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POLITICAL MURDER IN GRENA DA

Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada, and a still unknown number of other leaders and citizens were murdered on Wednesday 19 October as a so-called 'revolutionary military council' was taking over.

IFDA has been following closely the efforts of Grenada since the fall of dictator Gairy in 1979. An IFDA mission visited the island in May 1981 (IFDA Dossier 24, p.2) and we organized a seminar with Maurice Bishop and his cabinet in February 1983 (IFDA Dossier 35, p.88).

Judging on the basis of our observations and discussions, we first thought that another development was a concrete possibility in small Grenada. Whenever and wherever possible, we tried to mobilize support to facilitate the process.

Last February, however, during a week of visits and discussions, we formed the impression that things had started to drift in a different direction.

Non-alignement appeared to be threatened as the basis of foreign policy and, concomitantly, the style of government to slide towards bureaucratic rule.

We were then informed of a split in the leadership, and it was an ominous sign that differences were not discussed by the people but fought over in the narrow circle of party/government power.

Our fears were confirmed on 12 October when Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard won the majority not only in the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement but also, as we are now told by Fidel Castro himself, in the 'political organs' of both Army and Security.

A week later, a spontaneous and massive demonstration, in which one of ten of every inhabitant of the country participated, liberated Maurice Bishop from house arrest, leaving no doubt whatsoever as to the people's choice. And Maurice and his comrades were executed.

This barbaric outcome should make many think,

First, Washington policies, as was and is so often the case, did put in a deadly East-West context problems which are of a North-South, that is developmental, nature.

Second, whatever support came from the 'like-minded' governments of Western Europe was too little and too late. By resisting US pressure against the EEC assistance to the airport construction in 1980, they could have done much to prevent the prevalence of the cold war logic and to facilitate both genuine non-alignment and another development.

Third - and we write this overwhelmed by sadness and personal sorrow, for Maurice, Jackie and the others were our friends - third, the failure of the revolution is that power was not shared with the people in time.

As one slogan on the walls of Saint George's warned, 'you get from your revolution only what you put in it'.

(continued on page 3)
Abstract: The 70s, since the Stockholm Conference on the Environment, were the decade of a great awakening of global consciousness. Through an impressive series of inter-governmental conferences and underpinning seminars, we have learnt of the mutual interdependence of nations. None can solve any problem for itself or at the expense of others. There is no national solution to global problems. This insight, argues Inga Thorsson in her address to the Global Tomorrow Coalition Conference (Washington, June) must be taken into account. The greatest task of the years up to 2000 is to translate the awareness gained in the 70s into political decisions and actions. Inga Thorsson was, on behalf of Sweden, a key protagonist in the debate on environment, development, disarmament. Her message must be taken seriously.

Michael Manley said it well: 'The thousands who demonstrated for Bishop were expressing their faith in a leader who has given them a new sense of hope and pride as a people. History will pass a terrible judgment on those who are responsible for his murder'. This 'terrible day in Caribbean history', this 'squalid betrayal of the hopes of the ordinary people in our region' (is) 'a setback for socialism in the Caribbean'.

Marc Nerfin

(sent to press on 21.10.1983)
Let me first of all tell how pleased I am to have been invited to address the Global Tomorrow Coalition Conference. I am particularly happy to understand that an impressive gathering of US intellectual wealth has been organized by the Global 2000 Report to the President, the important result of three years of work.

I intend to deal principally with the efforts made and under way in the international space, mainly through the United Nations system, in pursuance of the goals to which the Global Tomorrow Coalition has devoted itself.

First, however, a few words about a major element of the present world situation, intimately linked to the issues under scrutiny at this conference, i.e. the deep worldwide and longlasting world economic crisis. The leaders of the seven most industrialized countries, at their Williamsburg meeting, were eagerly looking for ways out of the crisis. But I think that they would do well in not considering present economic indicators as the light at the end of the tunnel.

Because in the view of many economists, a view which I share, the roots of the crisis are to be found in the structure of the world economy itself rather than in certain cyclical phenomena in some of its parts.

Inherent in the present structure of the world economy, what I would call the present economic disorder, are the ways in which we handle the issues of resource scarcities, the ecological stresses, the polarization of wealth and poverty among peoples and countries and - I must add - the arms race.

This must be faced squarely, the need for a New International Order must be recognized clearly, if we shall ever been able to shape a global future in a mutually interdependent, more just and livable world.

Let me return to the issues of your most immediate concern.

As a Swedish citizen, deeply involved since decades in international cooperation in every sphere of human life, I am of course proud of what my country did to initiate the UN Conference of the Human Environment in June 1972. That event represented the start of a process at the international level, which so far has not brought about the necessary revolutionary change in attitudes, political processes and decision-making in the national space, but which,
nevertheless, represents the most promising sign so far of new outlooks, new possibilities.

The 1972 Environment Conference was in itself a tremendously important event. For the first time in history, representatives of UN Member States met for two weeks to consider seriously a problem which had increasingly been recognized as a global problem, knowing no national boundaries. The outcome of the Conference: the Stockholm Declaration and the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) laid the ground for constructive international cooperation, however weakened, as is unfortunately too often the case in the UN system, by financial difficulties.

Already in the Stockholm Declaration there was a recognition of the linkages of environmental problems with the availability of resources, with population increase and with economic and social development. That was not least due to an important element in the preparatory process, so eminently directed by the Conference Secretary General Maurice Strong. Anxious as he was to ascertain the full and constructive participation of Third World countries and aware as he was of the urgent developmental concerns of these countries, even irrespective of environmental consequences, he organized in June 1971 a seminar at Founex, Vaud, Switzerland, which produced the famous Founex Report 21. That report discussed, by necessity in fairly general terms, the environmental issues in the developmental process. It is of quite some interest to note, that already in 1971, three years before the launching of the NIEO, a chapter of the report was devoted to the implications for international economic relations of environmental concerns and environmental policies.

The early ideas of links between resources, environment, population and development were further developed at a seminar at Cocoyoc, Mexico, in October 1974 in which my distinguished friend the late Barbara Ward played such an eminent part 3/. That was the place where the concepts of the "inner limits", of satisfying human needs, were joined to the "outer limits", of the planet's physical integrity. And the urgent question was put: do environmental degradation and the rising pressure on resources raise the problem, whether these "outer limits" may not be at risk? Added to these concerns, the seminar pointed to the fact "that the next thirty years will bring a doubling of world populations; another world on top of this, equal in numbers, demands and hopes."

The Cocoyoc Declaration ended, however, on an optimistic note, so clearly formulated by the indomitable spirit of Barbara Ward, and I should like to quote in full the short Epilogue:

"We recognize the threats to both the "inner limits" of basic human needs and the "outer limits" of the planet's physical resources."
But we also believe, that a new sense of respect for fundamental human rights, and for the preservation of our planet is growing up behind the angry divisions and confrontations of our day.

We have faith in the future of mankind on this planet. We believe that ways of life and social systems can be evolved, that are more just, less arrogant in their material demands, more respectful of the whole planetary environment. The road forward does not lie through the despair of doomwatching, or through the easy optimism of successive technological fixes. It lies through a careful and dispassionate assessment of the "outer limits", through co-operative search for ways to achieve the "inner limits", of fundamental human rights, and through all the patient work of devising techniques and styles of development which enhance and preserve our planetary inheritance.

The Cocoyoc Seminar had been preceded, by a few weeks, by the second important UN conference, the World Population Conference at Bucharest (August 1974).

Before I enter the issues that were dealt with at this important juncture of global cooperation, let me make the general remark that, looked at from an international perspective, the 70's should in retrospect be remembered as the decade of a great awakening of global consciousness, of an intellectual and educational process at the international level, the harvest of which at the political level should be considered the greatest task of the years up to year 2000. Through the impressive series of UN conferences, we have learnt of the mutual interdependence of nations on this small planet, we know that no nation can solve for its own citizens, any of the acute problems of today at the expense of others, that there are, in fact, no national solutions to global problems. If this earth of ours is going to be saved for future generations, this insight will have to be reflected in political decision-making and action.

I should like now to return to the 1974 Population Conference. On that occasion - and we should do well to remember, that 1974 was also the year when the demand for a New International Economic Order was raised by the poorer countries of the world - the concept of interlinkages was for the first time officially introduced at the international level. What was said, two months later, in the Cocoyoc Declaration, namely that

A North American or European child, on an average, consumes outrageously more than his Indian or African counterpart - a fact which makes it specious to attribute pressure on world resources entirely to the growth of third world population

was foregone, in more formal terms, by paragraph 15(d) of the World Population Plan of Action, adopted at Bucharest, which said the following about one of the objectives of the Plan:
To advance national and international understanding of the complex relations among the problems of population, resources, environment and development, and to promote a unified analytical approach to the study of these interrelationships and to relevant policies.

This line of thought was followed up, in more concrete terms, in paragraph 19, which stated that recognizing that per capita use of world resources is much higher in the developed than in the developing countries, the developed countries are urged to adopt appropriate policies in population, consumption and investment, bearing in mind the need for fundamental improvement in international equity.

May I rather immodestly mention that the moving force behind these particular parts of the World Population Plan of Action was the Swedish delegation to the Conference. Sweden did follow up this line of thought at the 1974 UN General Assembly session, when, on the basis of a Swedish initiative, a resolution was adopted concerning the need to relate population growth to resource availability, levels of consumption, and environmental carrying capacity. The resolution requested the UN Secretary-General to take appropriate measures to provide facilities for co-ordinated multidisciplinary research, aimed at synthesizing, integrating and advancing existing knowledge on the interrelationships between population, resources, environment and development...

The background, and the basis of the actions by the Swedish delegation was the research efforts of a Swedish economist looking into the Harming and Carrying Capacity of our earth, defining harming capacity as the ecological pressure exerted by a given group on a certain geographical area. It could also be said that harming capacity could be seen as the demand pressure on the total ecological system, while the carrying capacity could be seen as the supply side of the same system.

Irrespective of what has happened to the world economy since the publication of this report - and I should like to remind all of us that the ongoing world economic crisis has struck countries in the Third World infinitely harder than the industrial countries - the main conclusion of the report, namely that the standard explosion of the rich countries is a much more serious ecological-pressure problem than the population explosion in the poor countries, is as valid today. This was expressed in quantitative terms as follows: a doubling of the rich countries' living standard which they aspire to reach in 17-18 years, would, according to this calculation result in the same increase in global ecological pressure as a sixfold increase in the populations of Asia and Africa.

Now, what happened, in terms of implementation, to General
Assembly Resolution 3345 of 1974?

The UN Secretariat soon found their task difficult. And it was of course more easy to formulate a request of this kind in an Assembly resolution than for the sectorized Secretariat to find a formula for bringing together the many building blocks to a co-ordinated multidisciplinary research effort, and applying its result on an increasingly complex and interdependent world.

However, the Swedish Government waited for results with an impatience that was probably not completely justified. In 1979, it invited the UN to hold a symposium on the inter-relationships at Stockholm. During five days, in August of that year, 27 persons of international standing tried to penetrate the various aspects of these manifold problems. The statement, that appeared as a result of these efforts provides us, in my view, with a set of guidelines for continued considerations and policy actions. Let me quote paragraph 4 of the statement for a particular reason:

A specific example is provided by fuelwood, which is the principal source of energy in many developing countries. The effect of rapid population increase, and inadequate development of other sources of energy, is to intensify the demand for wood, widen the gap between demand and supply, and leave more intensive wood cutting as the only alternative for the poor. Given the localized character of wood supply, intensive wood cutting exerts concentrated pressure on tree cover and other woody vegetation, that leads to deforestation and therefore decline in agricultural productivity through landslides, flooding, soil erosion and even desertification.

I have quoted this paragraph for two reasons. First because it reflects a very serious threat to the future of our planet. At a conference in Stockholm earlier this year, devoted to the year of the forests, the following unquestionable facts were referred to:

This day world population has increased by 175,000 persons. This day an additional 160 square kilometers has been turned into deserts. This day fully 300 square kilometers of tropical forests have been cut down.

I quoted the paragraph also because, in the international space, solutions were found at one of the many UN conferences during the 1970's, that on desertification. The plan of action emanating from it has not been implemented as, unfortunately, from most of the others. The reason is usually ascribed to a lack of political will, an expression, which I find quite worn-out, and which hides a dangerous lack of insight, imagination and foresight among political leaders.

I wanted to recall the manifold efforts of the UN, and thus in the international space, which are directly relevant to
the themes of this conference, but, unfortunately, so far very insufficiently supported by governments of UN Members.

The efforts of the UN are continuing. A high-level inter-agency task force is working on the interrelationship issue in a long-term perspective. And I understand that, at the Second World Population Conference in Mexico next year, the consideration of these interrelationships will play a prominent part.

Out of the many reasons, why the Statement of the Stockholm symposium should not be forgotten, I should like to refer only to one more. It contains towards the end three paragraphs, dealing with an issue that, to an extent which always surprises me, does not find its way into debates and statements on today's and tomorrow's global problems. That is the ongoing and intensifying arms race. It does surprise me, as it is indeed the issue of our times. Let me quote just one of these three paragraphs:

Disarmament measures are of crucial importance for the development of human and material resources, and for the improvement of the quality of life, for the promotion of the accelerated development of the developing countries, and for the establishment of a system of international relations, based on equity and justice.

This decisive part of our interrelated global problems is, by the way, also lacking in the Global 2000 Report. The fact is that the arms race, besides representing a threat to the survival of all of us, is not only one of the important factors behind the world economic crisis. It also represents a tremendous waste of increasingly scarce resources, which are kept from being put to constructive developmental use.

Let me give just a few examples of what the arms race means, in quantity and quality, to the way, in which we use human and material resources for negative and destructive, or for positive and constructive purposes. I shall do that by quoting some words, pronounced by the venerable and indefatigable worker for peace and disarmament Lord Philip Noel-Baker at a conference in London more than six years ago:

There are more than a thousand million men and women in the world who cannot read or write or do the simplest sums. Their illiteracy helps all too powerfully to keep them poor. It prevents the rural proletariat from learning and applying the known agricultural techniques, which would double their crops and change their lives. Illiteracy bars their path to social, cultural and political progress.

Yet, if UNESCO were given a fund of $200 million for a worldwide literacy campaign, it could free every nation from this evil handicap. $200 million is approximately the price of two strategic bombers of the latest type.
The nations of the Third World suffer grievously from diseases which have disappeared from the "developed" West. Malaria still kills great numbers, and weakens millions more so that their productive output is reduced. Trachoma is very simple to cure but, if untreated, makes the victim blind, his life a burden to himself and a burden to society. Leprosy makes its victims segregated social outcasts. Yaws, a diet deficiency disease, covers the body with running scores, makes a man unfit for work or play, and allows him no real rest.

These four diseases impose a heavy load of economic loss and human suffering in the Third World. Yet, all of them are easily preventable. The WHO could eliminate them - wipe them out now and for the future - for an expenditure of $500 million about the cost of an aircraft carrier.

The second report of the Brandt Commission, issued in February this year, and called Common Crisis 51, drew the correct conclusion from what we know now about the Disarmament-Development relationship, when it says, in the foreword:

Only an end to the arms race, which in developing countries also has reached a terrifying pace, will give the chance of overcoming our common crisis.

What do we know, then, about the Disarmament-Development relationship? As a matter of fact and at the request of the UN General Assembly at its first special session on disarmament in 1978, the negative effects of the arms race on the economy and the relationship has been thoroughly analyzed by a UN Governmental Expert Group, working for three years under my chairmanship 61.

Out of the wealth of facts, figures and conclusions emanating from these three years of work, let me pick out and discuss very briefly just one crucially decisive sector of military expenditure, i.e. military Research and Development (R/D). It represents by far the largest single objective of scientific enquiry and technological developments, and it is responsible for the most fatal events in the arms race in recent years-and in years to come.

Approximately 20% of the world's qualified scientists were, in 1980, engaged in military work, at a cost of about US $40,000 million or around one-quarter of all expenditure on R/D. Virtually all this R/D takes place in the industrialized countries, 85% in the US and the USSR alone. Adding France and Britain would push this share well above 90%.

As I said, military R/D takes 25% of total R/D resources. Let me compare that figure with resources for R/D in four areas, vital to human welfare and human future, i.e. agriculture, health, energy and environmental protection, which together take 23%; military R/D alone 25%. It stands to reason, that even a modest reallocation to development.
objectives of the current capacity for military R/D could be expected to produce quite dramatic results for human welfare.

As a result of our work the group formulated a set of recommendations to governments of UN Member States and to the UN system. They are intended to achieve four purposes:

First: to have governments reconsider their present policies of secrecy concerning the real costs, economic, social and human, inherent in military resources use.

Second: to have governments start now to plan and prepare for a conversion process that should be implemented in a disarmament situation.

Third: to press governments for the need to reach real disarmament agreements through truly multilateral negotiations.

Fourth: at the international level to contribute to keep the issue permanently on the agenda of the UN and its specialized agencies, and to be integrated into their ongoing work programmes.

These recommendations were endorsed by the UN General Assembly at its regular 37th session in autumn 1982. What is probably more, world public opinion is becoming increasingly aware of the urgent need to include the disarmament-development relationship in their concerns and their efforts for a global future.

What are the prospects for a global future in a just and livable world considering the present situation and possible trends in the terrifying and insane arms race? If the present course of world affairs, as shaped by political leaders, particularly those of the great powers, so much characterized by lack of insight into and understanding of the mutual enlightened self-interest of peoples and nations in the world, if the present course should be pursued up to the end of this century - and there are only some seventeen years left. I have the pessimistic notion, that a new world war will come alarmingly close. Let me here quote Reverend Theodore Hesburgh from a statement, that he made last summer to a Pugwash meeting at Pugwash, Nova Scotia:

I experienced something almost like a religious conversion. For thirty years I have been deeply engaged in trying to create a better world, in the face of extreme poverty in Asia, Africa and Latin America, working to alleviate world hunger, to oppose the denial of human rights at home and abroad, working against tropical diseases, afflicting hundreds of millions of humans, against illiteracy and for education - and suddenly it dawned on me - if we do not eliminate the nuclear threat all of these other problems will be irrelevant, for there will be no more humans on earth to have problems.

But let me express the hope, the firm belief, that the present insane course of world affairs will be changed, in the true
interest of all of us. I have used strong words about current world affairs, but I can assure you that that is the way an increasing number of Europeans experience it. For a change to happen, I firmly believe, that the pressure of enlightened and concerned world public opinion is a necessity. Through a lifetime in politics I have learnt about the wisdom and common sense of what is called ordinary citizens. If well informed and well organized, responsible and concerned citizens, forming and international constituency for stopping the arms race, for disarmament and peace, for changing, gradually but drastically, the present course of world politics towards more justice and equity, could perform the miracle of turning history. The ultimate goal must be to shape a global future, in a just and livable world.


3/ In Development Dialogue (Uppsala, 1974:2) pp.88-96. The basic texts on Environment (Founex, Stockholm, Cocoyoc) have been reprinted in In Defence of the Earth (Nairobi: UNEP Executive Series 1, 1981), 119pp.


(Viene de la pag.3)

MEDIO AMBIENTE, DESARROLLO Y DESARME HACIA UN FUTURO GLOBAL

Resumen: Los años 70, desde la Conferencia de Estocolmo sobre el Medio Ambiente, han sido marcados por una toma de conciencia creciente, de carácter global, de los problemas a que está confrontada la humanidad. Una impresionante serie de conferencias intergubernamentales y seminarios de reflexión nos han permitido darnos cuenta mejor de la interdependencia de las naciones. Ninguna puede resolver ningún problema por sí misma o en detrimento de las otras. No hay soluciones nacionales a los problemas globales. Esta lección, dice Inga Thorsson en su informe a la Conferencia de la Coalición para un Futuro Global (Washington, Junio) tiene que ser aplicada ahora. La tarea principal de aquí al año 2000 es la de traducir la toma de conciencia del último decenio en decisiones y acciones políticas. Inga Thorsson ha sido, como representante de Suecia, protagonista eminente del debate sobre el medio ambiente, el desarrollo y el desarme. Su mensaje debe ser escuchado seriamente.
Admittedly, we must avoid at all costs talking ourselves into a global depression. The almost unprecedented recession has been cruel enough. But neither should we delude ourselves that we can talk our way out of the present crisis. Flashes in the pan may look scintillating, especially when election time draws nearer. The danger is that most valuable time may be lost, doing irretrievable damage to all.

There seems to be reasonably common agreement that action is needed on two tracks simultaneously. There are certain immediate measures which cannot be delayed any longer. Already it is quite late, especially for the least developed countries. They need balance of payment support, as well as quickly disburseable import support to rehabilitate their capacity thus enabling them to restore the lost momentum of development. At the same time the issue of remunerative prices of their Commodities should now be pursued, firstly in terms of compensatory financing of the STABEX character rather than the IMF variety, while relating it to the weighted price index of their essential imports, and secondly through the implementation of the Common Fund and the Integrated Programme of Commodities. And for all developing countries, access to markets and debt settlement are matters of urgency.

Mr. President, it must be stated at the outset that the primary responsibility rests with the developing countries to manage their economies in a manner conductive to their development in conformity with their own values. Indeed, from the very first day of achieving political independence it becomes necessary to exercise that responsibility. The immediate task is to embark on a long, long journey of structural adjustment on a continuous basis. And the less developed an economy, the more imperative the need for structural changes on the entire front constituting the development process. Quite often structures need to be built for the first time, because they were needed and were not there. Education, Health, Water supply, Village development, roads, communications and transport, agricultural support services, import substitution, processing of one’s own raw materials—all this and much more calls for structural adjustment. We hear so much about such adjustment these days! The developing countries have been doing nothing if not structural adjustment ever since the first day of their independence.

Mr. President, the cause of the malaise afflicting the world economy does not lie with the poor developing countries, especially those who rely for their existence for the most part on primary commodities and the early stages of their processing. Nor do the large land masses of Asia and Latin America, with their large concentration of population, seem to have affected the world economy adversely. If anything, without their participation in world trade together with those of the least developed, the economies of the industrialized countries would have been under still greater strain. So what happened? How?

The O.E.C.D., the UNCTAD Secretariat and several other economic analysts have pointed at low productivity, inadequate research and savings, rigidities in production structures, too many market decisions of a short-term nature thus jeopardising long-term investment plans—including investment in structural changes, as some of the factors which have been at play. Mr. President, could it be that the rules of international trade and exchange established by the industrialized countries themselves were flaunted beyond an acceptable margin? Could it be that certain trans-national consequences and implications of pursuing basically national
policies wedded to the free play market forces, produced irreconcilable contradictions which in the last analysis meant the building-up of multiple surplus capacity structured for quick mass consumption, thus leading inevitably to high levels of unemployment? Could it be that the dimension introduced by arms manufacture based on an ever-rising level of technology became an additional factor in the structural distortion caused by the progressive trans-nationalization of the world economy, without corresponding trans-national political control of that process? And could it be that the incompatibility of institutional capability with fiscal and monetary policies, and the structural dis-orientation of the economies of the industrialized countries inevitably led, among other things, to the enormous overhang of hundreds of billion dollars of credit and debt balances which are equally asymmetrical structurally? And finally, could it be that in this forest of thick weeds, basic human values have been the first to be smothered beneath?

A prima facie conclusion is hard to escape, namely that the slow and somewhat tortuous evolution of some kind of practicable international order that was potentially premised through the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions was decisively interrupted by the pursuit of nationalistic objectives, based on the possession of technological and military power. This meant the abandoning of the logic, even if one ignored the ethics, which motivated the founders of the Bretton Woods institutions and which pointed towards steady surrendering of sovereignty to steadily increasing international control and surveillance in the field of trade and exchange, with all its implications for human evolution.

Mr. President, that logic, with its ethical component, led the industrialized countries under the inspiration of the United States to establish the International Development Association in 1960. This was a historic milestone in human evolution. And so was the U.N. General Assembly decision to convene the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Not only did the poor developing countries find cause for hope, they were actually beginning to receive some predictable form of material assistance with which to connect themselves one day with the interna-
tional chain of trade and exchange as part of a larger human community. But then somewhere, somehow, the process was not only interrupted but actually detracted on to another and seemingly altogether unregulated orbit.

As a poor developing country, Tanzania, like many other poor developing countries, had perceived at an early stage the importance of managing its economy within the overall limits of its resources and such resources as were made available to it by other progressive enlightened societies. The IDA has been a source of real help in building our physical and social infrastructure. Together with other helpers, it was possible for us in the Sixties to compensate ourselves for what we lost in terms of trade in only one commodity, sisal. We had calculated in 1971 that if the price of sisal throughout the Sixties had been indexed to the weighted price of our imports of essential manufactured goods, Tanzania would have been left with a little surplus even if it had not received any assistance at all. And of course, with the resources that it actually did receive, it would have had greater capital formation, with all the incremental return to the economy that would have thus accrued.

Even so, from 1961 to 1977, Tanzania was able to balance its budget on recurrent account, while relying on grants, soft loans of the IDA type, and internal savings to finance its development effort. With some considerable difficulty and despite prolonged drought in 1973/74, we succeeded in absorbing the first rise in the price of oil. Later, from 1977 onwards within a short span of less than 3 years we were afflicted with the overnight loss of access to vital transport and communications services following the collapse of the East African Community; the completely unforeseen aggression on our territory calling for instant mobilization of all our resources, meagre as they were; the second oil shock; and very heavy flooding. All this constituted a body blow to our economy which deflected us from our painfully laid course, and the deepening world economic crisis did nothing to make things any easier.

Our own errors of commission and omission, which at the best of times could not have been avoided in one form
or another for a developing country, compounded our problems. A whole burden of adjustment fell upon us, even though a very large component of the causes related to factors outside our control. With recourse to private banking quite out of question, we hoped that the World Bank and the IMF would give us assistance and understanding. Instead, we encountered an insistence on applying to us a set of criteria with which even more developed countries would have quite some difficulty in complying.

We had already perceived that while the IMF was a most useful source of technical assistance, the premises on which it was established made its operational policies relevant only to industrialized societies endowed with a critical quantum of financial and fiscal infrastructure in addition to physical infrastructure. Captive as we were of historical underdevelopment, with only rain-fed agriculture but with no assurance of adequate rainfall or of absence of pests or of remunerative prices, and with the task of building physical and social infrastructure still ahead of us, we were only too aware of the immense task of differentiating a balance of payment problem arising from short-term disequilibrium in income and expenditure in both fiscal and external trade accounts, and a negative balance of payment outcome due to our inherited circumstances. We realized that with so many gaps in our economic structure, monetary policies could only yield results over a period of time, that is after we had made adequate investment in a broad spectrum of priority areas including roads, transport, education, health, water supply, credit institutional network and the like, covering 1 million square kilometres, sharing our border with eight countries and the Indian Ocean. In short, a per capita income of 200 dollars was no qualification for a classical IMF programme with its litany of prescriptions related to exchange rates, cuts in social expenditure and so forth.

In the seventies, we found ourselves taking first faltering steps in some light industrial activities aimed at import substitution. It was neither politically nor economically feasible to remain content with only production of primary commodities. We had to make efforts to begin the escape from that historical bondage. And we believed that a
policy of meeting basic needs through the establishment of industrial activities would receive international understanding and support. We entered a new phase in which the profile of our external trade was to change from year to year, to the extent we succeeded in adding value, through processing and manufacturing, to our primary commodities, themselves hostage to weather conditions. Having embarked upon the task of restructuring our economy in order to carry out import substitution and to add further value to our own raw materials, we came face to face with the contradictions inherent in having to reconcile the needs of short-term external and internal equilibrium and the much longer process of restructuring our economy.

Mr. President, if I have referred to the economy of my country, I have done so to make a number of important points. First, developing countries are in a continuous process of structural adjustment. Second, an economy large or small, develops a strain in one area or another from time to time. When this happens, it is the function of responsible management to take remedial action. In order to do so, it becomes necessary to lean on the rest of the economy to find resources needed to take that remedial action. When an economy receives such a total all-pervasive blow as I have described it has no alternative to seeking assistance from outside. Third, a least developed country does not get any commercial bank loan. It is not considered creditworthy. It can only seek assistance from friendly countries and seek a short-term facility from the IMF and long-term structural adjustment loan from the World Bank out of its quite limited funds—only 10 per cent of World Bank total lending being available for this purpose. Fourth, there is a limit to what assistance friendly countries can give in addition to the commitments already made which are intended to assist development rather than meeting balance of payment needs. Fifth, the IMF does not recognize the particular category of the least developed countries. It insists on applying criteria or conditionality as if a social and financial infrastructure comparable to that of an industrialised country was in place and responsive to monetary and fiscal measures, when in actual fact there are constraints at practically every step along the way—be they lack of feeder roads, or sparseness of bank facilities, or uncertain weather,
or unpredictable appearance of pests, or erratic world market prices, or fluctuating exchange rates, or high interest rates, not to mention availability of fuel, transport equipment and spare parts in the first place in addition to improved seed, fertilizers and so on. **Sixth**, the World Bank will not commit even the very limited funds available to it for lending towards structural adjustment without the poor developing country first concluding an arrangement with the IMF, with its unrealistic terms of conditionality.

Finally, there is a cruel contradiction between the very short-term frame work of an IMF programme, and the medium and long-term framework of a structural adjustment programme. In order to obtain an improvement in both external and internal accounts in the shortest possible time, under an IMF programme, a poor country has no choice but to try to make the most of the existing tracks in its economy. There is no way a country can seriously pursue long term changes in its structures and at the same time struggle to obtain short-term results by concentrating on the micro-economic activities based on the existing profile of its economy.

Mr. President, I listened with attention to what the Managing Director of the IMF had to say to us all the other day. I must admit I felt greatly perplexed and also somewhat depressed. Evidently, he was not prepared for the IMF to give recognition to the special needs of the least developed, as the rest of the entire international community had done. He was happy that 20 out of 27 countries which had concluded stand-by arrangements had shown improvement in their economies in the first year. Apart from the question as to how many of these were in the group of the least developed, it would be instructive to know whether the governments of these countries imposed their decisions on the people or whether the policies were given consent through the functioning of democratic processes; or whether policies produced successful outcome because they were applied in an environment which was just preceded by chaos and disorder thus rendering the population willing to try almost anything that might have some promise of working.
We were told by the IMF Managing Director that he expected the non-oil developing countries to pick-up a growth rate of about two and a half per cent in 1983 while their current account deficit would decline to less than 70 billion dollars. Again, Mr. President, not a word about the prospects for the least developed countries which, most unfortunately, are not expected to register any growth at all. And it is not clear if the decline of the current account deficit is due to depressed imports or greater real earnings through exports, or due to relative decline in interest rates from their unbearably high levels of 1982. The IMF is cautioning the industrialized countries against reflating their economies too early, which leads one to the question whether the Fund shares the now almost universally held view that long term economic growth for the industrialized countries is predicated on early revival of the economies of developing countries. The illustrious predecessor of the present Managing Director, i.e., Mr. Witteveen recently commented:

"With present high unemployment rates and low capacity utilization, surpluses in oil and other raw materials markets and pervasive deflationary pressures in the world financial system, the risk that a somewhat higher increase in money supply would rekindle inflation is practically non-existent. This should be explained clearly and forcefully to overcome dogmatic and unrealistic monetarist fears".

Mr. President, a very responsible body of opinion now advocates a special allocation of a substantial quantum of SDRs specifically aimed at stimulating development of the relatively underdeveloped.

Even if the international community does not wish to concern itself with the problems and difficulties of Tanzania, could it avoid asking itself those questions I have posed with regard to the evolution of the international economic system, and the digression of its logical and ethical evolution? While the IMF "disciplines" Tanzania and similarly placed other developing countries who, we insist, have not contributed to the malaise in the international economy, the international community has not much time
left for diagnosing the illness and taking the necessary remedial measures.

Quite apart from the fundamental questions related to equity in the decision-making process and in the treatment of historically dis-franchised developing societies, has the IMF achieved the avowed purpose for which it was established? The primary function of the IMF was to ensure that the legitimate balance of payment needs of the world’s trading nations were met as and when necessary, and that this basic purpose was to be achieved in the context of a sustained growth in world trade. The responsibility to achieve and maintain an equilibrium in the community of trading nations was premised on the self-evident fact that there could not be balance of payment surplus at one and the same time for all countries engaged in trade and exchange. It was obvious from the start that adequate resources would have to be placed at the disposal of the IMF from its inception, and that these resources would have to be increased in proportion to the growth of world trade, if the IMF was to serve the purpose for which it was created.

What actually happened? In 1950 against world exports of 57·2 billion dollars, the IMF quota resources amounted to 8·04 billion dollars, a ratio of 14 per cent. In 1960, world exports reached 113 billion dollars, against IMF quota resources of 14·74 billion dollars, a ratio 13 per cent. In 1970 world exports amounted to 282 billion dollars against IMF quota of 31·85 billion dollars, or a ratio of 11·3 per cent. In 1980, world exports amounted to 1,869 billion dollars, whereas the IMF quota inclusive of SDR allocation amounted to 98·18 billion dollars or a ratio of 5·25 per cent. Quite clearly the IMF had been forced to abdicate its due function because it was not given the required resources, while at the same time its function was all but taken over by private banks with their own terms of reference within the framework of their shareholders, mandate.

Mr. President, it is of course true that history does not offer any retrospective options. But I believe it is possible and indeed necessary to draw some important conclusions. I say this in all humility and do not wish to be misunderstood. It seems that the step by step necessary adjustment in both the Articles of Agreement and in the resources of the Fund have not kept pace with either the dynamic
requirements of the logic of the Fund's establishment or with the objective needs of the international community from year to year. It is possible to visualize quite a different scenario for the remainder of the Sixties and the whole of the Seventies if an adequately resourced Fund had been truly sensitive to developments at both the extremes. At one end a wholly identifiable new group of countries was just barely making faltering entry into the complex field of finance and fiscal management of their just recently monetized economy. At another end, a powerful combination of capital and technology was leading to fiscal and monetary behaviour both within and across national boundaries quite contrary to IMF tenets. An IMF that was truly committed to the goal of maintaining a continuing equilibrium in the world economy would have leaned much more towards the needy, fragile incipient economies and at the same time would have demanded early compliance from forces which were cutting loose from responsibility implied in the role of a particular currency being de facto international trading and reserve unit.

An orderly organic development of the Fund's policies and performance, with due regard for the needs of resources to match its responsibilities, would have in the end enabled more orderly growth of trade, more sustained development, orderly exchange rate regimes, less unemployment and more effective containment of private banking, which even the banks themselves would have come to appreciate in due course.

An international conference participated in by all the countries of the world, to deal with money and finance for trade and development is now an urgent need. Both the super powers have a major role to play in the world economy. A great power, more than most, realizes its true limits. In the event, its own security cannot be assured without the security of all the rest. Deliberately limiting one's power is a manifestation of mature power. Limiting it in order to advance collective security through collective participation makes it humane power.

As for private investment, least developed countries are in a very peculiar situation. They need both capital and technology. And they need management skills to be
developed. But an investor with these resources asks to be provided with such services as electricity, telephones, water supply, sewerage, well-maintained roads, transport services, physical security and a minimum of social amenities, to mention a few pre-requisites. Each one of them has a high foreign exchange content, both in terms of initial capital and subsequent maintenance. Unless private investment can yield sufficient returns to make significant contribution to these sectors in addition to meeting the recurrent requirements of the enterprise itself, the whole exercise on the face of it is much less than a zero sum affair for a least developed country.

Mr. President, many of the basic questions raised in UNCTAD I still remain to be resolved in UNCTAD VI. The question of remunerative prices of primary commodities which it was hoped would be meaningfully dealt with through a comprehensive Commodity Fund still remains with us. Even in its diminished form, the Common Fund has not seen the light of day. The transition from primary production to industrialization needs time and resources. IDA is now poised on a thin razor's edge with a real risk of undoing all the good it has done. The debt of the developing countries needs urgent attention if it is not to contribute to inflation or to collapse of private banking. Energy has assumed a time and resource dimension unforeseen in 1964. The poor countries are going to the wall. The unemployed in the industrialized world as yet do not see any glimpse of light. And all this when intelligent synchronisation of capacity in the industrialized world with the unmet needs of basic goods for development in the poor countries is altogether within the resourcefulness of mankind. All this enormous pain, when a two per cent reduction in defence expenditure by the industrialized countries would meet the minimum unsatisfied needs of poor developing countries who left the PARIS meeting with the SNPA Programme in their briefcases and hopes in their hearts. Ninety eight instead of a hundred tanks, ninety eight instead of a hundred bombs, ninety eight instead of a hundred missiles. Is this such a huge sacrifice?

Mr. President, the issues facing the international community are not just economic. Indeed they are fundamentally political. The issues before this conference concern man—
his well being, his self respect. Even as we deliberate here, three freedom fighters went to the gallows in racist South Africa because they chose to take all the risks they could for the sake of asserting the dignity of man. When we plead for an equitable deal in commodities, in trade, in liquidity adjustment to safe-guard the process of development, we are concerned with man and his well-being. These are no abstract subjects we are deliberating on. The manner and the speed with which we deal with these urgent matters, which cumulatively constitute the core of the world crisis, will determine whether democratic values will have a chance of taking firm roots in the yet developing societies or whether authoritarianism, repression and trampling of basic human rights will be the order we will bequeath to our children.

The response the developing countries get in respect of the main resolutions they have presented here will not decide the fate of the world tomorrow morning. But the day after tomorrow is not very far, certainly not for our children. I trust no one wants the scenario of Horatio at the end of HAMLET looking over the dead bodies of Hamlet, Laertes, and the King and Queen of Denmark and saying in Shakespeare's inimitable words:

"And let me speak to th’ yet unknowing world, How these things came about. So shall you hear Of carnal, bloody and unnatural acts, of accidental judgements, Casual slaughters of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause, And in this upshot, purposes mistook Fall’ n on th’ inventors’ heads."

Mr. President, yes, indeed we are all in one boat. We need to be extremely careful that the distribution of weight through the various structures of that boat does not become so uneven as to endanger its seaworthiness, in high tide or low tide. Courage and imagination, as much as careful calculation of global costs and global benefits, need to be our equipment in these crucial days.
LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION: FROM IMPORT SUBSTITUTION TO MARKET EFFICIENCY

by Diana Tussie
26 Corrigham Road
London NW11 7BS, UK

Abstract: "Latin American free trade attempt ends" 1/ "Increased protectionism, transport difficulties and the growing gap between rich states... and poor ones... were all contributory factors in the break up of LAFTA" 2/. In those terms, the Anglo-American press explained the abolition of the Latin American Free Trade Association in August 1980: the continuing theme was the abandonment of free trade as a goal. In fact, the reverse seems to be the case. LAFTA was shelved not because its members have abandoned their hopes of freer regional trade, but their heavily protected import substitution industrialisation. The object of this paper is to relate the abolition of LAFTA and its replacement by the Latin American Integration Association (LAIA) to the "opening up" of the Latin American economies to the international market since the mid-seventies. The paper also attempts a preliminary exploration of the relationship between this trend and the new conditions in international financial markets.

INTÉGRATION LATINO-AMÉRICaine DE LA SUBSTITUTION DES IMPORTATIONS A L'EFFICACITÉ MERCANTILE

Résumé: Contrairement aux explications de la presse anglo-américaine, l'abolition de la zone latino-américaine de libre-échange (LAFTA), en 1980, n'a pas signifié l'abandon du libre-échange comme objectif, mais au contraire l'abandon de l'industrialisation protégée tendant à la substitution des importations. Cet article lie l'abolition de la LAFTA et son remplacement par l'Association d'intégration latino-américaine (LAIA) à "l'ouverture" des économies latino-américaines du marché international depuis la moitié des années 70. L'article explore aussi, d'une manière provisoire, les relations entre cette tendance et les nouvelles conditions sur les marchés financiers internationaux.

INTEGRACION LATINOAMERICANA: DE LA SUSTITUCION DE LAS IMPORTACIONES A LA EFICACIA DEL MERCADO

Resumen: Contrariamente a las explicaciones de la prensa anglo-americana, la abolición de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio (ALALC) en 1980, no ha significado el abandono del libre intercambio como objetivo sino, al contrario, el abandono de la

(Sigue en la pag.36)
There has been abundant literature explaining LAFTA's failure to accomplish its declared goals. Most analysts have concentrated on its organisational defects or on the fact that in comparison to the EEC its members did not have complementary production and trade structures. This paper will not look into the internal or institutional factors that explain LAFTA's slow decay. The implication should not be drawn from this that it could have been regarded as an active and effective organisation. But the particular international environment to which the integration projects responded has been given little attention. It is hoped that this paper will shed some new light on both integration projects and on their relationship with the international economy.

Contrary to what is generally assumed, LAFTA was not an altogether useless organisation. Little attention has been given to the fact that the regional market has served as an important incentive for Latin American export diversification. Due mainly to LAFTA, manufactured goods amount to 43% of total intra-regional exports. The significance of LAFTA is best assessed when this figure is compared with the share that manufactured goods hold in total exports to the rest of the world: 12%. Nearly one half of all non-traditional exports of Latin America are absorbed by other Latin American countries. One half of the LAFTA trade was covered by tariff concessions, the tariff applied to such trade being the result of a negotiation and lower than the one applied to the same goods originated in third countries. Furthermore, while Latin America's participation in world trade decreased from 1960 to 1980, intra LAFTA trade doubled from 7% to 14%.

If world exports for the same period 1960-1980 are divided into four groups according to origin - industrialized countries, Latin America, other Third World countries, whole world - all the other groups show export growth rates that are higher than those of Latin America. The non Latin American Third World countries export growth rate doubles that of LAFTA. In fact, it was the regional market within the LAFTA framework which compensated for this inadequate growth rate of exports to the rest of the world.

However, in spite of these - albeit partial - achievements, LAFTA was dismantled. If a strictly "LAFTA-centred" perspective approach is taken, the reasons for LAFTA's demise appear obscure. Moreover, it would be difficult to understand why Argentina, being one of the countries that apparently most benefited from LAFTA, was the most active reformer and the begetter of the new association. In trading within this specific area Argentina is the only country to constantly produce a trade surplus (with the exception of 1975). One fourth of its exports have been absorbed by other LAFTA countries (the other countries with similar ratios are Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, all Supporters of the Argentinianan project).
Theories of integration are of little help in understanding such developments. The key lies in the major political - and hence policy - changes in the region. These changes have been accompanied by a decline in the influence of the structuralist school of thought associated with the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).

ECLA and the origins of LAFTA

In its initial stages, industrialisation in Latin America was an unintentional consequence of the Great Depression and the War. However, early in the postwar period many development economists began to believe in "industrialisation as the great saviour, as the escape from the dependence of the primary producer into true development as a producer of manufactured products" 4/. The industrial sector was pinpointed as an engine of growth, employment creation and more equitable income distribution. ECLA espoused and disseminated this doctrine across the continent. Many of the countries decided to support the development of their newly established industries and adopt deliberate policies of import substitution. Although exports were not discouraged, attention was focussed in the industrial production which was to meet the pre-existent domestic demand.

It was soon found that the growth pattern of the newly established import substitution industries was disappointing. Output curves rose rapidly when imports were being replaced but stagnated when further growth became dependent firstly on the growth of domestic demand and ultimately on the growth of domestic income. At this point the level of investment was reduced and industries reached "precocious maturity" 5/. In the first "easy" stage of import substitution, lower duties for machinery imports or preferential exchange rates made for lavish orders. Thus, the new industries tended to find themselves saddled with unused capacity 5/. When this phase was reached towards the end of the fifties, ECLA propounded economic integration as the only alternative to stagnation.

Miguel Wionczek pointed out that "the doctrine of integration elevated to the multinational plane the thesis that economic development is impossible without industrialisation" 6/. The obstacle that insufficient domestic demand posed to further industrial growth could be by-passed if the market were enlarged by the gradual formation of an economic union. Thus, each country could benefit from the resources of the region and jointly they would all raise productivity by catering to a continental market 7/. The emphasis was laid on growth and industrialisation. The President of the Interamerican Development Bank, Felipe Herrera, urged: "Due to the smallness of the market, the process of industrialisation in Latin America is taking place at a very high cost and many industries can only survive because of the very high protection walls that have been erected. The problem is aggravated if we consider the great investment outlays and the high level of technology that is required for more advanced industrial processes. It is indispensable to aggregate markets to achieve economies of scale and specialisation" 8/.

Following Wionczek's line of thought, integration elevated import substitution to a continental scale. Integration was primarily a means to avert a slowdown in Latin America's economic and industrial growth.
Most imports of consumer goods had been replaced by domestic production, and capital goods could only be substituted if industrialisation were not duplicated from country to country as if they were "watertight compartments" 9/. Little attention was given to the possibility of continent-wide competition for some of Latin America's already not-so-infant consumer goods industries. The central aim was to proceed to a more advanced stage of import substitution, to "deepen" the process. Trade restrictions were maintained vis-à-vis extra-regional producers of consumer goods already produced within each country as well as capital goods that were to be replaced regionally.

In the latter case the reason was the protection of weak industries. In the former, the reasoning was that scarce foreign exchange could not be squandered on consumer goods that local production could supply, but ought to be saved for machinery and essential industrial materials that could only be obtained abroad.

Complementarity versus Competition

In ECLA's thinking, economic integration was designed to continue and deepen the policy of import substitution through the promotion of industries on the basis of access to region-wide markets. Economies of scale could be achieved because countries would complement each other's markets, and hence import substitution would become more efficient at a regional scale.

Latin America - it was maintained - was producing much less than it was capable of, because of the fragmentation of what should be a large market. A large market was "indispensable if production was to be efficient and low-cost, even in the most densely populated countries of Latin America" 91.

Complementarity would be based on the one hand, on established industrial capacity, and on the other, on future investments. The major instrument for the creation of integrated industries consisted in complementarity agreements or arrangements that would lead to a negotiated regional division of labour. These arrangements were conceived not only as a result of central planning: "it would be incumbent upon member governments to create conditions conducive to the efficacious action of private enterprise... but it would be private enterprise that in the final issue would decide which industries were to be established, in which countries they were to be installed, and what degree of specialisation was to be attained" 10/.

Despite this professed reliance on private enterprise, ECLA's model was opposed by disciples of the neo-classical school of thought. They maintained that industrial inefficiency was a consequence of excessive protection: market mechanisms had not been allowed to operate at their fullest. Consequently, the problem could only be solved by promoting a freer interplay of market forces and exposing Latin America's industries to the logic of comparative advantage. The complementarity of Latin American economies advocated by ECLA was believed to be damaging because it interfered with the market and prevented imports from cheaper sources of supply outside the LAFTA arrangements.
The structuralists expected industrial complementarity to encourage import substitution at a greater scale, providing a new stimulus for industrial growth. Their blueprint also implied a restraint on competition among the region's producers in order to encourage the establishment of otherwise unviable business. Competition from without was to be excluded so as to protect infant industries. Although the end result would be increased specialisation, it would be reached through negotiation and not by the indiscriminate release of market forces.

At the other end of the spectrum, the underlying philosophy of the neoclassicists leads them to advocate economic integration as a means of furthering the subordination of local industries to the logic of global comparative advantages - an initial step towards greater liberalisation vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Freer intra-regional trade should force industries to become more competitive, or to disappear should they fail to achieve this, as demand would then be redirected to cheaper suppliers. The neoclassicists do not see - as do structuralist theorists - such a process as harmful.

In the structuralist concept, freer intra-Latin American trade would lead to a desirable situation in which countries would base their imports not on price competitiveness but on the possibility of placing with their suppliers industrial exports which might lack competitiveness in the international market. For example, Colombia would divert car imports from cheaper extra-regional sources to buy from Mexico in exchange for office machines that might also have to be manufactured at higher than international prices in the first stages of the economic union. But this process would gradually lead to fuller utilisation of resources and continental specialisation. Greater efficiency would be the end result, to be gradually achieved via negotiation and state support and not by the immediate release of market forces.

This contrast in the attitudes of structuralists and neoclassicists towards the efficacy of market forces constitutes the fundamental disagreement from which all their other differences spring. It is not merely a question of purely technical economic management, but it has been at the root of impassioned political controversy. Furthermore, it accounts not only for intense diplomatic negotiations to establish a regional trade arrangement from 1957 to 1960, but also for many of the policy fluctuations that arose from then on, as structuralists and neoclassicists succeeded each other in national bureaucracies. Both lines of thought managed to influence the final working of the Treaty of Montevideo providing the framework for LAFTA in 1960 and thus, for example Article 15 expressed the signatories' aim "to ensure fair competitive conditions" as well as "to facilitate the increasing integration and complementarity of their economies".

Although the final formula for LAFTA had all the characteristics of a compromise, in practice, the trend that prevailed was towards protectionism and import substitution. This trend was partly a consequence of the scarcity of hard currencies in the entire region which induced most countries to apply very severe restrictions on trade and payments. Even though such trends were not always meant to be an integral part of import substitution policies, they nevertheless had a
protectionist effect. The time for market efficiency and "open economies" was still not ripe.

The Problem of Foreign Exchange

The genesis of the controversy between structuralist and neoclassics can be traced to the eighteenth century. The terms of the debate between the economists of the industrially advanced England and the Alexander Hamilton and Friedrich List schools nearly two centuries ago were strikingly similar. ECLA adopted an essentially mercantilist point of view and stressed favourable payments positions. Whereas the mercantilist concentrates on foreign exchange as the principal scarce resource to be economised, the free trader looks forward to international specialisation and the gains from trade. Money to the free trader, is simply a lubricant that, through specialisation and commercial inter-change, contributes to savings in scarce real resources.

But ECLA's perception of foreign exchange scarcity was not simply derived from the mercantilist tradition. ECLA thought was heavily influenced by the international economic environment. The end of the Korean War opened a period in which the region's terms of trade steadily declined. ECLA held that "deterioration of the terms of trade [was] materially reducing the positive contribution of international financial resources" to Latin American development. The gap between export earnings and import needs widened and brought severe balance of payments crises to one country after another. Most countries were forced to apply severe trade and payments restrictions in order to preserve their scant foreign exchange earnings for vital imports.

Moreover, little external finance for balance of payments disequilibria was available to the countries of the periphery in the 60's. In this period capital flows to the Third World countries were mostly in the form of direct private investment, official bilateral loans (which by and large tended to be tied) and suppliers' credits. In order to reduce balance of payments disequilibria, countries had to resort to the IMF. But Fund assistance was subject to the adoption of adjustment policies that were onerous for capital-scarce economies with high exposure to international trade cycles. Such policies are geared to reduce spending - and hence imports - and increase the size of exportable surpluses. Fund assistance, thus, tended to have a deflationary impact and most countries regarded it as a measure of last resort. They preferred to maintain permanent exchange controls and import restrictions so as to adjust their foreign purchases and economic policies to the availability of foreign exchange.

This situation was dramatically redressed in the 70's. One of the most important developments of that decade was the phenomenal expansion of transnational banking, and parallel to it, of international liquidity.

The reasons for this growth need not be analysed here. Suffice it to note that one of the main reasons - but by no means the only one - was the rise in the price of oil in 1973 and the concomitant financial surpluses in the hands of OPEC COUNTRIES: Lacking sufficient capacity to absorb such funds and expertise in foreign financial markets, they deposited their surpluses with the transnational banks on a short term basis. An important portion of these surpluses were deposited in what
is known as the euromarket system. One of the features of the euromarket is the relative autonomy of its financial institutions: they operate with little or no regulation from national monetary authorities. This allowed the banks the operational flexibility to borrow short term from their depositors and lend long term to their borrowers. It also accounted for an increase in competition, especially as the demand for funds in the industrial countries - the initial borrowers in the euromarket - started to slacken by 1976 due to the impact of the recession.

As a result the banks were prompted to seek out lending opportunities in new markets and became keen to improve the access of developing countries to the euromarkets. Large sums were made available to countries that had previously been considered "unacceptable" as clients. 15/

Some non-oil exporting Third World countries have, thus, been able in the 70s to obtain finance for their balance of payments deficits without needing - as in the sixties - to undertake immediate adjustments in their economic policies. There is also evidence that such increased borrowing was used to boost foreign exchange reserves, either to replace the sharp falls in previous years or to obtain a larger cushion of reserves than the countries had previously had. 15/

An Executive Director of Kredietbank of Luxembourg noted that "The relatively easy access of these countries to the eurocredit market has allowed them not only to cover these shortfalls with large amounts of capital imports and to go ahead with their long-term developing plans but also to add significantly to their foreign exchange reserves. The comparison of balance of payments figures and eurocredit statistics suggests that during 1974/75 eurocredits were used directly to finance the deficits on current account of the balance of payments, while in the years 1976 to 1979 an important portion of such borrowing was of an anticipatory character. The active solicitation by international banks for new lending, which took place in an increasingly competitive setting may have contributed to this development". 16/

International bank credits in Euro-currencies (including bond operations) are estimated to have exceeded $111 billion in 1978 or almost four times the amount in 1973. Of this vast expansion Latin American countries have received a significant and increasing share. In 1973 they received 12% of all such loans (or 41% of the resources contracted by the Third World countries as a whole). In 1979 Latin American countries absorbed 23% of all Euroloans or 53% of the total flows to Third World countries. 17/

The net flow of external funds received by the countries of the region in the last decade shows an unprecedented growth. From 1961 to 1966 the level of external financing was relatively stable at around $1.6 billion annually. This flow rose to $4.7 billion in 1972. From 1972 to 1979 there was a fivefold increase in value. This upward trend is evident not only by the increase in nominal value, a part of which merely reflects the devaluation of the dollar: as a proportion of GNP the net flow of external financing received rose from an average of 2% in 1961-66 to 2.4% in 1967-72 and to 4.4% in 1973-78.
The increase in the overall volume of external capital inflows was due to the growing importance of private financing. While official flows grew by 38% from 1,459 billion from 1973 to 1979, private credit in the form both of loans and of bond issues in Eurocurrency markets increased nearly fivefold.

This huge credit expansion allowed Latin American countries to accumulate monetary reserves in an unprecedented manner over this period. It is perhaps too soon to make definite statements about the long-term implications of such accumulation and indebtedness, but it seems feasible that these changes in the world economy have offered the Latin American countries a novel option in foreign economic policy. The new liquidity has removed one of the constraints which supported the structuralists' argument - the lack of foreign exchange. It has created a "cushion" which allows to "open up" the economies to international competition and to undertake, inter alia, a drastic process of structural change. The abundance of international liquidities can help to meet any temporary deficits arising from freer trade. Import restrictions and payments controls may be lifted and orthodox import substitution policies can be abandoned in favour of policies geared towards maximising efficiency.

The freedom of manoeuvre of national purchasing policies has been enhanced: with available funds countries are able to choose their source of supply in the international market according to competitiveness. They are also freer to give up domestic production of those goods they can obtain more cheaply abroad. In general terms, this is precisely the change of course that is taking place in several of the countries of Latin America.

This trend has been pinpointed by the President of the Inter-American Bank, Antonio Ortiz Mena. In a speech delivered in May 1979 he noted that an important priority of the Bank in the present period is to "support the attempts of the Latin American countries to improve the efficiency of their productive systems and to open their economies vis-à-vis the world market". He further explained that the objective is "to play a different role in the new structure of comparative advantages evolving worldwide... to participate under improved conditions in this new international division of labour". The model - in its orthodox version - aims to encourage a buoyant, steady increase in imports in the belief that they will serve, inter alia, to modernise and increase the efficiency of the industrial sector. Where the process has been enforced to its extremes, and imports have flowed indiscriminately whole industrial sectors have been faced with the possibility of extinction. Companies that in the previous period had not only enjoyed the benefits of protection but also received subsidies to place their production abroad, are now opting to close down or become importers.

It must be pointed out that, contrary to what is generally assumed, inefficient production - measured in terms of existing national competition - was not only the preserve of small backward domestic firms. Within some countries - notably in the car and chemical industries - foreign capital has created a vast amount of internal duplication of capacity. In the race to attract foreign capital in the 50s and 60s countries competed to offer favourable terms and facilities for investments in the dynamic sectors. But many firms also deliberately built up capacity in each individual country in the certainty that, since others
were doing the same, the rate of utilisation would be extremely low and hence costs very high. The excessive cost of operations in turn made it necessary to maintain a high level of protection, "and the industry was then dragged into the well-known vicious circle of low output, high costs and inflated protection". Hence the brunt of decreased protection falls on domestic as well as foreign enterprises, the only difference being that the latter have the resources to withstand better the pressures of foreign competition. They can also hope to benefit from the tariff liberalisation process by replenishing their capital equipment or can adapt with more ease by the redeployment of resources at a global scale.

From LAFTA to LAIA

Since the late 70s Argentina, Chile and Uruguay as well as Peru (the last possibly to a lesser extent) have embarked on a drastic tariff reduction process. Chile has enforced a maximum tariff of 10% (similar to the average applied by the EEC), Argentina intends to have a maximum tariff of 20% by 1984 and Uruguay 35%. Such extreme liberalisation cannot but have an impact on intra-LAFTA trade flows.

Except for oil, a large proportion of intra LAFTA trade has been conducted under preferential concessions. In nominal terms, this has fluctuated from a record high of 90% in 1964 to 53% in 1977. When disaggregated into pairs of countries, these figures become even more revealing. 96% of Mexico's exports to Argentina were, in 1976, covered by LAFTA concessions. So were 64% of its exports to Chile. In the case of Colombia, the proportion of LAFTA-concession-covered exports to Argentina and Chile was 100 and 61% respectively. Similarly all Ecuadorian exports to Argentina were covered by concessions.

The indiscriminate tariff liberalisation embarked upon by the southern republics has completely or practically eroded the margin of preference (the difference between the duty applied to imports from LAFTA and from third countries) that covered such trade. Hence an important incentive to buy in LAFTA has disappeared. In effect, if the margin of preference is reduced to negligible levels its impact on the final price of goods is also negligible. With no exchange controls and low tariff levels new business opportunities arise from trade with third countries as factors such as shipping costs, export credits and after sales service come into play. By 1978 Argentina had reduced or eliminated the margin of preference on 94% of the concessions that had previously benefited LAFTA members. 95% of Chilean concessions underwent a similar process. Uruguay and Peru embarked on similar programmes shortly afterwards.

As these countries reduced or withdrew regional preferences, the remaining members of the association were inclined to reciprocate treatment in self-defence. Without a margin of preference for their exports to Argentina, Chile, Peru and Uruguay, it was no longer in their benefit to maintain a margin of preference for their imports from these countries. Countries seek to secure a balance between imports and exports that are traded under preferential arrangements in order to avoid either a deterioration in their own terms of trade or subsidising the exports of their trading partners without receiving reciprocal treatment. Thus
(and even though the achievement of a common external tariff had never been in sight) the carefully negotiated LAFTA tariff structure, where all members applied matching high import duties to outsiders lay on shaky ground. Most countries became reluctant to maintain regional multilateral concessions to countries with dissimilar economic policies. Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia, still favouring high levels of tariff protection were keen to withdraw concessions vis-à-vis the more efficiency conscious countries.

The changing reality of LAFTA was formally acknowledged in August 1980, when agreement was reached on a new treaty that responded to the changed environment and came to terms with the shift in economic policies. Furthermore, the treaty launching the new Latin American Integration Association, follows very closely the Argentinian blueprint for reform.

That Argentina was the most interested party in changing the rules under which she carried out her commercial transactions with the region can be explained if instead of looking at her trade balances with LAFTA (which except for 1975 were constantly positive) a comparison is made of her exports and imports covered by preferential concessions. In 1976 Argentina was granting preferential treatment to virtually all her imports from Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Paraguay whilst only 41% of her exports to Colombia, 13% of those to Ecuador, 14% to Mexico and 12% to Paraguay were benefiting of reciprocal treatment. Similar disparities are evident in the trade with Chile and Peru. Brazil is the only country that purchased from Argentina more than it sold in the Argentine market under preferential arrangements. Thus despite the positive balance of trade Argentina was not benefiting from regional preferences negotiated under LAFTA as much as her trading partners. In fact she was subsidising their exports without an evident quid pro quo. This hidden subsidy to other countries' exports was of special concern to a government that was intent on removing subsidisation of her own domestic producers so as to adjust her trade to a given pattern of comparative advantages.

While LAFTA had endeavoured to "promote progressively closer coordination of the corresponding industrialisation policies" (Art. 16); by contrast, LAIA will aim to "facilitate the access of products to the world market" (Art.11). A report prepared by the Consejo Argentino para la Relaciones Internacionales explained that this was to be achieved by the new role to be played by regional preferences. The maintenance of regional preferences would only be justified temporarily and only insofar as they tend to promote efficient production. The cost of discriminating vis-à-vis third countries should only be borne with a view of enhancing productive capacity - hence efficiency - and lead to a situation in which competition without a margin of preference is made possible. Preferences should gradually be substituted by efficiency and once that stage is reached it is envisaged that exports to world markets should become feasible. Another innovation is that LAIA members will no longer be obliged to grant each other most favoured nation treatment. LAIA will allow interested parties to negotiate bilateral agreements to cover exclusively the trade between them. One of the criticisms levied at LAFTA, was that its mfn rule had precluded sub-groups of countries from searching closer economic ties as all tariff reductions had to be generalised to every single member of LAFTA.
Thus a minimum common denominator prevailed. Moreover, from Argentina's point of view, doing away with the mfn obligation to automatically extend all tariff concessions, will avoid the repetition of the LAFTA experience in which the asymmetry of preferential trade worked against her. Should a third party become interested in joining a tariff agreement signed by two other countries it can no longer hope to be a "free rider"; it will now have to offer a similar concession by way of "entry fee". In other words, this reform in the procedure for tariff reductions will allow countries to closely scrutinise the balance of their preferential imports and exports. Trade diversion effects can be kept under control at a country-to-country level.

As mfn obligation disappears, Argentine sponsors of LAIA envisage that "closer economic cooperation among countries with homogeneous structures and economic policies" will be rendered possible. Such cooperation, they hope, will take the form of an economic community among countries that have "an ample base of shared values and interests".

It could be added, by way of conclusion, that the swing to the right of the governments of the region coupled with the increasing influence of orthodox economic policy-makers seem to provide precisely the "base of shared values and interests" that such a project of an economic community requires.

Footnotes

2/ Financial Times, 14 August, 1980.
12/ ECLA, Development Problems in Latin America, (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1969) pp. xxi–xxxiii. This is a handy
anthology of ECLA's official publications from 1949 to 1969.


14/ Thorp and Whitehead have recently suggested that "the practice of attaching economic policy conditions to the provision of Fund resources was gradually developed during the 1950s, mainly using Latin American economies as the testing ground for these techniques". R. Thorp and L. Whitehead (eds.), Inflation and Stabilisation in Latin America, (Macmillan Press, London, 1979), p.3.

15/ See, for example, S. Griffith-Jones, "The Growth of Multinational Banking, the Eurocurrency Market and their Effects on Developing Countries", Journal of Development Studies, January 1980.


17/ Inter-American Development Bank, Economic and Social Progress in Latin America, 1979, pp.82-83.


19/ Tonomac Argentina, for instance, manufacturer of audio equipment, is an example of a company which is now importing similar goods to those it previously produced and exported. But this is not the only case. Officials at UNCTAD's division for assistance on the Generalised System of Preferences noted that ever since the new economic policies were launched in Chile and Argentina they have ceased to receive requests for assistance from companies that had previously been active beneficiaries of the system. Personal interview, 13 November 1980.

20/ An example of the economic restructuring taking place is the decision of General Motors to close down its operation in Argentina.

21/ The only sector that was spared from the drastic removal of protection was the car industry with which a gradual programme was agreed.

22/ The proposal is reproduced in Integracion Latinoamericana 36, June 1979, pp.78-81.

23/ Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, La Argentina y el Proceso de Restructuracion de la Asociacion Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio, Buenos Aires, 1979, mimeo.

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industrialización protegida, tendiente a la sustitucion de las importaciones. Este artículo asocia la abolción de la ALALC y su reemplazo por la Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración (ALADI) a la "apertura" de economías latinoamericanas de mercado internacional desde la mitad de los años 70. El artículo explora también de manera provisoria, las relaciones entre esta tendencia y las nuevas condiciones en los mercados financieros internacionales.
Policing the Global Trade in Dangerous Products

by Lim Siang Jin and Dexter Tiranti
International Organization of Consumers Unions
P.O.Box 1045
Penang, Malaysia

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Abstract: In the industrialized countries, consumers have started to organize their defense. The producers of dangerous goods now look to the Third World as a market and/or dumping ground. On the basis of actions undertaken over the last 10 years, the International Union of Consumers Organizations has now launched Consumer Interpol. A network of correspondents, a coordinating office and an advisory panel will contribute to provide a truly multinational response to transnational companies. This paper analyzes several examples of IOCU actions and describes the functioning of Consumer Interpol.

Policer le Commerce Mondial des Produits Dangereux

Résumé: Dans les pays industrialisés, les consommateurs ont commencé à organiser leur défense. Les fabricants de produits dangereux se sont retournés vers le Tiers Monde, devenu marché et décharge. Sur la base d'actions menées à bien depuis 10 ans, l'Union internationale des organisations de consommateurs a créé l'Interpol des consommateurs. Un réseau de correspondants, un bureau de coordination et un comité scientifique aideront à ce qu'une réponse authentiquement multinationale soit donnée aux entreprises transnationales. Cet article analyse un certain nombre d'exemples d'actions de l'UIOC et décrit le fonctionnement de l'Interpol des consommateurs.

Controlar el Comercio Mundial de Productos Peligrosos

Resumen: En los países industrializados, los consumidores han comenzado a organizarse. Los fabricantes de productos peligrosos se han vuelto hacia el Tercer Mundo, convertido en mercado de recambio. En base a acciones llevadas a cabo desde hace 10 años, la Unión Internacional de Organizaciones de Consumidores ha creado la Interpol de los Consumidores. Una red de correspondientes, una oficina de coordinación y un comité científico ayudaran a que una respuesta auténticamente multilateral sea dada a las empresas transnacionales. Este artículo analiza cierto número de ejemplos de acciones de la UIOC y describe el funcionamiento de la Interpol de los Consumidores.
The business of Consumer Interpol is bad business. For while government initiatives, consumer vigilance and corporate responsibility in industrialised countries have ensured minimum standards of product quality and adequate information for users, such standards for the health and safety of consumers are not met in many other parts of the globe. The almost unguarded portals of the markets of the Third World offer an easy entrance to lucrative dumping grounds. Prospects are tempting for some overseas business concerns whose potentially hazardous products and technologies have been banned, withdrawn, severely restricted or never approved for use in their countries of origin.

Another concern is about manufacturers that diligently follow safety rules in the West but ignore or bend them in countries where they can get away with it. Such activities of these rogue corporations, can through their irresponsible behaviour leave ugly pockmarks, disfiguring the face of international business.

For its pains and despite its short life, Consumer Interpol has already been pilloried as anti-business, anti-Western and inspired by dubious political ideologies. It's a common charge of those frightened of change; the rich, the powerful and the unconcerned. A moment's thought would show the shared interests of consumers and responsible business in sorting out the bad apples that give the private enterprise system such a bad name.

Why is dumping so easy in the Third World? In the first place consumers are often illiterate - how can they claim for false labelling? Many will have borne witness to mysterious illness and death - how can they establish the cause as a hazardous product? Many will live far from a doctor or cannot afford the consultancy fees - how can they know the worrying side effects of the drugs they buy? Many will have been steeped in centuries of passivity, or respect for institutions of power - how can they fight local or international business?

Secondly the legal machinery in most Third World countries does not act as a deterrent. If laws exist to guard against unsafe products, they are generally vague with sloppy or corrupt enforcement. And resorting to civil action is a daunting prospect. In fact the idea of a humble Third World peasant suing an international corporation for supplying a dangerous product, would be truly laughed out of court. Whilst corporations may tread carefully in litigation-conscious United States, no such constraints apply on the wide-open terrain of the Third World.

Thirdly government attitudes in the Third World can condone this illicit trade. Keen competition for Western investment and fear that safety regulations may drive away potential capital have made many a government throw caution to the wind. They reason it is a question of risk and benefit. Official and industry justification for dumping almost invariably is that on the scales of judgement the risks of some corporations' abuses are outweighed by the benefits of jobs and a 'trickle-down' of wealth from the corporations that set up shop. A
Brazilian official, at a United Nations gathering, went as far as declaring: 'We want your pollution.'

He might also have been wanting a kickback. For dumping brings lucrative opportunities for vested interests. It is nothing out of the ordinary to see members of the ruling elite owning a sizeable number of shares and holding key positions in the local subsidiaries of offending companies. Battling against their own venal governments is difficult enough for Third World consumers without the complications of foreign corporate exploitation.

At the other end of the trade route, the governments of the exporting countries permit this international trafficking in dangerous products by their 'hands-off' policy. They maintain if the government of the importing country does not voice any objection, knowingly or unknowingly, on their own head be it. After all, if they are responsible for running the country and for the wellbeing of its people, they should know best. In February 1979, Ed Cohen, then the White House deputy advisor on consumer affairs said: 'We can't be the world's nanny.' Obviously you grow up or go to the wall in his world.

Favourable conditions for international dumping are reinforced by the media's message. People on the sidewalks of the Third World cities are constantly reminded of the technological superiority of Western culture and all its artifacts. Billboards, shop window displays, newspapers, television, radio and film all glory in the electric gadget, the car, the king-size filter cigarette and the drink that's the real thing. The result is a reverence for such products. The West it is presumed is best and trustworthy too. After all, any reasonable person would think these goods have been cleared by the technologically superior nations. Few suspect that in some cases what they buy are second-rate rejects or prohibited in the country of origin.

The global communications revolution with its containerised shipping, air freight and telex/telephone satellites has allowed Western products to be sold in the most distant lands. But the traffic has all been in one direction. For concerned Westerners are starved of information on the products sold overseas, and the promotional methods used to sell them. And for the government officials on the receiving end of these imports there is little objective and comprehensive information on the products themselves.

WHAT'S HAPPENING AT THE SHARP END?

Some idea of the urgency of the matter is reflected in the words of Dr Frank del Prado, the Agriculture Minister of Surinam. He said: 'We try to be as careful as possible, but still must depend on information received from importers who would like to sell their products... we lack not only laboratory equipment but also trained personnel... something has to be done, and fast.'

There are an increasing number of more socially concerned governments, international and national non-governmental organisations, and concerned individuals who would gladly take action against cases of dumping had they the information. But before any action can be taken, there has to
be a systematic, efficient and above all reliable warning system. Cer-
tainly a number of indignant accusations of dumping have been false
alarms. And, it is folly to mobilise the internationally concerned com-

Consumer Interpol is designed to provide this reliable warning system.
Consumer Interpol aims to:

. HASTEN the exchange of information on newly-discovered or newly
regulated hazards.
. FOCUS attention on generic safety problems like lead in the en-
vironment or the misuse of antibiotics.
. HELP build up the capability of consumer groups and other
non-governmental organisations, particularly those in the Third World,
in handling the problem of dumping.
. SUPPORT national and international efforts to control the trade in
hazardous products, technologies and wastes.

The system had been on the anvil of the International Organisation of
Consumers Unions (IOCU) since the early 1970s with numerous references
to dumping at its policy-making conferences. Several studies surfaced
in the decade leaving the suspicion that the investigations only touched
on the tip of the iceberg.

In 1973, one of the first case studies of dumping was pieced together.
A study on chloramphenicol, a relatively cheap antibiotic effective
against a broad range of infections was conducted by IOCU members in 21
countries. However the antibiotic has dangerous side-effects, particu-
larly a rare but frequently fatal blood disease called aplastic anaemia.
Despite the risks, chloramphenicol is very effective against typhoid
fever.

The survey findings were startling. There were wide differences in
warnings and indications for use even with samples of the same brand
collected in different countries. Several manufacturers, including
Parke-Davis, a US-based transnational pharmaceutical corporation and one
of the largest manufacturers of the drug, were selling it in several
countries for complaints as minor as the common cold. In fact uncon-
trolled use of chloramphenicol in the Third World meant besides an un-
known number of deaths from aplastic anaemia, bacteria were becoming
resistant to the antibiotic. Disastrous consequences became apparent
with the 1972-73 epidemic of typhoid fever in Mexico which hit about
100,000 people. Typhoid bacteria, after long exposure to
chloramphenicol had built up resistance to the drug. One in every five
of the afflicted 20,000 people, died.

Was this an isolated case of corporate irresponsibility? In a paper
submitted in November 1973 to a 'Group of Eminent Persons' appointed by
the United Nations' Secretary General, the IOCU President, Peter Goldman
said there were other well-authenticated examples of transnational com-
panies ignoring or flouting the consumer right to safety - 'to be pro-
tected against the marketing of goods that are hazardous to health or
life.' Such blatant abuses sometimes surfaced, and sometimes provoked
bad publicity that caused the culprit companies to mend their ways. But there were too many 'sometimes'.

From IOCU’s mailbox came more dumping complaints. The resources of the organisation, however, were small. Only a few complaints could be investigated, particularly because systematic comparative studies is what IOCU insisted on. The next IOCU dumping study was on clioquinol, an anti-diarrhoal drug which can blind and paralyse. In 1978 over 11,000 invalids in Japan were in a courtroom judgment confirmed victims of taking the drug yet it has remained on sale, not in the West but the Third World to this day.

IOCU’S SURVEYS ON DUMPING IN THE 1970s

The IOCU Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific in Penang, Malaysia contributed three more surveys on:

1. comparative information on dangerous drugs (1979)
2. sweetened condensed milk being promoted as infant food (1979)
3. the selling of baby pacifiers that do not meet safety requirements (1980).

The subject of the first study was eight dangerous drugs outlawed or severely restricted in some countries but widely available in Malaysia and Singapore. The aim of the exercise was to compare the information provided by the industry-published Drug Index of Malaysia and Singapore (DIMS) with that given by independent authoritative sources like Martindale - The Extra Pharmacopoeia to see if the DIMS data was up-to-date and adequate. DIMS is the major reference work on drugs used by doctors throughout the peninsular. So if DIMS, the so-called 'authoritative guide to ethical preparations available to the medical profession in Malaysia and Singapore', was still not mentioning grave side-effects of some medicines, or the banning of others, a further condition for dumping was prevalent. The study found DIMS badly lacking. For example, Martindale said 'the use of tetracyclines during the later half of pregnancy and during childhood up the the age of 12 years can cause permanent discolouration of the child's teeth.' But out of the 42 tetracycline antibiotic preparations listed in DIMS, only two cautioned against use by 'infants and pregnant cases'. Nothing was said about children under 12.

The 1979 survey on sweetened condensed milk (SCM) conducted in eight countries in South and South East Asia found the use of milk in this form as infant food was widespread, especially among the poor. The milk is cheap and it keeps well even without refrigeration, due to high sugar content (45 per cent by weight). But SCM is nutritionally a very inadequate infant food. It has excessive sugar but is short on essential nutrients like fat, lactose and vitamins. A baby fed on SCM could become obese due to high sugar intake yet malnourished in other ways. Yet labels on the tins collected by IOCU's survey partners claimed otherwise. The product of the British-based Wilts United Dairies, for example, carried prominently: 'Excellent for infant feeding'. Such claims had been banned from British SCM cans since 1911. It was a clear case of double standards and using lies to help product promotion in regions where Wilts United thought they could get away with it.
Lastly there was the study on baby pacifiers. Ten children died in the United States between 1970 and 1975 from choking on baby pacifiers or strangling themselves on the ribbons tied around their necks. In 1977 when safety regulations came into force, not a single sample measured up. The pacifiers became unmarketable in the United States. Later thousands of these dummies were reportedly 'dumped' in other parts of the world. In 1980, IOCU purchased 22 models of pacifiers in Penang and examined them using criteria set by British and US regulatory bodies. Only three passed the tests. Two models that failed were made by the American company Evenflo Products; these models would have failed the regulations set by the US Consumer Product Safety Commission - another case of double standards and marketing overseas of a proven babykiller.

Of course for every one case of dumping and unethical corporate behaviour there are ten examples of socially responsible and honourable conduct. Nevertheless enough evidence was coming to light that the markets of the Third World were being used as 'dumping grounds' by foreign corporations.

Further substantial investigative surveys were being researched on:

. **PESTICIDES** outlawed in rich countries but exported to poor ones. Every pesticide banned or restricted by the United States government has been exported and 15 per cent of American pesticide exports are not even registered, that is they have never been licensed, tested or reviewed by the US Environmental Protection Agency. These include such poisons as exotic as DBCP, heptachlor, chlordane, endrin and lindane, to name a few, which are all proven carcinogens. The average person in industrialized countries would scarcely have heard of them, however, let alone know their dangers because their use is heavily restricted. Halfway around the world, the story is different. The pesticides are widely available.

. **DANGEROUS TECHNOLOGIES** that have been proven to be too risky for rich world people are sold or transferred to poor countries. Asbestos factories have moved to the Third World after US companies were sued for exposing workers and the public to asbestos fibres that cause lung cancer and asbestosis - a slow deterioration of lung tissues. It has been estimated by American health authorities that as many as 50,000 new cases of cancer will occur annually in the United States for the next 30 years as a result of past exposure to asbestos. Australia too has moved its asbestos production to Indonesia - where people are desperate for a job and dead men's relatives don't sue.

. **HARMFUL PRODUCTS** whose sale is not permitted or is severely restricted in the West are found in the Third World. Toys with brightly coloured high lead content paint, unsafe contraceptives, food additives that are suspected carcinogens, contaminated food, cosmetics containing mercury... these add to a growing list of hazards consumers in the Third World have had to face.

The mounting evidence of the IOCU surveys and other sources did not sway many of the rogue corporations. Nor did it affect the leaders of the herd, their governments who should have been curbing such activities but were afraid of their companies being put at a trading disadvantage vis-à-vis competing business from other nations. The argument 'if we
don't sell it, someone else will' could only be spiked, governments suggested, by international consensus. That is a long time coming. Meanwhile:

In June 1983, the European Economic Community (EEC) agreed on a proposal for 'dangerous products Interpol' submitted by the Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs (the umbrella for consumer groups in the EEC) late in 1978. Even if the plans are adopted, it is likely that the system will serve only EEC members who can ask that the information remain confidential. Frustrated by the sluggish bureaucracy of Brussels, and alarmed that the chastening effect of publicity could be avoided, the European Union of Consumers decided to set up its own Interpol.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), has had a voluntary information scheme on product-safety regulations since 1973. It is run by the OECD Committee on Consumer Policy. In 1976, the scheme was expanded to include data on unsafe products that appear on the market suddenly. A further expansion took place in 1980 when information on product-safety research was put under the umbrella. However, the OECD system has two main shortcomings; the public has no direct access to the material nor is it available to countries outside the OECD.

The International Labour Office (ILO) of the United Nations sends out alerts on occupational hazards rapidly to its 99 member governments. The system, which had been developed during the late 1970s by ILO's Occupational Safety and Health Branch, confines itself to worker safety.

In 1974, the newly-formed United Nations Environmental Programme followed up a recommendation from the 1972 Stockholm conference on the human environment by producing an 'international register' of data on chemicals in the environment, calling it the International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals. It is mainly a compendium of information on such chemicals (excluding drugs).

The United States had for a brief period of 34 days, a policy on the export of hazardous substances. President Carter's executive orders came in the wake of the export of fabrics treated with Tris, a flame retardant which had been found to be carcinogenic. What is interesting is that Tris-treated garments were exported to OECD countries as well as Third World countries. Pressure from European countries could have prompted presidential action. The policy provided for export notification to importing countries on substances banned or severely restricted in the US. It also required export licences for some extremely hazardous materials. The incoming President Reagan immediately halted the implementation in February 1981 and called for a review. The review report which appeared in May 1982 recommended what amounted to a total abandonment of Carter's policy.

And so until the formation of Consumer Interpol in 1982 there was no rapid hazardous products warning system that provided a truly multinational response to the transnational companies.
Consumer Interpol was launched with a small grant from the Dutch government and without fanfare. IOCU members who decided to participate numbered 52 national groups representing 33 countries. They linked up with the Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs and its own dangerous products Interpol.

Consumer Interpol is not an exclusive club and welcomes the participation of non-IOCU members, particularly other non-governmental organisations, government agencies and intergovernmental bodies.

In fact, it is already part of informal coalitions of non-governmental organisations like the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), Health Action International (HAI) and Pesticides Action Network (PAN) International. And these coalitions too are part of Consumer Interpol's network. In theory this means that any notification of a product being dumped can be publicised by a range of organisations as well as by the individual correspondents.

Three parties play a central role in the system: the correspondents, the Consumer Interpol coordinator and an advisory panel. The success of the system depends on them working in harmony.

The first task of the correspondents and coordinator is to find suitable information. They look out for notice of dangerous products or technologies, scan the national media as well as keep an eye open for primary documents like press releases from product safety and health regulatory authorities, reports from the government or laboratories and press statements of manufacturers or distributors. They are also interested in test reports by consumer and other research organisations, evidence from trade unions and reports on product liability court cases.

THE INVESTIGATIVE MACHINERY, 'ELEMENTARY, MY DEAR WATSON'

On receiving news of a suspected hazard, the correspondents will check on its nature and seriousness. They will be looking at whether there are dangers due to:

- the inherent nature of the product. Many drugs and all pesticides are poisons and harm people after a certain level of intake;
- poor design of the product. Steering defects, for example, forced General Motors to recall 172,000 units of its 1977 and 1978 Chevrolet Monza, Pontiac, Sunbird and Oldsmobile Starfire cars in the United States, in 1979;
- an error in the production process or storage practice. A mistake in production made Wyeth Laboratories, makers of S-26 infant formula and SMA babymilk, recall, in March 1982, 2.8 million cans of infant formula. They lacked the essential vitamin B6;
- incorrect labelling of the product. The anti-diarrhoeal drug Lomotil has been recommended for very young children in some countries. Taking the drug for diarrhoea could mask the effects of dehydration, create false hopes and detract doctors from rehydration treatments;
false advertising claims. The sonic mosquito repellent Anti-Pic has been proved to be useless. But it is still being promoted as effective, thus making the users think they are protected;

the inappropriate environment in which the product is promoted. Infant formula is an example of a relatively safe product use under right conditions but a killer under the wrong ones. Many illiterate slum dwellers in cities of the Third World have no access to clean water and cannot ensure that the bottle, teat and water are sterilised before feeding their children. As a result, an incalculable number of infants sicken and die each year from taking infant formula under the wrong conditions;

If correspondents are convinced by the evidence, they will notify the coordinator detailing the:

IDENTITY of the product (its name, its use, manufacturer, city and country of manufacture, batch number, date of manufacture) - all these would be on the label of the product.

NATURE of the hazard - details of deaths, illness and injury.

PLACES to which the product or substance could be exported.

ACTION taken by the correspondent's government and organisation as well as by the manufacturers.

Also attached will be relevant supporting evidence like press releases of regulatory authorities, press clippings, scientific assessments, responses from manufacturers and sellers, photos and statistics. These are big demands to be making of correspondents, but the system has to be as painstakingly precise and detailed as any open heart operation.

The system of checking and double-checking is not yet over. For an error can mean the loss of a company's good name. So on receiving notification of a suspected 'dumping issue' the Consumer Interpol coordinator Foo Gaik Sim in Penang will gauge its significance, urgency and accuracy, checking whatever has been sent against the stock of data in the IOCU information centre. The advisory panel will be approached should there be any suspicion that there are inaccuracies. If all the cross-checking bears out the original suspicion then an alert will be sent out to all other correspondents and supporting organisations.

The advisory panel comprises eminent specialists in the fields of foods, drugs, pesticides and the law (especially on product liability and safety). The panel members provide advice to the correspondents or the coordinator, usually when there is doubt on the severity or significance of the newly-discovered hazards.

The correspondents at the receiving end of the alerts will check if the products are available in their respective countries. If they are on sale and it looks like a case of dumping then the manufacturer or distributor will be asked to explain. In addition, government authorities will be advised to take control measures. But of course publicity is the biggest sanction in forcing both the dumpers and the government to act. So the press will be contacted and shareholders of companies can
be asked to bring up the matter at company meetings - a tactic becoming increasingly common in the West.

CONSUMER ALERT 1: THE USELESS MOSQUITO REPELLENT - ANTI-PIC

In March 1982, a Consumer Alert was sent out on a sonic mosquito repellent called Anti-pic which, its manufacturers claimed, is effective against a mated female mosquito because the sound of a male is "the last sound she wants to hear". The device was found to be totally ineffective by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Dr. C.F. Curtis, senior research fellow in the School, wrote in a letter to the director of the Bureau Européen des Unions de Consommateurs (BEUC), "My colleagues and I know of no scientific justification for the advertised claim that the sound of a male mosquito repels females. Indeed the standard textbook, The Physiology of Mosquitoes by A. Clements, states that "There is no evidence ... that sound perception plays any part in the life of the female". Apart from the fact that large profits have been made for a useless device, there is the more serious aspect that (as indicated by enquiries received at this School) many people have been led to believe that the Anti-pic will protect them from malaria mosquitoes in the tropics. Thousands of cases of malaria occur each year in travellers returning to Europe from the tropics and there are considerable numbers of deaths. If the false sense of security engendered by the advertisements for the Anti-pic caused a traveller not to bother with a mosquito net or anti-malarial drugs, the results could be fatal".

The British authorities were informed and the company that marketed the device, Newtons Laboratories, were prosecuted under the Trade Descriptions Act. In March 1983, when the case was heard, Newtons pleaded guilty and were fined.

The Consumer Alert sent ripples across the world. The Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen (Indonesian Consumer Association) consulted the Indonesian Department of Trade which has banned the import of Anti-pic. In Australia action was taken up directly with two firms, Newtons and World Mail Mart, which were marketing respectively Anti-pic and BUZOF, another brand of the same device. The Australian Consumers' Association wrote them letters detailing action that has been taken in other countries. Both firms took the device off the market.

CONSUMER ALERT 2: THE DANGEROUS ANTI-DIARRHOEAL - CLIOQUINOL

Consumer Interpol issued a rather unusual alert in November 1982 because it was after the pharmaceutical giant corporation Ciba-Geigy (fourth largest drug company in the world) had announced it would withdraw its clioquinol-containing drugs like Mexaform and Enterovioform from the market worldwide. Clioquinol, an anti-diarrhoeal, had been the subject of a running battle between consumers and manufacturers for over ten years; ever since the late 1960s when its crippling and blinding side effects called SMON (subacute myelo optic neuropathy) hit over 11,000 people in Japan alone. Since then patients have been diagnosed in some 25 countries. By 1980, some 3,000 of the victims had been able to
receive compensation through the Japanese courts who ruled that the nervous disorder was the result of taking clioquinol. Whilst Ciba-Geigy had quietly phased out the drug from Western markets, but not before another 56 Swedish SMON victims successfully claimed damages against the firm, they have kept selling to the unregulated markets of the Third World. Of course it is almost impossible to prove paralysis or death specifically from the drug in parts of the world where illness and disease are a way of life.

The November 23 Alert was not to mark a victory but the beginning of another phase of the protracted struggle. For although Ciba-Geigy admits the drug 'no longer reflects new trends in modern diarrhoeal disease control', the withdrawal is to be a phased one - over three to five years. And why a phased withdrawal? The declared reason is that several countries want to go on using the drug. Unofficially it might have more to do with running down unsold stocks.

One of the most significant repercussions of the SMON catastrophe and the publicity, litigation and concerted consumer pressure that followed was that it brought many consumer and other citizens groups working on health issues together. It was indignation at the patent 'double standards' of the company, withdrawing the drug from Western markets but continuing to sell it in the Third World which provoked press conferences all over the world, produced warning literature and persuaded national authorities to ban the drug.

For consumers, the SMON episode is in its final phase, though the campaign will not ease up until the drug is completely removed. One thing's for sure, if the SMON tragedy were to occur today, consumer preparedness will not allow the delay of over 12 years between the occurrence of the drug disaster and the announcement of a withdrawal.

CONSUMER ALERT 3: THE CONTAMINATED BANDAGES

Even the most finely-meshed net of safeguards in the West lets hazardous products through. In November 1981, before Consumer Interpol's alert system was operational, the IOCU Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific in Penang, Malaysia, received a letter from Canberra Consumers Incorporated on surgical dressings which had been withdrawn from the Australian market due to contamination by tetanus and gangrene-causing bacteria.

The bandages, imported from India, Taiwan and Thailand, had been put in first aid kits and marketed by companies like Johnson & Johnson Pty. Ltd. and Beiersdord Ltd. The National Biological Standards Laboratory of Australia, which had checked the products, advised that they be destroyed and any first aid kit in which they were stored should be disinfected.

The Regional Office sent out an alert to all IOCU members. Britain's then Health Minister Gerard Vaughan came under fire in Parliament in December for not acting as fast as he could have done. The Minister confirmed that the dressings were contaminated and that they could have been on the British market for a year or more. Action was also taken by one of the producer countries. In January 1982, the Indian Commerce
Ministry announced that it will only allow the export of unsterilised surgical dressings if they are labelled as such.

Anti-pic, clioquinol and surgical dressings: these stories demonstrate what Consumer Interpol's network is capable of - from simple information exchange to a full-fledged campaign, against a particular product for more than a decade.

But Consumer Interpol does not just react to dumping issues raised by its correspondents. It also strongly supports correspondents and groups in the Third World which lack expertise and information. Isolated, often starved of information, these Third World correspondents have to contend with most of the dumping that takes place. And only they can provide the evidence needed for a successful campaign.

So apart from Alerts, Consumer Interpol also sends out information on unsafe products through a newsletter called Consumer Interpol Focus. Each issue of the bimonthly publication covers a particular problem in the environment from anti-diarrhoeal drugs to the abuse and overuse of antibiotics or lead in petrol.

Consumer Interpol is now campaigning for the speedy implementation of a United Nations General Assembly resolution on the protection against products harmful to health and the environment. Passed in December 1982 by a vote of 146 to one (only the United States voted against it), the resolution calls on the UN to prepare and regularly update a consolidated list of products whose consumption and/or sale has been banned, withdrawn, severely restricted or not approved by governments. The list should contain both generic and brand names of chemicals in an alphabetical order as well as the names of all manufacturers and a short reference to the grounds and decisions taken by governments that have led to restrictive action taken on the products. Whilst this is dynamite for any manufacturer whose product appears on the 'black list', it is the only way overworked and understaffed Third World ministries can quickly look up whether the latest product being imported is in fact, being dumped. No doubt manufacturers' lobby groups will do everything possible to sabotage such a list. Without the United Nations resources, but also without such behind-the-scenes pressure, Consumer Interpol has at the end of their handbook listed some dangerous products which every country should be aware of.(For handbook, see address on p.37).

Consumer Interpol received a significant boost after less than a year in operation when the Right Livelihood Foundation awarded its 1982 Alternative Nobel prize to IOCU president Anwar Fazal in recognition of IOCU's work in setting up the Interpol system. In his address at the award presentation ceremony in December Anwar Fazal summed up the purpose of Consumer Interpol: 'We live in a world in which violence, waste and manipulation have not only become profitable for the merchants of death, the rapists of the earth and those who manipulate our behaviour, our fears and desires...

'We hope Consumer Interpol and the other citizens networks will work to reduce if not eliminate the violence, the waste and the manipulation that characterises so much of our society.'
WHAT FUTURES WORK ? - MAKE IT SIMPLE
by Göran Bäckstrand*

Göran Bäckstrand, one of the artisans of the 1972 Stockholm Conference on Environment, a pioneer of the Swedish Secretariat for Future Studies and a partner in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report, What Now — Another Development, just handed over the secretary generalship of the World Future Studies Federation to Jim Datar of the University of Hawaii. We reproduce below his editorial in the last issue of the WFSF Newsletter.

* * *

The year 1984 is approaching. After the magic number of a new century, next year is probably outstanding in the particular fame it has acquired beforehand and world-wide during the past 35 years. George Orwell wrote his dystopia and 1984 became a symbol for a dehumanized world with Rulers perpetually oppressing People with the help of Technology. However, the potential threat of electronic devices, the ever-present tele-screen and Big Brother, is only part of Orwell's message. The more important and lasting contribution of Orwell was his fury with how language is maltreated, especially for political purposes. His vision about Newspeak in "1984" was a plea to all citizens: Do not accept any jargon. Master your machines but master even more your use of language. Does anything more important exist than to defend in a culture the proper use of words to express needs and feelings?

No formal announcement has yet been made of a Ministry for Truth coding language and deliberately changing the meaning of words but in this respect the world is certainly in a perilous state and in one European country a law is even prepared to the effect that, under certain circumstances, non-violent action will be defined as violent. There exists an enormous capacity to manipulate language. We have all to care for words and their proper use. Words must continue to be given distinct meanings in order to achieve a human, liveable world.

Almost everyone will within her/his culture find ample evidence of serious abuse of the language. These abuses are mostly associated with powerful organizations in our society - specifically political, media and business - which regularly distort language to disguise the truth. However, the threats come not only from manipulation by power systems, where real purposes or aims underlying decisions (be they commercial or political) are masked by difficult or meaningless words and sentences. Other threats come from the very specialization of our societies, whereby in the name of progress the world is bombarded by more and more specialized language/words - or what is often derided as pseudo-scientific jargon. Of course a rich language/culture should not exclude special words and terminologies for different professions. But a common basic language is the prerequisite for the survival of, and effective communication in, a society. It should particularly be a

* Secretariat for Futures Studies, PO Box 6710, 11385 Stockholm, Sweden.
concern for every society which claims to be a democratic society. Today so many of the experts (politicians, business people, technicians or scientists) seem to have forgotten the need for straightforward language using simple words, which is the basis for all good communication. Above all, nowadays, when so many people and organizations in our societies look to professional advisers for objective analysis and recommendations, it is disturbing to see how widespread the distortion of language and misuse of words have become also among academics. An academic or professional jargon disguises the truth no less than elsewhere - making a pretense of objectivity or knowledge or intellectuality or science which goes beyond the bounds of what is proper given the nature of the topic discussed.

The earlier reference to George Orwell and his advocacy of simple and direct language is naturally made with the intention of inspiring WFSF members and supporters to read or reread Orwell. In addition to his novels I particularly recommend his essays in the fields of politics and language, and literature and language. In the context of this editorial there is the particularly relevant "Propaganda and Demotic Speech". Reflection on the use of words and expressions could also be useful in order to revitalize the meaning of a vague and imprecise concept: futures studies.

The scholars that were to form WFSF met for the first time in Oslo in 1967. The origin of these studies was a concern that human and democratic values needed to be defended in a world dominated by big political and commercial powers, which exhibited little regard for future generations. Futures studies aimed at the political arena. Within broad problem areas futures studies were intended to enrich a discussion about choices or different solutions in order to influence dominant technological and other forces. Futures studies were not a new discipline but were meant to provide a forum for common work to defend human values.

The need for a long-term perspective and the deeper involvement of people in decision-making and support of humanistic studies is as valid today as it was 16 years ago. Most countries see themselves riddled by crises; the international economic outlook does not promise easy days ahead. Technocratic views are once more gaining ground. At the same time the "futures label" has become popular in many countries, a fascinating diversity of people now introduce themselves as belonging to the Futures movement, and many modish expressions have passed into wider circulations.

"The Futures community" has to overcome many obstacles as in the past. The very general aim of defending human values must be transformed into studies and actions with a practical and solid content, which can attract respect and successfully fight at least three threats: political shortsightedness, singleminded technocracy and wishful thinking (antirationalism). WFSF is a network of much good will in the search for new vistas and horizons. More new members and so called futures groups exist today than ever before, and in more countries, but this is no reason for comfort. It is encouraging, but only part of a multidimensional process. Other networks rally around such codewords as alternative development, appropriate technology, environment and environmental ethics, technology and social change, soft technology. They
all express deep dissatisfaction - and often challenges to - still dominant values, the world mainstream Development.

In the present crises and turmoil many people place high expectations on these networks and look to them for lasting contributions in building more viable, sustainable societies. But if the efforts are poorly focussed, and frequently involve the use of high-flown but obscure words and expressions which cloud meaning, then they will undermine both effective action and results.

Preparing for 1984, WFSF and its members could perhaps best honour Orwell's plea for simple, understandable language by returning to the fundamentals: what are "futures studies" for. What can we, as futures students and researchers, achieve at different levels (local, regional, state, inter-state) and what is the role of WFSF compared with other similar networks? But above all: take your Orwell seriously. He can certainly keep us alert far beyond 1984.

SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION : A PEACEFUL DECOLONIZATION OF THE FUTURE

Mahdi Elmandjra*

In spite of so many disillusions and justified doubts resulting from unfulfilled declarations and commitments, South-South Cooperation has never been so badly needed as a prescription for the survival of the Third World. It is no longer just a romantic dream nor simply a political comedy with unconvinced actors. A breakthrough in South-South Cooperation is an essential condition for a change of the status quo of an international system which is greatly responsible for the plight of two thirds of humanity.

Such a transformation must first of all take place in the mental structures of people in the South and North alike. The South is a cultural prisoner of the North. Very little progress can be expected in South-South relations until the South - individually and collectively - attempts to liberate itself from the hegemonism of the patterns of thought and systems of values of the North. This would also be most heathly for a North which is practically unconscious of the degree of its ethnocentricity.

Most discussions on South-South Cooperation start with a "realistic" and "pragmatic" analysis of the international system and attempt to find "reasonable" and "practical" solutions to enhance horizontal links without seriously questioning the environment of the system. The objective is usually to "adapt" the system or to "reform" it gradually. As helpful as this approach may be tactically, it can lead nowhere unless it is part of a more global and forward-looking strategy which seeks not only to adapt the system but to transform it in due course. Strategies of this nature can only be generated by visions, dreams and reactions to unbearable oppression.

* P.O.Box 53, Rabat, Morocco
The South needs its own vision of the world. It cannot afford to go on borrowing the one of the North. It must construct its own paradigms and work out its endogenous algorithms so as to dispose of conceptual goals and tools to determine its purpose and attain its objectives. It cannot eternally play with rules imposed by partners who not too infrequently use loaded dices.

In the international institutions which have been established by the North according to northern norms, debates on South-South Cooperation are inevitably conditioned by a framework which is not always conducive to serious questioning nor to frank and critical thinking. North-North Cooperation is rarely if ever discussed within these arenas - they are trashed out in more intimate circles. South-South Cooperation could no doubt benefit from less extraversion and greater reliance on autonomous mechanisms.

South-South Cooperation is a learning process. It requires anticipation, participation and most of all - innovation, all the things to which politicians and decision-makers pay lip service but fear or resist inside themselves. To use the analogy of the learning process, South-South Cooperation needs to clarify its purpose, to construct its paradigm, to refine its concepts, to elaborate models of development which integrate its systems of values, to design its curriculum, to outline its programme, to train its teachers, to draft its manuals, to strengthen self-reliance, and to stress the role of communication.

As a first conceptual step, South-South Cooperation ought to be worked out on its own and not merely as a reaction to the failure of the North-South debate. In fact, it is the latter which is heavily dependent on the success of the former and not the reverse. The North will take the South seriously only if it has no other choice that is when the South will take itself seriously.

How can the North take the South seriously unless the South gives some tangible proofs of its commitment to a minimum of cohesion, coherence and solidarity. There is a North but is there a South on the international scene today?

Three out of four of the UN members from the South do not have the critical mass nor the economy of scale to survive by themselves. Many of them will not last long after the beginning of the 21st century when only economic groupings of 100 to 150 million people will have some hope of staying afloat.

South-South Cooperation can not be an end in itself but it is today a highly potential source of change and development and a vital instrument for the decolonization of the future.

Global negotiations, ECDC, TCDC, the international monetary system, trade regulations, the price of raw materials, financial flows and other burning issues are highly important questions. They are nonetheless only by-products of a system and they can never be properly dealt with unless the system which generates them is transformed and until its structures are rehauled. This ought to be one of the main tasks of South-South Cooperation - a peaceful decolonization of the future. A
future where the South will stop being a battleground for "local" conflicts which are essentially wars by proxy of the North.

Hence South-South Cooperation is an instrument of world peace - an essential ingredient for the economic and socio-cultural development of the South as well as the survival of humanity as a whole.

WHAT AFTER UNCTAD VI ?

by Chakravarthi Raghavan*

Before the session convened at Belgrade, and in the months of intensive preparatory work leading to it, there was great emphasis on its importance in the context of the global economic crisis. There were frequent references to its being a World Economic Conference, and the major event in North-South dialogue.

To assess UNCTAD VI, and even more to attempt to chart out possible courses of actions by the Third World, one has to view its outcome in terms of the immediate and the short-term, as well as the medium to long-term. It cannot be done in isolation from other events of the past decade, and even more the international political climate.

This is no easy task, except for History which, with hindsight, will no doubt apply a harsher yardstick: the nature of the crisis that confronted the world, the measures that could have averted it but were not taken, and the consequences of actions and inactions. But governments, and the peoples of the world, cannot afford to wait for the judgement of History.

UNCTAD VI met on the 50th anniversary of the World Economic Conference, held in London in 1933. That Conference met during the Great Depression. At the time too (as at Belgrade), there was talk of end of the depression (in USA) and recovery under way. The emphasis then too, from the USA, was on national actions to put domestic economies in order, and voices from outside (like that of Keynes) on need for international measures were spurned. A major issue before the London Conference was the need for currency stabilisation, and the Conference was doomed when President Franklin Roosevelt made clear his opposition to it. The consequences to the world of that failure are all too well known - rise of nazism and fascism in Europe, repudiation of debts by Europe and Latin America, and ultimately the Second World War. In the US too the sustained recovery did not take place.

The War and destruction in Europe provided the impetus for the postwar order fashioned at Bretton Woods, with its emphasis on international (industrial-country) cooperation. But the Cold War divided Europe, and the cooperation that emerged was of the West, dominated by the US, and of a Soviet dominated different system in the East. The Bretton Woods order facilitated the postwar boom - it was not the cause - and there was nearly three decades of sustained growth in the North. But the

* Room C. 502, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland
decolonisation (political) of Asia and Africa, and the emergence of new actors from AfroAsia and Latin America and the separate socialist system, created its own strains that the Bretton Woods system was unable to accommodate. The failure and breakdown of the system was the outcome of US monetary and financial policies of the 60s. The US repudiation of its Bretton Woods commitments predated the OPEC induced oil price rise of 1973.

Immediately at the end of the conference, the media with inevitable modern communications need to sum up momentarily the outcome of such events in headline catching words, wrote UNCTAD-VI off as a failure.

The Western media, by and large, went further and wrote off UNCTAD itself as an institution, and some of them dredged up their usual litany of derision and complaints against the Third World and the UNCTAD Secretariat.

If the conference failed it was not due to lack of preparations or documentations in time. The Secretariat’s analytical work and formal proposals came out well ahead than is usual, and was in the hands of governments two to three months before. All Governments, and groups of them, had ample time to study and formulate their own reactions and proposals. None of the proposals were radical, and if anything relied on market mechanisms, with governmental and intergovernmental actions to improve their functioning. In an attempt to win over western governments, some of the proposals even underplayed the crisis and the type of bold solutions needed.

The Nonaligned at New Delhi, and the Group of 77 at Buenos Aires in their 'Buenos Aires Platform' and plea for "consensus and dialogue", considerably moderated their earlier stands, but without giving up their long-term goals for restructuring. They put forward proposals for a package of immediate measures to reactivate development in the Third World and sustain growth in the World Economy.

The OECD group on the other hand had no proposals before the Conference, and, in a negotiating ploy perhaps, dismissed the Buenos Aires Platform as a 'maximalist' approach. In the first two weeks at Belgrade, they did not negotiate nor did they even table their own proposals, and when they ultimately did, it showed a 'minimalist' approach and, in some matters like trade, they sought to roll back the limited gains the Third World had obtained over the last two decades of North/South negotiations. From the outset the OECD tried to promote the idea of a "Belgrade Declaration" to be adopted by the conference. It was clear they wanted to use this as a substitute and as a coverup for lack of specific measures and actions, and give the world at large, including their own domestic public opinion, the impression that the crisis was behind, and governments were in control, and things will soon be better.

The Group of 77 refused to walk into this trap, and insisted on serious negotiations in the core areas of commodity, trade and protectionism, and money and finance. And when it was clear that no rosy view of the crisis and solutions would emerge through a Belgrade Declaration, the OECD lost interest in this exercise, and even tried to abort the negotiations on it in the final hours of the Conference. Only when faced with the certainty that the Conference would end in total failure,
did the other OECD countries break ranks with the US to 'negotiate' on this and agreed to a text that was termed the "Belgrade Statement".

The Belgrade Statement said that the world economic crisis, where deeper underlying problems of structural and systemic nature have been compounded by cyclical factors, call for a 'coherent set of international policies', addressing both short-term and longer-term structural problems. The tentative signs of recovery, to become durable and sustained, require structural adjustment measures to broaden and deepen the incipient recovery, and the reactivation of development in the Third World would be an important element in the revitalization of the world economy.

"Problems of the magnitude and complexity that the world faces today", the Statement said "call for a global approach in which all countries must play their part. The reactivation of the growth process in the developing countries will not come about merely as the trickledown effect of growth in the developed countries. What is needed is an integrated set of policies, encompassing short-term measures in areas of critical importance to the developing countries and long-term changes relevant to the attainment of a new international economic order".

The Belgrade Statement was 'negotiated' in a working group of the Conference. The Report of the Working Group with the Statement was adopted at the final plenary without dissent. Only after adoption, the USA disassociated itself from it (having failed in the working group to get an endorsement of the Williamsburg communiqué). Some of the OECD members 'explained' their vote, and spoke in vague and general terms of what they would have liked to have included in the statement.

The Belgrade Statement was thus a collective yardstick of UNCTAD members, both on the nature of the crisis and the measures needed to overcome it. And the immediate measures in the areas of commodities, trade, money and finance, mentioned in the statement, drawn from the package of resolutions adopted, did not however add up to any solution of the crisis diagnosed.

In this light, UNCTAD VI must be seen as a failure to adopt any meaningful measures to reverse the downward spiral in the global economy. As UNCTAD Secretary-General put it at the ECOSOC in July: "whilst the merit of the Conference was its treatment of basic issues in an interrelated fashion, and the recognition of the particular importance of the development process, the failure of the Conference to respond to the need for a vigorous programme of recovery and development was, in my view, its principal shortcoming. The Conference did endeavour to identify one by one the elements of the measures needed to bring about this reactivation of development. In its decisions the Conference expressed itself in respect of each one of these elements - in the areas of commodities, of finance, of trade, and of the problems of the least developed countries. But I am not convinced that these decisions taken together suffice to give that thrust to development, to give the message to the world community that as a result of the Conference there is now the prospect of the development process gathering momentum after a situation of crisis from which it has suffered so severely. This inadequacy, this inability to put together the various elements identified by the Conference into a strong, interrelated whole is its most striking shortcoming".
The 1933 World Economic Conference failed and adjourned. Period. UNCTAD VI has left open the possibility of pursuing the issues in further negotiations in the permanent machinery of UNCTAD, the Trade and Development Board and its subsidiary bodies, and other parts of the UN system. The preparatory process and the Belgrade Statement have focused international attention on key issues, and the Buenos Aires Platform of the Group of 77 remains as a cogent and comprehensive programme. These will not disappear.

At the final plenary, the spokesman of the Group of 77, Amb. Abdillahi Said Osman of Somalia, viewed the outcome with 'disappointment' and explained that nevertheless the group had accepted the package "because we feel that the spirit of international cooperation today is so fragile that it cannot suffer another setback which would have inevitably followed had this conference ended in total failure. We want to preserve and further nurture this spirit of international cooperation".

Nevertheless, the fact has to be faced that immediate prospects are dim. In this situation, Third World countries, individually and collectively, can wring their hands and bemoan, and be hapless victims of a preordained fate. Or, without in any way giving up or easing political pressures for restructuring North/South relations for a New International Order, they can look for and pursue alternatives that are by no means easy, but can hold out some prospects of autonomous development for the future.

The World Development Report, 1982 (of the IBRD) in its low case scenario (which it concedes are based on 'moderate' but 'optimistic' assumptions) envisages an alarming impact on most of the Third World (Africa, much of low income Asia, and middle income countries) while India and China would have 'some protection against the adverse impact of the global economic deterioration' with their per capita incomes growing by not more than 2.5 to 3.0% (higher than long-term growth trends in India). This it attributes to the 'large and relatively closed economies' of India and China, their high savings ratios, and lower reliance on foreign capital. What the Bank has not added is that this situation is entirely due to these two countries following a development path of technological self-reliance as far as possible, and spurning IMF/World Bank advice and models for export-led growth strategies via TNCs.

The history of the world, in the 200 years or so of the industrial age, has been marked by business cycles of short durations. There have also been several depressions of much longer duration like the Long Depression of the 19th century and the Great Depression of the 1930s. It was during the Long Depression, when Britain was the centre and the periphery was cut off from 'international cooperation', that the then periphery developed industrially and technologically, and Germany, the Nordic countries and much of Western Europe, became self-sustaining economies. It was during the Great Depression that the USSR, Japan and other parts of the present industrial world developed, and much of the industrial base of Latin America came into being.

The current crisis is thus also an opportunity for the Third World. It requires collective inward looking policies and more active pursuit of mutual cooperation through ECDC. Less talk and more action is needed. There is some awareness of this, as evidenced at the recent Group of 77
meeting on ECDC in Tunis in September. But this awareness must permeate the thinking and policies of Third World governments at all levels, AND result in credible actions for increased South-South linkages. This does not mean autarchy or 'letting the North off the hook', but organising the collective weight of the South to persuade and pressure the North. This, rather than 'pleas' to the the North for cooperation and global negotiations in the name of interdependence, is the tactical and strategic answer to the obduracy of the North. If the Third World pursues this path, as many amongst them as have the political will and sagacity to do so, the day of global negotiations and restructuring for a better world would come faster.

FROM UNCTAD TO LOME - THE EEC AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE
by Yojana Sharma*

When UNCTAD VI ended in June in failure, accusing fingers were pointed at the United States. True, the US was unable to give anything on any of the major issues on commodities finance and trade, but it was not speaking for the whole of the group of industrialised countries. The others together could have used their weight to bear on the US and salvage something out of the final resolutions which one delegate referred to as "unusable even as terms of reference in future North-South negotiations". The European Community must also stand in the dock for giving way weakly and sheepishly to US transigence, particularly in light of its special relationship with 63 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries with whom it is linked in the Lomé trade-and-aid Convention signed in 1979 but with antecedents going back to the 1950s when the EEC itself came into being.

The Lomé Convention has been held up as a shining example of partnership between North and South and the EEC had been expected to play a mediating role between the hardliners of the West and the Third World who had themselves undertaken a less "confrontational" attitude than in the past. This time they came to the Belgrade Conference with their position already worked out in April in Buenos Aires and presented it in a "spirit of cooperation and understanding". But the EEC did not play the role expected of it even after the Third World group allowed an "ACP delegation" to approach the Europeans to enlist their support. To no avail, and the ACP did not hide their disappointment. Particularly at what it means for the new Lomé Convention when it came up for renegotiation in September this year. If the events of UNCTAD are anything to go by, the ACP can no longer be so certain of the EEC's solidarity with the Third World or its political will to improve the conditions of the present Convention.

Abdullahi Osman speaking for the Third World countries at UNCTAD said as the Conference came to a close "the conference has missed an historic opportunity to contribute meaningfully to world development and recovery." The EEC, unlike others in UNCTAD will have another "historic opportunity" this year and next with the new Lomé. The question is, will it use it?

*19 rue Eggerickx, 1150 Brussels, Belgium.
What went wrong at UNCTAD

At UNCTAD VI the EEC did not necessarily go along with the US in saying that economic revival in the rich countries would eventually "trickle down" to the developing countries so there was no call for immediate measures to promote development in the Third World. But they used the world economic crisis to avoid discussing concrete solutions to major Third World problems such as indebtedness, protectionist barriers to trade and the drastic fall in world commodity prices.

This despite the various proclamations that the EEC would play an active role at UNCTAD VI. As rifts within the Community were becoming evident at Belgrade, European leaders were still insisting that the EEC would "adopt a constructive role in UNCTAD". Germany's Foreign Minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, acting as president of the EEC Council of Foreign Ministers said in Brussels in May: "We want to go to UNCTAD with an impressive package".

Even before the Conference opened on the 6th of June there were indications that this impressive package would not materialise. Its main component was to have been an offer to extend the EEC system to stabilise export earning of commodities - Stabex - to all "least developed countries". Stabex forms part of the Lomé Convention and benefits only ACP countries at present.

Although Genscher personally backed the idea, Germany's more conservative Economics Minister, Otto Lambsdorff, was against anything that would cost money and it was Germany along with Britain who blocked the idea. They insisted at first that other industrialised countries should take part as a precondition to extending the fund. But the Americans and also the Japanese made it abundantly clear that they had no intention of supporting another price stabilisation scheme when existing mechanisms did not even work.

Reluctant also to widen the gap between Europe and the US the Germans, as president of the EEC until the end of June, called the tune and the Stabex offer floundered.

In the end the only "face-saver" the ten member states were able to piece together was to pay the Common Fund "entry fee" for three "least developed countries" which were also members of Lomé. This cost a mere $3 million and was a third of the original sum proposed by the EEC Commission to cover nine "least developed countries" not already benefiting from the OPEC offer to pay the capital contribution.

In the event, any thunder that the ten could have claimed for that gesture was stolen by Norway which by itself announced at the beginning of the conference to pay the Common Fund contributions for five "least developed countries".

That last dismal concession was wrangled out of the EEC Foreign Ministers Meeting in Luxembourg on 25 June by EEC Development Commissioner, Edgar Pisani. As Edwin Carrington, Deputy Secretary General of the ACP secretariat in Brussels pointed out: "If anything came from the EEC at the conference it was due in great measure to Pisani who fought like
hell with his EEC ministers and pointed out to them the political consequences - as distinct from the economic - of their inaction."

Pisani reasoned that since at MANILA at UNCTAD V the North accused the Third World countries of being aggressive, unreasonable and not facilitating compromise, they should be more amenable now that the South had the Buenos Aires platform which represented conciliation and moderation. If the EEC continues as at previous North-South meetings, the radicals will be able to say "We told you so". There is nothing in the dialogue. It is only confrontation that the industrialised world understands. And this will also destabilise the more moderate developing countries.

Other than pointing out political realities, Pisani's hands were tied by the EEC ministers who tend to consider their narrow self-interest. So his disappointment was understandable when he arrived in Belgrade during the last week of the Conference to say "Europe is going through an identity crisis, and because of this it is insensitive to Third World needs and lacks any personality other than that of the United States."

Later, in the July session of the Strasbourg-based European Parliament, Pisani expressed that he had no illusions that the EEC's problems with its Third World relations were not so much due to its alignment with the US, but because of its own internal divisions.

Within the community there was also a North-South divide which Pisani likened to a microcosm of the present world situation. Although Greece, France and Italy favoured more flexibility towards Third World countries at UNCTAD, Britain and Germany were consistently against any new commitments. Indeed, French Foreign Minister, Claude Cheysson, pointed out in Belgrade that, by aligning with its EEC partners, France was forced to go well below its original position at UNCTAD. Any attempts at bridge-building failed as one Dutch delegate pointed out, "we may have room for manoeuvre, but the Americans do not. In the group system you have to take the lowest common denominator, so the hardline prevails".

**Looking forward to Lomé**

The question is whether the EEC will be able to make up for a certain loss of credibility in the eyes of the ACP when Lomé negotiations start in September this year. Mutual trust between the EEC and ACP is even more important now that it is clear that the present Lomé Convention did not achieve what it set out to do - economic development for the ACP through special trade terms for their exports to the EEC as well as through financial and technical aid.

ACP ambassadors say that far from increasing exports to the EEC, the ACP have done worse than other Third World countries in Asia and Latin America. In addition, the Convention has had no impact on helping them industrialise. None of the newly industrialising countries of the Third World are part of the ACP group. What is worse, the food situation and economic growth have continued to decline. No one is saying that this is the fault of the EEC. But ACP ambassadors have been consistently disappointed that in the face of it the ten have been unwilling to make concessions which may help ease the situation.
Recent efforts in Libreville to find more money for the floundering Stabex system - seen as the cornerstone of the Lomé Convention - when it ran out of money for the second year running, gave some indication of the shape of things to come. The EEC member states were unable to come up with a solution. Their bickering over small but symbolic sums of money is indicative of their present attitude which became only too open at Belgrade.

Pisani admits that if Stabex is to work, more funding is needed. But even as UNCTAD laboured on, the EEC Foreign Ministers Meeting in Luxembourg were already talking of improving the effectiveness of aid rather than allocating more funds. To many this means greater "conditionality" and greater control of resources.

Despite many new and original ideas from Pisani to put Lomé on a new footing by concentrating on food self-sufficiency and rural development, the British and Germans have been reluctant to accept any fundamental changes in Lomé.

This attitude, say Carrington and others in the ACP, is unacceptable. How can you have a repeat of a convention which quite clearly does not work?

At Belgrade EEC delegates maintained that many of their proposals could not be carried through because of the US, "Well now in Lomé is the time to prove that those avant garde, progressive proposals are worth something", says Carrington. He admits that many of Pisani's ideas for the new convention are good ones and in the ACP's interest, though "we may have difficulties with modalities and details". So there is a definite basis for dialogue.

The EEC must also realise that it cannot continue to go along with the US where relations with the Third World are concerned, because it is far more dependent on raw materials than the US. The EEC imports some 80% of raw materials while the US is dependent on the outside for only 15%.

Carrington believes that some EEC governments may hold up the UNCTAD outcome as an example of how bad things really are at the global level. "They may use the dismal results as an excuse to offer next to nothing at Lomé", he says. On the other hand there is still a ray of hope despite UNCTAD. "The EEC could use Lomé to show that they are not the villains of the piece as the industrialised countries were made out to be at UNCTAD". In other words, Lomé could be an opportunity to reaffirm the special relationship.

But so far the June Foreign Ministers Meeting in Luxembourg at least has not shown that member states believe in the "opportunity for imagination and a significant step forward" that Carrington sees in Lomé.

This is also one of the major fears of Pisani who said before the European parliament in July, "UNCTAD was not the place to wash dirty linen in public. We had ideological differences which should have been resolved among ourselves. We must go back to basic principles or it will happen again."
A SOUTH-SOUTH STRATEGY

by Leelananda de Silva*


These three volumes contain over fifty papers dealing primarily with issues relating to the strengthening of economic linkages within the Third World. The volume edited by Altaf Gauhar, however, contains several notable contributions on North-South perspectives; and though reprints from issues of the Third World Quarterly, are yet welcome for the insights into several crucial aspects of the political economy of international relations.

These three volumes are significant for a very particular reason. Over the last decade much has been written, particularly within the UN system and by research institutes of the industrialised countries, on North-South negotiations and on cooperation among Third World countries. The three institutes which these books are associated with are the offspring of an increased sense of Southern identity and a consequent commitment to an indigenous Southern research capacity. Though geographically located in the West they are in their roots, their spirit and substance, essentially of the Third World. These books constitute therefore a kind of signal of the emergence of a more organised intellectual input to the servicing of international negotiations, be it North-South or within the South itself.

With fifty papers of varying quality and significance, a brief review can only be selective. The central importance of money is clearly evident in the three volumes, though such concerns have little to do with monetarism. If South-South transactions are to be expanded and developed, it is imperative that Third World countries investigate more closely the policies required of them in the financial and monetary field. R. Stamenkovic in his paper in the book edited by Dragoslav Avramovic, "Review of Proposals for Third World Financial Cooperation", provides a useful summary of a large number of proposals so far made. There is extensive discussion once again of a South-South bank and UNCTAD has recently brought out an analysis of this issue. Though the UNCTAD document, regrettabley and surprisingly does not mention it, the proposal originated in 1976 in Colombo at the Fifth Non-Aligned Summit, and Stamenkovic does refer to it in some detail. (At this point, I must declare an interest in this issue as the author of a report for the Secretary-General of UNCTAD in 1977 on this subject, and also a further interest in being the author of two of the papers contained in the volumes under review). The point of Stamenkovic's paper is that a large

* La Levratte Al2, 1260 Nyon, Switzerland
number of proposals have been made so far, and it is now time to drop some, pursue others, and implement at least one or two.

L.S. Gulati in his paper in the book edited by Pavlic, et al, comes up with two or three proposals including a Commodity Financing Fund to be set up by the non-oil Third World countries, which appear to have some political feasibility, though not necessarily in terms of the magnitudes visualised by the author.

Three interesting papers in the Avramovic book are by Vijay Kelkar on promoting investment flows through South-South investment guarantee schemes, A. Tran-Nguyen on "Export Financing in Developing Countries", and Hassan Qaqaya on "Concessional Development Assistance of OPEC countries", discuss practical measures through which trade and financing arrangements within the Third World could be improved. Export finance is a subject of significance to those countries with a growing export industrial sector, and there are indeed ways through which the financial surpluses of the few OPEC countries could be matched with export finance demands of other countries of the South.

The increasing awareness of the interdependence as between trade, monetary and financial issues is a tangible outcome of the evolution of international economic philosophy of the last decade. The OECD countries are in the process of developing a range of institutional mechanisms to grapple with the fact of such interdependence not only among themselves, but also with the South and East. Their prescription is to strengthen the links that bind IMF and IBRD on the one hand to GATT on the other. At UNCTAD VI, Third World countries took up the position that this is the territory of UNCTAD. This is an institutional and forum issue which is of critical importance; even if one forgets about the North, monetary, financial and trade interdependence is an ever present reality for Southern transactions. In other words, it is an ECDC and TCDC concern, and not much thought has yet been given to this subject. The book edited by Pavlic, in particular, as well as a few other papers in the two other volumes, raise this issue more by default than by direct confrontation. The proposals for joint production and trade ventures, the scheme for a Global Scheme for Trade Preferences set out by Nassau Adams, and Raul Uranga's reflections on the potential for Third World multinationals, are all substantive components within a broader framework of Third World interdependence for which the conceptual underpinnings are clearly not in place.

The volume edited by Altaf Gauhar, containing as it does contributions from some of the Third World's more articulate intellectuals, provides some idea of what that conceptual foundation should be. Nyerere, Ramphal and Prebisch set out the pre-requisite parameters for South-South coordination. Nyerere would like to see a South-South Commission on the lines of Brandt. But the achievement so far falls short of the undoubted potential. One reason is probably the perceptions of the national policy makers who identify very clearly the issues of interdependence of North and South, and less the interdependence of the South within itself. The former is an immediate reality, while the latter is yet to be. Nurul Islam in the Altaf Gauhar volume elucidates the features of the North-South interdependent relationship, while the Northern distortion of it to its own ends is sharply delineated in a
microcosm such as "Stabex" anatomised by Omari Kokole.

The contributions in the same volume by Amir Jamal and Michael Sakhbani, are succinct elucidations on the reforms that must be engineered in the international monetary system. The analysis by Sanjaya Lal, whose previous contributions to the understanding of the operation of Transnational Corporations have been of immense influence in Third World policy making, now explores the new possibilities and the changing climate for TNCs. With Third World TNCs around, this is a subject which should be food for innovative thought. Amartya Sen has something to say of immediate policy interest on the food problem. Serious damage has been done to both national and international food policy by the disguised premise sustaining such policies to prove Malthus wrong. The Malthusian ghost has made most of us focus on averages per capita, and largely ignoring the lack of food entitlements for the most poor, and that is where our efforts over the next two decades must be - ensuring the poor their food.

The three volumes are a rich menu - a pot-pourri of incantations and of 'mantrams', of hopes and ideals, of organised thought and complex analysis. It will be great reality if at least some of these fledgling ideas now struggling to be born could be infused with that essential ingredient, a breath of life.

AN ECUMENICAL APPROACH TO ECONOMICS
by Anne Buchanan

1 Ecumenism and a New World Order: The Failure of the 1970s and the Challenges of the 1980s edited by Marcos Arruda, 1980

WCC/CCPD, 150 route de Ferney, Geneva

"Adapt yourselves no longer to the pattern of this present world"
(Romans 12:2)

Although the World Council of Churches is often in the news, the work of the WCC's Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD) is not well known. Considering the hardhitting nature of their reports this is not surprising; it is nonetheless a pity because they approach their subject with a strong Christian commitment, analyse the problems rigorously and come to conclusions which should be inescapable to Christian politicians even if they are unpalatable.

* Ffridd Helyg, Llanuwchllyn, Y Bala, Gwynedd, Wales, LL23 7TB, GB.
In the second issue of their bulletin Sharing the CCPU's Programme on Transnational Corporations reminded us that "it is the rich and the powerful who feel most threatened by the present crisis. The poor and the oppressed, the hungry and the powerless, have always lived a "crisis existence". For them, it is a world of injustice and inequality that is in crisis; and this happens to be the world characteristic of the Western, Northern Hemisphere and white race-oriented civilisation, the world of the Hamboms: money, material goods, individual power and prestige. It is the values, the legitimacy and the very identity of this world that are now in crisis." It is the implications of this crisis which are examined in the CCPU series an ecumenical approach to economics.

Media coverage of the more "colourful" symptoms of this crisis - the poverty, hunger, disease, disaster - have, perhaps, forced people in the West to disassociate themselves from situations which would otherwise be emotionally devastating. This does the poor an obvious disservice. But it involves a more important disservice in that it directs attention away from the symptoms of decay in the directing societies - mindless growth, social and environmental decay, the elevation of means (technological progress) over ends, of profit over justice, the obscene merry-go-round of ever-increasing consumption. Most importantly it fragments the crisis into "media bits" and makes it difficult for people to see the pattern of this crisis, the connections between one set of symptoms and the other. And if we cannot see clearly that these developments have resulted, not with some sort of biological inevitability, but because of human decisions, we are left with a feeling of hopelessness and apathy. On the other hand, if the economic and power structures responsible for the mess we are in are clearly perceived for what they are - no more than man-created systems of social organisation, devised by, and for the benefit of, the controlling groups - then it becomes obvious that other systems, based on other values, are possible.

The CCPU volumes do not ignore the symptoms: their analysis is based on the realities not on rarefied theory; but they are constantly looking at the reasons for the crisis. With quiet persistence they present the full complexity of the problem: historical, economic, political. In just 60-100 pages they concentrate a wealth of information and argument on technology, economics, trade, agriculture, aid; the options open to us, the Christian and Biblical response to a situation of injustice.

Especially good is their examination of the role of technological change and transnational corporations (TNCs) in development. New technology can free people from drudgery and biological hazards, improve health care and food production, even if the benefits bring their attendant problems: jobless, environmental damage and so on.

But a view of progress dominated by technology has a built-in tendency towards centralised and "hierarchical, rather than participatory, forms of social organisation" and dependence on specialised knowledge. Though theoretically these problems do not prevent democratic control, it is unlikely, under present circumstances, to be landless peasants or favela dwellers who control what technology is introduced, how it is used and for whom. TNCs are profit-oriented commercial organisations; their primary concern is not the development of the countries or peoples they operate among (except insofar as these assist profit making) and it is absurd to expect otherwise. However, given this, it is also absurd to
allow, if only by default, the TNCs to determine the direction in which countries develop.

For the TNCs globalize a European pattern of energy-intensive agriculture and capital-intensive technological and industrial development. They homogenise tastes and expectations of peoples in very different cultures. But the Third World remains a sub-system; control, especially of the new technology which crowds out local initiative, remains with the TNCs. And the kind of development and products they introduce are unrelated to the needs of the majority in the periphery.

Ill-adapted industrialisation and "improved" food production for external markets can lead to fewer jobs, concentration of land ownership and greater malnutrition. Because of the import requirements of oil, fertilisers, pesticides and machinery, export-oriented agribusiness often results in a negative impact on the balance of payments.

Moreover it displaces traditional high food value crops (like pulses and local grains) and introduces grains of lower food value (the HYV rices for example). And by promoting foods which are non-nutritious (soft drinks), harmful as often used (baby foods), or high cost per calorie (potato crisps), it distorts diets and leads to an increase in what has been termed commissiogenic malnutrition.

If "the world's food system is ultimately to be judged by the nutritional status of the poorest", then the system is clearly failing. If "development must be understood essentially as the struggle of the poor against the structures of domination and oppression which hinder their way to a better future" then major structural changes within and between countries are needed before true development - "just, participatory and sustainable" - can begin. If the Christian response must be a cry for justice (and not the easier option of charity) then the CCPD has given a find analysis of the problems and the steps necessary to overcome them.

If people in the West will not learn from them (and ultimately the WCC can appeal only to the good will and conscience of the public) then their most important function may be in presenting a tool (knowledge of the mechanisms of domination) to the poor and those who work with them.

**LEFT-HAND DRIVE:**

**SHOPFLOOR INTERNATIONALISM AND THE AUTO INDUSTRY**

Latest TIE publication marks the start of a new phase of international shopfloor co-operation in the auto industry.

In May, thirty shopfloor trade unionists and researchers on the auto industry met in Bentveld, Holland to discuss developments taking place in the industry, and examine international strategies to deal with the transnationals which dominate it. Shop stewards and other rank- and-file representatives from Europe, Japan and the Americas exchanged information and ideas freely, unconstrained by the political divisions of the international trade union movement.
From this three-day meeting a programme was agreed to for a more regular information exchange between plants, and for assisting in the establishment of "international combines" of shop stewards in some of the leading auto companies.

Arising from TIE's conference is a special report, "Left-Hand Drive" which summarises the main discussions and argues for new forms of internationalism to arise in the labour movement. The main section of the report is an examination of the international shopfloor networks which have developed in three companies - Ford, Renault and Peugeot-Citroen-Talbot. Based on contributions to the conference and interviews with those active in such networks, this is a unique information source on these new developments in trade union internationalism.

Starting with an overview of TIE's work in the auto industry since 1979, the report outlines the organisation and objectives of the conference. There then follows an examination of the restructuring taking place in the industry. As the report explains: "Decreased demand has led to a downturn in profits and heightened competition between the major producers in order to survive the recession. Sharpening their competitive edge has led the auto TNCs to change their production technologies, integrate their operations globally, relocate and embark on joint-ventures. Robots, world cars, runaway shops and British Hondas are the order of the day."

The report's second major section examines the new managerial strategies used to break trade unionism on the shopfloor. The export of Quality Control Circles from Japan to Europe and America is described by trade unionists themselves. Various examples expose the myth of participation in decision-making. The problems are underlined most forcefully by the Brazilian representative from Volkswagen: "They say, 'give us ideas and we will make more profits', but what happens to those profits? They won't stay in Brazil, and they certainly won't go to the workers either - they will just go abroad."

The report reflects a broad consensus of participants to the meeting in that effectively counteracting transnational corporate strategies which have led to unemployment, attacks on trade unionism and living standards and the deskilling of work rests on developing an alternative vision of the industry which asserts real forms of industrial and social democracy. As a key contribution to such a discussion, Marcel Leclerc, Vice-President of Renault's Central Works Committee, indicates short and long-term demands which trade unionists should be making in order to "Humanize the Line". In the third section of the report he develops a radical view of production technology which could underpin a future labour strategy.

The final section outlines another central part of such a strategy - shopfloor internationalism - and TIE's future work programme. The importance of transcending nationally-based trade unionism should not be understated. As Tod Ohnstad, Chief Steward at American Motors, Kenosha, Wisconsin argues: "As auto manufacturers become increasingly multinational, it becomes more important for workers from different countries to gain knowledge from each other and to begin to develop solidarity. Autoworkers have never faced such a critical period with problems such as new technology, never ending speed up, cut throat competition and new
sophisticated management techniques aimed at weakening the role of unions and labour organizations. I felt that the recent conference made a significant step in the direction of addressing these issues."

The release of "Left-Hand Drive" marks the start of a new phase of international shopfloor co-operation in the auto industry. Trade unionists in General Motors are working with TIE to develop an international network of GM workers, and an industry-wide information exchange system will soon be implemented. It is hoped that this TIE report contributes to the generation of positive discussions within the labour movement on the urgent need to root the principles of internationalism within workplaces and communities.

LES STRUCTURES DU QUOTIDIEN ET LA CRISE

par Ignacy Sachs*

1. La crise actuelle affecte profondément les structures du quotidien. Aussi bien suscite-t-elle de la part des populations affectées des réponses très variées qu'il importe de connaître avant de proposer des stratégies anti-crise à la fois efficaces et réalistes. L'éventail de ces réponses va depuis des cas de créativité culturelle, technique et sociale jusqu'au crime organisé. Les stratégies de survie doivent être analysées objectivement, sans parti pris négatif mais sans se laisser entraîner non plus dans le romantisme du vernaculaire.

2. Quelles sont donc ces structures du quotidien? Les économistes se sont traditionnellement contentés d'analyser la consommation des biens et services marchands et des services dispensés par l'Etat protecteur. Certains sociologues se sont au contraire penchés sur les budgets temps. Ces deux approches doivent être maintenant intégrées. En effet, la consommation au sens large du terme consiste en des assemblages de biens et services acquis à travers le marché, des services dispensés par l'Etat et des biens et services auto-produits dans le cadre de l'économie domestique ou de l'économie sociale.

L'accès aux biens et services marchands dépend des revenus monétaires; il est donc lié à l'accès aux marchés du travail, formel et informel. Le droit aux prestations de l'Etat protecteur est réglementé de façons très variées dans les différents pays.

Enfin, l'autoproduction des biens et services dans le secteur domestique et dans l'économie sociale se fait à travers l'allocation directe d'une parcelle de temps de travail par les intéressés. En fait, dans toutes les sociétés, y compris les industrielles, il s'agit d'une bonne moitié de temps de travail de la société curieusement omise des modèles économiques conventionnels, sans doute parce qu'elle échappe à la quantification monétaire. Une partie de ce temps constitue le "travail fantôme" de I. Illich; elle est colonisée par l'économie marchande. Mais

* Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 54 Bd Raspail, 75006 Paris, France
l'auto-production recouvre aussi des activités autonomes, librement choisies.

3. Au stade actuel de nos connaissances, nous manquons de descriptions du fonctionnement des "économies réelles" suivant le schéma proposé ci-après.

C'est un premier pas à faire. D'autant plus qu'il est parfaitement possible d'analyser comment les structures du quotidien réagissent à l'impact de l'inflation, du chômage, etc. et de reconstituer à partir de là les stratégies anti-crise mises en oeuvre par les populations affectées. Le niveau des comportements familiaux semble le plus pertinent pour l'étude s'attachant à mettre en évidence à la fois les changements intervenus dans l'allocation des ressources monétaires et du temps disponible.

Dans un troisième temps serait abordée la proposition de politiques à suivre en matière d'emploi, de promotion d'économie sociales et d'appui à l'économie domestique. La vue d'ensemble dégagée à travers la recherche postulée permettrait de dépasser le cadre étroit de politiques sectorielles et d'aller à des propositions de mesures intégrées touchant plusieurs champs à la fois et mettant à profit les substitutions envisageables entre différentes formes de satisfaction des besoins fondamentaux de la société en matière d'alimentation, habitat et prestation des services sociaux.

4. La démarche à suivre est interdisciplinaire et comparative, les questions à poser étant les mêmes pour les pays industriels et ceux du Tiers Monde bien que les réponses puissent être très différentes. Le cas des pays semi-industriels fortement urbanisés de l'Amérique latine est particulièrement intéressant et urgent, dans la mesure où ils subissent aujourd'hui de plein fouet une crise sociale semblable à celle qui a atteint les pays industriels au cours des années trente : ils doivent faire face à un chômage urbain massif sans allocation chômage.

Un réseau international d'équipes de recherche travaillant dans l'optique décrite ici est en train de se former à la suite d'une conférence sur l'économie informelle organisée par le Conseil Italien des Sciences Sociales à Frascati en novembre 1982. En particulier, une collaboration étroite est d'ores et déjà acquise entre les chercheurs italiens, français, brésiliens et mexicains autour du thème des structures du quotidien et de la crise (Capecchi, Université de Bologne; Sachs, EHESS et de Certeau, Paris; Juarez Brandao, CEBRAP, Sao Paulo; Sanchez, Colegio de Mexico).
A WORLD CONFERENCE OF FISHERMEN?

The 70s witnessed the growing involvement of governments and international agencies in fisheries development projects, particularly in the waters off Third World Countries. Simultaneously, there have been sporadic as well as organised and sustained agitation by small fishermen in many Third World countries, particularly in Asia. This is hardly surprising. If there was one thing which the activity and industry built around the fisheries development schemes did not ensure, it was the development of fishermen and related workers. There is growing evidence that by and large their living conditions have deteriorated. The wealth from the sea seems to have accrued to those who own the craft and gear, the processing facilities, and who have control over the trade 1/.

Furthermore, the workers in the fishing industry - particularly the coastal fishermen - are affected by the growing tourist industry and the pollution of marine waters by industrial effluents.

In some countries, like Indonesia, Malaysia and in some parts of India, the protests of the coastal fishermen have been strong enough to evoke a response from governments.

Attempts have already been made in several Asian countries by fishermen to form associations and unions to represent their grievances and where necessary to take the law into their own hands. Even if the 'gains' to the workers have not been much, in most countries these organisations have succeeded in creating a sense of public awareness about the plight of fishermen and related workers.

There have been at least three meetings between representatives of such organisations on the Asian-level where, along with their supporters, they discussed common problems and possible means of cooperation for their solution.

What then will a world level conference achieve? Well, basically more of the same particularly if one sees such an event in isolation. However, the important issue to be stressed is the need to focus global attention on an 'alternative agenda' for fisheries development.

It may provide for the first time a common platform where 'the people' can meet. On such occasions, even if simultaneous translation facilities are not available, a lot of genuine communication and sharing of live experiences is possible.

Prior to a world meet, it may be useful, where possible, to have smaller national-level meetings where the specific country issues can be discussed. An array of background material exposing the 'other side' of fisheries development will have to be prepared. Fortunately there

1/ cf. for instance IFDA Dossier 14
are numerous ongoing studies on these issues being undertaken by concerned scholars. Wide publicity in the West and the South particularly targeted to luxury seafood consumers will be useful. The world conference itself and the "fall-out" from it may pay dividends in creating greater awareness and will keep the pressure going.

Timing such a meeting for July 1984 and holding it in Rome, when ministers and policy makers gather there for the FAO sponsored World Conference on Fisheries Management and Development, might help reminding them that fishermen matter more than fishes.

This is just an initial note. The idea is recent and I thought it would be good to share it with others who are concerned with these issues and get their comments before making any further moves. This letter is addressed to those with close contact with fishing industry workers' unions and associations in their respective countries; those who by virtue of their technical skills have associated with the workers; researchers who have highlighted the political economy of fisheries development; and representatives of voluntary funding agencies which have assisted grass-roots initiatives of fishermen.

If you find the idea worthwhile and wish to participate in its implementation, please write to:

John Kurien, Centre for Development Studies, Ulloor, Trivandrum 695 011, Kerala, India.

SAHABAT ALAM MALAYSIA

Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) is a concerned citizens' group campaigning against the deterioration of the Malaysian environment. This report is the fruit of their endeavours to instil awareness in their people about the state of their environment. This report reveals that recognised environmental problems in the last three years alone have not been attended to satisfactorily; for example, the discharge of toxic waste into the environment; problems arising from the misuse of pesticides; the reduction of potential for productive forestry and wildlife; our depleting fishing resources, urban environment impacts like acid rain, haze; occupational health and the working environment; environment quality in Malaysia, etc.

* * *

Since January 1983, and three times so far since then, SAM has also published a new bulletin, Environmental News Digest (END), it comprises news briefs taken from Malaysian newspapers and major environmental publications from around the world. This is up for subscription at US$ 30 per year (6 issues). SAM's activities also includes the publication of Asian Environment. This is done on behalf of the Asian Environment Society whose media activities it coordinates. The newsletter, covering the environment in the far corners of Asia, is intended as a platform for concerned Asians and others to speak out from, and from where the conscientization of the public at large can begin.
El Consejo Latinoamericano y del Caribe para la Autogestión es una asociación civil sin fines de lucro que agrupa a entidades y organismos autogestionarios o promotores de la autogestión en los diversos países de América Latina y el Caribe.

Dentro de sus miembros se encuentran empresas autogestionarias; organizaciones no productivas integradas por trabajadores autogestionarios; organizaciones gremiales representativas; instituciones de apoyo; personas naturales y entidades gubernamentales vinculadas a la autogestión, que así lo deseen.

**Finalidad:**
- Contribuir al desarrollo de las empresas de trabajadores y a la consolidación y expansión de las experiencias autogestionarias.
- Vincular a las organizaciones entre sí y a estas con el movimiento popular.
- Contribuir a la defensa y desarrollo de la autogestión en tanto lleve a la eliminación de las relaciones de explotación, hoy predominantes en América Latina y el Caribe.

**Objetivos:**
- Lograr una mayor comunicación, coordinación de acciones y estrategias entre las organizaciones de carácter autogestionario del continente.
- Coadyuvar a la generación, ampliación, consolidación y fortalecimiento de las empresas y experiencias autogestionarias.
- Desarrollar relaciones con instituciones de cooperación internacional y con entidades capaces de prestar apoyo técnico y financiero.
- Promover, sin duplicar esfuerzos existentes, la capacitación y asesoramiento a las organizaciones autogestionarias en los aspectos:
  - tecnológico
  - técnico-productivo
  - administrativo-organizacional
  - económico-financiero-contable
  - comercial y de mercado
- Propiciar y alentar el conocimiento, la investigación y el intercambio de información acerca de la problemática de la Autogestión en el Continente.

* Casilla postal 4822, Lima 18, Perú.
Que Hace ...

En comunicación y defensa: Fomenta el acercamiento entre las organizaciones, las personas e instituciones vinculadas a la autogestión y la clase trabajadora. Organiza eventos nacionales o internacionales. Edita la Revista trimestral Autogestión y Participación y otras publicaciones.

En promoción de proyectos productivos: Canaliza y apoya iniciativas productivas de organizaciones de base y representativas, con la participación de instituciones de apoyo, ante entidades internacionales de cooperación y co-financiamiento. Estas iniciativas deben crear, ampliar y diversificar actividades que generen empleo, ingreso y mejoren las condiciones de vida de los grupos pobres en la región.

En consultoría y asesoría técnica: Contribuye con la clase trabajadora y con las organizaciones autogestionarias an la implementación y consolidación de sus actividades empresariales. Este esfuerzo se realiza a través de instituciones de apoyo existentes o en forma directa, donde éstas no existan.

En promoción financiera: Promueve la canalización de líneas de crédito internacional que atiendan a las empresas autogestionarias y asociativas bajo la modalidad de préstamos o garantías, en forma directa, con fondos rotatorios o a través de instituciones nacionales de intermediación financiera.

En capacitación y entrenamiento: Organiza eventos especializados y promueve, en coordinación con instituciones de apoyo y con el sistema universitario, la distribución de material didáctico y la generación de cursos de entrenamiento y capacitación para la preparación de los cuadros de las unidades asociativas y autogestionarias. Además promueve el intercambio interempresarial de trabajadores en la región.

En investigación: Incentiva la realización de investigaciones socio-económicas y/o estudios específicos sobre aspectos concretos de las unidades asociativas de los trabajadores autogestionarios y de los proyectos de economía autogestionaria a nivel global.

En desarrollo tecnológico: Promueve la transferencia de tecnologías adecuadas, de bajo costo, que sean de utilidad para los trabajadores.

THE MARGA INSTITUTE IS TEN YEARS OLD

The Sinhala word 'Marga', which is derived from Sanskrit is, in that form, plural and, depending on the context, may denote paths, ways, methods, techniques or means. It also refers to the idea of a quest. The activities of the Marga Institute since establishment in 1972 fully do justice to this name. Its 10th anniversary publication, Progress Report 1972-1982, provides a full account of the Marga environment, experience, publications, projects and studies. It is impressive.
The Marga Institute is a private, multi-disciplinary research organisation which has been registered under the Companies Act as an autonomous, non-profit-making organisation. Its main activity is critical, non-partisan study of development issues in Sri Lanka and the Asian region and the publication of its research, which could be of value to policy-makers as well as to scholars and research institutions both within the Island and abroad.

The analytical studies and research and development projects which the Institute undertakes are within a value-oriented framework and its main focus is on those social processes which will consciously combine economic growth with equity and participation. The Institute is motivated by the conviction that the unique social and economic pattern which Sri Lanka is capable of developing will provide the framework in which a rich, creative and productive life for its people and their full participation in the economic and social life of the country can flourish in conditions of freedom and equality. The politically non-partisan stance of the Institute has also enabled it to offer an open forum to persons subscribing to different ideologies or holding divergent points of view for the discussion of several controversial national issues.

Marga Institute, Sri Lanka Centre for Development Studies, P.O.Box 601, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ORDER/WORLD POLICY INSTITUTE

The President of the World Policy Institute, A.L. Gillies, writes: The Institute for World Order has changed its name to the World Policy Institute. The name change reflects an increased commitment on our part to actively contribute to the current policy debate on the full range of international security, economic, human rights and ecological issues.

The Institute's programs have been reorganized around a single Research and Policy Studies Program which will emphasize policy proposals in the following areas: reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear and conventional weapons; development of an equitable and ecologically sustainable world economy; and the building of new systems for protecting human rights and resolving global conflicts peacefully. As in the past, the Institute will continue to promote world order curriculum development and to work closely with scholars around the world.

We have begun to convey our proposals to legislators and public officials, the media, professional and membership groups, universities and schools, and the general public. Our new, redesigned publications will be disseminated in the form of books, World Policy Papers, and a new quarterly entitled World Policy. We are also actively developing seminars and briefings with public officials and policymakers.

WPI - 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, USA.
LE SYNDICAT DU BIT CONTRE LES COMPLICES DE L’APARTEID

Prenant une part active dans la lutte contre l'apartheid, le Syndicat du personnel du BIT (Bureau international du travail) a décidé de rompre ses relations bancaires avec l'UBS (Union de Banques Suisses) et la SBS (Société de Banque Suisse). Les fonds syndicaux retirés ont été déposés dans une autre banque suisse non impliquée avec l'Afrique du Sud. Il s'agit de la Banque Hypothécaire du canton de Genève, dont le capital est entièrement souscrit par les communes de Genève et qui exerce essentiellement ses activités au niveau local.

C'est en octobre 1981 que l'assemblée générale annuelle du Syndicat du personnel avait adopté une résolution sur les relations du BIT avec les entreprises commerciales. Dans cette résolution, l'assemblée générale invitait l'ensemble des fonctionnaires à prendre toutes les mesures possibles dans leurs relations avec des entreprises commerciales, pour s'associer de manière effective à la lutte contre l'apartheid. Le comité du syndicat avait, par ailleurs, été chargé d'intervenir auprès du directeur général pour que celui-ci tienne compte des recommandations de la Conférence internationale du travail relatives à l'apartheid dans le choix des entreprises avec lesquelles le BIT entretient des relations commerciales.

Actuellement, le comité est en train de mettre à exécution les recommandations d'un groupe de travail qui avait étudié la résolution. La décision de ne plus traiter avec l'UBS et la SBS a été prise à la suite d'un échange important de correspondances avec ces deux banques. Selon des informations recueillies par le comité, ces banques contribuent au régime de l'apartheid en consentant ou en organisant des prêts d'un montant considérable à destination de l'Afrique du Sud et, en particulier, du Gouvernement et des entreprises publiques de ce pays.

Aucune action ne sera prise par le syndicat, à l'encontre d'Eurest, la société qui gère les services de restauration du BIT, ni de Danzas, l'agence de voyages qui dessert le BIT. En ce qui concerne Eurest, le comité lui a demandé de continuer à veiller à ce qu'aucun produit en provenance d'Afrique du Sud ne soit servi dans les restaurants du BIT. Il continuera, de plus, de suivre les agissements d'une des deux sociétés mères, Nestlé SA, qui possède une filiale dans ce pays.

Le comité du syndicat a encore demandé au directeur général du BIT qu'il mette fin au contrat qui lie le BIT à l'UBS et de choisir une autre banque pour toutes les transactions bancaires.

Mouvement anti-apartheid suisse, 15 rue Lévrier, 1201 Genève.
INNER SPACE


LOCAL SPACE

1. Märten Lagergren, Lena Lundh, Minga Orkan and Christer Sanne, Care and welfare at the crossroads, abridged version of the final report of a futures study: Care in Society, carried out at the Secretariat for Futures Studies, Stockholm, 1978-1982 (P.O.Box 6710, 113 85 Stockholm, Sweden).

2. Oliver Shirley (ed.), A Cry for Health: Poverty and Disability in the Third World (London: Ultra Violet Entreprises, 1983), 96 pp. There are 340 million disabled people in the world, mainly as a result of poverty and malnutrition. Disability is largely preventable, and it is no coincidence that most disabled people live in the poor countries, although poverty also causes disability in the North. The novel contribution of this book is that it brings together development and disability. Its contributors all raise the fundamental question - if disability is largely preventable, why is it not being prevented? Whilst the problem of minimising and preventing disability within Third World countries is examined, the part the industrialised world plays in this process is also scrutinised - both its positive aspect of organising appropriate aid and rehabilitation programmes, and its negative role of supplying inappropriate drugs and medical care (Top Floor, 25 Horse11 Rd, London N5, UK).


4. E.H.Hofkes, Water pumping for rural water supply, (Dakar: ENDA, 1983) 52 pp., (P.O.Box 3370).


6. N.W.Pirie, "Possible consequences of very large-scale use of unconventional energy sources", Futures, (February 1983), pp.73-78.


National Council of Women of Thailand and Faculty of Social Administration, *The status of Thai women in two rural areas*, (NEE/WID Exchange-Asia, University of the Philippines at Los Banos, 1983), 20 pp.


Anders Werken, *Traveller autrement, un livre sur l'autogestion des différentes formes du travail en Europe occidental* (Hasselt: MAB, 1983), 277 pp. La première partie tente de dégager la signification de ce courant au plan européen; la deuxième partie examine les difficultés pratiques et la troisième offre un panorama qualitatif et quantitatif des différents pays, tandis que la dernière partie envisage les perspectives. (Expédition contre versement de 350FB à l'IOC-MAB, Lazarijstraat 6, 3500 Hasselt).


NATIONAL SPACE

Remi Anifowose, Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience (New York: Nok Publishers International, 1982), 354 pp. The study, which is set in a wider perspective than the Tiv and Yoruba riots, helps to explain the collapse of the First Republic in 1966, and examines existing political theories to see how adequately they account for, or anticipate, violence in politics. Also of interest is the challenge, in the book, of some of the common assumptions about why people rebel against authority.

Monica Brodén, From transfer to acquisition of technology, a study of the industrialization process in Tanzania, (Linköping University, S-581 83 Linköping, Sweden, 1983), 206 pp.


Denis Goulet, Mexico: Development Strategies for the future (University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 191 pp. This book explores the policy and value implications of alternative development strategies currently debated within Mexico. This study is prospective, that is, it emphasizes future possibilities, and is not primarily descriptive or prescriptive. After examining tensions between the demands of a new international economic order and basic human needs strategies, the author describes and evaluates four main development models or paradigms invoked worldwide: growth, redistribution, basic human needs, and development from tradition. He next summarizes the major criticisms by Mexican writers of their own nation's development strategy, and examines the alternative values and policies they advocate. Detailed illustrative analysis of representative writers like Cordera and Tello, Solis, Stavenhagen, and Esteva are included. The author then proposes as a possibility richly worth exploring a pluralistic development model for Mexico, one which combines elements of all four development paradigms he has outlined. Policy implications of this "federation of development models" are described in the areas of agriculture, industry, education, tourism, and "inbond" industries at the U.S. border. Social values, latent in old as well as in proposed new paradigms, are examined in the light of Mexico's oil wealth, presidential elections, and formation of a new political party. Social values are also examined in regard to the increasing concern over the threats posed by modernity to revolutionary values: genuine national sovereignty, social justice, nonelitist modes of governance, and cultural diversity. Mexico: Development Strategies for the Future provides a synthesis that links problems of social diagnosis to public policy to basic values. (Notre Dame, IN 46556, USA).


Imre Léval, Political economy of the working class, the Indian debate on unequal exchange, (Budapest: Institute for World Economy, 1983), 56 pp.


Walter Fernandes and Sharad Kulkarni (eds.), Towards a new forest policy, People's rights and environmental needs, (Indian Social Institute, Lodi Rd, New Delhi 110002, India, 1983), 155 pp. Industrialists view the forest as a source of raw materials and the forest department looks as it as a source of revenue. But for the people it is the very basic of their economy, social and cultural life. Though the 1952 forest policy statement gives priority to environmental and people's needs, its implementation shows a bias towards industrial and revenue needs. Based on field data and the experience of activists working among tribals and forest dwellers, this book proposes a new forest policy that gives priority to the people's rights and rural economy, without degrading industrial and environmental interests.

Bharat Dogra, Forest and People, a report on the Himalayas, (Dogra, A-2/184, Janakpuri, New Delhi-110058, India, 1983), 88 pp. Disastrous floods that strike the plains of India are closely related to ecological ruin in the Himalayas. Officials swear by 'scientific management' of ecologically crucial Himalayan forests, but an official report referred to some aspects of this management as 'the rape of forests'. Village women and some social workers (Chipko movement) have won some significant battles in their efforts to save Himalayan forests. Chipko activists have walked almost the entire length of the Himalayas to spread the message of a protective relationship between forests and people.

James Robertson, The Sane Alternative, a Choice of Futures. A new revised and expanded edition of an essential book. As Michael Shanks put it, 'James Robertson is that most subversive of men, the eminently reasonable revolutionary...This book provides the best and most persuasive handbook I know to the "alternative society". Available from the author (Spring Cottage, 9 New Rd., Ironbridge, Shropshire TF8 7AU, UK), £ 2.95 plus 50p for surface mailing.
GLOBAL SPACE


. Profits from poison, a look into the socio-economics and politics of pesticides, (Farmers Assistance Board, P.O.Box AC-623, Quezon City, The Philippines, 1982), 115 pp.


. Nicole Bernard et Danielle Le Bricquir, La colombe et l'encrier, pour une pédagogie de la paix, (Paris: Syros, 1983), 211 pp. Parents ou éducateurs, le livre de cette collection nous interroge tous. Epanouisement de l'enfant ou dressage, les frontières sont ténues. Une autre pédagogie pour une autre société; le droit à la différence; le refus de soumettre l'enfant ou l'adolescent à une société qui cherche à perpéter à tout prix ses normes éducatives... et d'autres: nous accueillons ici tous les témoignages d'éducateurs qui ont entrepris cette recherche.

. Bertrand de Launay, Le poker nucléaire, comme brebis à l'abattoir, (Paris: Syros, 1983), 239 pp. Les choix en matière de défense restent largement entourés de secret, tandis que les doctrines stratégiques sont enveloppées dans un pudique jargon plein d'euphémismes et que les données techniques sur les systèmes d'armes sont pratiquement inaccessibles au grand public. "Le poker nucléaire" fournit les chiffres et les données de sources impartiales pour que les simples citoyens puissent se forger une opinion et en tirer les conséquences.


Staffan Jacobsson and Jon Sigurdson (eds), *Technical trends and challenges in electronics, Dominance of the industrialized world and responses in the Third World*, (Research Policy Institute, University of Lund, 222 44 Lund, Sweden, 1983), 315 pp. This book brings together a number of case studies that analyse the likely effects of the new electronics technologies on industrial development. Chapters deal with the impact of electronics on the engineering, garment, computer and machine tool industries as well as the potential of CAD - Computer Aided Design. A survey is also provided of the electronics industries in China and India. The detailed information given about the electronics revolution and its likely impacts in a range of industrial areas should be of interest to policy-makers and industrialists in the Third World countries as well as to students of industrial development and technical change.

Dieter Ernst, *The global race in micro-electronics, Innovation and corporate strategies in a period of crisis*, (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1983), 290 pp. The book analyses how innovation and international investment decisions are interacting in the present economic crisis and how this is going to be reflected in the global race in microelectronics. Its focus is on the semi-conductor industry, and it shows how recent developments in microelectronic technology, both hardware and software, have already changed considerably the strategies and international investment decisions of major United Stated, Japanese and West European firms. Key questions include: Will the application of new technology, particularly of microelectronics, help to contain the crisis of the world economy? How will it affect global patterns of control over international trade and strategic assets needed for the Third World and producing industrial products and services, particularly technology, human resources and capital? What impact are we to expect of major actors in the restructuring of world industry to push through their strategies? And finally, what are the implications for the Third World countries trying to implement strategies of transition to more self-reliant patterns of industrialization?
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TO OUR READERS

The IFDA Dossier mailing list is approaching 12,000 addresses all over the world. So as to make its management a bit easier, we have computerized it, which implies a number of simplifications and abbreviations. Please check carefully the label which appears on the envelope of this Dossier and write us immediately if any change is required. Please do so according to the model on page 95 and attach the label to be modified. This, incidentally, applies to all changes of address: our task is easier if we can work on the basis of the label to be modified. Thank you for your cooperation.

For reasons beyond our control, Dossier 37 (September/October) was mailed only at the end of September. Further, the transition in which we are engaged may also cause some delays in the mailing of this issue and perhaps the next one. Please accept our apologies.

A NOS LECTEURS

Le fichier des destinataires du IFDA Dossier compte actuellement près de 12,000 adresses dans le monde entier. Afin d’alléger quelque peu sa gestion, nous utilisons désormais un ordinateur, ce qui a entraîné certaines simplifications et abréviations. Veuillez vérifier attentivement l’adresse qui figure sur l’enveloppe de ce Dossier et nous communiquer immédiatement toute rectification à lui apporter. Veuillez le faire en suivant le modèle figurant page 95 et en nous retournant l’adresse à modifier. Cette recommandation, soit dit en passant, s’applique à tout changement d’adresse: notre tâche est facilitée si nous pouvons travailler sur la base de l’adresse à modifier. Merci de votre coopération.

Pour des raisons indépendantes de notre volonté, le Dossier 37 (Septembre/Octobre) n’a été expédié qu’à fin septembre. Le processus de transition dans lequel nous sommes engagés risque d’entraîner quelque retard dans l’expédition de cette livraison et de la suivante. Nous espérons que vous ne nous en tiendrez pas rigueur.

A NUESTROS LECTORES

La lista de personas a quienes se enviá por correo el IFDA Dossier actualmente tiene cerca de 12,000 direcciones de todo el mundo. A fin de facilitar su manejo, en lo sucesivo, utilizaremos un computador, lo que implica ciertas simplificaciones y abreviaciones. Sírvase verificar cuidadosamente la dirección que figura en el sobre de este Dossier y comuníquenos inmediatamente cualquier rectificación que sea necesaria hagalo según el modelo p.95 y devuélvanos la dirección que debemos modificar. Esta recomendación, dicho sea de paso, se refiere a todo cambio de dirección; se nos facilita la tarea si podemos trabajar en base a la dirección que debemos modificar. Gracias por su cooperación.

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