesting facet of the East-South economic relations as seen against a broader background. Namely, whereas in the framework of the market economy of the industrialized capitalist countries the maximum commercial benefits for the Third World countries consist of granting them the preferential access to their markets, the Eastern European system offers, as we have mentioned, an alternative. They are able in fact to consciously make room in their economic plans for direct purchases in the Third World. This indicates that there is much at stake in the East-South relations. But at the same time just because of the same fact and in close connection with the inter-systemic differences between the East and West the character of the eventual East-South agreement and the ways to reach it must differ from the North-South dialogue.

A more dynamic growth of the East-South exchange is on the Eastern side conditioned by the stipulation of profitability and careful selection of balanced trade flows. It is not unfeasible that in the case when the appropriate equilibrium cannot be met on bilateral East-South basis, the scheme of tripartite East-West-South economic exchange and cooperation be fully accepted and maybe even proposed by the socialist partners.

In order to be able to impose new rules for the world economic order, the Third World countries obviously need an ally. With respect to numerous stipulations a strong resistance of the industrialized market economies manifests itself or else can be expected in the future. Accordingly, the Eastern European countries may support some of the Third World demands, especially those addressed directly to the West.

The Eastern European countries are themselves looking for a proper position on the world economic stage. The problem is that whereas the NIEO does not seem to satisfy fully the Third World or the industrialized capitalist countries, it does not correspond to the priorities of the Eastern European countries either. On the other hand the latter as a group are to a large extent self-sufficient and for that reason partly protected from the business cycles.
typical of world markets. Additionally, the fact that Eastern Europe is considered by the Third World to constitute a part of the rich North did not stimulate their involvement in the reforms of the international economic mechanisms.

However, it is quite obvious that the Eastern European countries are challenged to present their point of view as far as the future principles regulating the relations between the states at diversified development levels are concerned. The more so that it is expected by the Eastern European countries that in course of time more and more Third World countries will evolve towards the socialist system.

Let us finally discuss the problem, which by no means should be merely restricted to its technical aspect. It can be observed that the Third World countries continue to negotiate and campaign for the NIEO in the framework of the UN (e.g. UNCTAD) where the Third World holds the majority of votes. At the same time the industrialized capitalist states with a certain logic seek to continue discussions in the framework of financial institutions like the IMF, and the World Bank, where capital participation has a decisive influence on decision making and where the Western states have a majority stake in the organizations' funds. Similar attempts aiming in the same direction consist of bringing the negotiations to the forum of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which should, by definition, contribute to the liberalization of world trade. Finally, significant efforts are being undertaken just to stimulate direct North-South conferences outside the UN system.

In view of the fact that the Eastern European countries do not participate in the above-mentioned banking institutions (although some of them consider such a possibility) and because, moreover, those of the Eastern states which belong to the GATT do actually perform there a rather passive role, they find themselves in an uneasy position when attempting to join the discussions on the NIEO. The significance of this issue may prove far greater than it might appear. While the Third World countries are urgently and with ever increasing pressure and conviction demanding the creation of a new institutional framework responsible for the regulation of the world trade and finance, the industrialized capitalist countries are responding with the declarations for changes within the existing organizational structure. Naturally, it is not only up to the South and West to find the way to get the East directly engaged and represented in the development debate. The Eastern European countries are therefore expected not only to specify their own revised doctrine concerning the NIEO and the related problems, but also to indicate a forum where these ideas could be discussed.
Los países de Europa del Este y el NOEI

Resumen: En la discusión sobre el NOEI, los países de Europa del Este, hasta ahora, han adoptado una actitud pasiva, culpando en general a los países industrializados de Occidente, por el subdesarrollo del Tercer Mundo. La participación de Europa del Este en la reorganización de las relaciones económicas Norte-Sur debería ser más importante. Europa del Este adopta una posición intermedia entre el Norte y el Sur; el Este y el Sur tienen muchos objetivos en común, tales como un mejor acceso a los mercados y una más alta participación en el comercio mundial. Por otra parte, entre el Este y el Sur hay diferencias y son competidores, pero tienen semejanzas que este artículo se propone explorar. Como conclusión se espera que los países de Europa del Este, revisen su posición con respecto al NOEI se pronuncien sobre el foro en el cual estas ideas podrían discutirse.
Abstract: The countries of the Mediterranean region have the talent and the funds to build a self-reliant Mediterranean scientific community capable of finding endogenous solutions to the common problems of the region. So far, research in the region has been dominated by outside sources of finance and by their priorities. Research on pan-Mediterranean problems and contacts among the national scientific communities of the region have been weak. A programme to disseminate information about Mediterranean research, to exchange research workers, and to fund research programmes (under the auspices of a "Mediterranean Research Council") is proposed as a means towards overcoming these weaknesses.

VERS UNE COMMUNAUTE SCIENTIFIQUE MEDITERRANEENNE

Résumé: Les pays de la Méditerranée ont la capacité et les ressources financières nécessaires à la création d'une communauté scientifique méditerranéenne autonome et capable de trouver des solutions endogènes aux problèmes communs à la région. Jusqu'à présent, la recherche dans la région a été dominée par des sources de financement extérieures et par leurs priorités. La recherche sur les problèmes pan-méditerranéens et les contacts entre les communautés scientifiques nationales sont demeurés limités. Un programme de dissemination de l'information sur la recherche méditerranéenne, d'échange de chercheurs et le financement de la recherche (sous les auspices d'un conseil méditerranéen de la recherche) est proposé par l'auteur comme un moyen de dépasser les faiblesses actuelles.

HACIA UNA COMUNIDAD CIENTIFICA MEDITERRANEA

Resumen: Los países de la región mediterránea tienen el talento y los recursos económicos para construir una comunidad científica mediterránea autosuficiente capaz de encontrar soluciones endógenas a los problemas comunes de la región. Hasta ahora, la investigación en la región ha estado dominada por fuentes externas de financiamiento y por las prioridades de éstas. La investigación sobre los problemas pan-mediterráneos y los contactos entre las comu-
Jeremy Boissevain

TOWARDS A MEDITERRANEAN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

Introduction

Mediterranean countries, though once scientific leaders, have become increasingly dependent upon outside centres for the ideas and technology vital to their development. The central problem now is to harness the region's enormous scientific potential. This can only be accomplished through cooperation. The chief obstacles to regional scientific cooperation are the linguistic, political and cultural barriers that have grown around national academic and scientific establishments. Mediterranean scientists communicate more frequently with North Atlantic scholars than with each other. Most research carried out in the region is financed by outsiders and the results are often unavailable locally.

A programme to exchange researchers and teachers and to fund conferences, postgraduate training and joint research could help establish a self-reliant Mediterranean scientific community.

The universities

There are more than 250 universities and research centres and more than 120,000 university teachers and researchers in the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. With the exception of Cyprus, all Mediterranean countries have universities. But the proportion of students per head of population and the staff-student ratios vary enormously. At one extreme is Morocco, with only two universities to serve a population of more than 17 million and a very low proportion of university students (one student per 1000 inhabitants). At the other extreme is Israel, where nine universities serve less than a quarter of Morocco's population and there is a high proportion of university students (18.3 students per 1000 inhabitants). Whether a country has universities adequate for its needs appears to be partly related to its level of economic development. In the Mediterranean context, Israel is rich and Morocco poor. But between the two there is a range of combinations, for the development of higher education is not only related to GNP. It also depends on the tradition and overall educational development of the country, its literacy

1/ Jeremy Boissevain is a Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam and Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

2/ I am grateful to former colleagues at the old University of Malta and to Michael Zammit Cutajar for helping me to clarify my argument.

3/ 'Mediterranean countries' are those countries or regions of countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea and their hinterlands (cf Peter Serracino Inglott's discussion in IFDADossier 18).
rate, the duration of its degree courses, its past and present political climate, and so on. Syria, for example, has less than half the per capita GNP of Malta, yet proportionately it has twice the number of university students.

Research

One of the characteristics of most Mediterranean universities as compared, for example, to North European or North American universities, is that they do very little research, let alone cooperative research. Where research does take place, funds are scarce, it usually lacks a pan-Mediterranean focus, and much of it is dominated by outsiders.

There are several reasons for this low research priority. First, there is the relative poverty of much of the region. Many countries have immediate problems dealing with basic needs. Research costs money and normally does not produce the rapid results that economic developers and politicians demand. Research is a long-term investment that often yields dividends only after those who sponsored it are no longer in power.

Secondly, many of the region's universities are so overcrowded that the staff have little time for research, even if funds were available.

Thirdly, there is the traditional domination of many Mediterranean universities by professional faculties geared to providing doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, architects and religious specialists. These faculties with few exceptions are not research oriented.

Fourthly, most Mediterranean countries were recently, or still are, dominated by metropole powers, dictatorships, or authoritarian one-party regimes. Such regimes do not encourage people to ask questions: citizens are educated to accept the status quo. The cultural and mental environment necessary to encourage enquiring minds and hence research has been, or still is, absent.

Finally, partly because of historical ties which conditioned people to look to the north for scientific advice, and the absence of local research, there has been an over reliance on research centres outside the area. Organisations such as the Ford Foundation, the Wennner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the U.S. Institute of Mental Health and the U.S. National Science Foundation, the U.S. and British Social Science Research Councils, the Netherlands' Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research, the Canada Council, not to mention international agencies like the EEC, OECD, UNESCO, FAO, UNEP and UNDP have dominated research in the area.

It is sometimes argued that the richer countries should carry out research in poorer countries. "Let them do the work and pay the bill, and we'll reap the benefits", is the attitude of many Third World countries. This is extremely shortsighted.

There are several ways in which foreign domination of research actually works against the interests of Third World countries. To begin with, those who finance research determine the problems to be examined. It is often more by
chance than design that these problems occasionally interest the countries in which the research is carried out.

Furthermore, research results are often not made available to the country or region in which it was conducted. If they are made available, they are often written in a poorly understood foreign language, and/or dense scientific prose. The results thus remain inaccessible to interested administrators and policymakers.

Foreign scientific domination also deprives a country of research experience. Research is training in problem solving. It thus enlarges the local pool of talent able to think creatively. This is perhaps the most important resource of any country. Moreover, those who do research are better able to evaluate the results and implications of research done by others. It is therefore essential to stimulate research by the people of the Mediterranean for the people of the Mediterranean.

A Mediterranean focus

What research is in fact being conducted in the Mediterranean region? The most ambitious project focuses on the Mediterranean Sea itself. It is, of course, sponsored by an outside agency. The U.N. Co-ordinated Mediterranean Pollution Monitoring and Research Programme is a combined research venture. Initiated, coordinated and funded by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), most Mediterranean countries actively participate in it. It is designed to provide basic data on the state of marine pollution so that an integrated environmental preservation plan for the Mediterranean region can be developed.

There are also other areas of cooperation initiated by international bodies. There is for example, the General Fisheries Council for the Mediterranean (G.F.C.M.). This was founded in 1949 by the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) to stimulate fisheries research, scientific advice, training, statistics, conservation, aquaculture and fish-farming. Then there is the oceanography programme of the Cooperative Investigation in the Mediterranean (CIM). This is a joint project of UNESCO's Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), the International Commission for the Scientific Exploration of the Mediterranean (ICSEM) of Monaco and GFCM. While it has the job of setting appropriate basic research priorities and proposing them to Mediterranean research centres, it was until recently a mosaic of national programmes rather than an integrated regional programme.

UNEP, jointly with UNDP and ECE, are also exploring the possibilities of developing a Mediterranean centre for non-conventional sources of energy. The European Space Agency, via the Telespazio centre in Italy has linked Mediterranean countries into the Earth Net space monitoring programme. All these

1/ Besides many Mediterranean countries, participating states include the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, U.S.A. (observer), Romania, U.K., Switzerland and U.S.S.R.
cooperative activities in the Mediterranean have in common that they have been initiated and are coordinated by international agencies.

There are also at least two broadly oriented U.S. programmes in the Mediterranean: the first is the Rome Center for Mediterranean Studies of the American Universities Field Staff, which provides orientation courses and library facilities for American college students and researchers and has organized high level conferences on a series of Mediterranean topics. The second is the Mediterranean programme of the Ford Foundation. This has linked certain universities and research centres in Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece into a loose cooperative network by funding postgraduate scholarships to the United States, symposia and joint research on emigration and political developments. Around 1960, the same foundation also subsidized the initiative of the Dutch Institute of Social Studies to set up the Mediterranean Social Sciences Research Council (MSSRC). This was composed of some 50 of the region's universities and researchers. During the 1960's, it organized annual conferences and stimulated a certain amount of joint research. The activities of the MSSRC ceased when funds dried up. During roughly the same period, UNESCO sponsored a Social Sciences Centre in Athens and later, in Cyprus. These convened a series of productive conferences that brought together European and American social anthropologists with some Mediterranean colleagues.

Finally, to complete this rapid inventory of outside research, the growing interest in the region on the part of North European and North American universities must be mentioned. The Department of European and Mediterranean Studies of the University of Amsterdam since 1966 has carried out sociological studies in all Mediterranean countries except Albania. Its research has focussed primarily on the human problems of change and development in rural areas and Mediterranean migrants in Holland. The centre also runs a post-graduate programme and has published a series of Papers in European and Mediterranean Societies. Scandinavian universities are also increasingly focussing on the region. The Norwegian International Peace Research Institute has begun a series Mediterranean Studies Working Papers, one of which listed no less than 90 Scandinavian social science research projects in Mediterranean countries 1/. A large number of British, German, United States and Canadian universities also send individual researchers to the region.

In addition to this massive northern activity, there are more modest efforts by a few Mediterranean institutes trying to develop a wider focus on regional problems. The Paris International Centre for Advanced Mediterranean Agronomic Studies has branches in Montpellier, Bari and Zaragoza. These provide post-graduate training for graduates from Mediterranean higher agricultural schools; examine international problems posed by rural development and regional planning; and investigate ecological topics. Until recently it also published an excellent journal that dealt with these topics, Options Méditerranéennes.

Until recently also the University of Malta offered an interdisciplinary course in English leading to a B.A. in Contemporary Mediterranean Studies. The course focussed on the shared history, culture, and political economy of the region. The University also gave summer courses in the same field. The International Ocean Institute, then affiliated to the University, regularly offered courses on the Mediterranean Sea. All these courses were well attended by foreign students, who could obtain university credit for them. Although the Programme was too poorly funded to initiate much research, it attracted several North American and North European specialists in Mediterranean research, and collaborated with UNESCO on a study of change in Mediterranean islands. It also published an interdisciplinary journal, Mediterranean Studies, in English, French, and Arabic, providing summaries in the other two languages. Unfortunately, these important initiatives were terminated when the present government of Malta restructured the University in 1979.

Another institute with a pan-Mediterranean orientation is the Inter-University Centre of Post-Graduate Studies at Dubrovnik, which gives two week courses on political economic aspects of the Mediterranean.

At least three other centres also focus on the region: The Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches de la Mediterranée moderne et contemporaire of the University of Nice, and the Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes sur les sociétés Mediterranéennes (CRESM) of the University of Aix-en-Provence. The former is historically oriented, and the latter exclusively concerned with the Maghreb. Finally, there is the Instituto Studi Programmi per il Mediterraneo in Sassari (Sardegna), which organizes conferences on regional topics and publishes Quaderni Mediterranei.

This is virtually the sum total of pan-Mediterranean research by regional institutes. Universities and specialized centres throughout the region are, however, doing a certain amount of research in their respective countries.

But the research that is actually done by Mediterranean institutes is generally inward looking. Most countries are too preoccupied with their own development problems to think of others. This is often a question of not seeing the wood for the trees. Because there is so little contact between Mediterranean researchers and scholars, they are often unaware of research taking place in neighbouring countries. Since much research is applied, it remains largely unreported in international scientific journals. Moreover, since these are dominated by outside interests, they treat problems that concern their non-Mediterranean editors.

This inward research orientation is self-defeating. Many of the problems which Mediterranean countries examine individually are, in fact, similar, because they derive from the same geographical, political and economic constraints. If these problems were placed in a pan-Mediterranean context, they could be faced collectively by the combined scientific research capability available in the area. Some of these common problems include the search for additional supplies of fresh water and irrigation technology, alternative sources of energy, the pollution of the sea and eventual exploitation of the sea-bed, and the negative impact of migration, mass tourism, and multinational corporations.
Etc., etc. These problems by and large are not being examined jointly and from a comparative point of view.

The few exceptions merely confirm the trend. Only rarely are problems common to the Mediterranean examined from a regional perspective. Even some of the exceptions noted are the result of initiatives and funds injected from outside the region. The regional pool of talent, like fresh water beneath the desert, lies untapped. Means of utilizing it must be developed.

**Cooperation**

Scientific cooperation is not a simple matter in a region characterized by enormous differences in language and development. Before joint research can begin it is essential for potential collaborators to be aware of each other's presence and capabilities. They literally and figuratively have to be on speaking terms with each other. Finally, funds are required to finance scientific exchange programmes, conferences and joint research. In short, regional scientific cooperation to resolve common development problems requires knowledge of each other's work, an interest in working together, a common language of communication, and funds.

One of the essential first steps is an inventory of what research interests and activities exist in the region. A directory of the region's researchers and scientific institutions, their interests and activities would help lay the basis of regional scientific cooperation. Such directories exist for other regions. Simultaneously, facilities must be created for university teachers and researchers in Mediterranean countries to visit and get to know one another. Funds earmarked for travel and hospitality must be made readily available. Unless this is done nothing will happen, and the flow of experienced and promising scholars will continue to lead Northward, out of the region. Research funds must also become available so that Mediterranean researchers do not have to beg favours from the wealthy northern nations. Innovations belong to those who pay for them. The only way to develop Mediterranean technology and expertise is for the region's countries to pay for these themselves. The funds are there, and so is the talent. They must be combined.

A final and serious obstacle to regional scientific cooperation is language. Since the abolition of Latin as a scientific European lingua franca, scientists have had increasing difficulty in communicating. Most active Mediterranean researchers have received some training in French or English speaking countries. Consequently, the chief languages of discourse among Mediterranean scholars at present are French and English. But as the region's universities and research centres improve, scholars are increasingly receiving advanced training in their own languages. This is leading to linguistic involution. In future, young researchers will not be obliged to learn a foreign language to receive their professional training.

The communication barrier for the next generation is likely thus to become higher rather than lower. Means must be adopted to further the knowledge of Arabic, French, Italian and Spanish. The region's scientific languages must become genuinely Mediterranean.
Concrete proposals

To bring to life the suggestions outlined above, the following concrete steps are suggested:

1. The preparation of a directory of Mediterranean researchers, university teachers and scientific institutions, and their interests and activities.

2. Each country is to create a number of annual travelling grants, in proportion to its GNP but not less than three, for its own university research staff, specifically earmarked for visits to Mediterranean universities or research centres.

3. Each country is to establish a number of annual fellowships, in proportion to its GNP but not less than three, tenable for up to three months each and earmarked specifically for visitors from regional universities/research centres. Each fellowship should provide as a minimum a cash allowance that permits comfortable accommodation and subsistence in addition to honoraria for teaching and research activities.

4. Each country is to conclude bilateral cultural agreements with other Mediterranean countries and to implement the sections which call for an exchange of scholars, scientists, teachers and research workers.

5. Each country is to ensure that those taking up appointments under the fellowship, scholarship, and research programmes are reasonably fluent in one of the languages widely understood in the host country and to ensure that all persons appointed to universities and research centres master at least one of the major Mediterranean languages other than that used in their institution.

6. Each country is to support the establishment of a Mediterranean Research Council, composed of two practising researchers (one in arts, and one in science) from each participating country, to initiate and fund postgraduate training, conferences and research in fields related to the social, political, cultural, economic and environmental development of the Mediterranean region, and its external relations. The council would have the power to coopt specialists to ensure adequate representation in all major fields of enquiry.

7. Each country is to donate an annual sum of money in proportion to its GNP but not less than U.S.$30,000, to a fund administered by the Mediterranean Research Council, for postgraduate training, conferences and joint research activities on development problems, to be used by Mediterranean scholars and institutions.

(Viene de la pag.1(47))

nidades nacionales y científicas de la región han sido débiles. Se propone un programa para difundir información acerca de la investigación mediterránea, para el intercambio de investigadores y para financiar programas de investigación (bajo los auspicios de un "Consejo de Investigación Mediterráneo") como un medio para superar estas debilidades.
The general debate which inaugurates each session of this Assembly provides us with an opportunity to take stock of past activities. Through the dynamic of contrasting views, it prompts us to permit the collective ambition necessary for great works to prevail and to take shape in reality. This year we are again brought face to face with the gravity of the situation and the dangers it implies.

Against a heavily darkened international horizon, sources of concern seem legion. Disquiet has struck deep roots in man and society. Wherever we turn we see distress for some, anxiety for others, destitution for most. It is a global crisis the world is facing.

That crisis stems from the free rein given conflicting power relationships. It is deepening the gap between well-being for the few and want for the immense majority of mankind. The disorder prevailing in world affairs and the absurdity of the present system of international economic relations are apparent.

But in order to muster the strength and will to act, one must first understand.

It is true that the mind boggles when we announce to an indifferent world that before two decades elapse we shall have to support, employ, feed two billion people - in more graphic terms, the equivalent of 2000 cities of one million inhabitants. But reason itself fails us when we look at the other side of this picture: the fact that, should things go on as they are, those two billion people will face inexorable death before two decades are over. Have our understanding and conscience grown so numb that we can no longer react to an inconceivable present masking this terrifying future?

In 1980 fifty million human beings perished from hunger. Although it gave rise to no general surge of indignation, this was surely a holocaust on a planetary scale. The Second World War took five years to reach similarly macabre results. Non-assistance to peoples in peril may indeed be the proper term to use when more

1/ Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations New York, Chairman of the Group of 77. This is the English translation of the address delivered by Ambassador Bedjaoui to the 36th session of the UN General Assembly.
than 500 billion dollars are earmarked yearly for worldwide military expenditure, while the report Global 2000 of the Carter Commission informs us that the amount of grain necessary to eliminate malnutrition in the world could be purchased for the price of five submarines.

In the year 2000 some one billion people will be living beneath the threshold of absolute poverty, a scholarly euphemism which falls far short of expressing everything this subhuman condition implies.

The external debt of the Third World corresponds exactly to the amount spent yearly on arms by a human community seemingly unable to conceive of its future save through an unfathomable fascination with destruction or through an irresistible urge to collective suicide. The salient fact is that this growing burden of indebtedness is not the logical outcome of economic development, but rather the result of the servicing of the debt, which will exceed the astronomical level of 100 billion dollars in 1981.

Should not an effort be made to explain how, misleading appearances notwithstanding, the industrialized nations receive from the proletarian nations nearly seven times what they invest through "reverse aid"?

Skyrocketing interest rates heavily penalize our fragile economies. A trade war without quarter is being waged against our exports. The restructuring of world industry remains at the discretion of transnational corporations, subject to the dictates of their strategies and profits. In this unequal contest, the Third World countries are not even successful in putting an end to abuse. The international monetary system proceeds to demolish what our arduous labours build.

At a time when the framework of world affairs is revealing its structural weaknesses, it is a healthy sign that importance should at last be accorded to international economic relations.

This coming to grips with the problems has the merit of envisaging development and peace not only in their casual relationship but as elements of a close-knit dialectic which makes them mutually necessary. There is no development without peace or peace without development. Peace and development will be the two distinguishing features of the emerging picture of the new international order so fervently desired by the international community.

In singling out the inequities upon which the present system of international relations rests, the Third World has put into true perspective the fact that development is the new name of peace. Under-development, like war, is not foreordained. Under-development is the product of an organized system of domination and exploitation. That system runs directly counter to the hopes for
prosperity harbored by two thirds of mankind. It is a denial of their legitimate right to development.

It is a system which breeds insecurity even for those who have built it, a system which breeds frustration and alienation, a system of dominance which is the negation of peace.

I have said that there cannot be peace without development. But development has its rules, and those are certainly not the rules of the market economy which have recently gained the limelight.

It is cause for concern that the philosophy of international economic cooperation seems to be losing ground. The new concepts emerging in the general approach to the problem of development are troublesome in many respects. Praise is being lavished on the virtues of bilateralism, for ulterior motives which we are well aware of. A veritable campaign is being orchestrated to promote the concept of individualized cooperation tailored to strategic considerations. Similarly, the merits of free interplay of market forces are being touted now as means both to restore growth and to ensure development.

Is there any need to recall that the present world crisis - a structural crisis if ever there was one - is precisely the result of the unchecked, unpredictable dealings of these private interests? Likewise, in a system characterized by unequal opportunities and resources for development, the free play of market forces breeds dependence and fosters underdevelopment.

The laws of the market and of competition are the playthings of the world's big capital interests and of the transnational corporations. The facile glorification of these laws is mystification. Liberalism is a doctrine well suited to the powerful and the strong. The free, spontaneous, and beneficial operation of natural market laws is a grim illusion.

The realities are there to see. The market economy is at the end of its tether. It disregards the complexities of economic interdependence and the deep aspirations of mankind for more freedom and humanity. The world economy is not a random flux of things and objects. By their anachronistically untrammelled character, the natural laws of the market spell their own doom, just as they have brought about the end of growth itself, the liberal concept of growth which alienates man both as producer and as consumer, and which degrades his social surroundings and natural environment.

To allow private interests in the world economy free rein is to allow them to develop according to their own rationale, the rationale which compels them to acquire ever greater power - the very negation of international cooperation. We are thus being asked to allow the lives of billions of men, the future of our planet, to become the stakes in the game of chance of laissez-faire
liberalism, in this grand worldwide casino where the majority of the earth's inhabitants are being despoiled. Even the winners in this dubious undertaking can hope for only a Pyrrhic victory. For ultimately, our entire planet will be the loser in this vast game with marked cards.

Need I say that we are also wary of the eagerness with which we are urged to create appropriate political and material conditions in our countries to host transnational corporations? Are these corporations truly the harbingers of development, as we are being assured? One may at least be allowed some doubts. The countries of the Third World, having long endured exploitation by a system which dealt with them as marketable commodities, are keenly aware that the transnational corporations today are unlikely to change their nature, disregard the profit motive, and set out in pursuit of their own extinction.

We are being reminded nowadays of the virtues of self-reliance. Self-reliance is a part of us - no doubt the most demanding part. It is through self-reliance that we express our identity and take into our hands the aspirations of our peoples. It is also, as we know, the only avenue towards building nationhood. But what impact can be expected of national development efforts when the international context thwarts them and cancels out their effects through the merciless laws of a global jungle?

We must face a paradox. Is not the free play of the so-called natural laws of the market likely to lead to exacerbated feelings of frustration among the hungry masses of mankind? The paradox is that these laws institutionalise anarchy and engender violence. The paradox is that, under the guise of fighting human alienation, they themselves become the very fabric of violence. They are not, therefore, the appropriate remedy for our problems. One does not fight anarchy with anarchy. One does not combat violence by fostering still more violence.

The crisis of the world economy is in fact so far-reaching that a rehabilitation of the laws of the market as a panacea for its ills becomes ludicrous.

The imperative of development is a pressing one. Surely it calls for more than a mere glorification of the merits of laissez-faire. As against this vain rehabilitation an anachronistic liberalism, our preference is for responsible dialogue.

The global negotiations are an integral part of such a dialogue. It is a dialogue which we want, which we believe in. It is, in our view, both a condition for and a means to orderly endeavour for the common good.

The imperative need for this dialogue derives not only from the world crisis. For mankind, the dialogue also represents a renewed
stake in the future, an act of faith. Its success is hence a matter of historical necessity. It is a means to the consolidation of peace.

In this context, we regret that the global negotiations have not been launched. We reaffirm our adherence to these negotiations because we believe in their merits. The global negotiations can, through the dynamic of concerted action, make possible a structural reorganization for the benefit of all.

There can be no development without peace.

While development must be adopted as the very goal of a steadfast quest for peace, the improvement of the international political climate clearly constitutes an essential stage.

It is true that, in the last two decades, international relations have gone through a qualitative evolution perceptible in a relative detente between power blocs and major strides in peoples' liberation. But the fact remains that solid foundations for the building of peace have not been laid. Persistent expressions of the spirit of confrontation and the spread of hotbeds of tension through the Third World are rooted in the very logic of the system, which generates crisis even while trying to contain it this side of a general conflagration.

The politics of spheres of influence, interventionist doctrines based on so-called vital interests, the opening or reactivation of military bases, the formation or deployment of rapid deployment troops—all are part of a persistent desire to use Third World countries as the terrain of a global strategy aimed directly against those countries' independence and their legitimate aspiration to peace.

The resurgence of gunboat diplomacy and the feverish search for power-bases are being accompanied by a standstill in disarmament field of arms control. Moreover, the pursuit of an increasingly sophisticated technology of death has just given birth to a new weapon of mass destruction about which we are told, to our astonishment, that it is designed to kill men while leaving equipment intact. The production of the neutron bomb casts a raw light upon the tragic absurdity upon which technological civilization is embarked: worship of objects and disdain for life.

This initiative is reminiscent of the spirit behind the concept of "security through vigilance". It can only feed the spiralling arms race and further slow down the effective pursuit of the major objective of general and complete disarmament, the ultimate and absolute guarantee of the principle of non-resort to force.

The deteriorating international political climate is inherent in the logic of the system, even if the phenomenon of detente prompted
some transitory belief, through its promises of indivisibility, in a spreading momentum of peace extending its benefits into ever-widening spheres of international relations.

Detente failed to generate such a dynamic, particularly in the Third World, thereby revealing all its historical limitations.

The geo-strategic partitioning of the Third World into surrogate-states and terrains of aggression tends to perpetuate the subjugation of peoples. The attempts to distort the nature of the Palestinian, Namibian, and South African problems are designed to contain the advance of peoples' liberation movements by involving them in an East-West context which is external to them.

In the Middle East, the deterioration of the situation resulting from Camp David has entered a crucial phase. Current events provide countless examples of the aggressiveness of the Zionist entity against the Palestinian people and other peoples of the region. Repeated aggressions against ravaged Lebanon, which has been subjected to a criminal process of dismemberment, the bombing of peaceful nuclear facilities in Iraq, the unrestrained repression of the populations of the occupied Arab territories - all reveal the full depth of a very strange concept of peace which aimed, from the outset, only to liquidate the Palestinian cause and to bring under foreign sway the whole of the Middle East. In this regard, the strategic co-operation which has just been formalized is charged with peril for this long-suffering region.

Until the Palestinian people are enabled to exercise their national rights, until a true process of peace is undertaken, with the full participation of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, any attempt at a solution, which would disregard the origin of the crisis and focus only upon its effects, will be doomed to failure.

In Southern Africa, the Pretoria regime, by its practice of apartheid, by its illegal occupation of Namibia, any by its acts of aggression against neighbouring States, is doing grave injury to the United Nations, undermining their foundations and defying their authority.

The Eighth Emergency Special Session clearly strengthened international consensus regarding the need for immediate independence for Namibia on the basis of strict application of resolution 435 of the Security Council, in its entirety. That consensus must prevail. It must bring about the independence of Namibia, which will be the crowning achievement in the heroic struggle of its people under the guidance of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative.

That same fight must go on against apartheid, the most unacceptable system for the dehumanization of man.
Other open or potential crises are awaiting solution. Whether it be Afghanistan, the conflict between Iraq and Iran, Korea or Cyprus, frank dialogue constitutes the ideal framework for the pursuit of political solutions through which the right of everyone to live in peace can be made a reality in conformity with international law.

Within the framework of the tireless efforts exerted by the Organization of African Unity, the 18th Summit of the Organization laid down the elements of a just and definitive settlement of the question of the Western Sahara.

By deciding to organize and conduct a general and regular referendum of self-determination by the people of the Western Sahara and to work for the achievement of a cease-fire, and by establishing an implementation committee for this purpose, the African Heads of State sought to complete the decolonization of this territory. This desire to restore its original impetus and carry to a successful conclusion a course of events which had been interrupted may be seen in the specific mechanisms which the implementation committee defined, such as the creation of an impartial interim administration, the establishment of an international peace-keeping force, and the declaration of a cease fire by the parties to the conflict through negotiations under the auspices of the implementation committee.

The direct responsibility and authority of the implementation committee in the conduct of the process, together with the participation of the United Nations in its completion, constitutes the best guarantee of its regularity.

A tribute is due to the Organization of African Unity and to the Heads of States who are members of its implementation committee for their worthy efforts to seek a solution which will enshrine the freely expressed will of the people. Algeria, whose position on this matter is that of the OAU and the United Nations, can only reaffirm its willingness to assist the two belligerents, Morocco and the Polisario Front, in entering into negotiations in good faith with a view to achieving a cease-fire that may create the necessary dynamic for the restoration of peace.

Peace is a precondition of development. It is not always, however, a sufficient condition. Peace and development must be indissociably embodied within a clear-sighted and ambitious vision of a fraternal future for mankind. It is precisely the vision of the world the Movement of the Non-aligned brings to the international community.

This year the Non-aligned Movement is celebrating its twentieth anniversary. Its universal message is clearly understood. It brings to mankind its aspirations for peace and progress. It invites us all to dedicate ourselves through democratic dialogue to developing rationally a new political and economic world for our times.
This undertaking has as its bywords peace and development. It requires that present unjust, war-engendering structures in international relations give way to an equalitarian system built by all and for all. It tends to promote an international order which may be an authentic work of universal civilization and an expression of man's collective intelligence in search of the common good.

This debate which the Third World has advanced today has acquired the dimensions of a historic dialogue. It is a dialogue which carries the seeds of an era of universal peace, a peace which may enable every people to come into its own and make a human planet of this earth.
Dans l'histoire de la deuxième moitié du XXème siècle, l'émergence du Tiers Monde, son affirmation autonome, la conscience collective qu'il a de sa fonction historique, apparaîtront comme des données majeures. Il serait vain et absurde de vouloir faire obstacle à cette réalité politique.

Il serait vain et absurde de même, de confondre dans une même analyse sociologique ou économique des pays qui sont aussi différents les uns des autres qu'ils ne le sont, ensemble, des pays industrialisés.

La naissance du concept des pays "les moins avancés" (PMA) révèle et consacre l'existence à l'intérieur du Tiers Monde de pays méritant une attention particulière et un traitement particulier, à cause de la faiblesse de leur revenu par habitant, de leur niveau éducatif et de leurs très faibles ressources disponibles.

L'apparition au glossaire des Nations Unies d'un sigle nouveau ne doit pas faire oublier qu'il y a plus de pauvres hors des PMA que dans les PMA. La différence entre eux réside dans le fait que des régions pauvres appartenant à des pays moins pauvres ont quelque chance d'être entraînées; aidées par la solidarité nationale, elles peuvent bénéficier des flux économiques que le pays tout entier est susceptible de créer.

Rien de semblable dans les pays "les moins avancés", il n'y a pas de zone de richesse à quoi rattacher la pauvreté, il n'y a guère de point fort pour compenser les points faibles: peu d'épargne, souvent peu de ressources naturelles, peu d'hommes formés, peu d'investissements capables d'entraîner l'économie. Chez eux, il ne s'agit plus de développement, à peine de stagnation, il s'agit de recul par rapport aux années précédentes et par rapport aux pays voisins. Il ne s'agit plus d'hommes qui grimpent péniblement vers les cimes, mais de masses humaines qui roulent, dégringolent parmi les éboulis d'une histoire cruelle.

---

D'un pays à l'autre, les différences sont considérables mais leur caractère commun c'est que le concept de rentabilité doit y occuper moins de place que celui de nécessité. Approcher les projets de ces pays par la voie de l'analyse bancaire, attendre leur salut du bienfaisant fonctionnement des mécanismes du marché ou des actions marchandes relève de l'utopie ou de la supercherie. Les PMA exigent une intervention publique qui apporte, sans contrepartie, les éléments de la survie, de la convalescence, les premiers éléments de santé et de force. Après quoi, ayant acquis la capacité de se tenir physiquement debout, ils retrouveront les voies positives du développement.

Ainsi pour passer de l'état de sous-développement au mouvement du développement, les PMA ont beaucoup plus besoin de solidarité que de crédits bancaires. Leur cas relève, même s'il le fait transitoirement, du domaine de la solidarité purement humaine, non de celui des intérêts mutuels qui doit être fondamentalement celui de la Communauté internationale.

Mais la fragilité de ces nations, le déclin progressif de leur situation exigent que l'aide publique soit tout à la fois importante et stable; ils ont besoin pour programmer leur avenir de programmer les ressources qu'ils recevront d'ailleurs: faute de quoi tout devient impossible. Pour le riche, l'incertitude est un excitant, elle devient mortelle pour le pauvre. Aussi l'idée d'affecter aux PMA une part substantielle de l'aide publique s'inscrit-elle dans la logique des choses. 0,15% du PNB dans le contexte du 0,70% c'est bien, et c'est un comportement adapté à la situation qu'il convient de combattre.

La part de l'aide gratuite, sans retour, étant ainsi affirmée, l'on peut aborder les problèmes économiques pour améliorer le fonctionnement des cycles de production et de commercialisation.

Les fluctuations internationales des cours des produits ont des effets destructeurs sur les fragiles économies des PMA. Celles-ci ne peuvent les supporter. Beaucoup y ont succombé.

Pour y faire face, la Communauté économique européenne et les pays ACP de la convention de Lomé ont inventé le STABEX. Cette invention doit être considérée comme une percée décisive dans la définition des relations entre les pays pauvres vendeurs et les pays riches acheteurs. Elle introduit le concept de garantie de ressources. D'autres techniques auraient été ou sont possibles, d'autres pays, d'autres produits pourraient être éligibles. Ainsi, le STABEX est le point de départ d'une évolution positive qui ne fait que commencer. Les difficultés conjoncturelles réelles qu'il rencontre nous imposent de le perfectionner. Et voici qu'on nous propose de l'étendre à plus de produits, à plus de pays vendeurs (tous les PMA) à tous les pays acheteurs, ceux-là même qui n'ont pas jusqu'ici accepté de prendre les risques que la Communauté a pris.
Bravo. Tous ceux qui ont la pratique du STABEX vont se mettre à l'ouvrage pour suggérer des solutions complémentaires ou des solutions alternatives qui permettront d'étendre ce système. Ainsi se développera un utile débat.

Mais ceux qui ont la pratique du STABEX et qui réfléchiront à son extension et à sa diversification ne pourront pas négliger trois vérités d'évidence:

. en garantissant les ressources d'exportation et elles seules ne risque-t-on pas de favoriser la tentation déjà trop forte que connaissent les pays pauvres en quête de devises, de multiplier les cultures d'exportation au détriment des cultures vivrières? Il faudra y prendre garde;

. en garantissant les cultures d'exportation ne favorise-t-on pas le développement excessif de certaines productions et tant de cafériers, de cacaohiers, tant de tabac planté ne risquent-ils pas de provoquer l'effondrement des cours et de provoquer la ruine soit des producteurs, soit des financiers du STABEX. Il y a dans la suite logique du STABEX un besoin de prévision en matière de productions agricoles et d'abord de plantations;

. même s'il s'étend à tous les PMA et s'il a des frères jumeaux sur d'autres continents, le STABEX-Europe-ACP ne peut à lui seul assurer la régulation des marchés mondiaux; s'engageant à payer aux plus pauvres les dommages que leur causent les désordres de ces marchés il ne peut pas ne pas tendre à contenir les fluctuations conjoncturelles ou spéculatives des cours. Dans l'imprévisibilité actuelle, le STABEX peut ruiner ceux qui le financer ou décevoir ceux qui comptent sur lui. C'est au demeurant parce qu'il permet de poser tous ces problèmes en termes clairs, qu'il apparaît comme une invention de grande portée qu'il s'agit de perfectionner, d'étendre, de consolider, de prolonger.

La Commission des Communautés européennes s'y consacrera quant à elle et sera toujours prête à apporter sa contribution à une recherche commune.

Le chemin qu'il nous faut parcourir est très long.

Mais le monde peut nourrir toute l'humanité et la pauvreté n'est que le résultat de notre volonté de puissance ou de notre incapacité d'organisation. De notre courte vue, de l'incapacité que manifeste la plupart des responsables politiques d'intégrer le long terme parmi les dimensions de leur action.

Le monde peut nourrir l'humanité à condition qu'on le veuille à temps. Me permettra-t-on un sombre rappel historique?
Il y a vingt ans, à l'aube de la première décennie du développement, Monsieur Sen, Directeur de la FAO, prophétisait que, faute d'un effort considérable, l'humanité compterait dix ans plus tard 250 millions d'affamés. Elle les compta.

En 1979, l'optimiste, M. Boerma, nouveau Directeur de la FAO, grondait, à l'aube de la seconde décennie du développement, que, faute d'un effort énorme, celle-ci s'achèverait sur une humanité comptant 400 millions d'affamés. Elle les compte.

Hier ou aujourd'hui, la très sérieuse Banque Mondiale nous laisse entendre que, faute d'un énorme effort, les continents du Sud abriteront ou plutôt porteront à la fin de ce siècle 800 millions d'êtres humains souffrant ou mourant de faim.

Ne nous contentons pas de dire que cette perspective est intolérable. Elle l'est en effet et prenons les mesures, adoptons les principes, les organisations et les pratiques qui nous permettront de l'éviter.

Puisque le monde peut objectivement nourrir toute l'humanité à venir et que pourtant il n'y parvient pas, c'est que peut-être, c'est que sans doute nous sommes de mauvais ouvriers, nous les responsables.

La Conférence sur les pays "les moins avancés", celle sur les énergies nouvelles et renouvelables, l'approche de négociations globales apparaissent à la Commission des Communautés européennes comme autant d'occasions qui sont offertes aux gouvernements et aux experts de réapprendre leur métier ou plutôt comme autant d'occasions de changer l'ordre du monde pour que chacun enfin y devienne un bon ouvrier.
The Foundation for Education with Production was set up at the beginning of 1981 as an international non-governmental organisation, with the aim of developing and propagating new types of education. These alternatives, based on the linking of learning with productive work and on community participation and control, are initially designed to meet the needs of Third World countries. The present base of the Foundation is Africa. But we believe that education in the industrialized countries is in urgent need of renewal and change. Hence the Foundation intends to set up national and regional committees not only in the Third World countries but in the industrialized North as well.

The Foundation starts from the premise that education is never neutral: it either reproduces existing society, with its inequalities and hierarchies, or it contributes to changing them. The type of education which has been imposed on former colonies helps to perpetuate their dependence and underdevelopment, rather than transforming their economies and societies to meet the needs of the people. It helps to create elites with interests in contradiction to those of the great majority, who at present obtain only the most rudimentary schooling. Educational aid from Western governments and international organizations generally helps to extend and perpetuate structures which actually hinder the social and economic development of the former colonies. There is a need for a mass-based pedagogy, which will raise the cultural level of the whole population, and give them the tools to understand and control the political, economic and social forces which determine their lives. This pedagogy must depart from the elitist forms and authoritarian methods of conventional schooling, and redefine the relationship between teachers and learners, as well as between school and society.

The basic principle of this new pedagogy must be the linking of learning with productive work: firstly, because this is the only way of overcoming elitism and ensuring that everybody is capable of producing the necessities of life and of planning and controlling that production; secondly because only by making education a part of the productive forces of society - a part which helps to innovate and improve methods - is universal schooling financially attainable for the countries of the Third World. Linking learning with productive work is the first step towards bringing school closer to social reality and overcoming the gulf between theory and practice, and between mental and manual work. It enables the worker to understand society, the process of production and the social relationships which develop out of it.

1/ P.O. Box 20906, Gaborone, Botswana, Africa.
On the basis of such understanding workers can press for social change without being vulnerable to technocratic arguments, and students can learn to identify with producers. Linking learning with production can take various concrete forms. School students in poorer countries can construct their own classrooms and make equipment for them. They can learn skills in school workshops and produce goods for sale to help finance the school. They can also go out and work in the farms and factories of the area, using the school as a base for research and reflection on their work and its place in the community. Producer co-operatives and other workplaces can introduce training activities to raise the skill level of their workers, and general education to help them understand their society better. There should be constant interchange between learning and working, as part of a life-long education process, so that the old dichotomy between students and workers, teachers and pupils, will become meaningless.

The linking of theory and practice can be achieved by the regular and real involvement of learners and teachers in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the community. This requires the decentralized control of the schools by their local communities and the joint participation of teachers and learners. Community control of education will ensure that schools do not pass on abstract and often irrelevant knowledge, but rather provide information and capabilities which are useful to the community and to the development of society.

Clearly, educational alternatives alone cannot change repressive and exploitative societies. Rather, they must be linked to the struggle of national liberation movements, workers' organisations and other progressive groups. The relationship between education and social change is a dialectical one: in their economic and political struggle, workers come to understand the need for greater knowledge of society and technology. The ensuing struggle to set up and control learning systems in a hostile environment, becomes an integral part of the wider fight for change. The function of the Foundation is to provide support services in this process.

The linking of learning with productive work is not a new idea; nor is the establishment of school as an innovative force for developing communities. Both are indeed part of the tradition of socialist education theory. After the Russian Revolution, attempts were made to introduce a "unitary work school" based on these principles. Other countries which subsequently rejected the capitalist road also sought ways of combining learning with productive work. Overcoming the abstraction of traditional schooling through introducing various types of work has also played a part in progressive western pedagogy: Kerschensteiner's work schools at the beginning of the century, and the Freinet methods used by many French teachers today are but two examples. In recent years the liberation movements of Southern Africa have linked learning with productive work in their training camps and schools.

The Trustees of the Foundation include educationalists from the region who have played a significant part in introducing new forms of schooling in Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The Director, Patrick van Rensburg, has extensive experience in this field, having helped to set up the Swaneng Hill School in Botswana, which pioneered the introduction of pro-
ductive work at the secondary school level. This was followed by the Serowe
Brigades: production units designed to provide vocational training as well as general education, and to provide a material basis of existence for their numbers. The idea of the Foundation has grown out of such practical education experiences.

The Foundation believes that the conventional form of education is not only unsuitable for the Third World, but also for the industrialized countries as well. The inherent elitism of the system, the division between mental and manual work, the rigidity and abstraction of the contents, the authoritarian learning methods fail to meet the needs of the masses of the people. In a period of rapid technological change and economic crisis, education helps to keep people ignorant and passive by compartmentalizing knowledge, and by divorcing technical and scientific concepts from their social consequences. Education is designed to make people accept technocratic control of their work and environment. Mass-based pedagogy, linking learning with productive work, and relating it to the needs of the community, could help get western education out of its present state of impotence and resignation. Education could again become a force of social transformation, rather than of conservatism. The industrialized countries could today learn a lot from the new forms of education being introduced in the Third World. There is a need for an analysis of these educational forms, and for their adaptation to meet the needs of developed countries undergoing a crisis of economic and social restructuring.

The Foundation for Education with Production works to stimulate the transformation of education by acting as a clearing house for information and experience, by helping to establish national and regional committees as autonomous agencies for educational innovation, and by setting up its own educational projects.

The Foundation as a clearing house

There is a great fund of knowledge and experience of "education for liberation" throughout the world. It is to be found in the tradition of socialist education which grew out of the nineteenth century labour movement, and in the new educational system of countries which have thrown off capitalist domination. It is to be found in the practice of national liberation movements in the Third World, and in alternative projects in the industrialized countries. It also exists in the work of rural development projects, literacy programmes and community development groups in the cities. But this fund of knowledge is relatively inaccessible to those who need it - to grassroots groups and liberation movements who want to transform learning and make it an instrument of emancipation. It is easy for Third World organizations to get advice and aid in setting up western-style elitist education systems - a whole multinational industry exists to propagate those. It is much harder to get information about mass-based pedagogy, for the groups concerned lack the resources to make public the results of their work. The Foundation sets itself the task of filling this vacuum, and providing active help in the process of educational change, by acting as a clearing-house for information on mass-based pedagogy. This work will take various forms:
a) Publication of the Foundation's journal Education with Production as an international forum for discussion and information on the linking of learning with productive work. The first issue is due out in Autumn 1981. Education with Production will appear initially twice a year, but will become a quarterly as soon as possible.

b) Publication of a series of handbooks, explaining how to set up and run educational projects such as co-operatives, workers' education centres and secondary schools embodying productive activities.

c) Preparation and distribution of curricula and syllabi for various types of products combining education and production. Publication of teaching materials and audio-visual aids.

d) The establishment of a publishing house and printing works to support the work of the Foundation.

e) Advice and consultancy on the establishment and implementation of projects. This service will be made available to all interested governments and organisations. It will relate to educational and production aspects, and the linking of the two. Monitoring and evaluation of projects will be included and this will form the basis for action research on strategies for educational social change.

f) Recruitment and training of project leaders, teachers and organisers. Preparation of training courses including course material.

g) Conducting seminars and courses.

h) Facilitating communication between projects in different countries and promoting mutual support.

The Establishment of National and Regional Committees

The Foundation has no intention of becoming yet another top-heavy international bureaucracy. Its present structure is that of a trust with prominent African educationalists on its Board. Day-to-day work is carried out by a secretariat based at present in Botswana. This structure is planned for an initial three-year period, during which the Foundation will stimulate the establishment of National Committees in both Third World and industrialized countries. Such Committees should set up projects linking education and production, or co-ordinate existing projects. National Committees may later set up Regional Committees to co-ordinate their activities in Africa, Europe, etc. The international Foundation will have an advisory and consultative role, as well as providing material and services as detailed above.

The Foundation's own Projects

The staff of the Foundation will continue to establish educational projects. Although this is not the principle function of the Foundation, we regard it as essential for three reasons:

- Our own projects can be used for action research in developing new educational institutions and methods.

- Foundation projects can play a vanguard role in countries where educational innovation would otherwise be lacking.
Foundation staff must be involved in practical work, to prevent their losing touch with concrete problems.

One of the first activities of the Foundation was to assist the ZANU-PF in setting up the Rusunununguko School - a secondary school linking education with production. This in turn led to the establishment of a Zimbabwean Foundation for Education with Production, which has taken over the school project, and which intends to carry out further similar projects.

At present, the Foundation is helping to establish an educational cooperative in Botswana. Young unemployed rural-urban migrants are being provided with means of production, training in building and farming, and basic education. After a three-year period, the teachers and instructors will be withdrawn, leaving the cooperative members as owners and managers of the enterprise which they are building up. Regular meetings and courses on development studies and cooperative management are fitting the trainees for their future role.

The Foundation also plans to set up a workers' education centre in Botswana in the near future. Here, as in other projects, control by the participants and the local community will be the aim. All projects should become autonomous as soon as possible.

Ideas for Cooperation

We call upon interested people throughout the world to cooperate actively with the Foundation for Education with Production.

a) Write to us giving information on educational initiatives in your country, projects you are involved in, ideas for educational change, proposals for improving and expanding the work of the Foundation.

b) Send literature and material on education in your country.

c) Help to set up a National Committee of the Foundation. Write to us for details.

d) Make a donation to support the work of the Foundation. At present we are funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), by the Dutch Humanist Foundation (HIVOS) and by other international donor agencies. We urgently need additional funds. Private contributions, however small, help to increase the flexibility and scope of our work. Send cheques or money orders to the Foundation for Education with Production to our Botswana address.

e) Read and contribute to our Journal Education with Production.

Director Patrick van Rensburg.

Board of Trustees of the Foundation for Education with Production

Ms. Fay Chung, Zimbabwe; Mrs. Augusta Henriques, Guinea-Bissau; Prof. Joseph Kizerbo, Upper Volta; Prof. Nicholas Kuhanga, Tanzania; Prof. Micheri Mugo, Kenya; Senator Mrs. Munyiati, Zimbabwe; Prof. Dan Nabudere, Kenya; Prof. Stephen Ngere, Zimbabwe; Prof. Thomas Vaeth, Zimbabwe.
LE PROJET DE CREATION D'UN RESEAU DES CONSULTANTS AFRICAINS: UN PAS SUR LA VOIE DE LA LUTTE CONTRE LES DANGERS DU TRANSFERT DE TECHNOLOGIE

par Mukoka Nsenda

Le projet dont il est question ici est vieux de six ans. En effet, c'est à la suite d'une série de rencontres interafricaines, et particulièrement de celle qui s'était tenue à Addis-Abéba en juin 1974 que les instances politiques africaines confièrent au Centre Africain de Formation et de Recherches Administratives pour le Développement (CAFRAD) le soin de réfléchir et d'envisager la possibilité de mettre en place un réseau des consultants africains. Le CAFRAD, de par sa vocation, était particulièrement bien placé pour la préparation et la mise au point du projet, dans la mesure où il s'assigne comme objectifs essentiels: entreprendre et coordonner toute recherche relative aux problèmes administratifs liés au développement socio-économique de l'Afrique, organiser des réunions scientifiques, colloques, à l'intention des cadres supérieurs africains, du secteur public, jouer le rôle d'organe de liaison scientifique au service des Ecoles d'Administration publique.

On peut considérer que cette initiative de création d'une force de consultation africaine constitue à la fois un signe de prise de conscience et une stratégie destinée à soustraire l'Afrique de la dépendance culturelle et scientifique étrangère.

Pour apprécier à sa juste valeur la démarche ainsi entreprise par les gouvernements africains, il y a lieu de rappeler qu'à l'origine de toute pratique du transfert technologique, l'on trouve des motivations de domination culturelle et d'impérialisme technologique. Et pourtant, la réalisation d'un autre développement en Afrique postule, entre autre, la valorisation et la domestication de ses propres ressources intellectuelles et de ses propres compétences.

Quant aux facteurs immédiats qui ont milité en faveur de la mise sur pied d'une structure de consultation africaine, l'on peut signaler notamment:

- la déception résultant de la performance des consultants étrangers qui ne sont pas toujours en mesure de bien cerner les réalités africaines et de répondre de façon adéquate aux attentes et besoins de la clientèle;

- le caractère trop onéreux des services de consultation offerts par les étrangers.

---

* Département des Sciences Politiques et Administratives, Université Nationale du Zaïre, B.P. 1330, Lubumbashi, Zaïre.

1/ Cette rencontre réunissait les experts de l'OUA, de la CEA, du BAD et du CAFRAD.

2/ Créé le 13 mai 1964 sous l'égide de l'UNESCO, le CAFRAD a son siège à Tanger au Maroc.
l'existence des cadres africains hautement qualifiés mais sous-employés dans le domaine de l'expertise et de la consultation;

la nécessité de promouvoir une autonomie collective des nations africaines et d'encourager la coopération entre elles en matière d'utilisation des ressources intellectuelles rares, conformément à la Déclaration de Lima, à son programme d'action élaboré en 1971 ainsi qu'à la conférence des Nations-Unies sur la coopération technique entre les pays en voie de développement.

Pour concrétiser le projet, le CAFRAD prit l'initiative d'organiser des colloques au cours desquels l'on allait discuter de toutes les modalités pratiques du démarrage de ce réseau.

Ainsi, du 8 au 20 décembre 1975, le CAFRAD convoqua à Tanger un premier colloque préparatoire réunissant des experts anglophones.


Enfin, du 9 au 13 mars 1981, un autre colloque fut organisé à Tanger. Il était chargé de finaliser le projet en définissant:

- les critères et méthodes de sélection des consultants ainsi que les modalités de confection du répertoire;
- les divers domaines d'intervention;
- l'organisation et l'administration du réseau;
- le rôle à réserver au CAFRAD tout au long de l'exercice des activités de consultation.

A l'issue de ces assises, un certain nombre de recommandations furent formulées à l'intention du conseil d'administration extraordinaire du CAFRAD, lequel s'est tenu en avril 1981. Les principales recommandations arrêtées concernaient notamment la nécessité:

- de recourir aux consultants africains dans les secteurs qui puissent garantir un développement auto-centré conformément au Plan de Lagos;
- de combiner, lors de la sélection des consultants, des critères académiques et des critères de qualification et d'expérience professionnelles;
d'envoyer un questionnaire d'identification des consultants potentiels auprès des gouvernements, des universités et des bureaux de consultation existants;

de créer auprès du CAFRAD un comité permanent de coordination et d'harmonisation des activités du réseau. Ce comité serait habilité notamment à recep-
tionner les demandes de consultation, à communiquer au client la liste des consultants existant dans le domaine concerné, et à former ou améliorer le niveau des consultants membres du réseau.

Quant aux objectifs du réseau, celui-ci s'assigne comme tâche primordiale de fournir des services de consultation aux gouvernements et organismes africains, qu'ils soient publics, privés, nationaux ou inter-africains. A cet effet, le consulting consisterait à réaliser des études en identifiant les problèmes administratifs ainsi que d'autres problèmes de gestion inhérents au processus de développement, à améliorer l'efficacité et la performance des organisations publiques ou privées en renforçant la capacité et la compétence de leur personnel dans le domaine de la gestion, à administrer et à évaluer des projets, particulièrement en matière de développement rural intégré.

Mais peut-être que l'on pourrait se poser la question de savoir concrètement où en est-on avec ce projet? A l'heure actuelle, le projet se trouve dans sa phase finale et il n'appartient plus qu'aux gouvernements, par le truchement du conseil d'administration du CAFRAD, de le concrétiser en décidant des structures à mettre en oeuvre et en octroyant des ressources financières nécessaires au démarrage définitif de ce programme, lequel reste prévu au courant du premier semestre de l'année prochaine.

Et c'est peut-être sur ce plan qu'il faut craindre certains blocages. En effet, l'expérience montre qu'en matière des processus décisionnels aux niveau international, il prévoit souvent une distanciation entre le travail d'experts et sa concrétisation par les instances politiques, cette situation pouvant être due probablement à la structure hégémonique du pouvoir international, ce qui peut expliquer certaines divisions internes, certains conflits d'intérêt et certains atermoiements.

Pour l'instant le travail qui incombe au CAFRAD est celui d'enquête et de prospection des consultants potentiels par pays et par secteur. Et en vue d'assurer une plus grande efficacité aux activités du réseau, un certain nombre de questions devront encore être discutées et tranchées et notamment celles de la confection d'un code d'éthique professionnelle, de l'adoption des techniques d'évaluation et du financement de l'ensemble du projet lui-même.

Pour terminer on ne saurait trop souligner le rôle que les responsables politi-
ques africains ont à jouer pour la pleine réussite de l'entreprise. En effet, la crédibilité, l'indépendance et l'autorité des consultants africains dépen-
dront avant tout de la confiance qu'ils auront placée en eux.

Enfin, la signification profonde qu'à mes yeux il faut attacher à l'existence d'une force de consultation africaine, c'est que celle-ci constitue à la fois un défi et un signe de maturité d'un continent qui, dans un esprit d'union, de coopération et de collaboration, veut prendre en mains son propre destin. C'est pourquoi il est à souhaiter que l'Afrique puisse, dans divers autres domaines, faire montre du même esprit de maturité.
RECIFE, UNE PROPOSITION POLITIQUE
par Luiz Otavio de Melo Cavalcanti */

1. Espace de la parole et de l'action
Selon Hannah Arendt, le monde contemporain est caractérisé, entre autre, par un vide, une brèche, entre le passé et le futur.

Cette discontinuité est mise en évidence par la violence des moeurs morales et des classes politiques qui composent l'histoire occidentale avec l'apparition, respectivement, de l'antisémitisme et du totalitarisme.

On a également constaté la complexité croissante de la société, qui se traduit par un consensus social très rare.

L'absence d'un consensus provient, comme le montre le Prof. Tércio Sampaio Ferraz Junior de la propre nature de la société qui encourage la spécialisation continue des intérêts et des besoins.

Dans ce sens, gouverner est gérer l'opposition, mettant en œuvre le processus de décision, mais également identifier des mécanismes capables de garantir l'existence du pluralisme social.

Ceci est un effort d'articulation politique qui va opérer l'expression des désirs des divers groupes de la Société civile.

La conjoncture historique de ces phénomènes doit stimuler l'aspiration de l'homme à discuter le sort de ses parents, qui se concrétise quand le citoyen assume l'espace de la parole et de l'action.

L'espace public est géré dans le cadre de la politique où nous ne sommes pas seuls, nous n'existons pas au singulier, mais nous coexistons au pluriel.

Il comprend l'exercice de la parole, explicitant ainsi l'action des interlocuteurs qui, par le dialogue, peuvent promouvoir la mise en place d'intérêts, l'obtention de l'accord.

Cette convergence politique, basée sur l'accord de personnes rend possible une action commune qui viabilise le pouvoir, lui conférant une autorité.

Le pouvoir, basé sur la volonté politique, concrétise l'action en commun et gagne une légitimité formulée sur le scénario créatif de l'espace public.

Le limiter signifie diminuer la liberté, réduisant la sphère de la parole et de l'action.

*/ Coordonnateur des Régions Métropolitaines (CNDU), Ministère de l'Intérieur, Brasilia, Brésil.
Le réduire signifie rendre plus étroite la démocratie.

Le pouvoir, élargissant l'espace public par l'exercice de la parole et de l'action permet de pratiquer et de fortifier la démocratie.

2. Stratégie de l'action sociale

Afin de rendre les directives de sa politique sociale opérationnelles, la Préfecture de Recife a idéalisé une stratégie d'action appuyée sur deux points.

Premièrement, en cherchant une offre plus ample des services sociaux de base (approvisionnement, éducation, santé, transport, nettoyage) à la population pauvre.

Etant donné que la prestation de ces services est totalement ou partiellement offerte par le secteur public, un transfert réel de revenu se forme ainsi pour ceux qui utilisent le plus ces services.

Deuxièmement, en stimulant les activités de production liées à l'offre de biens de consommation populaires, spécialement grâce à l'appui de la petite entreprise et dans le cadre du secteur informel de l'économie, visant à élever le revenu des petits prestataires de services.

Le développement articulé et continu de ces activités (ravitaillement, production de vêtements et de chaussures, conservations du patrimoine domestique) contribue à modifier le profil de l'offre de biens et de services et, par ses effets quant à l'emploi et au salaire, induire un changement de profil de la distribution de revenu.

La participation de la Préfecture dans la promotion de ce type d'activités, exerçant des fonctions non conventionnelles, est limitée du fait de la position institutionnelle de la Municipalité dans le cadre actuel du Fédéralisme.

De nombreuses initiatives ont été prises pour élargir la prestation de services sociaux par la Préfecture, dans le cadre de la formation de main-d'œuvre, de distribution d'aliments et de médicaments, mais elles ont dû être interrompues face à l'impossibilité politique de la Municipalité à obtenir un accord avec les organismes fédéraux responsables de l'exécution de ces programmes.

Cette orientation s'identifie aux valeurs simples de la communauté; elle peut fournir des résultats socialement amples, à partir de l'exécution d'actions comme:

a) créer, sur des points stratégiques, de préférence dans les marchés publics et centres sociaux, des centrales d'information sur l'offre de services, afin de fonctionner comme un balcon d'informations, où seront enregistrées les personnes et entreprises ayant des services ou des marchandises à offrir;

b) simplifier les demandes pour l'établissement de petites affaires, réduire les procédures pour la concession d'autorisations et de licences;

c) stimuler la coopération et autres formes d'organisation communautaire où l'association se montre viable et avantageuse, tels que charpentiers,
plombiers, maçons et mécaniciens, élargissant l'appui à la commercialisation, le crédit, le financement, l'habilitation, l'assistance technique, le transfert de technologie, l'appui légal et administratif;

d) fournir des efforts pour améliorer les conditions de contractation d'employés domestiques, augmentant leur capacité et promouvant leur assistance de la part de la Prévoyance Sociale et de la Législation du Travail;

e) identifier et appuyer les activités traditionnelles, ayant trait à la culture régionale, qui garantissent la préservation du caractère particulier de Recife, comme la vente de plats typiques;

f) réaliser des programmes de perfectionnement de main-d'œuvre informelle, surtout pour certains métiers, comme ceux de mécanicien et d'ouvrier de construction.

Cette attitude non seulement représente un acte de cohérence avec le social mais également propose un débat sur la redéfinition des charges et des revenus entre l'Union, les États et les Municipalités.

3. Action communautaire

L'orientation de l'effort que fournit la Préfecture de Recife pour s'articuler avec la communauté, se base sur trois hypothèses.

Sous l'aspect politique, on essaie de stimuler la société civile à s'organiser par la discussion de programmes avec des représentants de catégories professionnelles, de l'appui à la création de conseil d'habitants.

En élargissant l'espace public destiné à l'exercice de la parole et de l'action, on cherche à contribuer à la démocratisation du processus de décision du Gouvernement et au perfectionnement des institutions et du système politique.

Sous l'aspect institutionnel, on prétend la discussion sur le rôle de la Municipalité dans l'ensemble de la compétence fédérale.

Le Gouvernement Municipal est l'élément médiateur le plus sensible entre l'État et la société civile, se trouvant en tension permanente par la connaissance des problèmes locaux.

Sous l'aspect social, par l'articulation planifiée et systématique, on cherche à concevoir et exécuter des actions cohérentes avec la réalité socio-économique de chaque espace urbain.

On cherche également à enrichir la conception des projets, stimulant les groupes de métier à exercer leur créativité.

Le concept d'action communautaire, sur lequel ce travail a été développé, est vu comme "une procédure dans laquelle le groupe humain, lié par des liens socio-économiques et culturels dans un espace déterminé, effectue, consciemment, de manière spontanée ou induite, un changement, afin de promouvoir des facteurs économiques et psycho-sociaux conditionnés au développement, lui assurant continuité".
Cette base conceptuelle présente du moins trois points qui favorisent sa mise en œuvre.

Premièrement, on rejette la pratique de questions théoriques en relation à la "communauté", quand on considère que l'action peut être développée avec n'importe quel groupe humain.

Deuxièmement, elle comprend l'initiative des groupes locaux et est à même de contempler le changement spontané.

Troisièmement, elle identifie la nécessité du groupe à agir de manière active, consciente et délibérée, ayant comme objectif de garantir un développement croissant, compatible avec l'ensemble de ses propres nécessités.

Pour l'exécution du travail, les instruments suivants sont utilisés:

a) sondages exploratoires, réalisés dans 51 communautés pauvres à Recife, ayant pour objectif de repérer, se basant sur l'opinion de la propre population, les principaux problèmes rencontrés;

b) réunions pour des groupes de professionnels, réalisées avec les entités de classe, comprenant le Syndicat d'ingénieurs, d'architectes, de médecins, de journalistes, l'Ordre des avocats du Brésil, l'Association commerciale, l'Association de construction civile, entre autre;

Cette série de rencontres a pour objectif la discussion des directives de formulation du Plan de développement de Recife - PDR, ainsi que recueillir des suggestions des diverses catégories professionnelles;

c) rencontre de représentants de quartiers, réalisée avec des chefs de diverses banlieues de la ville pour présenter et discuter leurs revendications sur les travaux et services.

La réalisation de la recherche (sondage exploratoire) sur les conditions socio-économiques des "favelas", des réunions avec les entités professionnelles et de la rencontre de représentants de quartiers, a permis d'identifier, de repérer et de hiérarchiser les problèmes prioritaires.

Un effort a été réalisé pour connaître, articuler et discuter.

A partir de là, comment rendre les solutions opérationnelles?

Par les Noyaux de Planification Communautaire, c'est-à-dire les baraques de la Préfecture.

Les baraques, noyaux de planification communautaire

Le processus d'interaction avec les communautés, l'initiative de promouvoir le travail en commun avec les groupes, dans chaque "favela", fit valoir quelques questions d'ordre pratique, de nature administrative.

Comment atteindre, de manière planifiée et systématique, dans l'enthousiasme de l'action, le degré de rationalité nécessaire?
L'imperatif politique devait répondre à une demande de base: rendre effective la planification en commun des activités dans chaque "favela", ce qui signifiait garantir la présence permanente de la Préfecture dans les engagements.

Il s'agissait de garantir la décentralisation de la planification des actions et de lui assurer une systématisation indispensable.

La baraque de travaux de l'Entreprise d'Urbanisation de Recife - EUR, rattachée au Secrétariat à la Planification et à l'Urbanisme, chargé d'executer les travaux prévus dans le Projet CURA, dans le quartier de Casa Amarela, offrit l'instrument adéquat. Il donna forme à l'idée.

Il était possible de transformer la baraque, siège des travaux d'infrastructure physique, amplifiant ses fonctions, en Noyau de Planification Communautaire.

La baraque abrita une équipe minimum interdisciplinaire formée d'ingénieurs, assistants sociaux et stagiaires, aidés par le personnel d'appui administratif.

Elle exécuta trois fonctions.

La première fut de promouvoir le travail d'organisation sociale de la communauté afin qu'elle prenne conscience du rôle qu'elle doit exercer dans la société, et de discuter et identifier une solution pour ses problèmes.

La seconde, fut de planifier, en commun avec la communauté, les actions touchant à la réalisation de travaux physiques, la prestation de services sociaux de base et la dynamisation d'activités productives.

La troisième fut d'articuler, de manière compatible, dans le cadre de chaque secteur de la Préfecture, l'exécution des activités prévues au paragraphe précédent.

Le travail fourni par les baraques et la continuité dans son opération, a induit la formulation d'un système qui favorise cette forme de gestion, adaptant la structure administrative de la Préfecture à un nouveau rôle.

Le Système d'Actions Communautaires - SAC fut créé par décret municipal; il a pour objectif d'assurer le fonctionnement de ses diverses unités.

Le SAC prétend articuler les actions sectorielles, définies dans le cadre de chaque Secrétariat municipal et, par l'intermédiaire des baraques, dans l'espace urbain.

La coordination du système, à travers le Secrétariat à la Planification et Urbanisme, cherche à définir des priorités, identifier des ressources et compatibiliser les interventions dans chaque "favela".
HEALTH ACTION INTERNATIONAL

HAI is an informal cooperating network of some 50 consumer, development action and other public interest groups active in health and pharmaceutical issues. It was established at a meeting held in Geneva in May 1981 attended by participants from 27 countries.

The main purpose of HAI is to provide an international network to coordinate activities and share ideas and resources among the various participating groups in order to strengthen the work of these groups and to provide the framework for international campaigns on pharmaceutical issues.

HAI - described as "an international antibody" - will work to protect consumers against ill-treatment by transnational drug companies. The latter, organized in the International Federation of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Associations (IFPMA), are working on a voluntary code of marketing practices in what seems to be an attempt to forestall a campaign such as that successfully conducted by the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN). (It is noteworthy that IFPMA shares the same Zurich address as the International Council of Infant Food Industries).

HAI finds that the IFPMA draft code is so vague as to be open to different interpretations and omits provisions on monitoring and enforcement. Like any voluntary code, it is a weak document, the more so as it is not intended to be more than a model for the different voluntary codes of the national associations constituting IFPMA.

One of the first tasks of HAI, therefore, is expected to be the formulation of its own code of pharmaceutical marketing practice, which could be the basis for a campaign to get such a code adopted in the UN system.

Meanwhile, HAI has scored a first success. One of its member groups has persuaded the US-based pharmaceutical company G.D. Searle to cease promoting its anti-diarrhoea drug Lomotil in Third World countries for use by infants and young children. This drug was known to be potentially dangerous for such use. Since 1973, it has been contraindicated for use by children under two years old in the USA. But Searle had been recommending its use for children under this age in a number of Third World markets. Now, under pressure from the UK group Social Audit Ltd, Searle has agreed to recommend against the use of Lomotil in children under two years old anywhere.

An international information centre and clearing house to serve the participants of HAI is maintained by the International Organisation fo Consumers Unions (IOCU) at its Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific in Penang, Malaysia.

For further information, please contact:

Roland Fett, BUKO Pharma-Kampagne, BUKO (Bundeskongress Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsgruppen/Federal Congress of Development Action Groups) c/o Dritte Welt Haus, August Bebel Strasse 62, D-4800 Bielefeld 1, West Germany.

Ms. G.S. Foo, Pharmaceutical Action Project, IOCU Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, P.O.Box 1045, Penang, Malaysia.
THE VOICES OF ALL PEOPLES
by Claudette Earle */

Another link in the spiritual chain of the African diaspora clinked fast recently when a Guyanese academic published a small volume of poems written by a native of the Ivory Coast, West Africa.

The collection, entitled 'The voices of all peoples', is the work of Charles Zegoua Nakan an ethno-sociologist attached to the University of Abidjan. The poems, which are appearing for the first time in print, have been edited, translated from their original French and introduced by Guyanese Professor Joycelynne Louncke of the Department of Modern Languages of the University of Guyana. 'Voices of all peoples' is a slender soft-bound work printed by Bovell and Company Limited, Georgetown, Guyana. Between its covers lie the result of the combined talents of a son of the African soil and a daughter who has been away from home for many years. Its publication in a region largely peopled by descendants of African slaves is of special significance, and is bound to reinforce Caribbean-African ties.

The poems, revolutionary in tone and language, can be placed on the international bookshelf of contemporary progressive writings. There are echoes of Edward Brathwaite, Martin Carter and Bob Marley, and other writers whose revolutionary zeal in the quest for social justice has been etched forever on the consciousness of the down-trodden and oppressed. 'Voices' thunders anger and outrage at the moral and economic exploitation of a nation which is being sucked dry of its natural resources by the operations of transnational corporations. The poet's revolutionary ire is directed at the agents of economic exploitation in his homeland, the Ivory Coast, as well as at those of his countrymen who aid and abet the exploitation of the masses because of their own selfish greed. He is bitter at the impotence of his country's political structure to stem the outflow of monies from the country. He writes:

They wage a silent war against us
They kill us tortuously
They devour us - the strength of the fatherland
Their bellies are well-filled
While we suffer the pangs of hunger
They pick our lives to pieces
Gulp down the very water of our existence

and another verse:

You drain us dry and yet you want us
To keep quiet
No, but no, we shout cries spattered with blood
You use us and abuse us
And yet you want never to see our fists raised
Confronting you, we shall be tempests

*/ Inter Press Service, Georgetown, Guyana, SA
Nokan's bold accusations against the combined evils of transnationals and governments which work with them to provide an illusion of progress and development, can be levelled at many countries of the Third World caught in the economic stranglehold of dependency. Yet Nokan bitterly insists:

There is no Third World
There are nations that oppress nations
And feed selfishly on their economy
The development of Western countries rises out
Of the underdevelopment of less privileged regions
One class exploits another
There are those who spread darkness in certain countries
In order to have more light in their own

But all is not lost, The poet sees the day when the revolution will come:

We shall stand up like mountains
And advance with the force of a hurricane
And shall rise like a tempest
And the stinking towers shall be uprooted and swept away

'Voices of all peoples' rekindles revolutionary fires in the bosoms of conscious peoples of the Third World and can inform the unwary of the plight and human indignities of a people living under the rule of the unharnessed transnational corporations. Its message is international and timely, and most importantly, 'the voices of all peoples' forges links of co-operation between the African peoples across the Atlantic.
THE TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT REPORT

by Chakravarthi Raghavan*/

The Trade and Development Report, 1981-1, an annual report by UNCTAD Secretariat from this year, complementing and supplementing the reports of the World Bank, IMF, GATT, and the OECD that so far have dominated this area and in effect have set the parameters of development policy discussions. TDR 1981 is a report with a difference, and as the discussions on it in the Trade and Development Board, at its 23rd session in September 1981 disclosed, promises to open up a wider debate on development issues from an alternative perspective.

TDR 1981 is the outcome of a decision of UNCTAD's Trade and Development Board in March 1981, asking the Secretary-General to present annually an evaluation of world trade and economic situation, and the issues, policies and appropriate measures to facilitate structural changes in international economy, taking into account the inter-relationships of problems in the areas of trade, development, money and finance, with a view to the establishment of the NIEO.

Coming out after the annual OECD, IMF and World Bank surveys, TDR 1981 has been able to take note of some of the later short-term developments. Unlike the others, TDR 1981 looks at current economic developments and short-term problems and the longer-run development issues in an integrated way.

"The crisis in the world economy", TDR argues, "is now such that the dichotomy between short-term and development problems or what amounts to the same, between demand management and investment policies is no longer admissible".

The OECD and the IMF surveys look at the short-term and emphasise demand management and now fashionable (à la Regan/Thatcher) supply side economics. The World Bank's World Development Report (WDR) 1981 (the World Bank began this annual exercise in 1978) looks at development issues. But this is from the Bretton Woods-GATT perpespectives of the international capitalist system and liberal economics, that view the current global economic situation as an exceprion that, with corrective reforms, could be returned to the normative "golden era" of the 25 years of post-war history.

Unctad's TDR 1981, takes a much longer perspective, analyses the experiences and structural changes of the now industrial economies over the last 160 years, views the postwar experience up to 70s as an exception made possible by departures favouring Europe and Japan from the Bretton-Woods GATT rules of the game, and looks at the 80s and 90s from this and the NIEO perspective.

Unlike any of the other surveys, TDR 1981 also looks at the impact on global economy, and specially the Third World, of the new international actors - the transnational corporations (TNCs). It examines their domination of commodity, industrial, trading, banking, service and retail sectors, and their contributions to the increasing oligopolisation and conglomeration of world economy and trade.

Differing from the OECD surveys that blame labour and unions and wages increases for cost-push inflation, TDR suggests that the basic cause is the transnationalisation, or as it puts it, the internationalisation of the world economy and the "privatisation" of the international monetary system, with oligopolistic and conglomerate activities of the TNCs who are able to pass on the costs to the consumers and push up inflation, while driving to bankruptcy the small and independent producers.

Unlike the OECD, IMF and IBRD surveys, UNCTAD's TDR sharply questions current adjustment policies that shift the burden on to the poorer countries, and within each country on labour and the poor. It also questions supply side economics (à la Regan-Thatcher in the North or its IMF versions in the South) and predicts its failure.

Supply side economics, TDR points out, is based on the premise that reductions in public expenditures with cuts in tax rates targeted at the corporate sector will stimulate business investment and produce a fiscal dividend that would substantially reduce public sector borrowings as a percentage of GNP.

"However", TDR says "there can be no guarantee of revival of business investment activity, following reduction in corporate taxes, and fiscal deficits might turn out to be larger than expected, leading to further upward pressures on interest rates, costs and prices, and continued stagnation of output."

While the OECD and IMF surveys view approvingly the present anti-inflationary policies in OECD economies (questioning only the appropriate mix of monetary and fiscal policies) TDR questions the recourse to such policies when in its view what is needed is basic structural changes.

The restrictive monetary policies adopted by some major industrial countries, TDR points out, have had a destabilising effect on exchange rates. It has compelled other OECD economies to raise their interest rates, even though not warranted by their rates of unemployment. The US policy and the ensuring high interest rates particularly have resulted in volatile interest rates and marked movements in exchange rates.

The recourse to monetary policies, rather than micro-policies in planning structural changes at sectorial level, have not resulted in relaxation of inflationary pressures but only increased unemployment.

The high interest rates, due to tight monetary policies, have led to a decisive shift in composition of loanable funds in favour of short-term high-yielding instruments, with adverse effects on level of real investments, capital formation and the process of badly-needed industrial restructuring.

The high interest rates have also had very serious effects on the Third World. Every one percent increase in the interest rates adds two billion dollars to their debt service. Interest payments in 1980 of their medium and long-term debt will be 13 billion dollars higher than if interest rates had remained at 1978 levels. Also by inducing reductions in inventories and discouraging commodity stock-holdings, they have contributed in the short-run to weakening primary commodity markets. They have thus added to the debt-servicing burden and
increased the pressure on the balance of payments of the Third World countries.

TDR 1981 suggests that given present trends and continuance of policies, the outlook for the world economy and development is bleak in the 1980s, but this is not inevitable as alternative development paradigms offer a way out.

With an alternative paradigm, the Third World could accelerate its growth, reaching an average annual seven percent growth in the 90s, by following a non-dependency path of development (in contrast to the World Bank's models of development based on growth in the OECD economies).

Such a growth would have to be sustained through increased Third World mutual economic cooperation in all sectors, comprehensive measures within the Third World to improve its own economic performance, and basic structural reforms in the OECD economies and in the international economic system to assist rapid growth in the Third World. If these were done, the North would also benefit from the feedback effects of rapid growth in the South, and accelerate its own growth in the 90s.

"But all these measures will require intensified international economic cooperation and concerted efforts by governments since 'market forces' alone cannot be relied upon to achieve the required transformations and structural reforms".

The experience of world economy over the last 150 years, UNCTAD points out, shows that the long cycles of growth, stagnation and upswings in the now industrial economies, is invariably associated with introduction and diffusion of new technologies, structural changes and technological innovations needing long gestation periods.

The current difficulties in OECD economies are not due to short-term business cycles but are structured and secular.

OECD economies will be unable to approach previous levels of economic activity for some time to come, and solutions to their problems need a social consensus that is lacking.

On present trends and policies, and given the outlook for 1981-82 (of a 1.8 percent growth rate), growth in OECD economies cannot exceed an average 2.4 percent in the 80s. Third World growth, if it depends on growth in the OECD economies, cannot thus exceed 4.2 percent annually, according to TDR.

This will be a rate lower than the low scenario projections of 4.5 percent of the World Bank, according to which, the numbers in absolute poverty will increase by 100 million over the present 750 millions by the year 2000.

On its own projections, UNCTAD suggests that unless the Third World loosens its present dependence development, unemployment rates in the Third World will accelerate dramatically in the 80s.

"Slow rates of growth in the developing world would almost certainly increase political and social instability and this in turn would contribute to increased international tensions, and stimulate in all likelihood a further diversion of scarce national resources from productive capital investments to military
expenditures. Furthermore, history provides few examples where sustained and rapid increases in apparent military prowess have not led to opportunities to test that prowess. Such a pattern of resource allocation hardly represents a practicable means of adjusting to unfavourable economic conditions nor would it be self-sustaining. It is essential that attention be given to the implications for the world economy of accelerated growth in developing countries of a kind which bears some relation to their development needs.

While Third World growth, on present trends, cannot exceed 4.2 percent in the 80s, even the most optimistic scenario of the World Bank would only allow for 5.7 percent growth, as against the target of seven percent set in the UN's development strategy. Even at seven percent, UNCTAD notes, per capita GDP of Third World in 2000, will be only 15 percent of that of OECD economies, and the objective of a more balanced and equitable distribution of per capita production and income will be a task for the next century.

The Third World's present grim outlook is despite its own tremendous internal efforts - an average domestic ratio now of 19 percent and share of gross domestic investment to GDP of 22 percent - and mainly due to external environment.

The current account deficits of the non-oil Third World countries has now increased from 45 billion dollars in 1979 to 78 billion in 1981. While this has been mainly due to deterioration in terms of trade and the two major adjustments in prices of oil, in recent years the high interest rates and payments, profit remittances, technology remittances and technology dependence have all been factors.

Interest payments and profit remittances in 1980 amounted to 34 billion dollars and will rise to 44 billion in 1981. Direct payments by Third World for use of patents, licences, trade marks, process know-how and technical services amounted from nine to ten billion dollars in 1980 (1.8 billion in 1968), and the total cost of technological dependence may be as high as 30-50 billion a year.

The rising debt service ratio and including profits remittances of the non-oil Third World is expected to be 28 percent of export earnings in 1981 coupled with deteriorating profile of debt liabilities and net transfers, this implies either risk of debt servicing or the countries reducing development.

At the end of 1979, according to UNCTAD, the OECD economies had restrictions of various kinds on no less than 280 items of manufactured exports of the Third World.

"Paradoxically," UNCTAD points out, "the asymmetry in international relations is such that countries are obliged to honour their debt obligations but creditor countries feel free to hinder this by restricting imports."

On the basis of its own world trade and development model and simulations, UNCTAD suggests that if the Third World were to grow at an accelerated pace, and in the face of the poor performance in the industrialised world, the Third World share of world GDP would increase from a now 15 percent to 25 percent by year 2000. The Third World share of world manufacturing output would rise from 10.2 percent to 22.7 percent (as against UNIDO Lima target of 25). The OECD
shares of GDP will decline from 65 to 50 percent and of manufacturing output from 63.2 to 46.9 percent.

In the long run, this will alter the dynamics of world growth and economic activity. By fully exploiting mutual economic cooperation, the Third World would be increasingly independent of circumstances in the rest of the world. With some qualifications, such a self-sustained growth is feasible in the long run.

Trade among Third World countries would become an important component of world trade, and their shares of exports of manufactures to their total exports (including fuel) would increase from 18 percent in 1975 to 32 in 1990. Trade balances in relation to total exports by broad commodity groups would converge. Trade deficits as ratios of total exports will increase substantially in early years but decline towards end of 80s. The Third World as a whole in 1990 would have a trade deficit (goods and non-factor services) of 6.9 percent of world exports or two percent of GDP of industrialised countries. This compares with 0.3 percent of the combined GDP of industrialised countries in 1975.

"These are very large by historical standards and cannot be accommodated within the existing framework of international relations, and in particular international financial mechanisms."

But alternative development paradigms could reconcile this paradox of a low Third World growth unsustainable by its social dynamics and a high growth not feasible within the present international system.

The large financial transfer requirements can be significantly reduced by substantial improvement in terms of trade of the Third World through appropriate commodity policies.

The savings surpluses are available within the Third World and the industrialised countries. The problem is one of finding new and more efficient mechanisms to match savings and investment on a global level.

The initial acceleration of growth in the Third World should be followed by a comprehensive set of measures to enhance economic performance. Specially by increased mutual trade and by higher degrees of import substitution.

Positive adjustment policies should be adopted in the North to foster restructuring of the world economy to facilitate this reconciliation. Also socialist countries of Eastern Europe could accelerate imports from the Third World and increase their financial and technical assistance.

With structural reforms, the North could benefit from the feedback effects of the Third Worlds' growth, and accelerate its own growth in the 90s and beyond.
Dear IFDA,

Much of alternative development, or development "from below", is characterizable by more regionalized, self-sustaining economies and policies which implies re-orientations for physical planning and design that go beyond and should be more directed than, for instance, as covered in Deelstra's article in Dossier No.22. In particular, two principal policy issues would be:

1. Rural-urban integrated development, with rural cities performing genuine services for more "bottom-up" development (rather than reaping surplus excessively) and;

2. For the national core-regions, decentralization and particular planning/design measures regarding integrated housing - small-scale industries - commerce - urban agriculture - social services.

I feel that the Third System project has achieved a lot in bringing people together; yet I agree to some extent with J. Friedmann's earlier letter which argues that efforts should be directed at the local (regional/urban) level where changes could perhaps be pushed more effectively. The questions of alternative planning and design of city regions have not really come up in the Dossiers, I feel, with the same critical awareness as that evident in relation to more global issues. On the other hand, the alternative concepts have not penetrated to the levels where physical planning/design commissions are formulated. There is, therefore, a need for research and policy formulations that would help to make alternative development objectives embodied in physical space. In fact, development "from below" is territorially oriented and spatial planning could do much to integrate development policies in various dimensions (economic, cultural, ecosystem...).

Further, what is probably needed, is the formulation of a coherent body of alternative development principles, appealing to various strata, that can be brought to the rural and urban populations. The difficulty here is the need for generalized principles, concrete enough for application, while making true on the avowed appropriateness of alternative development approaches to local and historical specificity.

1/ 535 East 14th Street, Apt. 4F, New York, N.Y. 10009, USA.


. Kamla Bhasin (ed), Readings on poverty, politics and development (Bangkok: FAO regional office, 1980), 226 p. Copies may be obtained from FFHC/AD, FAO regional office, Phra Atit Road, Bangkok 2, Thailand or from FFHC/AD, FAO, via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy).


NATIONAL SPACE


Md Habibur Rahman and Nasiruddin Ahmed, Selected annotated bibliography on social science research work in Bangladesh 1972-78 (Dacca: Social Science Research Council, 1979) 323 p.


THIRD WORLD SPACE


GLOBAL

Andre Gunder Frank, Crisis: in the world economy and Crisis: in the Third World (London:Heinemann, 1981), 366 and 376 p. The crisis that Frank perceives in the world economic system today is a crisis in capital accumulation. It is the cause of national and international upheavals in business cycles, and a sharpening of economic inequalities both within and among them. The increasing concentration of economic and political power, the marginalization of large sectors of the population in many countries, the concerted attack within the West against the welfare state as a model for social development, the growing role of the state in aid of private economic activity, and the shift to the
political right throughout Western societies, are all elements in the pattern of the current crisis. Nor are the countries of the socialist bloc divorced from the world economy. Frank argues that they have been willingly co-opted by international capital into the world economic system and participate in transnational economic ventures profitable to the West. "Crisis: in the world economy" challenges traditional views of the state of the world. While based on a wealth of statistical and documentary evidence, the book's simple and direct style makes it accessible to anyone, specialist or nonspecialist, who is concerned with understanding the world economic system and its prospects.


Bruno Ribes (ed), Domination or Sharing? Endogenous Development and the Transfer of Knowledge (Paris: Unesco, 1981), 288 p. Information is knowledge; knowledge is power, and thousands of millions are subject to oppression because they lack access to information. This volume comprises a number of studies commissioned by Unesco on the sharing of intellectual achievement.


Klaus Esser and Jürgen Wiemann, Key Countries in the Third World, Implications for Relations between FRG and the South (Berlin: German Development Institute, 1981), 206 p. A study in conventional differentiation.


. Peace in the 1980s and beyond, the final report by the Socialist International Study group on disarmament (Socialist Affairs, no. 5/81, supplement) 28 p.


**PERIODICALS**

The *Newsletter of international labour studies* (no. 12, October 1981) offers two features on trade union internationalism. (Galileistraat 130, 2561 TK The Hague, The Netherlands).

*Raw Materials Report* (Vol. 1, no. 1) is a new quarterly on the political economy of natural resources published by the Raw Materials Group (PO Box 5195, S-102 44 Stockholm). The Raw Materials Group was founded in 1971, as a study group associated to the independent socialist monthly *Kommentar*. The group has published a large number of articles in *Kommentar* and supported the anti-imperialist solidarity movement in Sweden with research and documentation on the political economy of natural resources. This work has forced the group to look for global explanations to local and national problems. They had to ask for help from friends all over the world to understand economic and political developments in Sweden. This has been a very rewarding and encouraging lesson in the necessity of international solidarity. To develop this work further and to be able to communicate their experiences, they have decided to launch *Raw Materials Report*.

The *Counter Information Services Anti Report 1981* deals principally with the British situation. The CIS is a collective of journalists who publish information not covered or collated by the established media (9 Poland Street, London W1).

*Prospective et santé* (no. 17) est consacré à la nouvelle clinique (9 rue Alfred de Vigny, 75008 Paris, France).

*Labor, revista de tecnología apropiada*, Mayo-Junio 1981, trata de energía solar, construcción con tierra y cómo mejorar la agricultura en el altiplano boliviano (Casilla 20410, La Paz, Bolivia).

*Exchange of knowledge for an endogenous development* is a newsletter published in English, French and Spanish by Unesco. It has recently, and very appropriately, changed its title, which was "Transfer of knowledge"... but this required a decision of the General Conference of Unesco.

*Struggling for the sharing of wealth and power* (no. 6, October 1981) publishes the reports of the West European consultation on TNCs (Brussels, April) and of the East European consultation (Budapest, June). (World Council of Churches, 150 route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 11, Switzerland).
MATERIALS RECEIVED

LOCAL SPACE

. Anil K. Gupta, Water distribution, use and social organisation: some IFS and buts (Centre for Management in Agriculture, Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad 380 015, India), 27 p.


. Fernando Reyes Matta, Dialogo para el desarrollo y requerimientos culturales (ILET, Apartado 85-025, 10200 Mexico DF), 6 p.

. Yona Friedman, Towards a policy of urban survival and immediate education for survival (42 Bd Pasteur, 75015 Paris, France), 5 and 8 p.

NATIONAL SPACE

. Stephany Griffith-Jones, The role of financial policies in the transition to socialism, 5 p.

. Andre Gunder Frank, Crisis, transition, delinking and destabilization with special reference to PASOK, Greece (School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ), 20 p.

. Attila Agh, Tradition and modernity in the development of non-European national cultures and The conflict of national and Western cultures in the Third World (Hungarian Institute of International Relations, Bérc U. 23, 1016 Budapest, Hungary), 13 and 23 p.

. Piotr Zeydler-Zborowski, Recent changes and another development in Poland (Institute of Developing Countries, University of Warsaw, Poland), 30 p.

THIRD WORLD SPACE


GLOBAL SPACE

. Seamus O'Faolain, Philippine Mayor fights the World Bank


. Luis Herrera, Technology transfer and development (University of Tampere, Box 607, 33101 Tampere 10, Finland), 8 p.


. Richard Falk, Nuclear weapons and the end of democracy (Centre of International Studies, Princeton University, Corwin Hall, Princeton, N.J. 08540, USA), 20 p.

SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO THE IFDA DOSSIER

Subscription for 6 issues (one year):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>US$</th>
<th>SFR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrialized countries</td>
<td>30.-</td>
<td>48.-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third World and students</td>
<td>15.-</td>
<td>24.-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please send cheque to IFDA, 2 Place du Marché, 1260 Nyon, Switzerland.
Residents of Switzerland can use CCP 10-23549 Lausanne.